

The Reconversion Period

from War to Peace



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PART I

Reconversion to Peacetime Conditions on the Home Front

When the last gun has been silenced and the last bomb dropped, when all the fighting is over, then will begin a period of reconstruction abroad and reconversion at home. Here in America factories will be reconverted and men returning from war will go back into industry. This period of adjustment and reconversion will inevitably involve many problems.

Will There Be Enough Jobs During the Reconversion Period?

One of the most serious problems during the reconversion period following the war will be that of employment. The chart on the opposite page shows that opinions are almost equally divided on the question: **"For the first year or two after the war, which one of these things do you expect: enough jobs for everybody, some unemployment, or a lot of unemployment?"** When the "No Opinion" (2%) and the "Qualified Answers" (2%) are omitted, 35 per cent of the cross-section anticipate enough jobs for everybody during the first few years after the war, 32 per cent think there will be some unemployment, and 33 per cent fear a lot of unemployment.

Persons who voted for Roosevelt in 1940 are more optimistic about the possibility of enough jobs after the war than are the Willkie voters. Thirty-eight per cent of those who voted for Roosevelt, as against 28 per cent of those who voted for Willkie, think there will be enough jobs for everybody during the reconversion period.

The upper educational group (shown on the chart) and the upper economic group (not shown) both consider "Some Unemployment" the most likely post-war situation. The lower groups are more inclined either to say "Enough Jobs" or to suggest the other extreme of "Lots of Unemployment."

Among the various groups not shown on the chart, women fear unemployment more than men, and persons 40 and over more than those in the 21 to 39 age group. Occupationally those most worried by the prospects of a job shortage seem to be waitresses, domestic helpers, beauticians, and other "service workers." Forty-two per cent of this group fear widespread unemployment after the war, as compared

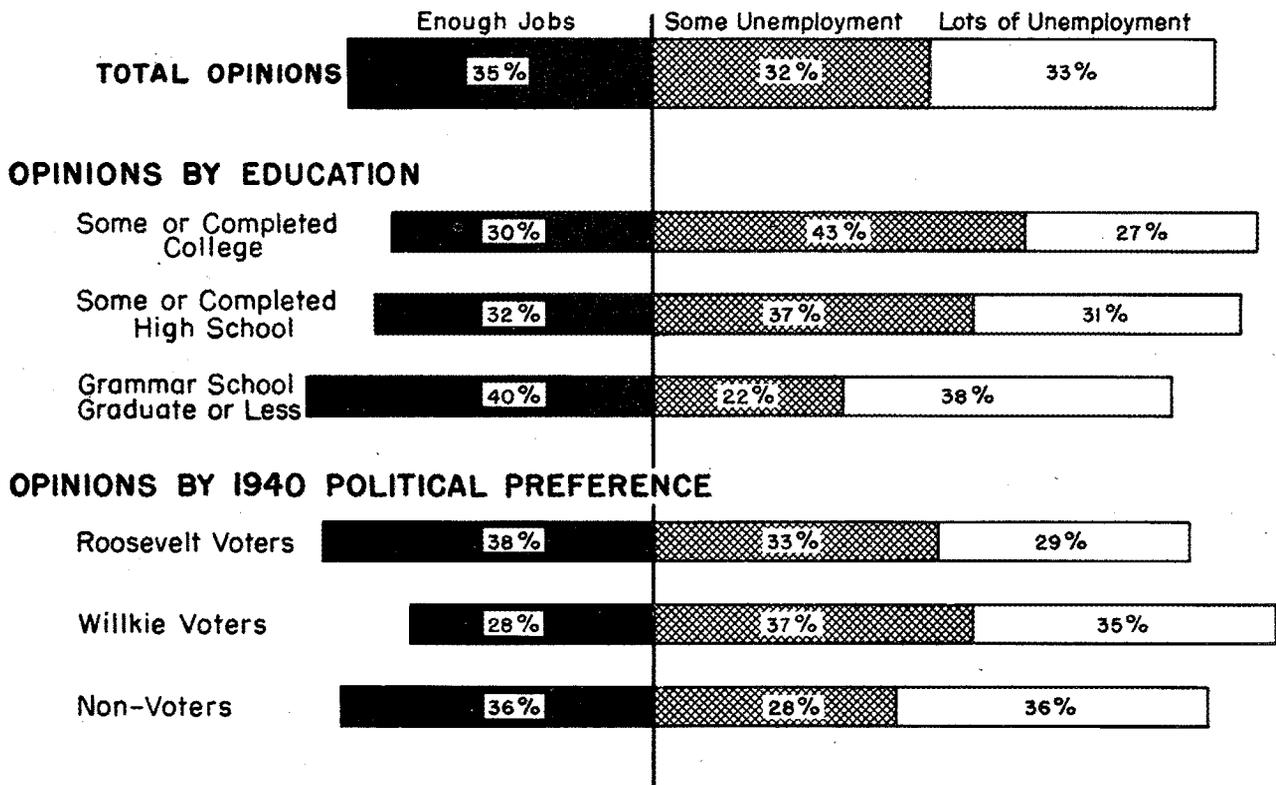
with 35 per cent of the farmers, 32 per cent of the manual workers, and 29 per cent of the white collar, business, and professional group.

The 2 per cent giving qualified answers suggest that the employment situation will depend on the length of the war, the extent of casualties, the quality of government planning, the terms of the peace treaty, and the number of persons retained overseas during the period of reconstruction. For instance, a Brookline, Massachusetts, druggist believes there will be "enough jobs if we help reconstruction abroad, and if new inventions are utilized, and politics don't interfere too much." A Los Angeles business executive expresses another point of view when he suggests, "It depends on circumstances, whether the government goes far enough with the planning they are now doing."

Of all persons interviewed, only 2 per cent fail to express an opinion on the question of post-war employment—an indication of a naturally high degree of popular concern.

EMPLOYMENT EXPECTATIONS DURING RECONVERSION PERIOD

Question: "For the first year or two after the war, which one of these things do you expect: enough jobs for everybody, some unemployment, or a lot of unemployment?"*



* "No Opinion" and "Qualified Answers" have been omitted for the sake of clarity.

Are Jobs for Veterans the Government's Responsibility?

Three out of every four Americans (74%) answer "Should" to the question: "If there aren't enough jobs after the war for all the men now in the armed forces, do you think it should be up to the government to guarantee jobs for them or not?" Twenty-two per cent answer "Should Not," and 2 per cent express no opinion. Two per cent qualify their answers, most often suggesting that such a program should include only disabled veterans or those who had held jobs before going into the army.

That the government considers jobs for demobilized fighting men a major responsibility may be judged by the work of the Reemployment Division of the Selective Service System. "The principal objectives of the Division are to assure the return of men to former jobs or to secure employment for them upon their honorable discharge from the armed forces. This will involve among other things planning for demobilization in terms of potential employment in certain locations and at certain times."

Majorities in every population group covered in the survey feel that the responsibility for employment during the re-

conversion period should be the United States government's. Roosevelt supporters of 1940 give a heavier "Should" vote than Willkie backers—79 to 63 per cent.

The more education a person has and the higher his standard of living, the more likely he is to be **opposed** to government responsibility for the reemployment of men discharged from the armed forces. As can be seen by examining the chart on page 5, 33 per cent of persons in the upper economic brackets answer "Should Not," as compared with 22 per cent of those in the middle and 12 per cent of those in the lower brackets. The three educational groupings closely parallel this distribution.

*Postwar Planning in the United States, Twentieth Century Fund, New York, February, 1943, page 75.

Only 9 per cent of persons in service occupations, in contrast to 15 per cent of manual workers, 20 per cent of farmers, and 28 per cent of professional, business, and white collar workers, believe that guaranteeing jobs for demobilized fighting men should **not** be a government responsibility.

A number of those who answer "Should Not" express the sentiment that the government should help provide jobs, but not **guarantee** them. Others base their objection on the grounds that such a function "would be undemocratic—too much like dictatorship." An interesting suggestion comes from a small-town bank president in the Middle West: "Men should not be discharged from the army any faster than they can be absorbed by revived civilian economy."

A cross-tabulation of the question on employment conditions immediately after the war and the question on the

government's responsibility for guaranteeing post-war jobs indicates an interesting relationship. The more confident a person is that there will be enough jobs, the more likely he is to consider it the government's responsibility to provide them. Of those who believe there will be **enough jobs**, 79 per cent think the government should guarantee them and 18 per cent think it should not. But of those who think there will be **some unemployment** after the war, only 71 per cent think the government should guarantee jobs and 25 per cent think it should not.

Responses to the two questions are inclined to hinge on a politically-tinged attitude of approval or disapproval of the New Deal and the Roosevelt administration. A New Deal supporter is likely to respond positively to both questions; a New Deal critic, negatively.

How Should the Government Provide Jobs?

The 74 per cent who replied "Should Guarantee Jobs" plus the 2 per cent who qualified their answers and the 2 per cent who had no opinion—78 per cent in all—were handed a card listing four ways in which the government might furnish employment after demobilization. (See chart opposite.)

Exactly half of those who answered this question (39% of the entire cross-section) favor projects which would **not** compete with private business, such as a public works program. Seventeen per cent of the cross-section think that jobs should be provided through government subsidies to private business, and small minorities (6% each) believe that the government should provide jobs through projects competing directly with private business or through government ownership and operation of some industries.

Those who favored provision of jobs through non-competitive projects tended to express opposition to government control. An elderly farmer near Portland, Oregon, commented, "Private business is more important to my mind than anything else. Too much government control ruins our individuality as Americans." The wife of a Detroit doctor felt, "There has been too much 'leaning on the shovel.' Private business should run itself without government interference." From another point of view, however, a New Orleans electrician said, "I can't think of any government projects

that would not compete with private business." A painter in suburban Los Angeles disagreed: "I favor subsidies to private business. Government projects like WPA tend to make people lazy."

Significant breakdowns are indicated on the graph opposite. For example, the upper economic group prefers public works projects to subsidies by a ratio of approximately three to one, while in the lower categories the break is about three to two. In the Midwest 45 per cent approve public works projects in contrast to only 31 per cent in the South.

How Long Will the Reconversion Period Last?

Seven out of every ten people think it will take less than two years for America to get back to peacetime conditions. Four out of every ten feel that this reconversion can be accomplished in a year or less. The graph on page 6 tells the story more completely.

Some respondents comment that it will take the armed forces from two to five times as long to be reabsorbed into civilian occupations as it will take manufacturing plants to reconvert to making civilian goods. A few say, "Within a year if private industry is let alone to function," or from another viewpoint, "We will never get caught again. We'll always be making war goods from now on."

While majorities in all population groups included in the

survey feel that a return to peacetime conditions will be accomplished within two years, some differences are evident between certain population groups. Men, for instance, are somewhat more optimistic than women on this point, 76 per cent, compared to only 65 per cent of the women, believing we will be back to peacetime living within two years after the fighting has stopped. The 21 to 39 age group expect a speedier return to peacetime conditions than do those 40 and over.

Must We Continue Rationing and Economic Controls?

Of every hundred Americans, sixty-three think it will be necessary for the government to continue **rationing food** while we are getting back to peacetime conditions, but only thirty think that continued **gasoline rationing** will be necessary. Seventy-seven believe the government should **control prices** during the reconversion period, and sixty-six are convinced that continued **wage and salary control** will be necessary.

GOVERNMENT EMPLOYMENT RESPONSIBILITIES TO DEMOBILIZED SOLDIERS

Question: "If there aren't enough jobs after the war for all the men now in the armed forces, do you think it should be up to the government to guarantee jobs for them or not?"

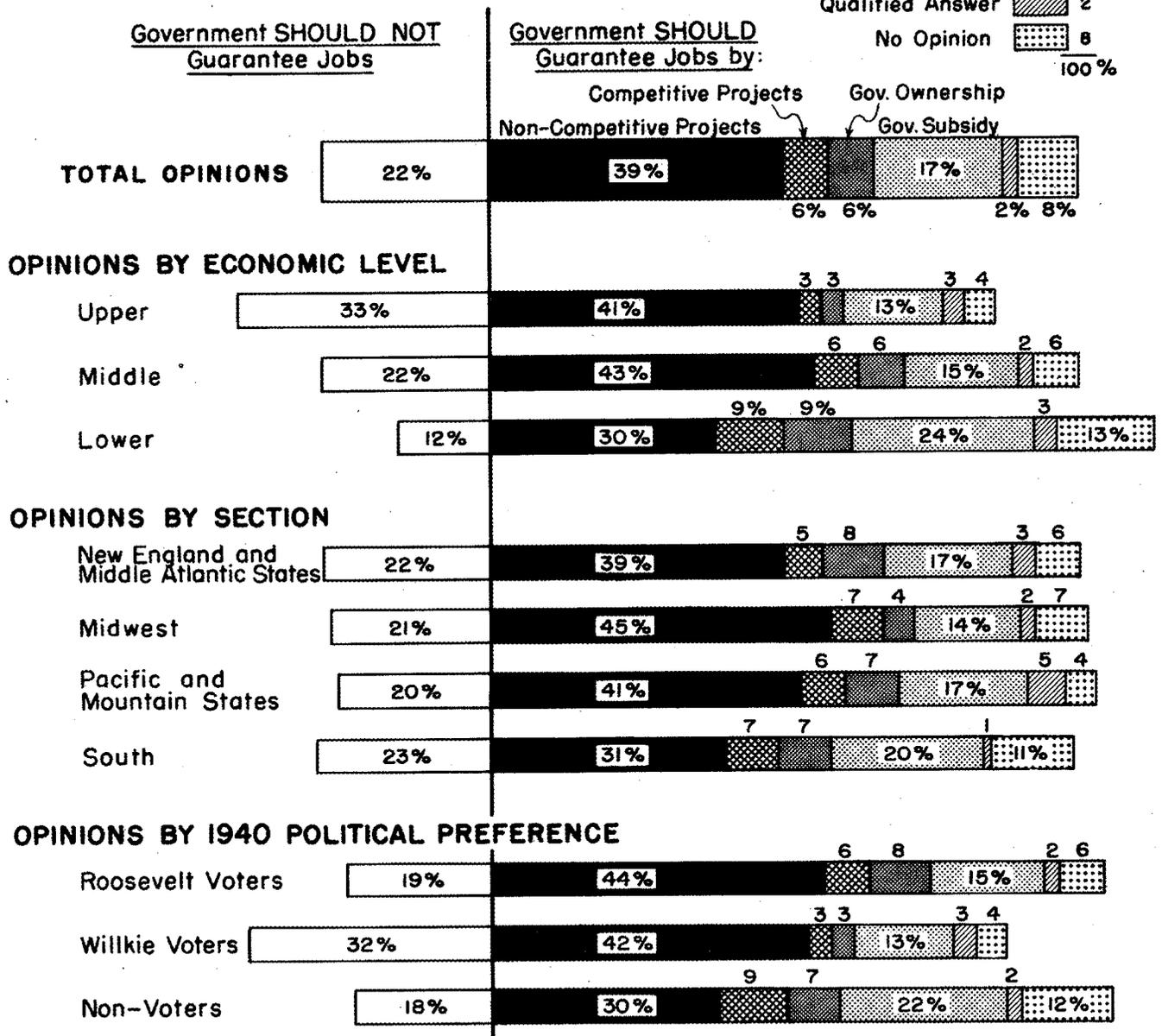
Should Not 22%

The 78 per cent who gave answers other than "Should Not" were asked:

Question: "If the government has to do ONE of these four things to get them all jobs, which one would you choose?"

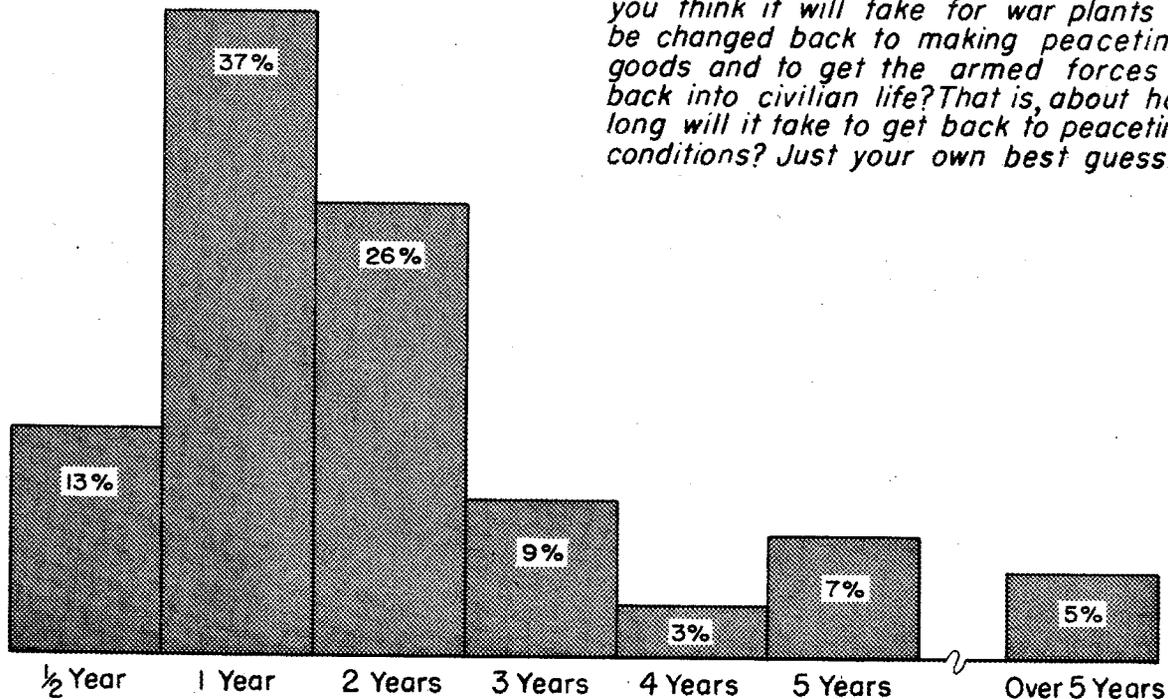
- A. "Start some government projects which would not compete with private business. 39%
- B. "Start some government projects which would compete with private business. 6%
- C. "Take over and run some private businesses. 6%
- D. "Give money to some businesses so they can hire more people.".... 17%

Qualified Answer 2
No Opinion 8
100%



HOW LONG WILL IT TAKE TO GET BACK TO PEACETIME CONDITIONS?

Question: "After the war, about how long do you think it will take for war plants to be changed back to making peacetime goods and to get the armed forces back into civilian life? That is, about how long will it take to get back to peacetime conditions? Just your own best guess."



As will be seen from the chart on the opposite page, attitudes on rationing and price and wage control are closely associated with the economic level of the respondents. Opposition to food rationing during the reconversion period is greatest among the lowest economic group, while the higher economic groups are most inclined to consider gasoline rationing unnecessary, as well as price and wage control.

Though the question of food rationing might seem at first glance to be very closely associated with the economic level of the respondent, the educational background actually makes for greater differences of opinion. The more education a person has had, the more likely he is to feel that continued food rationing will be necessary after the war. Seventy-three per cent of persons with some college education, as contrasted with 67 per cent of those with some high school and only 53 per cent of those with some grade school education, vote for continued food control during the interim period of reconversion from war to peacetime conditions.

On all four questions the younger age group—21 to 39 years—gives a higher vote in favor of rationing and control than does the older group. Persons who voted for the Democratic candidate in the 1940 presidential election are also more in favor of control in each case than are 1940 Republican voters.

In this same survey the public was also asked whether they

thought the government "actually will continue to ration food and gasoline for a year or two after the war?" The distribution of responses is almost identical with that on the necessary-unnecessary question, but an examination of the results shows that the answers come from **different** people. About 40 per cent of those who think food rationing **unnecessary** think the government **will** ration it nevertheless. Of those who think gasoline rationing in the reconversion period will be **necessary**, 32 per cent think the government **will not** ration it.

These differences seem rather closely associated with the political frame of reference of the respondents. For example, among persons **friendly** to both the New Deal and to President Roosevelt who believe the government will ration food after the war, less than one-fifth (19%) consider such action unnecessary. Among those **unfriendly** both to the New Deal and the President who believe the government will continue food rationing, almost a third (30%) think this program will be unnecessary.

When gasoline rationing is considered the differences are even sharper. Among persons **friendly** to the New Deal-Roosevelt program who believe the government will ration gas after the war, only 25 per cent think such regulation unnecessary. Among those **unfriendly** to the administration who believe the government will continue gasoline rationing, 55 per cent think such action will be unnecessary.

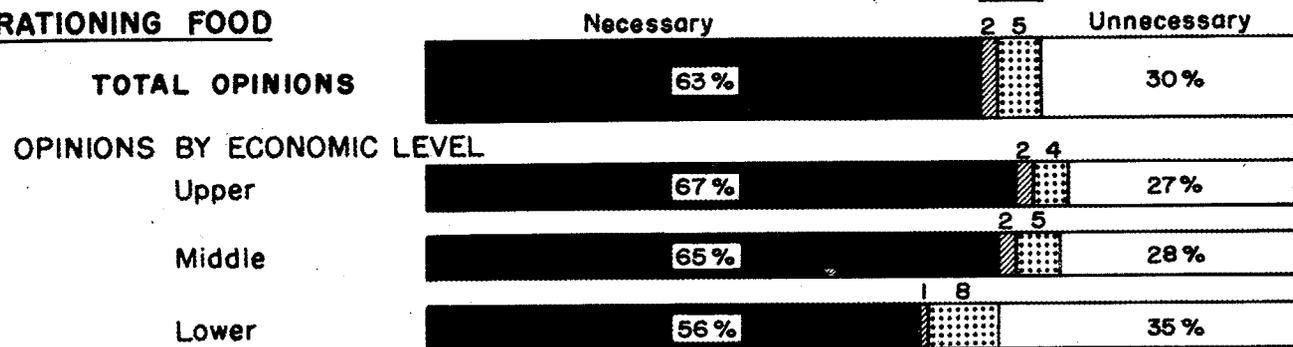
WILL RATIONING AND ECONOMIC CONTROLS BE NECESSARY AFTER THE WAR?

Question: "Do you think it will be necessary or unnecessary for the government to continue rationing food while we are getting back to peacetime conditions? How about rationing gasoline? How about controlling prices? How about controlling how high wages and salaries can go?"

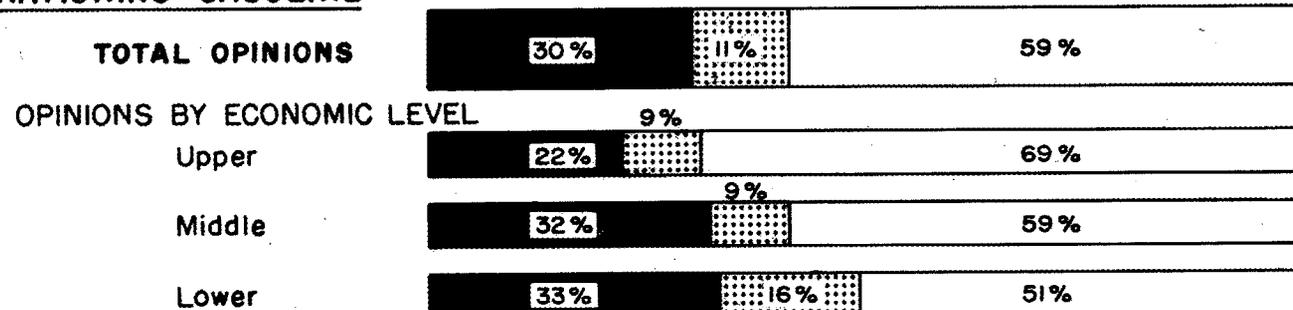
Qualified Answer 

No Opinion 

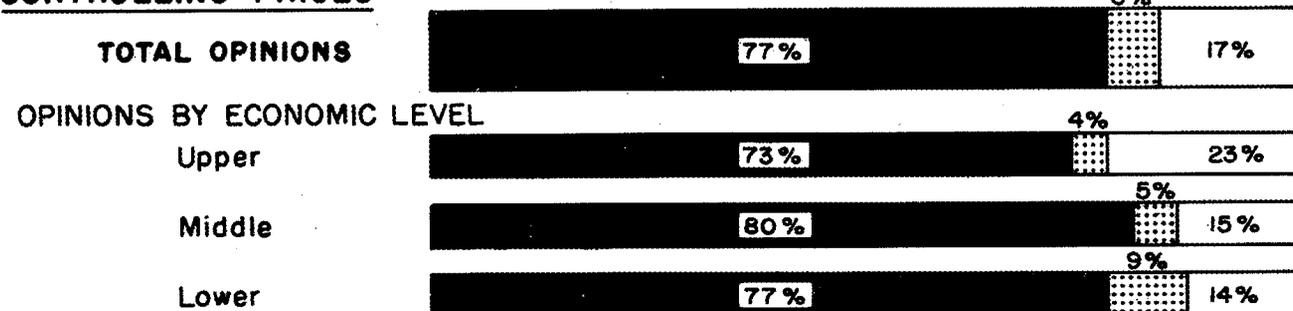
RATIONING FOOD



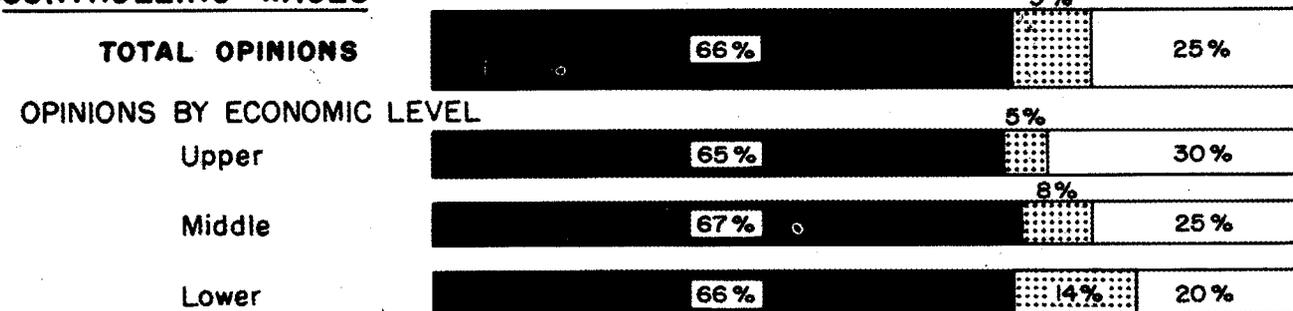
RATIONING GASOLINE



CONTROLLING PRICES



CONTROLLING WAGES



PART II

When Peacetime Conditions Return

America will not return to peacetime conditions all at once. On no single day will people all over the United States wake up suddenly and say, "Now we are back to normal again!" Gradually, however, perhaps almost imperceptibly, as industries are reconverted to the production of consumer goods and as former fighting men are reabsorbed into civilian occupations, there will come a time when permanent plans and policies will replace temporary expedients.

Already the American people have some very definite ideas about jobs and their relationship to business and to the government when peacetime conditions return. The second section of this report deals with some of these important attitudes.

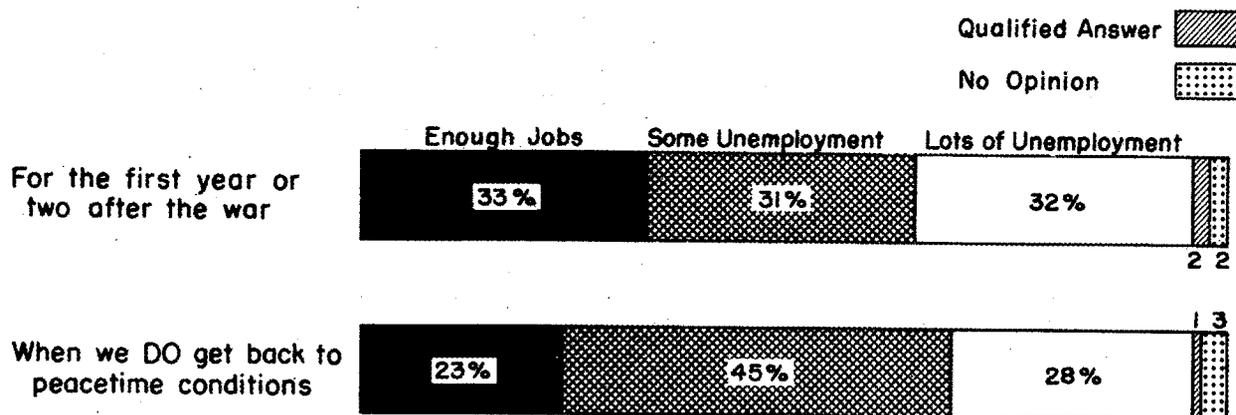
Will There Be Jobs for Everyone When We Get Back to Peacetime Conditions?

The question: "After we **DO** get back to peacetime conditions, which one of these things do you expect: enough jobs for everybody, some unemployment, or a lot of unemployment?" elicits different responses from those given to the same question when asked concerning the reconversion period. Nearly half of the total cross-section and more than half of the upper occupational, economic, and educational groups consider "Some Unemployment" the normal, or at least the expected, peacetime condition in America. About a fourth of the upper groups and about a third of the lower expect "Lots of Unemployment."

EMPLOYMENT EXPECTATIONS AFTER THE WAR

Question: "For the first year or two after the war, which one of these things do you expect: enough jobs for everybody, some unemployment, or a lot of unemployment?"

Question: "After we **DO** get back to peacetime conditions, which one of these things do you expect: enough jobs for everybody, some unemployment, or a lot of unemployment?"



SECURITY FOR WORKERS AFTER THE WAR

Question: "After we DO get back to peacetime conditions, which one of these things do you expect: enough jobs for everybody, some unemployment, or a lot of unemployment?"

Enough Jobs 23%

The 77 per cent who gave answers other than "Enough Jobs" were asked:

"Which of the following things do you think should be done about the people who can't get jobs?"

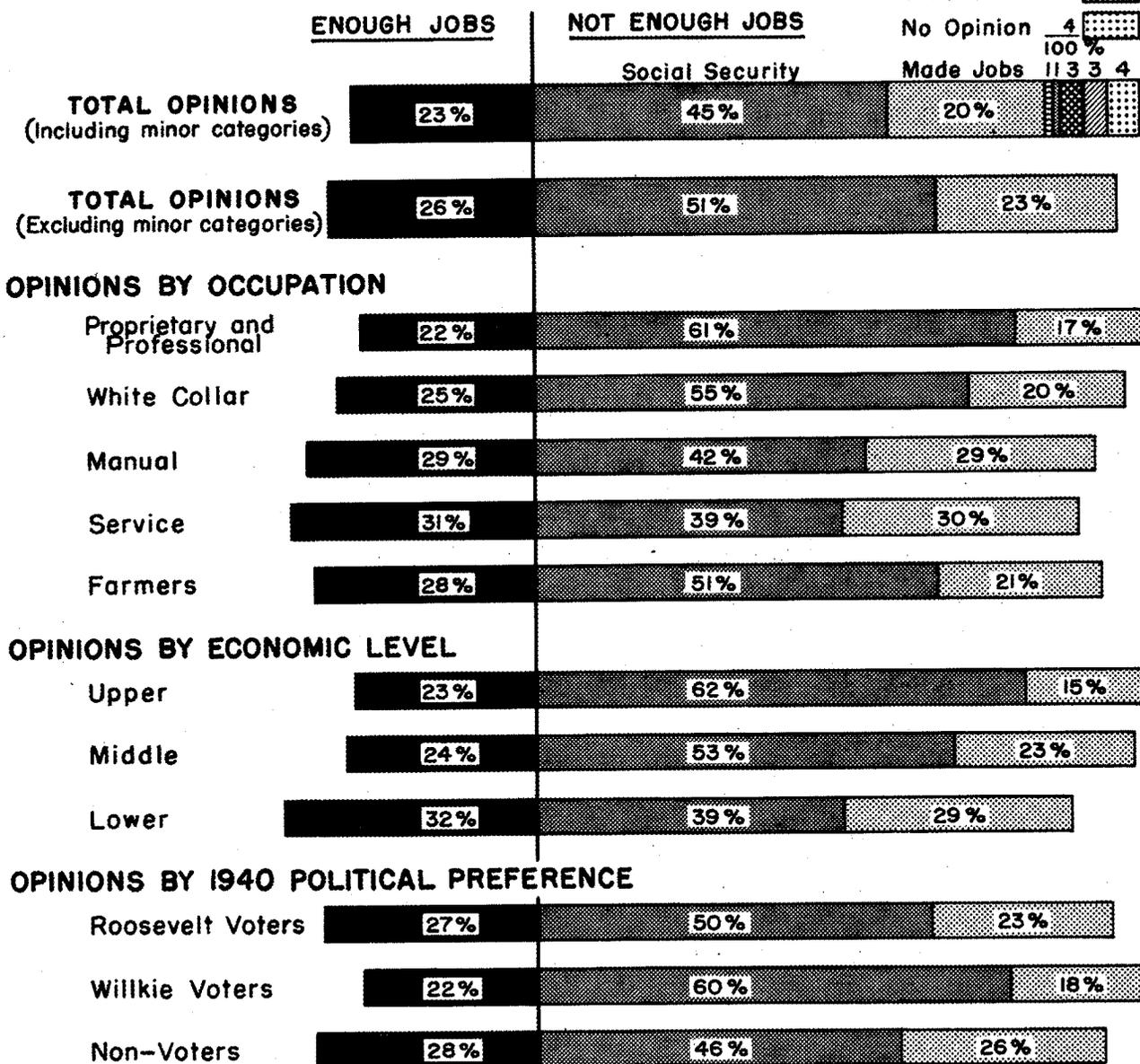
- A. "The government should make workers save money now under Social Security to take care of themselves when they don't have jobs. 45
- B. "The government should make jobs for them. 20
- C. "The government should give them relief money. 1
- D. "Private charities should take care of them. 1
- E. "Their own families should take care of them." 3

Other..... 3

No Opinion 4

100 %

Social Security Made Jobs 11334



The graph on page 8 shows the comparison between the totals on attitudes regarding unemployment during the reconversion period and unemployment after peacetime conditions return.

Fifty-six per cent of the cross-section are consistent in that their opinions for the two periods coincide. The remaining 44 per cent expect some changes in the employment situation between the period immediately following the cessation of hostilities and the return of peacetime conditions. Twenty-four per cent expect more unemployment when we get back

to peacetime conditions than during the reconversion period. Twenty per cent expect less unemployment.

The American Institute of Public Opinion, attacking the problem from another angle, found that, "despite the large number employed in industries devoted purely to war production, and despite the fact that employers have promised to reemploy the men in the armed services when the war ends, 79 per cent of all persons now employed full time or part time believe their present jobs will continue after the war."

How about People Who Can't Get Jobs under Peacetime Conditions?

The 77 per cent of the cross-section who said they thought there would **not** be enough jobs for everyone when the United States returned to peacetime conditions were asked their opinions as to what should be done about people unable to get jobs then. (See the graph on page 9.) The largest group—45 per cent of the total cross-section—think that the government should make workers save money now under Social Security to take care of themselves when they don't have jobs. Less than half as many—20 per cent—think the government should "make" jobs if necessary.

Only insignificant minorities adhere to the other possible choices. One per cent think the government should give relief money to the unemployed, 1 per cent think private charities should take care of them, and 3 per cent think it should be their families' duty. Another 3 per cent qualify their answers, and 4 per cent voice no opinion on the question.

Meeting unemployment problems through the medium of social security receives its main support from the more privileged groups in the population. This method is en-

dorsed by majorities of professional and white collar workers, of those with some high school or college education (not shown), of persons in the upper standard-of-living brackets, and by a majority of those who voted for the Republican presidential candidate in 1940. As the graph indicates, these same groups are the ones least optimistic regarding the total employment situation. Among the less privileged groups a higher per cent feel there will be enough jobs for everyone after the war, and consequently a lesser per cent were asked the subsequent question on methods of caring for the unemployed.

What about Government Control of Business When Peacetime Conditions Return?

Whether the American people will fare better if the government has more control or less control of business than before the war will be a basic domestic issue once economic reconversion is accomplished. This issue is already the subject of lively discussion and planning among a number of influential groups.

In response to the question: "**When we DO get back to peacetime conditions do you think the American people will be better off if the government has more control or less control of business than it had before the war?**" 12 per cent of the respondents volunteer "Same,"* 3 per cent qualify their answers, and 12 per cent express no opinion. The remainder of the replies for the total cross-section divide almost evenly between "More" (35%) and "Less" (38%). If only the "More" or "Less" vote is considered, opinions divide 48 to 52 per cent.

The geographical distribution of opinion on this issue is of unusual interest. In the New England and Middle Atlantic states "More Control" and "Less Control" receive exactly the same percentage of support. In the Midwest and the West "Less" receives the larger vote, and in the South "More" draws the greater number.

Opinion among the various population groups divides most unevenly. The sharpest distinctions are observed among

*In the wording of the question itself only the alternatives "More" or "Less" are specifically suggested, for the purpose of getting results as sharply divided as possible. If "Same" had been mentioned as an alternative, there would have been a tendency, according to previous experiments by the Center, for that compromise response to draw many of the votes.

the occupational and economic groups and between supporters of the two major political parties. When only the "More" and "Less" responses are considered, 72 per cent of persons in the upper economic brackets, as against 52 per cent in the middle and only 29 per cent in the lower brackets, approve **less** government control of business.

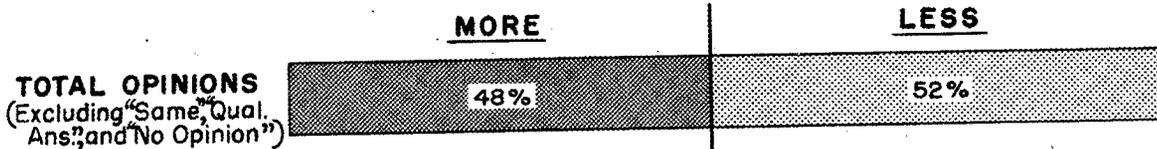
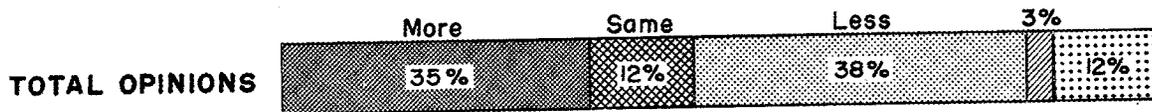
Even without the omission of the minor responses, 66 per cent of those who voted for the Republican presidential candidate in 1940, as compared with only 29 per cent of the 1940 Democrats, would favor **less** government control of business in peacetime. With minor responses excluded, the figures are 82 and 40 per cent respectively.

MORE OR LESS GOVERNMENT CONTROL OF BUSINESS AFTER THE WAR?

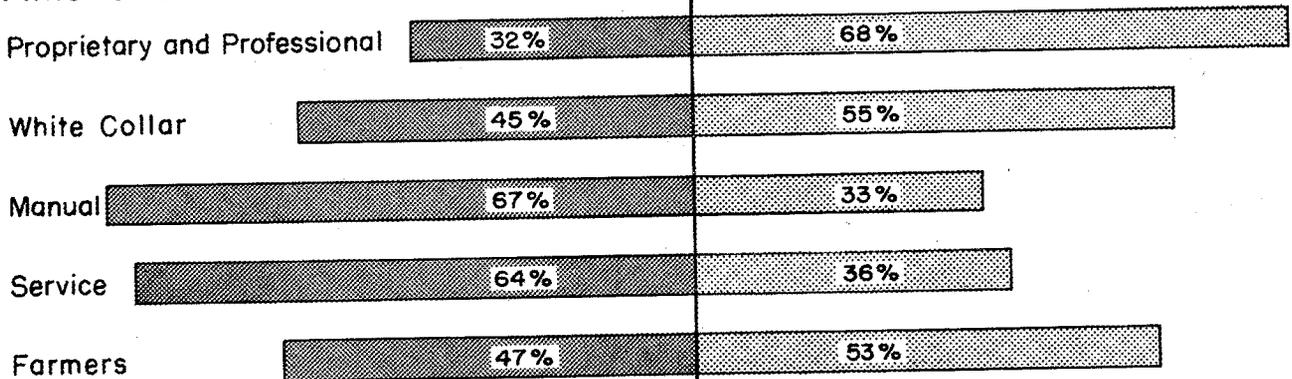
Question: "When we DO get back to peacetime conditions, do you think the American people will be better off if the government has more control or less control of business than it had before the war?"

Qualified Answer 

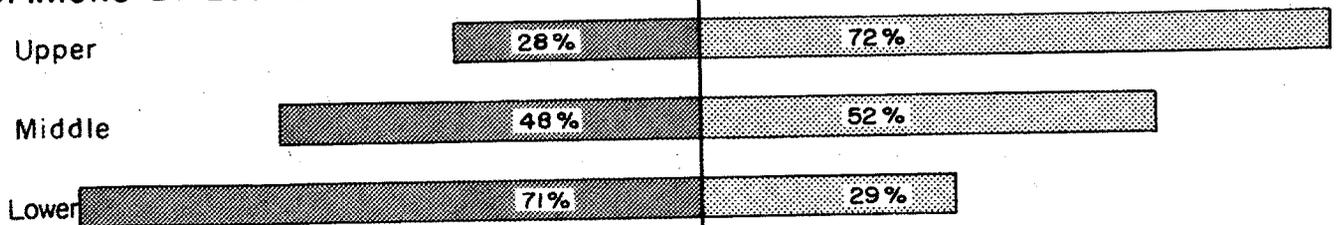
No Opinion 



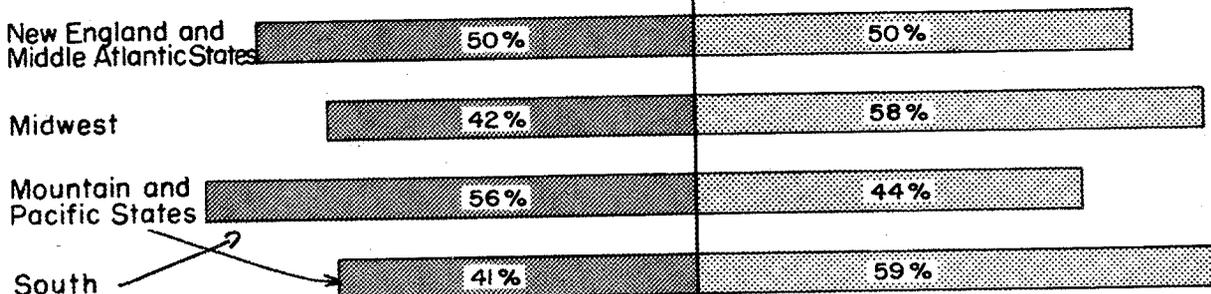
OPINIONS BY OCCUPATION



OPINIONS BY ECONOMIC LEVEL



OPINIONS BY SECTION



PART III

Social Security in America

One of the Four Freedoms widely recognized as a primary peace aim is "Freedom from Want." During the past fifty years many civilized nations have placed upon their statute books measures designed not only to alleviate the results of poverty but also, though sometimes haphazardly, to eliminate its basic causes. New plans for the post-war period have achieved a high degree of articulation in the Beveridge Report for Great Britain and the National Resources Planning Board Report for the United States. The survey under discussion includes a number of questions in this very vital area of opinion.

Is There a Need for Social Security?

Eighty-four per cent of a national cross-section think there will always be want in the United States—that there will always be people in this country who do not have the kind of food, clothing, and housing they need. Twelve per cent disagree, 1 per cent qualify their answers, and 3 per cent express no opinion.

Only one population group gives more than a 20 per cent vote to the negative side of this question. Twenty-two per cent of the Negroes interviewed,* as compared with 10 per cent of the whites, believe poverty in America can be done away with completely.

In general the lower economic and educational groups and the less skilled occupational groups are somewhat more optimistic than the higher levels on this question. Interviewers suggest that people in these categories as a rule failed to identify themselves with the conditions suggested in the question. It will be noticed on the chart opposite that 89 per cent of the upper and 86 per cent of the middle standard-of-living group, in contrast to 76 per cent of the lower group, believe there will always be poverty in the United States.

The 84 per cent who think there will always be poverty were asked, "What do you think is the main reason for this?" Forty-two per cent replied with emphasis on the lack of **ability** in individuals. For example, an elderly woman in Stockton, California, remarked, "The goods in this country are not properly distributed, but neither are the brains."

*Negroes account for 9.1 per cent of the interviews.

**Answers in this question add up to more than 84 per cent because multiple replies were permitted.

Thirty-nine per cent gave answers centering on lack of **initiative** in individuals. An Indianapolis contractor, for instance, commented, "People won't try to get a living. Divide up the money and in six months it would be back where it was." A milk driver in a tiny cross-roads town of the Midwest agreed: "Some people don't care how poor they live as long as they don't have to work."

Twelve per cent laid the blame on basic factors in the economic or political system. A New Hampshire village minister declared the fault lies with "lack of educational opportunities, especially in the South." The wife of a Chicago steel worker said, "My reason is that the rich people won't give the poor people a chance. The minute we get ahead they close the mills on us. Then we use up our savings and go back on relief."

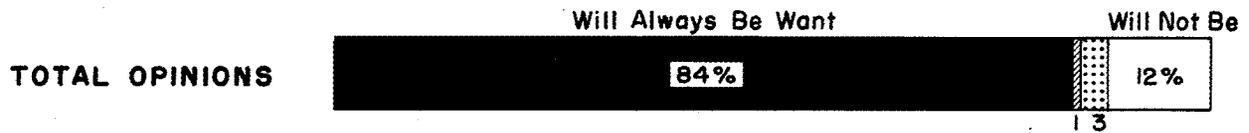
Seventeen per cent mentioned miscellaneous reasons, and 5 per cent were not specific.**

In this same connection it might be noted that according to American Institute of Public Opinion figures released early in April, only 34 per cent of the American people have even heard of the report to Congress of the National Resources Planning Board—sometimes called the "American Beveridge Plan." And only 13 per cent are familiar with any of the provisions of this "blueprint for post-war social security."

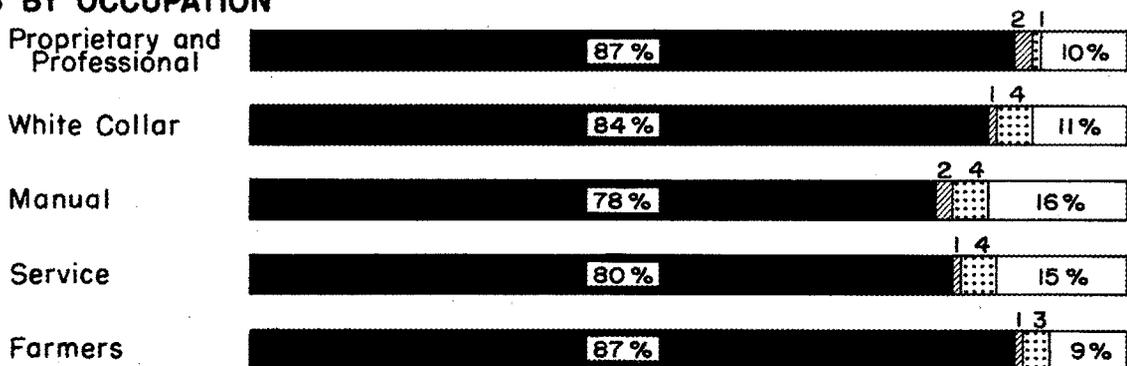
WILL THE UNITED STATES EVER ACHIEVE FREEDOM FROM WANT?

Question: "It has been said that there will always be people in the United States who do not have the kind of food, clothing, and housing they need. Do you think there always will be or not?"

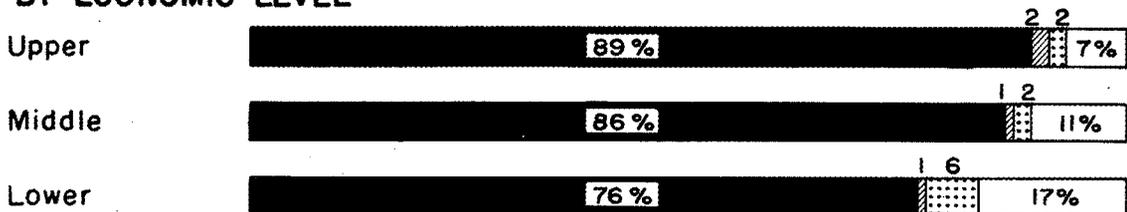
Qualified Answer 
 No Opinion 



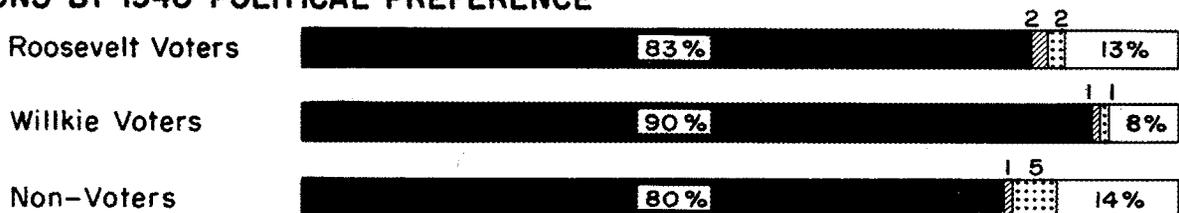
OPINIONS BY OCCUPATION



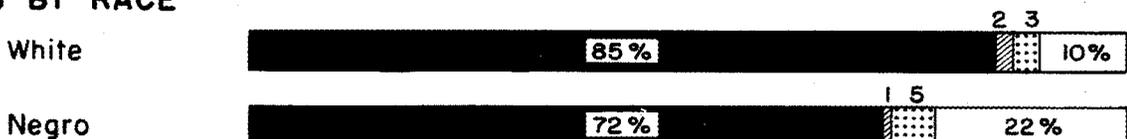
OPINIONS BY ECONOMIC LEVEL



OPINIONS BY 1940 POLITICAL PREFERENCE



OPINIONS BY RACE



In contrast the British Institute of Public Opinion found that within two weeks after the publication of the Beveridge Report 95 per cent of a typical cross-section of the British people had heard of the report and knew something of its contents.

Some explanation for this startling difference may be discovered in the fact that, according to the same two polls, 79

per cent of the American people anticipate no employment difficulties for **themselves** individually after the war, as compared with only 58 per cent of the British. Then, too, both before and after publication the Beveridge Plan was built up by debates and publicity in the minds of the British public. Its American counterpart received little or no advance publicity.

What Is Social Security?

Since the term "social security" is used frequently in this section of the report, perhaps we may borrow the definition given by Sir William Beveridge, British sociologist and author of the famed Beveridge Plan. He describes social security as a plan "for securing that no one . . . willing to work while he can is without income sufficient to meet at all times the essential needs of himself and his family."*

Although only every other person (49.8%) in this national cross-section has a Social Security number, almost everyone interviewed has definite ideas on three important phases of social security—old age and unemployment insurance (at present incorporated in the law), and sickness benefits (now

under discussion in Congress). As can be seen from the comparative graph on the opposite page, 94 per cent of the cross-section favor old age insurance provisions, 84 per cent favor unemployment insurance provisions, and 85 per cent would favor health insurance.

What about Old Age Protection?

The unanimity of opinion regarding old age assistance is almost overwhelming. Ninety-four per cent approve the principle, only 3 per cent disapprove, 1 per cent qualify their answers, and 2 per cent are undecided.

The **lowest** per cent of approval is given by the Republican group—91 per cent. The Democrats give a 97 per cent vote of approval. This is the largest difference noticeable in any series of population breakdowns on this question. Oddly enough, persons in the 21 to 39 age group indicate a slightly higher vote of approval than do those 40 and over (97-93%).

The 94 per cent who said that they thought social security for old age assistance a good idea were then asked: "**Do you think this plan should cover all workers in all occupations or not?**" Eighty-one per cent of the total cross-section answer "Yes," 10 per cent "No," a few qualify their answers, and 3 per cent have no opinion. The 6 per cent who do not approve of the old age benefit provisions of the Social Security Law are naturally excluded.

Although substantial majorities in every population group believe the plan should be universal in its coverage, the place of residence seems to influence opinion on this point to an

unusual degree. Only 71 per cent of those living on farms approve, in comparison with 80 per cent of residents in small cities and towns, 83 per cent in secondary metropolitan districts, and 87 per cent in the metropolitan districts of more than one million population.

Less striking are the sectional contrasts with the New England and Middle Atlantic, Pacific, and Mountain states giving a higher degree of approval than the Midwest and South. Consistent with opinions on other questions is the Democratic endorsement of 86 per cent, as compared with the Republican of 76 per cent. Economic and educational differences are less significant than those on questions discussed earlier.

To the question: "**As you may know, under the present Social Security Law, workers in certain occupations have to save money so when they are too old to work they will receive money from the government, like insurance. Do you think this is a good idea or a bad idea?**" 3 per cent answered "Bad Idea." These persons were asked to give their reasons. Since the total number of cases was too small to treat statistically, answers were grouped around the several main ideas mentioned most frequently.

*Beveridge, Sir William, **London Calling**, British Broadcasting Company. (Quoted in Canadian Institute of Public Opinion news release, May 19, 1943.)

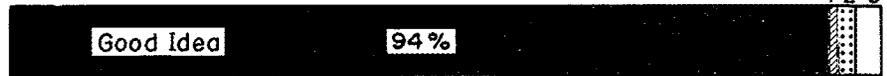
IS SOCIAL SECURITY A GOOD IDEA?

Qualified Answer 

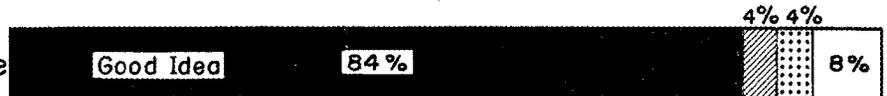
No Opinion 

Bad Idea 

1. Old Age Insurance



2. Unemployment Insurance



3. Health Insurance



1. Question: "As you may know, under the present Social Security Law, workers in certain occupations have to save money so when they are too old to work they will receive money from the government, like insurance. Do you think this is a good idea or a bad idea?"

2. Question: "The Social Security Law also requires some workers to save money so they will get money from the government in case they lose their jobs. Do you think this is a good idea or a bad idea?"

3. Question: "Do you think there should be a plan like this to take care of working people while they are sick?"

Nearly one half of the entire dissenting group suggested that plans for one's old age are not the government's business, but should be left to the initiative of the individual. "People ought to be able to look after their own future." "They shouldn't expect the government to look after everybody."

Some people expressed the idea that the plan is unworkable, many indicating a feeling of distrust toward the government. One individual said, "I'm afraid it will be like 'Old Age Assistance'—some won't get it who need it. I'd rather save mine myself. You can't tell how the government might change in a few years."

Another criticism was that the maturity age in the present law is too high. For example, one person commented, "So few people reach the age of sixty-five. They should lower the age limit." The suggestion was also made that age may prove a handicap to finding employment. Some people in their forties and fifties, not yet eligible for Social Security benefits, may not be able to find jobs.

Other respondents suggested that the Social Security plan for old age insurance tends to make people lazy, is the wrong method of teaching thrift, is unnecessary, is unfair and encourages political graft, and is too expensive for individual wage earners.

Unemployment Insurance?

When asked: **"The Social Security Law also requires some workers to save money so they will get money from the government in case they lose their jobs. Do you think this a good idea or a bad idea?"** 84 per cent of the cross-section answer "Good Idea." Only 8 per cent reply "Bad Idea," 4 per cent give other answers, and 4 per cent have no opinion.

Again, few significant differences in sentiment appear among the various population groups comprising the cross-section. Eighty-eight per cent of persons who voted the Democratic ticket in the 1940 presidential elections answer "Good Idea," in contrast to 78 per cent of those who voted Republican. Eighty-seven per cent of those in the 21 to 39 age group approve, compared with 82 per cent of the older group. Seventy-eight per cent of the upper standard-of-living group endorse the plan, as against 87 per cent of the middle and 85 per cent of the lower group.

The 84 per cent who answered "Good Idea" were then asked if they would favor federal unemployment insurance to cover all workers in all occupations. Seventy-four per cent of the entire cross-section replied "Yes," 7 per cent "No," a few qualified their answers, and 3 per cent had no opinion. Those who gave answers other than "Good Idea" to the previous

question (16%) make up the remainder of the 100 per cent.

The differences of opinion by population groups on this question are quite similar to those on the earlier parallel question. The chart on the opposite page shows both sets of occupational breakdowns. While majorities in all categories favor the suggestion, there is less enthusiasm among farmers, Wilkie voters, and persons classified in the upper economic and educational groups than among the rest of the population.

As to whether old age and unemployment insurance should be extended to cover all occupations, it should be observed that the farmers, an occupational group not now covered by either provision, are least desirous of having all occupations included.

Should Sickness Benefits Be Included in the Social Security Plan?

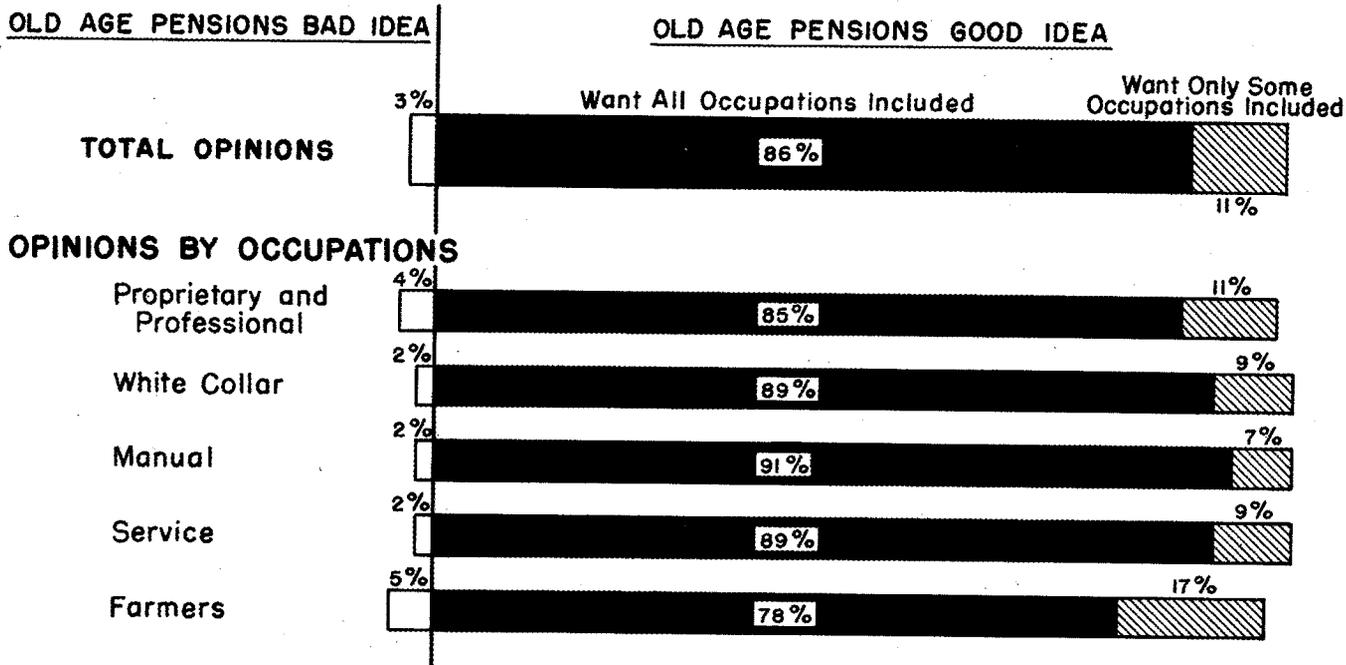
To round out the social security picture, this final question was asked: **"Do you think there should be a plan like this [Social Security] to take care of working people while they are sick?"** Eighty-five per cent of those interviewed reply affirmatively, 10 per cent respond negatively, 2 per cent qualify their answers, and 3 per cent voice no opinion.

Seventy-nine per cent of 1940 Republicans, compared with 87 per cent of 1940 Democrats give affirmative answers. The sharpest split, however, comes among the various economic levels. Seventy-eight per cent of persons in the upper standard-of-living group say "Yes," in contrast with

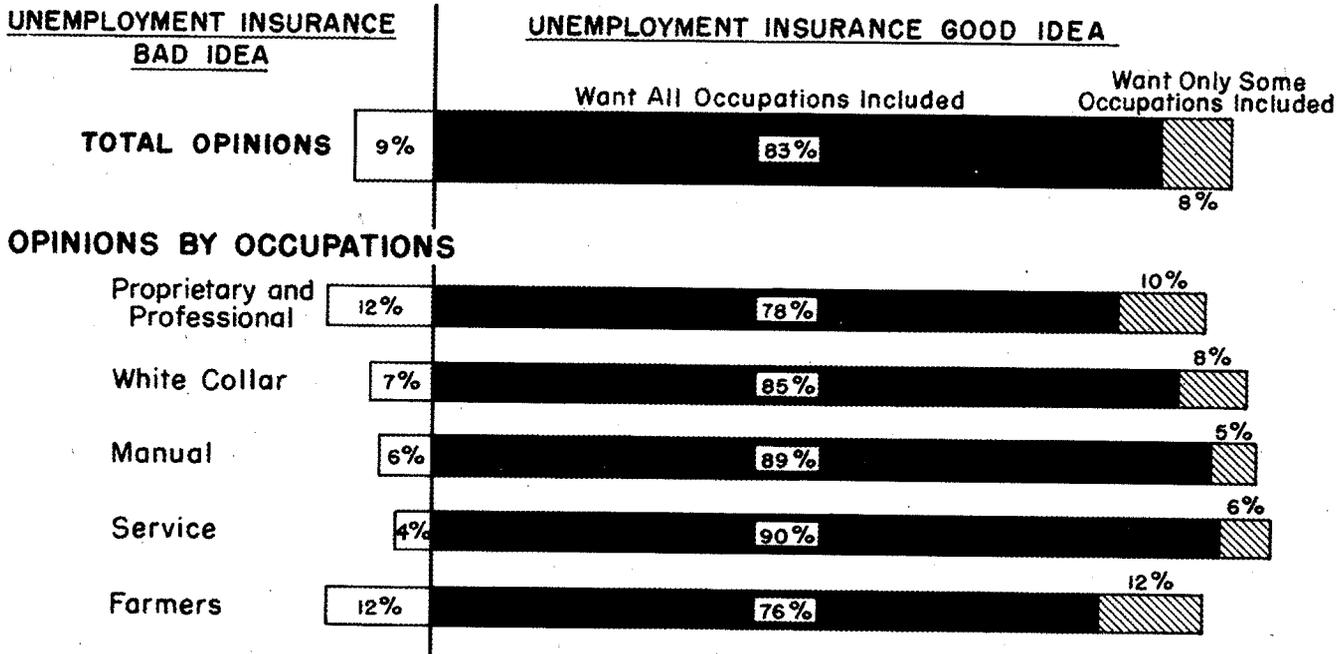
86 per cent of the middle and 90 per cent of the lower group. These differences may be explained by the difference in sick leave provisions for salaried and hourly wage workers and in medical care budgets planned by families at various income levels.

SHOULD SOCIAL SECURITY COVER ALL OCCUPATIONS?

All those who thought old age pensions* a good idea were asked:
"Do you think this plan should cover all workers in all occupations or not?"



All those who thought unemployment insurance* a good idea were asked:
"Do you think this plan should cover all workers in all occupations or not?"



All "No Opinion" and "Qualified Answers" are excluded.
 * For full text of the filter questions, see page 15.

PART IV

Special Problems

New Deal and Anti-New Deal Attitudes

On every issue covered in this survey a distinct difference of opinion can be observed between the two groups termed New Dealers and Anti-New Dealers. The most interesting contrasts are shown graphically on the opposite page.

For the purpose of this survey, persons who voted for Roosevelt in 1940, who say they approved of the New Deal before the war, and who also want more government control of business after the war (according to their answers on three different questions) are termed "New Dealers." Persons who voted for Willkie, who disapproved of the New Deal before the war, and who also want less government control of business are called "Anti-New Dealers" for this analysis.*

Opinion on the inevitability of poverty is a basic consideration, likely to color attitudes on post-war employment prospects, government responsibility for employment, and the extension of social security. While large majorities in all groups believe there will always be Americans who do not have the kind of food, clothing and housing they need, 93 per cent of the Anti-New Dealers hold this opinion in contrast to only 80 per cent of the New Dealers.

On the question of employment prospects during the reconversion period immediately after the war, "Enough Jobs" are anticipated by 37 per cent of the New Dealers, but only 26 per cent of the Anti-New Dealers. "Lots of Unemployment" is expected by 35 per cent of Anti-New Dealers and 29 per cent of New Dealers.

The sharpest difference of opinion of the entire survey is on the question of the government's guaranteeing jobs to veterans after the war. Eighty-three per cent of New Dealers and only 53 per cent of Anti-New Dealers think the government should assume this responsibility. Conversely, 40 per cent of the Anti-New Dealers and only 16 per cent of the New Dealers believe the government should **not** guarantee jobs to ex-fighting men.

The 84 per cent of the New Dealers and the 60 per cent of the Anti-New Dealers who gave answers other than "Should Not" to the question of government responsibility were then asked: "If the government has to do ONE of these four things to get them all jobs, which one would you choose?" Replies were distributed as follows:

	New Dealers	Anti-New Dealers
A. Start some government projects which would not compete with private business.	43%	39%
B. Start some government projects which would compete with private business.....	10.5	2
C. Take over and run some private businesses.	10.5	1
D. Give money to some businesses so they can hire more people.....	15	14
Qualified Answer.....	3	1
No Opinion.....	2	3
	84%	60%

Although more New Dealers favor non-competitive government projects than do Anti-New Dealers, note that **of the**

persons asked this question about **half** of the New Dealers choose this alternative, contrasted with about **two-thirds** of the Anti-New Dealers. Five times as many New Dealers as Anti-New Dealers favor competitive government projects and about ten times as many favor government ownership.

Again, regarding government rationing and control during the reconversion period, considerably larger percentages of New Dealers than of Anti-New Dealers believe such action will be necessary. The proportions are: food rationing—67 to 54 per cent; gasoline rationing—38 to 16 per cent; price control—89 to 63 per cent, and wage and salary control—78 to 52 per cent.

A number of comments on the wage-salary question indicate that some respondents consider control necessary to put a floor under wages as well as a ceiling above them. An Oregon shipyard worker who voted "Necessary," commented, "The issue will be not how high wages can go, but how low." And a guard at a Connecticut defense plant replied, "Unnecessary—except to keep a check on sweatshops."

On the question concerning jobs for the unemployed when peacetime conditions return, New Dealers give a larger vote for government made jobs than do Anti-New Dealers (21 to 14%). Seven times as many Anti-New Dealers as New Dealers say, "Their own families should take care of them." (5.6 to 0.8%) These percentages are small but significant.

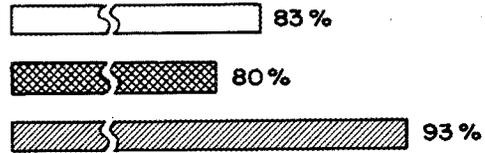
The graph on the opposite page shows clearly opinion differences on the three chief phases of social security. Of equal interest is the sharp contrast in attitude regarding the extension of the present provisions to cover all workers in all occupations. Ninety per cent of the New Dealers, contrasted with 70 per cent of the Anti-New Dealers, favor universal coverage on old age insurance, and 87 per cent compared with 59 per cent endorse universal unemployment insurance.

*Each of the two groups includes about 14 per cent of the entire national sample. The percentages used in this section and on the graph opposite are based on the total sample, including the no opinion responses. Extremely small percentages of the "New Deal" and "Anti-New Deal" groups failed to express opinions on the questions. The "No Opinion" vote for the total cross-section can be found in those parts of the report where the questions are discussed more fully.

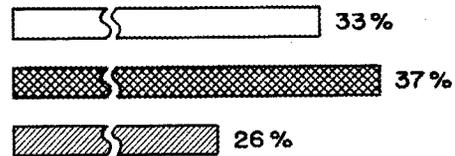
NEW DEAL AND ANTI-NEW DEAL ECONOMIC ATTITUDES

Total Cross-Section 
 New Dealers 
 Anti-New Dealers 

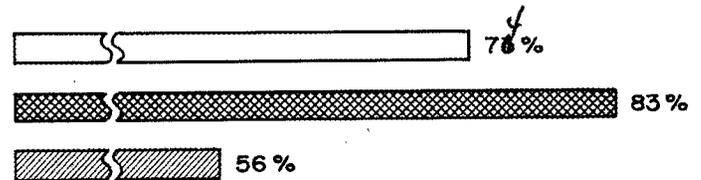
There will always be people in the United States who do not have the kind of food, clothing, and housing they need.



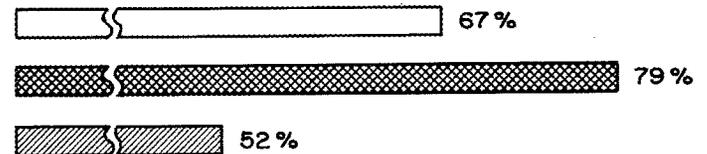
There will be enough jobs for everybody for the first year or two after the war.



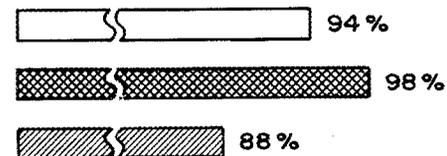
If there aren't enough jobs after the war for all the men now in the armed forces, it should be up to the government to guarantee jobs for them.



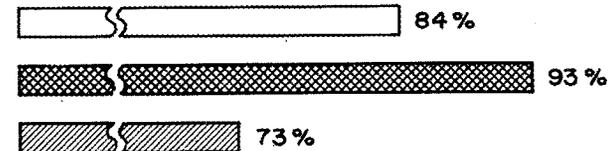
While we are getting back to peacetime conditions, it will be necessary for the government to continue to control how high wages and salaries can go.



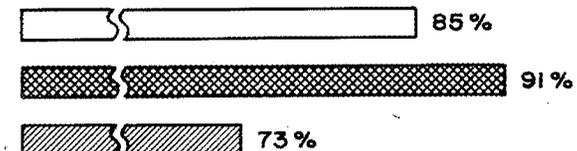
Old age insurance under the Social Security Law is a good idea.



Unemployment insurance under the Social Security Law is a good idea.



Health insurance under a plan like Social Security would be a good idea.



How Long Will the War Last?

Public opinion regarding the duration of the war has little intrinsic value, but it may certainly be considered an **indication**, though by no means an accurate **measurement** of the state of public morale. When newspapers and radio reports are emphasizing news of allied victories, the public tends to expect a shorter war than when the news seems largely of allied defeats or stalemates.

"About how much longer do you think the war will last? Just your best guess." is a question which has appeared on a number of National Opinion Research Center surveys. Since the beginning of 1943 the question has been asked separately regarding Japan, Germany, and Italy to differentiate expectations concerning each of the Axis powers.

The chart on the opposite page has been devised to indicate in what year the public expects the war to end. During the first year of the war, from January to December, 1942, public opinion was fairly evenly divided between 1943 and 1944 as the year in which the war would end. During the first four months of 1943 a majority of the public believed that the war with Italy and Germany would end in 1943, while Japan would probably be defeated sometime in 1944.

In March, 1942, after the fall of Singapore about a third of the public expected the war to end by the end of 1943. Only two months later, when American hopes had been

raised by news of victories in the Coral Sea and the bombing of Tokyo by American flyers, nearly one-half of the public expected the war to be over by Christmas, 1943. The sharp rise in optimism between October and December, 1942, may doubtless be ascribed to the news of the landing of American troops in Africa and to the overwhelming defeat of the Germans at Stalingrad.

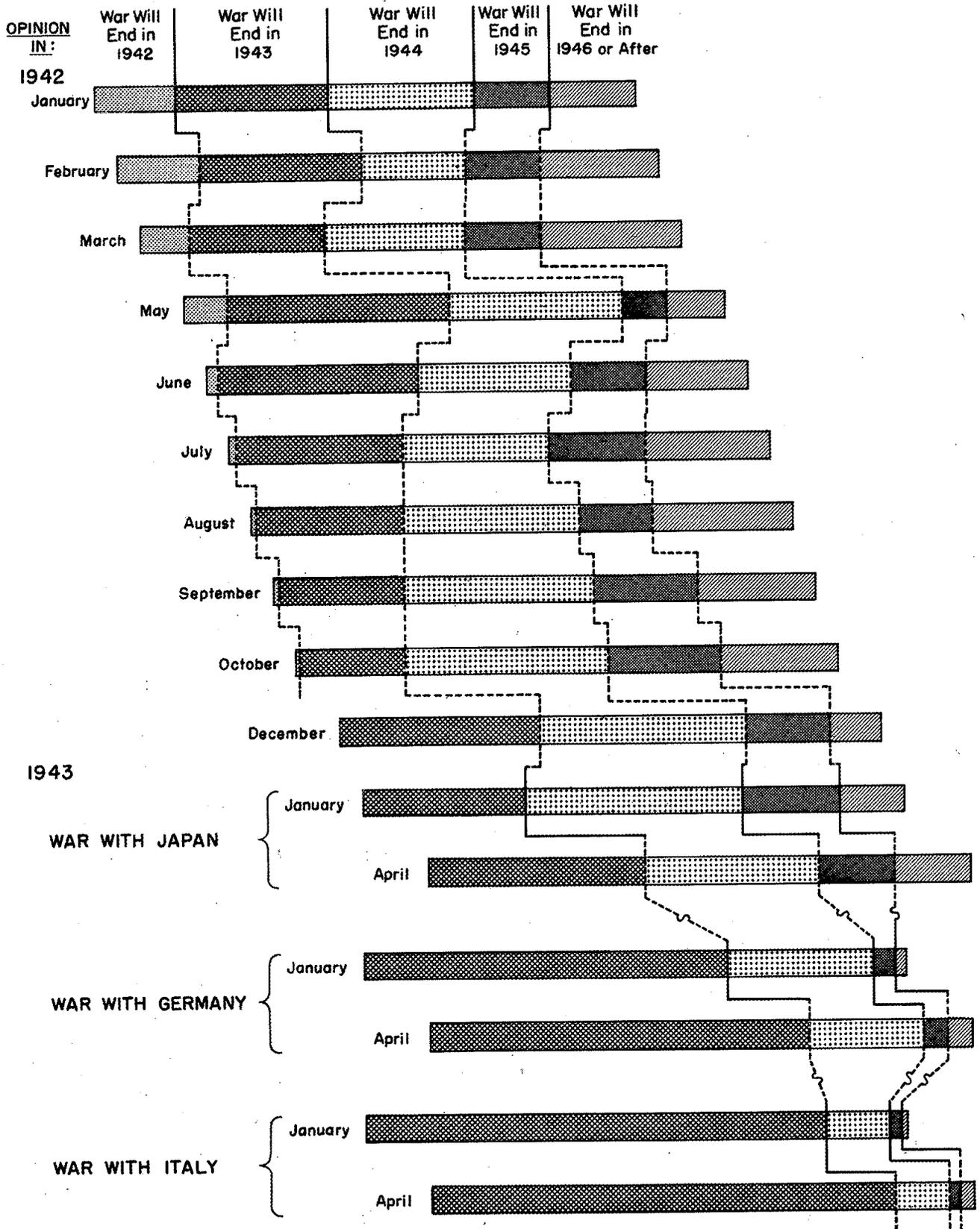
The chart is based upon the table given below. Solid lines indicate predictions as to length of the war in response to the question above. The dotted lines indicating the year in which the war is expected to end are approximations. That is, in the two January surveys, guesses as to how much longer the war would last coincided exactly with the calendar year involved. For surveys taken during the intervening period, guesses as to the duration of the war overlapped the calendar years, so careful approximations were made as to the proportions of the population falling into each calendar year segment of the bar.

How Much Longer Will the War Last?

Date of Survey	Up to 6 Mos.	6 Mos.-1 Year	1-2 Years	2-3 Years	3-4 Years	4-5 Years	Over 5 Years	No Opinion	Total Less than 2 Years
1942									
January	1	14	28	27	14	10	6 = 100%	5	43
February	1	15	32	20	11	13	8	20	48
March	--	10	28	25	13	14	10	21	38
May	7	26	38	16	5	8	----	24	71
June	2	21	35	19	9	8	6	17	58
July	2	16	31	23	10	12	6	13	49
August	2	18	32	20	10	11	7	16	52
September	2	18	34	22	9	10	5	18	54
October	1	18	37	22	8	8	6	14	56
December	4	32	38	16	5	3	2	12	74
1943									
JAPAN									
January	5	25	40	18	6	4	2 = 100%	14	70
April	3	15	38	24	9	7	4	13	56
GERMANY									
January	14	53	27	4	1	1	*	10	94
April	8	37	40	9	3	2	1	9	85
ITALY									
January	48	37	12	2	1	*	*	16	97
April	39	36	17	5	1	1	1	13	92

*Less than 0.5%

HOW LONG WILL THE WAR LAST?



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 are 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 a research center to discover, test, and perfect new methods, techniques, and devices for ascertaining the status of public opinion.

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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.

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How Is a Public Opinion Survey Made?

The subjects for the Center's surveys are arrived at in consultation with its Board of Trustees and other experts. Members of the Center's staff collaborate in drawing up a questionnaire. The individual questions are carefully "pre-tested," that is, tried out on various types of respondents in order to eliminate the possibility of more than one interpretation and to produce wordings universally understandable and capable of measuring all shades of opinion relative to a specific attitudinal area. "Specifications," or sets of directions for interviewers, are also compiled to insure uniform interviewing procedure. Each member of the Center's personally-trained interviewing staff is sent a set of questionnaires and assigned a quota of interviews he is to secure, together with their distribution by sex, age, economic level, etc.

When the completed questionnaires are returned to the Center the answers are classified and given code numbers for transfer to a punched card. A separate card is punched for each questionnaire, with a punch for the answer to each question. The punched cards are then run through a special tabulating machine which can be set to count the answers, to separate the cards into categories, and in other ways materially to assist the statisticians.

The final percentaged results—the responses to the various questions—are reported not only for the total cross-section interviewed, but also for comparisons between various popu-

lation sub-groups, such as men and women, young people and older people, groups of people with varying educational and economic backgrounds, farm and city dwellers, and residents of various sections of the country. The differences of opinion shown in these breakdowns are often of even greater significance than the opinions of the entire cross-section.

The results of the Center's surveys are published in news releases and reports which are utilized by educators, scientists, government officials, publishers and broadcasters, business men, and others especially interested in keeping up-to-date on public opinion trends.

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 21 years of age and over. That is, the sample used is stratified according to 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 civilian population in the metropolitan districts, towns, and rural areas of that division. For the urban population the interviews were apportioned to metropolitan districts, and towns in various size groups, while in the rural areas the interviews were properly apportioned among farmers and non-farmers.

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 in a national survey necessary to be within 3 per cent correct on questions that divide evenly is 2,500. The survey reported here is based on exactly 2,500 interviews. This number is sufficient 997 times in 1,000. The Harvard table adds that HALF this sample, or 1,250 interviews, would be within 3 per cent correct 962 times in 1,000.

Age and Sex Before the war, the adult population for the entire country could be said to be split approximately equally between persons 40 years of age and over and those between 21 and 39 years. Since Pearl Harbor the ever-

growing military personnel have been instructed not to voice opinions, so they have been excluded from the sample. This affects the age and sex distributions rather radically. After making adjustments for this factor, the resulting sex split on the present survey is 47.7 per cent men and 52.3 per cent women. On the age distribution, 53.5 per cent are 40 and over, with the remainder between 21 and 39.

Race Within each Census Division were obtained a number of Negro respondents proportional to the Negro population in that area. These interviews were properly apportioned among the 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. For purposes of tabulation the two upper groups are combined in this report. The economic characteristics of persons in each one of these three groups can be defined roughly as follows:

Upper (25 per cent of the sample)—Those persons who have all the necessities of life and some of the luxuries characteristic to their community. Four per cent of the sample is made up of what is understood as the prosperous and wealthy group. The remaining 21 per cent is made up of persons who can afford some luxuries, but must choose rather carefully which ones to buy.

Middle (48 per cent of the sample)—The group is called the great middle class of America. They have incomes large enough to maintain an adequate standard of living but can seldom afford luxuries.

Lower (27 per cent of the sample)—This group has difficulty in maintaining an adequate standard of living. Included are the lowest income non-relief families and also those receiving government aid.

PUBLICATIONS

The National Opinion Research Center, University of Denver, offers the following publications:

Announcement of Purposes.....Free
REPORTS

1. **One Week Before Pearl Harbor.** National survey on the opinions and attitudes of the American people toward the war in Europe—completed one week before Pearl Harbor. December, 1941. (24 pages—25 cents.)
2. **National Opinion on Current and Post-War Problems.** Opinions and attitudes of the American people toward important economic and political issues. March, 1942. (32 pages.)
3. **Regional Opinion on Vital Economic and Political Questions.** Rocky Mountain survey on attitudes toward foreign products of particular regional importance and opinions toward post-war problems. April, 1942. (32 pages with map.)
- 3S. (Supplement to Report No. 3) **Regional Opinion Toward Federal Regulation.** Rocky Mountain survey on federal regulation of gas and electric companies, banks, labor unions, chain stores, and railroads; also Federal versus State control of old age pensions, unemployment insurance, public schools, and water rights. May, 1942. (8 pages.)
4. **Anti-Inflation Measures.** National opinion on tax proposals, wartime regulation of prices, income, and profits. June, 1942. (24 pages with map.)
- 4S. (Supplement to Report No. 4) **National Opinion Toward Federal Regulation.** National attitudes on topics included in Supplement to Report No. 3. June, 1942. (8 pages.)
5. **A Nation-Wide Survey of Post-War and Current Problems.** Opinion on political and economic issues of present and future significance. August, 1942. (32 pages with map.)
6. **Current and Post-War Problems.** Special graphic supplement. October, 1942. (16 pages with 12 charts.)

7. **Testing Polls in Public Election Booths.** Report of an election experiment on candidates, and on social and economic issues. January, 1943. (32 pages with 4 charts.)
8. **War and Peace—1943 Edition.** Report of a nation-wide survey largely devoted to a study of what sacrifices the American people may be willing to make to help establish a world union. March, 1943. (40 pages.)
9. **The Reconversion Period—from War to Peace.** Report of a nation-wide survey on opinions regarding employment, social security, and other economic issues involved in the reconversion from a wartime to a peacetime economy in America. June, 1943. (24 pages with 12 charts—15 cents.)

DISTORTED MAPS

- A. **Population over 21 Years of Age.** Outline map of the United States showing states as they would appear if area were proportional to number of persons 21 years of age and over, according to latest census figures. (8½ by 11 inches.)
- B. **Total United States Population.** Same as A, based on total United States population.
- C. **Popular Vote for President.** Same as A, based on popular vote for president, 1940.
- D. (In color) **Distribution of Population, 21 Years of Age and Over, States and Metropolitan Districts.** (No. 4.) (11 by 15 inches—15 cents.)
- E. **Distribution of World Population.** Map of the world showing countries of over 100,000 population as they would appear if their area were proportional to their population. (11 by 15 inches—25 cents; 22 by 34 inches, bond paper—one dollar).

The large number of requests for these publications makes it necessary for the Center to cover part of the printing costs and postage by charging 10 cents each, unless otherwise indicated. Write:

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