

Should
PRICE and RENT CONTROL
Be Continued?



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NATIONAL OPINION RESEARCH CENTER
UNIVERSITY OF DENVER

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S U M M A R Y

Although Congressional debates have shown that -- on the legislative level -- price control constitutes a far more controversial issue than does rent control, the public, NORC surveys show, is just as much in favor of continued price control as of extended rent control. Specifically:

85% favor continued RENT CONTROL.

82% favor continued PRICE CONTROL.

A sharper distinction appears, however, on the question of how much longer controls will be necessary:

52% think RENTS should be controlled beyond June 30, 1947.

(26% think one year's extension -- through June '47 -- will be enough.)

44% think PRICES should be controlled beyond June 30, 1947.

(31% think one year's extension -- through June '47 -- will be enough.)

Corroborating, in general, these NORC findings are the findings of other polls, also presented in the report. Other polls used include:

THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC OPINION (GALLUP POLL)

FORTUNE SURVEY (ELMO ROPER)

THE IOWA POLL (SPONSORED BY THE DES MOINES REGISTER AND TRIBUNE)

THE MINNESOTA POLL (SPONSORED BY THE MINNEAPOLIS STAR-JOURNAL AND TRIBUNE)

WALLACE-HOMESTEAD POLL (SPONSORED BY WALLACES' FARMER AND IOWA HOMESTEAD, DES MOINES)

THE AMERICAN LEADERSHIP PANEL (RADNOR, PENNSYLVANIA)

-- Louise Merrick Van Patten
Editor of Publications

Part I

EXTENSION OF PRICE CONTROL?

PREVIEW

During the war, an overwhelming majority of the public endorsed the principle of PRICE CONTROL as a deterrent to run-away inflation:

1943 94% favored PRICE CONTROL ... answering "Yes" to the NORC
December question: "Do you think the government SHOULD be trying to keep prices from going higher than they are now?"

1945 97% favored PRICE CONTROL ... answering "Yes" to the same
March NORC question.

Before the end of the war in either Europe or Asia, a majority of the public anticipated the necessity for continued PRICE CONTROL through the reconversion period. Specifically:

1945 84% thought control of PRICES during reconversion would be
March necessary ... replying "Necessary" to the NORC question: "After the war, do you think it will be necessary or unnecessary for the government to continue controlling prices while we are getting back to peacetime conditions?"

IS PRICE CONTROL NECESSARY DURING 1946?

Twice since V-J Day NORC surveys have shown a large majority of the public advocating continued PRICE CONTROL:

1945 85% favored continued PRICE CONTROL by the government.
October

1946 82% favor continued PRICE CONTROL. At both times NORC
March asked:

"During the next year, do you think it will be necessary or unnecessary for the government to continue to control prices?"

	<u>OCTOBER</u> <u>1945</u>	<u>TODAY</u>
Continued control NECESSARY	85%	82%
Unnecessary	9	13
Undecided	6	5
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

On both surveys definite majorities of all groups within the population have been in agreement with the general public as to the necessity of continuing PRICE CONTROL.

BEYOND JUNE '47?

Because both public and Congressional discussions of the price control issue have centered, in many instances, on the question of how long an extension is necessary, on its most recent survey, NORC asked the 82 per cent in favor of continued price control:

"About how long a time do you think price control laws should be kept on?"

Not beyond June 30, 1946	*
July 1, 1946 -- June 30, 1947	31%
July 1, 1947 -- June 30, 1948	25%
Beyond June 30, 1948	17
Permanently	2
TOTAL -- beyond June 30, 1947	<u>44%</u>
Undecided	<u>7</u> 82%

Answers in terms of months or years have been classed into the specific periods now under discussion.

WHAT FACTORS INFLUENCE OPINIONS?

It is most significant that, in every population group studied

1. A strong majority consider continued price control necessary.
2. More people advocate extension beyond June '47 than believe a year's extension will be sufficient.

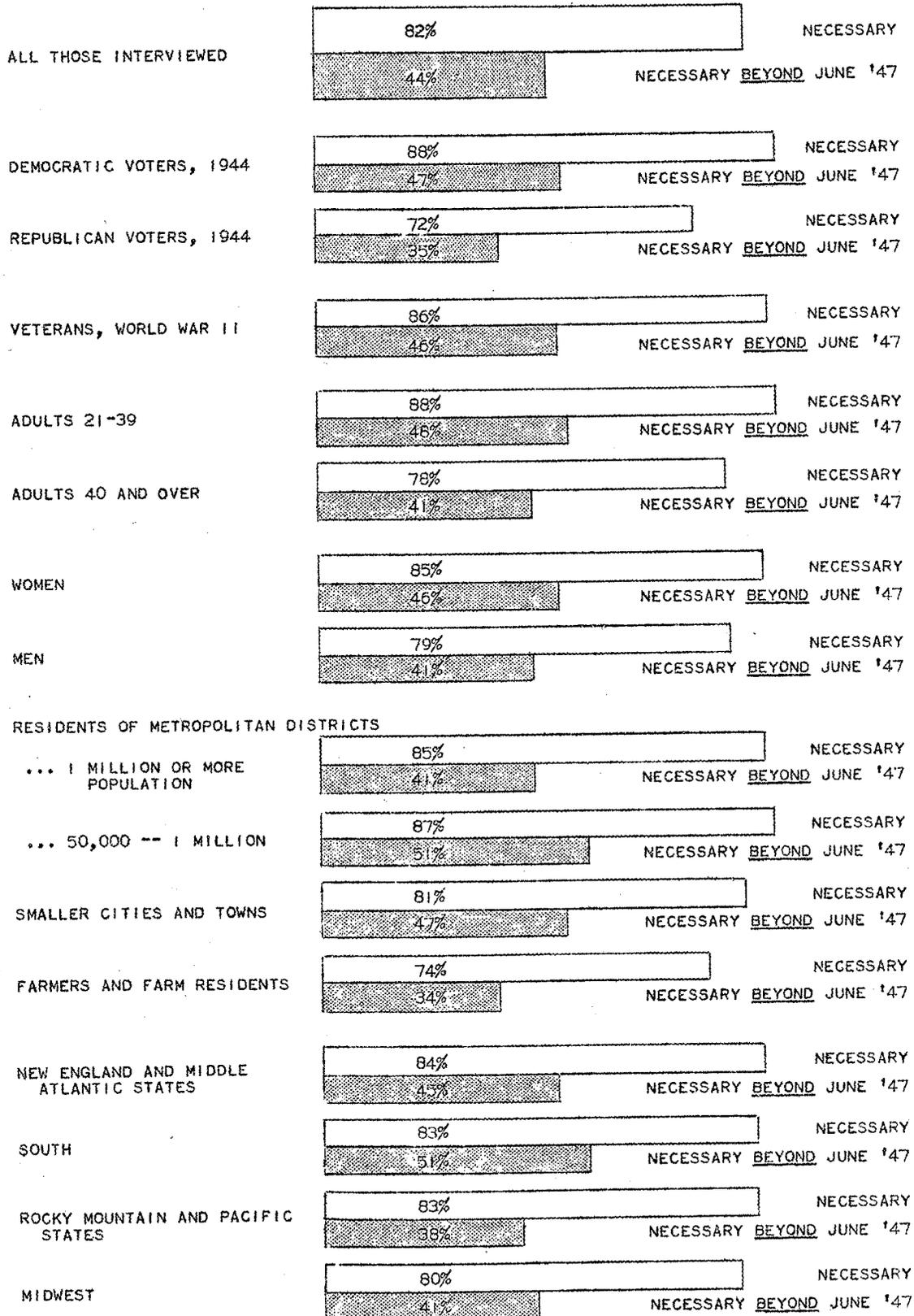
It is also significant that the groups which suffer most from inflation -- younger adults, veterans, women, city people -- are most eager not only for an extension of price control but for its extension beyond June '47.

The most interesting comparisons are shown on the next page:

* LESS THAN 0.5 PER CENT

GROUP OPINIONS ON ...

EXTENSION OF PRICE CONTROL?



BETWEEN THE QUOTES

Necessary Most of the comments added by the 82 per cent who believe continued price control necessary emphasize its value in combatting inflation. A retired farmer living near San Diego, for instance, says: "Without control we will surely have inflation." Similarly, the wife of a business executive in Manning, South Carolina, adds: "It will definitely be necessary if we are not to have inflation." Another common reaction is typified by the comment of a Blacksburg, Virginia, secretary: "Continued price control is our only chance to avoid a terrible depression."

Others inject a more personal feeling into the issue by commenting in such terms as these:

"People's wages can't keep up with the high cost of living even now." (Wife of machinist, Garrett Hill, Pennsylvania)

"We'd be in a sad fix without price control!" (Wife of shipfitter, Tacoma, Washington)

"We would have a hard time setting the table if it weren't for the OPA. I hope they keep it up!" (Janitor's wife, Chicago)

"Without such control no one of us would be able to pay our bills." (Ranch owner, near Carpinteria, California)

A Cleveland physician admits: "I believe in free competition, but our experience after World War I shows that we need control."

How Long? In replying to the question on how long price control should be continued, some respondents volunteer comments which reveal some interesting differences of opinion as to how long inflationary pressures will be a problem: "Until we have some kind of peace, and production gets back to normal -- one to one and a half years." "Until we have reconverted -- say 18 months." "If production goes along and we take up that back log, two years will be all that's necessary." "Until the bottle neck is broken -- two to three years." "Until the depression comes -- five years." "Five years -- and if the situation on strikes doesn't straighten out, we'll have to keep it on still longer." "As long as other nations have no purchasing power -- five years." A Dubuque, Iowa, butcher is one of a number to say: "I don't think it would hurt to have price control all the time."

Unnecessary Among the 13 per cent minority who consider continued price control unnecessary, a number make comments like that of an Elmwood, Connecticut, housewife: "Production and demand can settle itself," or that of another housewife in Scranton, Pennsylvania: "We should get back into the old set-up and let things work themselves out." The wife of a United States Army sergeant in New York City adds: "They say we can get more goods by letting prices go up!" And a Chicago musician states: "I'm never friendly toward a government that controls prices. It was all right during the war, but now, even at the risk of inflation, I'd like to see price controls lifted."

PRICE CONTROL: OTHER POLLS

An American Institute of Public Opinion question, also asked in the spring of 1946, put the issue in terms of whether the OPA law ending in June should be continued rather than on the basis of whether or not price control extension was necessary. In spite of the difference in wording, a strong majority still recommended continuation:

"The present price ceiling law ends in June. Do you think the price ceiling law should be continued or should it end in June?"

Should be continued	73%
Should end in June	21
Undecided	6
	<u>100%</u>

In January '46, the Iowa Poll reported that the extension of price and rent controls beyond June 30 was named the most important issue among nine which President Truman had placed before Congress. A more recent Iowa release -- dated March '46 -- shows that:

81% of a state-wide cross-section think Congress should extend and continue for another year the law providing for price ceilings and other price controls under the OPA.

81% feel, too, it is important that Congress decide quickly whether or not OPA is going to be extended after June 30.

In February, 1946, the Minnesota Poll reported a 57 per cent majority of opinion in that state in favor of continuing the OPA at least until January 1, 1947. Among these considerably more than half -- 37 per cent of the entire cross-section -- would like to see OPA continued indefinitely. The question:

"OPA will end July 1, 1946, unless Congress decides otherwise. Would you favor discontinuing OPA immediately without waiting until July 1; discontinuing it July 1; extending it until January 1, 1947; or extending OPA indefinitely?"

	<u>ALL THOSE</u> <u>INTERVIEWED</u>	<u>R E S I D E N C E</u>			<u>VOTE IN '44</u>	
		<u>CITY</u>	<u>TOWN</u>	<u>FARM</u>	<u>FOR</u>	<u>DEWEY</u>
Discontinue OPA						
... immediately	18%	13%	24%	27%	18%	20%
... July 1	18	18	22	16	15	24
	<u>36%</u>	<u>31%</u>	<u>46%</u>	<u>43%</u>	<u>33%</u>	<u>44%</u>
Continue OPA						
... until January 1, 1947	20	22	13	19	19	20
... indefinitely	37	40	35	29	40	30
	<u>57%</u>	<u>62%</u>	<u>48%</u>	<u>48%</u>	<u>59%</u>	<u>50%</u>
Undecided	7	7	6	9	8	6
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

In February '46, the Philadelphia Bulletin Poll found 63 per cent of a city-wide sample in favor of making OPA ceiling prices more rigid. Only 23 per cent recommended dropping ceiling prices altogether.

HAS THE OPA DONE A GOOD JOB?

Eighty per cent of the public consider the OPA's performance either "Good" or "Fair", according to an AIPO question asked in the early spring of '46:

"What kind of a job do you think the OPA has done?"

Excellent job, very good	40%	} 80%
Fair, fairly good	40	
Poor job	13	
Undecided	7	
	<u>100%</u>	

In evaluating the OPA's performance, not in general, but in the specific area of price control, a state-wide Minnesota cross-section gave only a 54 per cent majority endorsement. The Minnesota Poll asked:

"Are you satisfied or not so well satisfied with what our government is doing about controlling prices?"

Well satisfied	32%	} 54%
Moderately satisfied	22	
Not satisfied	40	
Undecided	6	
	<u>100%</u>	

The same question series asked for opinions on government handling of seven other national problems. The degree of dissatisfaction expressed about price control was greater than for any other with the exception of the government's handling of labor problems (60%).

CHESTER BOWLES

"Among people who could identify Chester Bowles as the head of the OPA, three out of four liked the way he handled his job," according to an AIPO question put to the public just before Mr. Bowles left the OPA to become director of the Office of Economic Stabilization.

An NORC question* asked last November showed:

1. Bowles was better known to the public than three other government leaders named.

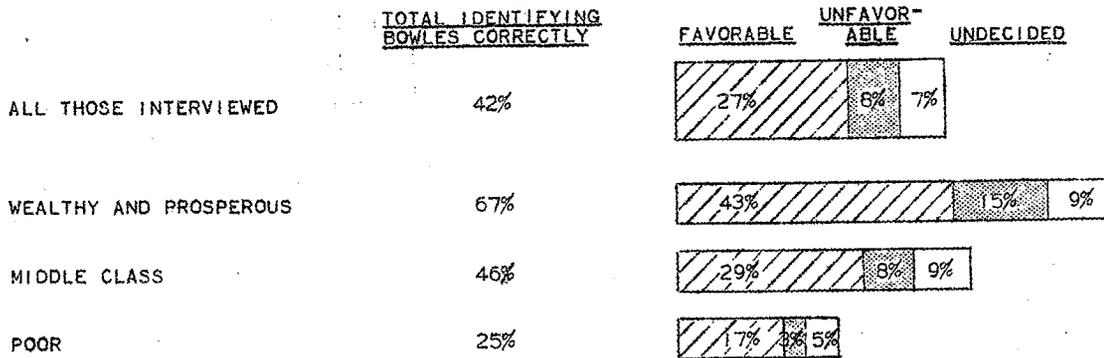
42% could identify Bowles correctly as head of the OPA. (James Byrnes was correctly identified by 35%, Paul McNutt 30%, J. A. Krug, 12%)

2. About 2 out of 3 people who could identify him had a "favorable impression" of Bowles.

* NORC ASKED: "CAN YOU TELL ME WHICH ONE OF THE ORGANIZATIONS ON THIS CARD (WAR MAN-POWER COMMISSION -- WMC, WAR PRODUCTION BOARD -- WPB, OFFICE OF PRICE ADMINISTRATION-- OPA, WAR LABOR BOARD -- WLB, DEPARTMENT OF STATE, DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR) IS HEAD-ED BY (JAMES BYRNES) (CHESTER BOWLES) (PAUL V. MCNUTT) (J. A. KRUG), OR DON'T YOU REMEMBER RIGHT NOW?" "IS YOUR IMPRESSION OF (JAMES BYRNES) (CHESTER BOWLES) (PAUL V. MCNUTT) (J. A. KRUG) FAVORABLE, UNFAVORABLE, OR HAVEN'T YOU HEARD ENOUGH TO SAY?"

3. Persons in the upper economic brackets were somewhat more likely to have an unfavorable impression of Bowles than were the middle class or poor. The comparison:

CHESTER BOWLES: POPULAR INFORMATION AND ATTITUDES



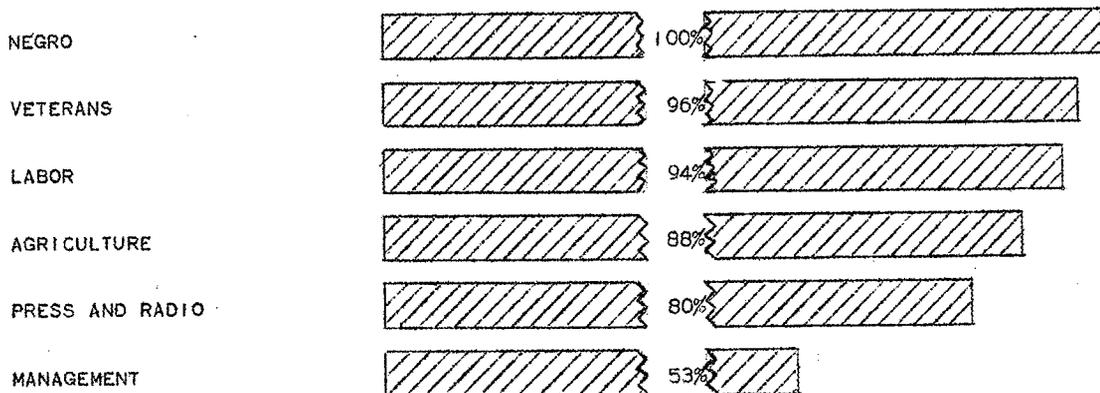
LEADERS' OPINIONS

The American Leadership Panel, which polls by mail ballot selected groups of leaders in six important areas -- three economic and three special interest -- finds a slight majority of management --- but strong or even overwhelming majorities of other groups -- in favor of a general price control program. In November, 1945, TALP asked panel members to comment on major points of policy outlined by President Truman in the course of two speeches made during the last week in October. The point in question, Mr. Truman's statement:

"We must above all hold the line on prices."

APPROVE HOLDING THE LINE ON PRICES

LEADERS PANELS



Industrial leaders opposed to price control most frequently offered as explanation their belief that price increases are necessary for many businesses, or their resentment of government power.

Another TALP question, reported in March '46, indicates widespread confidence in the ability of the United States to avoid inflation. Price control is the immediate anti-inflationary measure most often advocated. TALP asked:

"Fear of inflation in America continues. Do you believe widespread inflation can be avoided? If it can be avoided, what immediate steps should be taken?"

Answering "Yes" to the first part of the question are:

Negro leaders	95%	Agriculture	86%
Labor	87	Press and radio	79
Veterans	87	Management	60

To avoid inflation, leaders most often recommended:

... price control,
 ... modification, but not abolition of OPA rulings, and
 ... full production.

"Retention of OPA controls," according to TALP, "is strongly endorsed by labor and Negro leaders; 85 per cent of labor and 74 per cent of Negro [leaders] advocate unmodified OPA control. Only 12 per cent of management point to OPA's price controls as a protection against inflation."

BUSINESSMEN LOOK AT THE OPA

A 68 per cent majority of wealthy and prosperous businessmen, according to the latest NORC survey, think it necessary to extend price control. Members of every other occupational group, however, are more interested in continuation. In favor of extending price control are:

Professional people	90%	White collar workers	83%
Manual and factory workers	86	Middle class businessmen	80
Domestic and personal service workers	84	Farmers	74
		WEALTHY AND PROSPEROUS BUSINESSMEN	68%

A 54 per cent majority of manufacturing executives polled by the magazine Modern Industry favor extension of OPA beyond June 30, 1946, as reported in the Washington, D. C., Post of March 30, 1946. Executives numbering 3,215 replied to the poll, according to publisher Eldridge Haynes.

Approaching the issue in a different way, the March '46 Mill and Factory "Survey of the Month" "was made among all types and sizes of industrial companies to learn what are considered the most important factors that are now holding back full production." Price control ranks second among the five limiting factors listed:

PRODUCTION IS BEING HELD BACK BY:

Insufficient supply of raw materials, parts, etc.	70%
Current price ceilings on the producer's product	51
Inadequate labor supply	37
Inability to obtain production equipment	34
Strikes in the producer's plant	9

Among Mill and Factory respondents who say their output is hampered by current price ceilings, 62 per cent "claim they could raise their output anywhere from 10 per cent to 50 per cent if ceilings were removed or raised adequately"; the others say they could raise it even more than 50 per cent.

FARMERS LOOK AT THE OPA

The most recent NORC survey showed 74 per cent of farmers -- nation-wide -- answering "Necessary" to the question: "During the next year, do you think it will be necessary or unnecessary for the government to continue to control prices?"

The Iowa Poll (sponsored by the Des Moines Register and Tribune) found 77 per cent of farmers replying "Yes" to the question: "The law which provides for price ceilings and other price controls automatically expires next June 30. Do you feel Congress should pass a law which would extend and continue these OPA controls for another year?"

In April '46, Wallaces' Farmer of Des Moines released poll results indicating that 78 per cent of Iowa farmers want OPA re-enacted, with or without some slight changes. The question:

"The price control law, authorizing OPA, comes to an end June 30. Should it be re-enacted? Check the one of the following statements which comes closest to representing your views:

"OPA, thru price ceilings and rationing, has kept down prices of many goods that farmers buy, has helped prevent inflation. It should be re-enacted. 28%

"OPA has bungled some of its price and rationing programs, but probably has helped to keep prices of things we buy lower than they would otherwise have been. With some changes, the law should be re-enacted. 50

"OPA is a failure, and we'd be better off without it. Let it die June 30." 12

Undecided 10
100%

In mid-April '46, The Iowa Poll reported a representative cross-section of state farmers clearly against removal of price ceilings on three major groups of farm products. The questions:

"Would you be in favor of all dairy price ceilings being taken off July 1?"

"Would you like to see price controls taken off livestock at this time?"

"Would you like to see price ceilings taken off grain at this time?"

	<u>DAIRY PRODUCTS</u>	<u>LIVESTOCK</u>	<u>GRAIN</u>
Keep price controls	58%*	63%	74%
Take off ceilings	32	24	17
Undecided	10	13	9
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

* FIGURES GIVEN ARE REPLIES FROM FARMERS WHO SELL MILK OR CREAM. FARMERS WHO DO NOT SELL MILK OR CREAM GIVE ALMOST IDENTICAL REPLIES: KEEP CEILINGS -- 59%; TAKE OFF -- 30%; UNDECIDED -- 11%

Part II

EXTENSION OF RENT CONTROL?

IS RENT CONTROL NECESSARY DURING 1946?

A less controversial issue than price control, rent control extension is also approved by strong majorities in every population group. And an actual majority of the population favor extension beyond the proposed June, 1947, date. NORC asked:

"During the next year, do you think it will be necessary or unnecessary for the government to continue to control rents?"

Continued control NECESSARY	85%
Unnecessary	10
Undecided	5
	<u>100%</u>

BEYOND JUNE '47?

The 85 per cent who consider continued rent control necessary were asked:

"About how long a time do you think rent control laws should be kept on?"

Not beyond June 30, 1946	0
July 1, 1946 -- June 30, 1947	26%
July 1, 1947 -- June 30, 1948	27%
Beyond June 30, 1948	22
Permanently	3
TOTAL -- beyond June 30, 1947	<u>52%</u>
Undecided	7
	<u>85%</u>

Answers in terms of months or years have been classed into the specific periods most frequently mentioned in Congressional discussion.

A COMPARISON

The comparison in attitudes regarding price control and rent control as reported by NORC is of definite interest. Briefly:

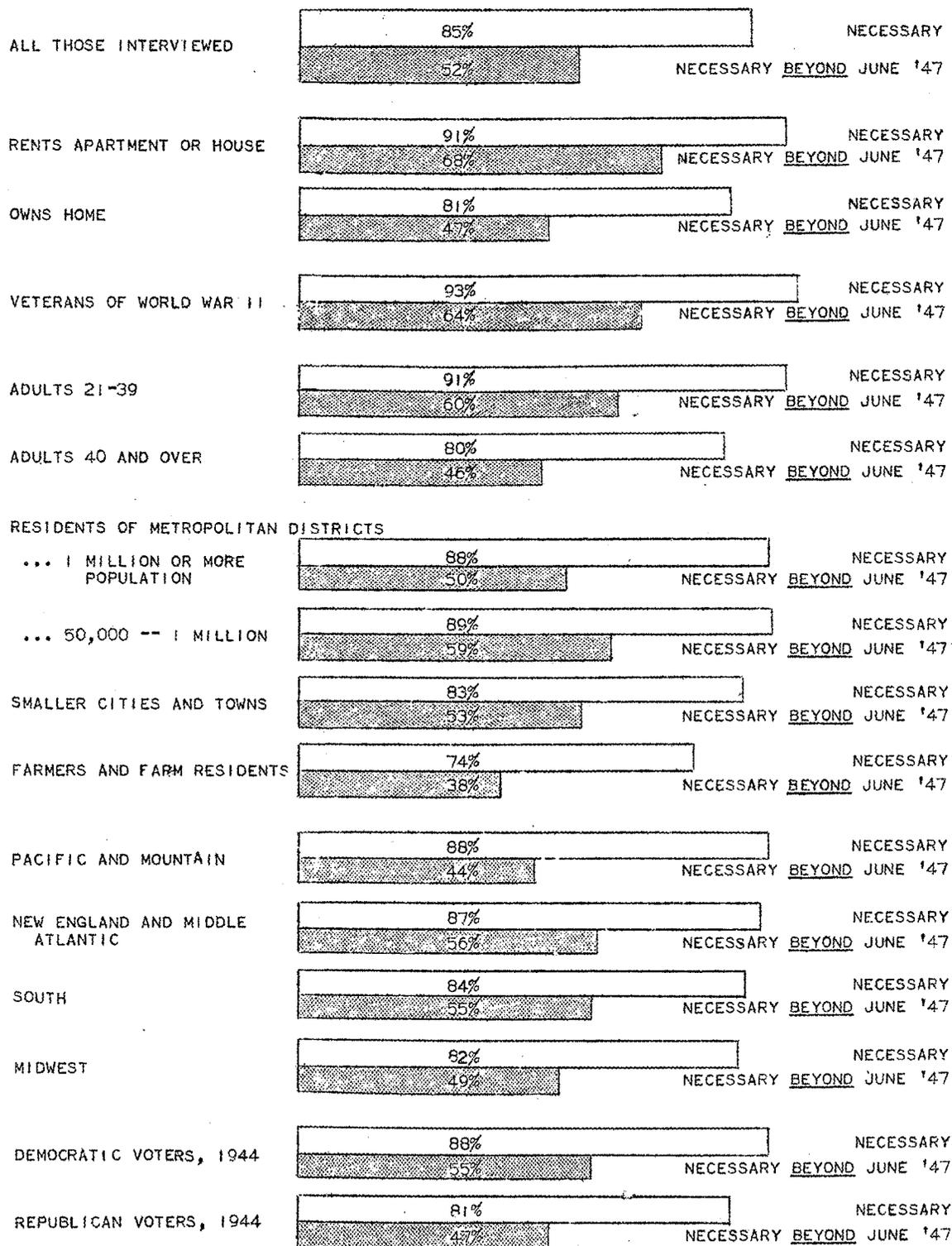
	<u>PRICE CONTROL</u>	<u>RENT CONTROL</u>
Unnecessary	13%	10%
Necessary		
... not beyond June 30, 1946	*	0
... July 1, 1946 -- June 30, 1947	31	26
... beyond June 30, 1947	44	52
Undecided how long	7	7
Undecided as to necessity	5	5
	<u>82%</u>	<u>85%</u>
	100%	100%

* LESS THAN 0.5 PER CENT

WHAT FACTORS INFLUENCE OPINION?

People renting houses or apartments and veterans of World War II are most eager both for extension of rent control in general and extension for more than a year in particular. These and other interesting comparisons are shown below:

EXTENSION OF RENT CONTROL?



BETWEEN THE QUOTES

Necessary Some of the majority who believe it will be necessary for the government to continue to control rents make comments emphasizing their belief. A Tacoma, Washington, welfare worker, for instance, remarks: "The housing situation is far more pertinent than any other domestic problem right now. There should be more houses and more efficient rent control." The wife of a lumberjack in Redmond, Oregon, believes: "Rents should be controlled everywhere." The wife of a garage man in Kokomo, Indiana exclaims: "I don't want to even think of them taking rent control off!" And a clerk's wife in Sheffield, Ohio, adds: "If they don't keep on controlling rents, we'll be in as bad a depression as 1929 - 38."

How Long? Differences in opinion as to the duration of the housing shortage are highlighted in replies to the question on how long rent control should be continued. For example:

"Until building is started -- about six months." (Building contractor, Philadelphia)

"Until there are plenty of houses -- about one year." (Truck driver, Tulsa)

"Until the supply is more than the demand -- say two years." (Owner of general store, western Pennsylvania)

"Till things get better -- a couple of years." (Moulder, Milwaukee)

"Till the housing situation gets better -- three or four years, possibly more." (Carpenter's wife, Amherst, Ohio)

"Until there's a normal supply of houses --- maybe five years." (Salesman's wife, Oklahoma)

"Until adequate housing can be provided -- up to ten years." (Wife of steel inspector, near Pittsburgh)

A number of respondents answer "Forever" or "Always". A Virginia housewife comments: "Indefinitely -- to protect the masses of the people."

Others introduce the veteran angle: "Until all the veterans get home -- one year." "Until all the boys get back home and get settled - about five years."

Unnecessary Most comments made by the minority who believe extended rent control unnecessary are criticisms of the OPA. A Virginia farm laborer says: "It hasn't worked yet. Why try to run it longer when nobody wants it?" A farmer's wife near Van Buren, Arkansas, thinks: "OPA has no business butting into us." And the wife of a retired farmer near Clarion, Iowa, repeats: "Some areas and some products are under control and others aren't. OPA doesn't work fair." Another line of thought is indicated by remarks such as these: "People should keep prices and rents down themselves, and let the government do other things." "Let the people do their own thinking and planning. I believe we would be better off."

An occasional comment suggests some adjustments in rent control Landlords? for the benefit of landlords. A Coatesville, Pennsylvania, school teacher, for one, says: "The government should control rents, but adjustments should be made to cover repairs." A contractor's wife in Norwich, New Jersey, adds: "Administer rent control more consistently to do justice to both tenants and landlords."

Some of those against continued rent control also comment regarding the needs of landlords. In Wichita, Kansas, a woman who derives her income from renting houses feels: "Price and rent controls haven't been fair." Others suggest: "With coal and everything going up, landlords have to get more money." If you keep ceilings on rents, no one will build as an investment."

RENT CONTROL: OTHER POLLS

In April '46, Fortune Survey reports more than 8 out of 10 in favor of retaining the present rent ceilings. Age and veteran status again appear to influence opinions. The question:

"Do you think ceilings on rent should be done away with now, or kept on for a while?"

Answering "Keep on" are:

All those interviewed	81%	Respondent a veteran	89%
		Veteran in household	85
		No veteran in household	80
Rents apartment	92	Adults 21 to 34	88
Rents room	86	35 to 49	83
Rents house	83	50 and over	74
Owms house	77		

The American Leadership Panel reports definite majorities of its six leadership groups favoring retention of rent control "in order to ease the critical housing shortage." Holding this view are:

Negro panel leaders	95%	Agriculture	79%
Labor	93	Veterans	73
Press and radio	83	Management	61

According to a recent state-wide survey by the Minnesota Poll:

74% of the general public, 81% of the poor, but only 57% of the wealthy and prosperous oppose "raising present rents."

83% reply "Yes" to the question: "Do you think it is the duty of an owner of property to rent any vacant dwelling units at the present time even though he feels the rent he is allowed to charge is not high enough?"

However, Fortune found only 34 per cent of the public willing to have the government "require people who have more rooms than they really need to rent them to people who cannot find homes." A majority of 59 per cent say the government should not take such a step, and 7 per cent are undecided.

How Is a Public Opinion Survey Made?

The subjects for the Center's surveys are determined 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, insofar as possible, the chance 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 population 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, businessmen, and others especially interested in keeping up-to-date on public opinion trends.

Comparisons of NORC's results with those of other opinion-finding organizations are frequently published in **OPINION NEWS**—the Center's fortnightly digest of outstanding polls and surveys.

Factual Information

The Cross-Section The population samples upon which NORC surveys are made are representative, within a small degree of error, of the national population 21 years of age and over. That is, the samples used are 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 are properly apportioned among the adult civilian population in the metropolitan districts, towns, and rural areas of that division. For the urban population the interviews are apportioned to metropolitan districts, and towns in various size groups, while in the rural areas the interviews are 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. 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. NORC surveys used in this report are based on over 2,500 interviews.*

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 is 46 per cent men and 54 per cent women. On the age distribution, 53 per cent are 40 and over, with the remainder between 21 and 39.

Race Within each Census Division are obtained a number of Negro respondents proportional to the Negro population in that area. These interviews are properly apportioned among the urban, rural non-farm, and farm residents.

Economic Status Within each sex group the interviews among the white population are 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 (16 per cent of the sample)—Those persons who have all the necessities of life and some of the luxuries characteristic to their community. Two per cent of the sample is made up of what is understood as the prosperous and wealthy group. The remaining 14 per cent is made up of persons who can afford some luxuries, but must choose rather carefully which ones to buy.

Middle (52 per cent of the sample)—This 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 (32 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.

* With the exception of a few questions based on half this number. It is understood that Gallup and Fortune surveys are based on cross-sections slightly larger than NORC's, while the Iowa Poll, the Minnesota Poll, and the Wallace's Farmer poll samples are somewhat smaller.

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