

CINCINNATI LOOKS
AT
THE UNITED NATIONS

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INTRODUCTION

A little more than two years after the ending of the war, almost half the adults of Cincinnati (and of the rest of the country as well) are already expecting that another war is not too far distant:

"Do you expect the United States to fight in
another war within the next ten years?"

Yes	48%
No	38
Don't know	<u>14</u>
Total	<u>100%</u>

In part, as shown by a follow-up question, this represents a kind of pessimistic fatalism about war - 72% are of the opinion that "there will always be wars between countries" while 24% think that "someday we'll find a way to prevent wars" (4% replied "don't know" when asked to choose between these alternatives).¹ But belief in the inevitability of wars does not by itself account for why so many people expect a war to occur within the next decade. Most people, including many who think that there will always be wars, can think of things which could be done to make war less likely. Their suggestions tend toward generality: the most frequently offered is that somehow greater respect, cooperation or understanding among nations must be achieved, and this suggestion is closely followed by the belief that the adoption of more truly religious attitudes by individuals would lessen the likelihood of war:

1. The question asked was: "Do you think there will always be wars between countries or do you think someday we'll find a way to prevent wars?"

"What do you think could be done to make war less likely?"

<u>Changes in INDIVIDUALS</u>	26%
Turn to God, Christianity or religion, pray more	11%
Get better understanding of one another	7
Promote education	4
People become less greedy or selfish	2
End racial or religious prejudice or discrimination	2
<u>Changes in LEADERSHIP</u>	4
Replace present leadership in U.S. or some other country	2
Leaders should be less selfish, more cooperative, etc.	2
<u>Changes in NATIONAL POLICY</u>	22
U.S. should return to policy of isolation	6
U.S. should stress military preparedness and keep atomic bomb secrecy, etc.	6
U.S. should change policy toward Russia	4
Other	6
<u>Changes in INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS</u>	28
General: more respect, cooperation and understanding among nations	12
Action by or for the United Nations	6
Reliance upon other kinds of international organization: world government, military alliances etc	4
International disarmament and/or control of atomic bomb	2
More equitable distribution of world's resources	2
Other	2
<u>Nothing can be done</u>	7
<u>Don't know, not interested</u>	19
	<u>106%*</u>

*Percentages in this column add to more than 100% because a few respondents offered more than one suggestion.

It is noteworthy, however, that only six per cent explicitly suggest possible actions by the United Nations as a way of preventing war. Why is it that so few people refer to the already existing international machinery for maintaining peace in the face of their fears that another war is in the making? Does the United Nations lack popular support, has it failed to awaken interest in and knowledge of its activities among the people of Cincinnati?

As the following sections will report in more detail, the attitudes among Cincinnatians - and on the basis of other NORC studies, these may be generalized to the nation - are not those of active opposition to an international outlook generally or to the United Nations more particularly. There is some criticism and dissatisfaction, but most people nevertheless express confidence in the United Nations and a disposition to continue to work through it. Though this "good will" exists, it is usually not buttressed by more active support. Many people are neither well informed about nor interested in the United Nations and its problems. Their indifference often reflects an inability to see the connection of such vast and remote problems to their immediate personal lives and concerns. For others, the sheer bigness and complexity of international issues lead to the apathetic conviction that there is nothing an ordinary individual can do about them anyway.

The opinions which people express about the United Nations can be understood only in light of these more general orientations. The following sections therefore will first evaluate the importance attributed to international problems, the interest taken in them and the degree to which people are informed. All of these factors are themselves inter-related and have, as later sections will show, an important bearing on the way people feel and the extent to which they actively support the United Nations.

Part I

IMPORTANCE, INTEREST, ORIENTATION: ARE CINCINNATIANS CONCERNED WITH INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS?

How Important Are International Events?

As a general measure of the significance attached to developments on the international scene, the following question was asked:

"When you think of the problems facing the United States now which one comes to your mind first? What other problems do you think of?"

The answers which immediately occur to people give some indication of the frame-of-reference within which they are thinking. Those who think only in terms of domestic problems may be regarded as attaching less importance to the problem of foreign affairs than those who at once think of world issues. It is significant, then, that close to half (47%) refer only to domestic problems, primarily to the current inflation and high prices. Almost the same number (46%) cited international developments, either exclusively or in connection with domestic issues. Here the leading issues are the general problem of maintaining peace and the status of American relations with Russia. Seven per cent had no opinion on this question. The more detailed answers are shown below:

47% named Domestic Problems only:

Inflation, the high cost of living	47%*
Housing	9
Labor problems	6
Depression, unemployment	4
Other domestic issues	8

*Percentages in this column add to more than 100% because some respondents named more than one problem.

46% named International Problems:

Maintaining peace	24%
Relations with Russia	16
Control of the Atomic Bomb	4
United Nations	1
Other International issues	11

7% had No Opinion

Are People Interested?

Another approach to the question of the extent to which there is concern with international questions is to ask people directly how much interest they have in such matters. As before, "the high cost of living" is the leading issue: 92 per cent say that they take a "keen interest" in news pertaining to it. On the other hand, only 31 per cent are as concerned with news about the United Nations and only 23 per cent follow news about our international trade with keen interest. Slightly over half the respondents are interested in news about the atomic bomb and about our relations with Russia:

"We'd like to know how much interest the public takes in a number of questions. For example, do you yourself take a keen interest, only a mild interest or practically none at all in news about:"

	<u>Keen</u>	<u>Mild</u>	<u>None</u>	
The cost of living	92%	6%	2%	= 100%
Our relations with Russia	54	31	15	
The control of the atomic bomb	51	36	13	
Strikes and labor problems	51	34	15	
The United Nations	31	51	18	
Our trade with other countries	23	52	25	

If we select out of the foregoing list the four items dealing with international problems - relations with Russia, control of the atomic bomb, the United Nations, and foreign trade - interest in international affairs may be expressed as the number of these problems which people say they follow with keen interest. On this basis:

25% are not interested in any of these aspects of international events,

28% are interested in just one of them,

22% are interested in two,

16% are interested in three, and

9% are interested in all four.

There is, of course, an intimate connection between the tendency to think of current problems in an international framework and an interest in such problems. Among those who include international questions among the problems facing the United States, 61% take a keen interest in two or more aspects of international relations, as compared with 36% of those whose answers are oriented exclusively to domestic problems.

Formal education is closely related to interest in international questions. People of grade school background are least likely to be interested or to think in international terms; the college-educated do so far more frequently. For instance:

Among those of COLLEGE education; 67% are "relatively interested"¹

69% "think internationally"²

Among those of HIGH SCHOOL education:

51% are "relatively interested"

47% "think internationally"

Among those of GRADE SCHOOL education:

32% are "relatively interested"

34% "think internationally"

The economically better-off, and men are more likely to be concerned with international events; differences between younger and older people are slight, however, and military service does not seem to have affected interest levels:

	Proportion relatively interested in international events	Proportion who think internationally
The wealthy and Prosperous	54%	62%
Middle class	47	47
Poor	41	29
Men	55%	50%
Women	41	43
21-39 Years of Age	45%	50%
40 and over	49	42
Veterans	47%	50%
Non-veterans	47	45

¹. Those who expressed interest in two or more of the four international topics discussed on page two are here called "relatively interested." It should be noted that the exact proportion who are interested is arbitrary and could be made higher or lower by altering the definition.

². Those who cited an international problem as among the problems facing the United States today are here referred to as "thinking internationally." See page 4.

Interest and Personal Salience

But though some groups of the population may be shown to be more concerned with world events than others, these differences should not obscure the fact that a large proportion of the population - and, indeed, of each sub-group - can only be described as indifferent to these questions. The contrast between the keen interest on almost everyone's part in the cost of living and most people's lack of interest in foreign trade points to one factor in the situation: the personal relevance of developments on the international scene is not as immediately apparent. The cost of living is an immediate concern which enters in the daily individual decisions; people feel it, it affects their lives, and it is, therefore, an important interest to them. But the effects on the individual's life of a foreign trade policy or of the discussions taking place in the United Nations are not so easily perceived; people are less likely to see how international events concern them and so they are less interested. People who do feel that they have a personal stake in international developments are far more likely to regard them as interesting and important. For example, among those who think that they would be "better off personally, if the United States would trade more with foreign countries,"

49% mention international problems and

57% are relatively interested in them

But among those who do not feel that they have anything personal to gain from increased foreign trade,

43% mention international problems and only

37% are interested in them.

Interest and Isolationism

It has just been suggested that interest in international affairs flows out of some rather basic orientations in this sphere. NORC has for a long time been asking a series of questions designed to tap the prevalence of the philosophy of isolationism and its concomitant distrust of other nations and cooperation with them. These questions, presented below, indicate that isolationists are in the minority in Cincinnati (and there is little difference between Cincinnati and the rest of the nation). Majority opinion supports American participation in world affairs, favors an international police force and international control of the atomic bomb. These attitudes prevail in spite of a still-existent undercurrent of suspicion of foreign nations:

"Do you think it will be best for the future of this country if we take an active part in world affairs, or if we stay out of world affairs?"

Take active part	65%
Stay out	29
Don't know	$\frac{6}{100\%}$

"Would you like to see the United States join in the movement to establish an international police force to maintain world peace?"

Yes	76%
No	14
Don't know	$\frac{10}{100\%}$

"Do you think there should eventually be some sort of international control of atomic bombs, or should each country remain free to make its own bombs?"

International control	60%
Each country free	32
Don't know	$\frac{8}{100\%}$

"Do you think you would be better off personally if the United States would trade more with foreign countries?"

Yes, better off	52%
No	28
Don't know	$\frac{20}{100\%}$

"Do you think most foreign countries can be trusted to meet us half-way in working out problems together, or do you think most of them cannot be trusted to meet us half-way?"

Can be trusted	45%
Cannot be trusted	47
Don't know	$\frac{8}{100\%}$

It is obvious that attitudes such as these enter into the determination of interests. It is hardly to be expected that people who are opposed to American involvement with the rest of the world will follow such developments with any great interest. This is exactly what is found: those who take the isolationist side of each of the foregoing issues are far less likely to mention international problems and far less likely to express interest in them than those who hold views favorable to internationalism. To put it another way, those who are interested in international problems are more likely to take the internationalist position; uninterested people are likely to be isolationists:

Among those who are relatively interested:

- 80% say we should take an active part in world affairs
- 82% favor participation in an international force
- 71% want eventual international control of atomic bomb
- 63% think that increased international trade will benefit them personally
- 57% think most foreign countries can be trusted to work with us in solving problems.

Among the relatively uninterested:

- 42% say we should take an active part
- 74% favor participation
- 49% want eventual international control
- 44% think so
- 33% think so

It can be shown that isolationist sentiment is most strongly entrenched among the same population groups who have been shown to be least interested in international affairs: Those of grade school education, the poor, and women. But the difference in attitudes between the interested and the uninterested just presented above are not simply a function of the differential composition of the two groups. That is to say isolationists are less likely to have interest in international happenings, whatever their background than are non-isolationists of the same background. By way of illustration, it is shown below how people of grade school education - usually the least interested group - are, if they favor a non-isolationist stand, more likely to be interested in world affairs than are the better-educated people who favor isolationism.

Among those who favor our taking an active part in world affairs, interest in world affairs is expressed by:

- 68% of the high school graduates and college trained
- 56% of those with some high school training, and
- 46% of those with only grade schooling.

But among those who say we should stay out of world affairs, the proportions who are relatively interested in international news are:

37% of the high school graduates and college-trained

36% of those with some high school training and

22% of those with only grade schooling.

IN SUMMARY: Interest in international events is rather low among Cincinnatians. While interest can be shown to be a correlate of socio-economic position, it is even more a function of underlying convictions about America's role in the world and of an ability to grasp the personal significance of international developments in the lives of individuals.

Part II

INFORMATION: ARE CINCINNATIANS INFORMED ABOUT THE UNITED NATIONS?

In view of the rather low level of interest in international affairs, generally, it is not surprising that most people are not very well informed about the United Nations. When asked, "What would you say is the main purpose of the United Nations organization," seventy per cent of the respondents gave answers which indicated at least a familiarity with its general concern with keeping the peace. The implication that thirty per cent of the adult population of Cincinnati were unacquainted with the United Nations in September, 1947, is quite in line with the findings of a national survey conducted in April, 1947. At that time, 36% of the adults of the nation did not know that the United States had joined any international organizations working for peace.

A series of more specific questions dealing with the functioning of the United Nations indicated that misinformation and lack of information are widespread even among the seventy per cent familiar with the United Nations.¹ The large majority believe, incorrectly, that the United Nations is charged with the responsibility for working out peace treaties with Germany and Japan. Large minorities do not know that international trade, disarmament and control of the atomic bomb, and world health conditions are all within the scope of United Nations activities:

"As far as you know, is it the job of the United Nations to..."

	Per cent responding		
	Correctly	Incorrectly	Don't Know
See that all people everywhere get equal rights? (Yes)..	55%	11%	4% = 70%
Improve health conditions in different parts of the world? (Yes)..	50	12	8
Increase trade between countries (Yes)..	47	13	10
Deal with disarmament and control of atomic bomb? (Yes)..	46	13	11
Set up a new world language to be used in all countries? (No)...	38	16	16
Work out peace treaties with Germany and Japan? (No)...	10	55	5

¹ The thirty per cent who indicated no familiarity with the United Nations organization, were, for obvious reasons, not asked further questions about it.

On the basis of these questions, the respondents have been classified into the following informational levels:

30% = THE UNINFORMED

Those unable to state the main purpose of the United Nations

27% = THE POORLY INFORMED¹

Those who answered three or more of the six items about U.N.'s responsibilities incorrectly

43% = THE BETTER INFORMED¹

Those who answered correctly four or more of the six items.

Informational level is, of course, closely associated with formal education. College-trained people were most likely to be among the better informed. But even by the rather low standard employed here, only 59% of the college educated are classified among the better informed, while this proportion falls to 43% of those with high school education and 34% of those with grade schooling:

	Proportion who are		
	<u>Better Informed</u>	<u>Poorly Informed</u>	<u>Uninformed</u>
College	59%	38%	3% = 100%
High School	43	32	25
Grade School	34	16	50

Who are the Uninformed?

For an information program to succeed, it must necessarily be designed with some knowledge of the kind of group to whom it is addressed. As is shown in the table below, the uninformed are predominantly women, of little formal schooling, and over 40 years old. They

¹The absolute size of these groups is a result of the definition. It might be argued that a person who could not answer all six items correctly is not very well informed, in which case only 1% could be classified as informed. The complete score distribution is:

<u>No. of items correct</u>	<u>% of respondents</u>
6	1
5	14
4	28
3	15
2	10
1	2
0	-
	<u>70%</u>

tend to be less well-off. More important, perhaps, to the problem of reaching them are the facts that few of them are avid newspaper readers,¹ and that they tend to be non-participants in community life, as judged by the high proportion who did not vote in the 1944 Presidential election. The poorly informed group, on the other hand, is not so markedly different from the better informed. Except for a higher proportion of women and of non-readers of newspapers among the poorly informed, the two groups are quite similar.

Proportion in each group who:	<u>The Better Informed</u>	<u>The Poorly Informed</u>	<u>The Un-informed</u>
Did not complete high school	56%	56%	88%
Are women	41	51	75
Are over 40 years of age	49	51	58
Are poor	16	16	30
Did not vote in last presidential election	29	32	47
"Usually" read 2 or more daily newspapers	79	47	36

Interest and Information Go Hand in Hand

Among people who are relatively interested in international developments, only 12% are uninformed; 35% are poorly informed; and 53% are among the better informed. But among those who admit they are not particularly interested, 47% are uninformed; 20%, poorly informed; and 33%, better informed. Thus, the low information levels reflect the general indifference and lack of interest with which many people regard international questions. While persons with more formal schooling are more likely both to be interested in international events and to be informed about the general purposes of the United Nations, still, to a great extent, interest can override a lack of formal education. In fact, people of only grade school education who have some interest in the problems have at least as high a proportion of the better informed among them as do those with more education although they have a higher proportion of the uninformed as well. The variations in information level associated with amount of education among the uninterested, however, indicate that where there is little interest, the better-educated are somewhat more likely to assimilate the related information anyway.

¹ The question asked was "Do you usually read a daily newspaper?" Since 97% of the sample reported themselves as "usual readers" of newspapers, a figure far beyond newspaper circulation, only those who claimed readership of two papers or more are considered readers here.

<u>Those who are relatively interested and</u>	<u>Proportions who are</u>		
	<u>Better Informed</u>	<u>Poorly Informed</u>	<u>Uninformed</u>
High School Graduates and College Trained	59%	35%	6% = 100%
Some High School Education	57	32	11
Grade School Only	66	10	24

Those who are uninterested and

High School Graduates and College trained	48	34	18
Some High School Education	41	13	46
Grade School Only	27	11	62

In view of the relationship between basic political philosophies and interest in international questions on the one hand, and between interest and information on the other, it is not surprising that the better-informed people are more likely to be internationally oriented than are the uninformed. The uninformed group is outstandingly one which does not think in international terms, which favors isolationism and is suspicious of foreign countries. The poorly informed group tends toward this direction, too, although it differs from the better-informed group far less sharply.

<u>Among the Better Informed</u>	<u>Among the Poorly Informed</u>	<u>Among the Uninformed</u>	
55%	52%	29%	mention an international problem as among those confronting the U.S.
76%	75%	41%	think America should take an active part in world affairs
81%	75%	71%	would like to see the U.S. participate in world police force
72%	65%	37%	favor eventual international control of the atomic bomb
61%	51%	41%	think they would benefit personally from increased foreign trade
52%	50%	29%	think most foreign countries can be trusted to work with us.

It should not be inferred, however, that the furnishing of information will work directly to create attitudes of internationalism. While these attitudes derive in part from the interests which people have and the information available to them, attitudes and interests also operate as selective factors determining what information people will pay attention to. Information must first be presented in such a way that it interests people, so that it appears relevant to their concerns before it will have much effect on attitudes. The accompanying table makes this point clearly: the people who have somehow happened to acquire information about the United Nations without being particularly interested by international issues are not outstandingly oriented favorably toward internationalism. In fact, they are less favorably oriented than are people who are actually poorly informed but nevertheless interested. The completely uninformed tend toward isolationist attitudes, whether they express interest or not - an indication, perhaps, that the interest is more verbal than real.

<u>Proportion among such group who</u>	<u>Better Informed</u>		<u>Poorly Informed</u>		<u>Uninformed</u>	
	<u>Inter-ested</u>	<u>Not In-terested</u>	<u>Inter-ested</u>	<u>Not In-terested</u>	<u>Inter-ested</u>	<u>Not In-terest</u>
Mention an international problem	64%	43%	54%	40%	45%	27%
Favor America's taking an active part in world affairs	86	62	82	65	55	37
Want America to participate in an international police force ..	81	81	80	68	76	71
Favor eventual international control of atomic bomb	78	63	68	60	43	37
Think they would benefit personally from increased foreign trade.	68	51	57	41	49	40
Trust most foreign countries to work with us	61	40	59	37	35	27

Desire for Information

Another indication that the currently low levels of information about the United Nations cannot simply be attributed to a failure on the part of information media lies in the fact that there is a relatively low demand for information. When the seventy per cent who were able to state the main purpose of the United Nations were asked, "Is there anything about the United Nations that you would like to know more about?", 31% expressed indifference or outright antagonism to getting further knowledge, as compared with 39% who felt that they would

like to know more.¹ In other words, 44% of those queried were satisfied with their current information status. Even among those who are poorly informed, 36% want no further information. The comparable proportion among the better informed is 47%. Interest is, again, an important factor: Among people having approximately the same information or lack of it, people who express interest in international affairs generally are more likely to want to know more about the United Nations. Those wanting more information:

68% of the poorly informed, but interested

61% of the poorly informed and uninterested

58% of the better informed and interested

42% of the better informed but uninterested

Those who were interested in knowing more about the United Nations organization were asked to specify what information they would like. Most of them were not specific, but merely expressed a general interest in knowing more about it. More detailed responses called for further information about basic structure, ultimate aims and present activities of the United Nations, and about use of the veto and current disagreements between member nations:

¹ The thirty per cent unable to describe the main purpose of the United Nations, previously referred to as the uninformed, were not asked any further questions which referred specifically to the United Nations. It is not possible to say precisely how much their omission affects the results above. While on the one hand, they are uninformed, and the more poorly informed are more likely to want information, they are on the other hand, not internationally minded or interested, and these groups have little interest in further information.

"Is there anything about the United Nations organization that you would like to know more about? (If 'yes'), what?"

YES:

Basic structure	5%
Ultimate aims	5
Present activities	3
Use of the Veto	3
Member disagreements	3
Achievements to date	2
Specific branches - UNESCO, police force etc.	1
Disarmament and control of atomic bomb	*
Unspecified	20

NO:

31
73%**

* Less than 0.5 per cent.

** Percentages add to more than 70% because a few gave more than one response.

How Detailed Should Information Be?

The information questions which have been discussed up to this point are concerned simply with determining whether or not people are acquainted with the general purposes of the United Nations. Actually, some questions which dealt with more specific aspects of the operations of the United Nations were also asked. As might be expected, people are less well informed on details than they are on general purposes. More particularly:

- Only 17% know or could guess that the annual budget of the United Nations is in the neighborhood of 25 million dollars.
- Only 34% remembered hearing or reading anything about the veto power in the United Nations. Only 7% could explain its workings correctly in terms of the requirement of big power unanimity. Only 7% know that it can be used only in the Security Council and not in the General Assembly as well. Twelve per cent know that the United States originally supported the adoption of the veto rule.

There is little relationship between very specific factual information and the more general acquaintance with aims and purposes. . Those who are poorly informed about the general aims of the United Nations actually are somewhat more likely to have answered the budget question correctly, although the difference is not outstanding - 28% as compared with 22%. Those who answer this question correctly are no better informed in general, no more interested in international affairs, no more likely to have an internationalist outlook than those who do not.

On the other hand the general acquaintance with the veto power indicated by having at least heard or read about it is related to other information, interests and attitudes. Broad familiarity with the larger outlines, in contrast to knowledge of detail, is accompanied by an international outlook and interest.

IN SUMMARY: Knowledge about the United Nations is not particularly widespread among Cincinnatians. An information program must address itself most particularly to women, to people of little education, to older and to poorer people. Of major importance to the success of any such program is some way of overcoming the widespread lack of interest and indifference to it. The communication of isolated facts, of a highly specific nature is of little importance to the larger goals of an information program.

Part III

OPINION: DC CINCINNATIANS SUPPORT THE UNITED NATIONS?

How Does It Look Now?

So far, the adults of Cincinnati are almost evenly divided in their opinions of the progress which has been made by the United Nations. They were asked;

"In general, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the progress which the United Nations Organization has made so far?"

Satisfied	48%
Dissatisfied	41
Don't know	$\frac{11}{100\%}$

However, when asked to name some of the good or bad things which the United Nations organization has done so far, 30% are unable to report anything either good or bad, indicating the impressionistic nature of their opinions on United Nations progress. The most frequently named accomplishments of the United Nations are its creation of unity between nations, its handling of overseas food and relief and of other specific issues like Greece, atomic weapons, etc. High on the list of criticisms are its slowness to act and disapproval of Russia's conduct:

"What would you say are some of the good things the United Nations has done so far?"

Creates or is creating unity between nations, has ended isolationism, breaks down cultural or trade barriers	10%
Handling of overseas food or relief	8
Handling of specific issues: Greece, atomic bomb, UNESCO, occupation forces	8
Helps nations to get together to talk over problems; acts as forum or sounding board..	8
Has helped small nations, curbed big ones..	3
Has or is trying to curb Russian power	2
Is creating better understanding between Russia and rest of world	*
Vague general approval of U.N.	9
U.N. has done nothing good so far	12
Don't know, unable to answer	$\frac{44}{104\%}$ **

* Less than 0.5%

** Percentages add to more than 100% because a few respondents gave more than one response.

"What would you say are some of the bad things about the United Nations organization so far?"

Too much talk and not enough action; lack of unity, bickering, arguing; all they do is talk	18%
Russian power is not curbed enough; difficulties with Russia, Russia should be barred	17
Handling of specific issues; not enough relief to destitute countries, Greece, failure to proceed with disarmament and control of atomic bomb	4
Big nations have too much power; should do away with veto; make all nations equal ..	3
U.S. doesn't have enough power; is being taken advantage of	1
Vague general disapproval of U.N.	4
Everything is bad about it; should never have joined; should leave it now	2
Nothing bad about U.N. just "growing pains"	6
Don't know, unable to answer	51 106%*

One specific target of criticism is the veto rule. As stated earlier, only a third of the adults of Cincinnati claim familiarity with the veto power in the United Nations. But among those who have heard of it, 49% disapprove of it as compared with 35% who think it is a good rule. (16% had no opinion one way or the other). Interestingly enough, those who know that the United States originally actively supported its adoption are more likely to consider the veto a good procedure - 52% of them say the veto is a good rule, while only 26% of those who think that we simply agreed to its adoption approve of it. It may be that those who approve of the veto simply feel that the United States would naturally have backed the desirable thing, though it is possible that their opinions of the veto have been influenced by their knowledge of the role of the United States in its adoption.

Distrust of Russian intentions in the United Nations is another important aspect of dissatisfaction with United Nations progress. Nearly three-fourths (74%) of the population said "no" when they were asked, "Do you think we can count on Russia to meet us half-way in working out

*Percentages add to more than 100% because a few respondents gave more than one response.

problems together?" Only 14% feel that Russia can be counted on; 12% "don't know." The minority who have confidence in Russia's cooperation are much less dissatisfied with U.N. progress to date: 65% of them say they are satisfied as compared with 45% of those who do not trust Russia.

What about the Future?

The dissatisfaction with the progress made by the United Nations so far does not for the most part indicate serious disaffection. Sixty-two per cent are convinced that the United Nations organization will succeed in spite of the disagreements which have come up among member nations; 81% feel that we should continue to work through the United Nations, even though there are disagreements. The questions:

"Do you think the United Nations organization will succeed in spite of the disagreements that have come up among England, Russia and the United States, or do you think these disagreements are so serious that the United Nations organization will fail?"

Will succeed	62%
Will fail	24
Don't know	$\frac{14}{100\%}$

"Some people say there are so many disagreements in the United Nations, that we would be better off to get together with other countries and work on international problems outside the U.N.

"Other people say that working through the U.N. is the best way to preserve peace.

"How do you feel about this? Should we work separately with any countries that want to join us, or should we work mainly through the United Nations?"

Work separately	14%
Through U.N.	81
Don't know	$\frac{5}{100\%}$

These attitudes are, of course, interrelated. Those who are satisfied with the progress of the United Nations are more likely to think that it will ultimately succeed and that the United States should continue to work through it. But even among those who are dissatisfied with its progress, three-quarters favor continued participation and over half think that it will succeed.

Among those satisfied with
U.N. progress so far:

74% say it will succeed despite
disagreements among member
nations

83% say the U.S. should continue
to work through the U.N.

Among those dissatisfied with
U.N. progress so far:

53% say it will succeed

73% say we should work
through U.N.

Better educated, wealthy and prosperous people are more likely to be
critical of United Nations progress. Men and women, young and old, are
agreed in their attitudes .

<u>Education</u>	<u>Proportions who are</u>		
	<u>Satisfied</u>	<u>Dissatisfied</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
College	40%	57%	3% = 100%
High School	46	39	15
Grade School	61	26	13
<u>Economic Status</u>			
Wealthy and prosperous ...	39	58	3
Middle Class	52	35	13
Poor	49	32	19
<u>Sex</u>			
Men	47	43	10
Women	49	38	13
<u>Age</u>			
21-39	49	39	12
40 and over	48	42	10

Interest, Information and Opinion

People who have some interest in international developments are
somewhat more critical of what the United Nations has done so far and
less optimistic about its ultimate success. Informed people, on the
other hand, are less critical and more optimistic than the poorly in-
formed, despite their somewhat higher educational level. All groups,
however, are equally agreed that America must remain within the United
Nations framework. Apparently, people who are really concerned about
the issues, are less likely to dismiss the questions with indifferent
approval, while knowing something about what the United Nations is striv-
ing to accomplish. The difficulties attendant on it tends to temper
criticism.

It is clear from the data below that the better informed people are more satisfied with U.N.'s performance, whether or not they are particularly interested in international events, and they are also more optimistic about its ultimate success regardless of their interest level. Dis-satisfaction with and pessimism about the United Nations are coming disproportionately from those who are really not informed about what is going on in the United Nations. The truth of this observation should not, however, obscure the fact that majorities in every group expect the United Nations to succeed and there is overwhelming endorsement of continued American participation.

Among the:

<u>Better informed and more interested</u>	<u>Better informed but not interested</u>	<u>Poorly informed but interested</u>	<u>Poorly informed and not interested</u>
53%	55%	34%	49% are satisfied with U.N. progress
64%	72%	52%	54% think U.N. will succeed despite disagreements
80%	82%	82%	84% think U.S. should continue to work through the U.N.

How Can We Help the United Nations?

Majority opinion holds that the United States is already doing everything it can to make the United Nations a success. Only 20% feel that there is something further the United States could do and not all of these are able to state just what the United States could do. Suggestions tend to run toward changes in present policy with somewhat more support for a move toward a firmer policy, especially toward Russia, than for a move toward a more conciliatory policy. The question:

"Do you think there is anything the United States can do to make the United Nations more successful, or are we doing all we can? (If 'Can do more') In what way?"

Can do more	20%
Be more firm in support of our own policy, talk tough; we're compromising too much; we should be the boss	3
Be more firm with Russia	3
Exercise our moral leadership to encourage cooperation	2
Formulate a more definite program	2
Improve the quality of our personnel	2
Be more conciliatory with Russia	1
Miscellaneous	4
Don't know what	3
Doing all we can	68
Don't know	$\frac{12}{100\%}$

While most people do not belong to and are not even familiar with the names of organizations in Cincinnati that are trying to help the United Nations,¹ over half of them believe that there are things which these groups can do to help the United Nations. These people primarily suggest that the organizations can help create interest, educate the public, make recommendations to those in authority. In more detail, their suggestions are:

¹ This point is discussed more fully in a later section.

"In your opinion can these groups and organizations (groups and organizations in Cincinnati that are trying to help the United Nations) do anything to help the United Nations in a practical way? (If 'yes') what can they do?"

<u>YES</u>	57%
Enlighten or educate the public about the United Nations. Get the people interested	15
Present suggestions to people in authority. Send delegates	13
Self-enlightment of the groups and their members. Hold lectures, discussions etc.	6
Voice opinions publicly. Endorse positions taken or petition for changes	5
Cooperate with other groups to gain strength ...	4
Participate in overseas relief programs	2
Promote the groups themselves; membership drives, publicity, fund-raising	2
Organization can help, but unable to say how ...	10
<u>NO.</u> Organizations can do nothing	14
<u>DON'T KNOW</u>	$\frac{29}{100\%}$

Somewhat similar suggestions are made when people state what they think the average person can do to make the United Nations more successful. The leading ideas are that people should take more interest, become better informed, communicate their wishes and opinions through their votes or by writing letters. It is important to note, however, that 16% don't know of anything an average person can do and 37% think that there just isn't anything ordinary people can do. The following suggestions, then, came from 47% of the respondents:

"Do you think there's anything the average person can do to help make the United Nations more successful? (What?)"

Become better informed, attend meetings, take more interest	16%
Be better citizens, vote intelligently, write letters to officials	14
Have a peaceful outlook; expect peace and not war, add attitudes favorable to the U.N.	7
Be more religious, have higher ideals, train children to tolerance	4
Be more economical; combat high prices, accept rationing to help needy in other nations	3
Miscellaneous	<u>3</u> 47%
Average person can do nothing	37
No opinion, don't know	<u>16</u> 100%

Defeatism and Apathy

It is apparent that there is an undercurrent of defeatism, of resignation in the face of problems which seem far too large to be influenced by ordinary individuals. It has just been seen in the 37% who think the ordinary person is helpless to affect the success of the United Nations and the 14% who think that organized groups can't do anything. It may be seen, in another way, in the 72% who think that wars are inevitable. It is a well known psychological fact that people lose interest rather quickly in problems which defeat them or seem incapable of solution by them. Defeatism and apathy may, therefore, be expected together:

Of those who think wars will be prevented someday,

60% express some interest in international problems.

Among those who aren't sure,

54% are interested.

While among those who think there will always be wars,

40% are interested.

These feelings of futility are pretty general among the uninterested:

Among the more interested:

61% feel organizations can help the U.N.

55% feel the average person can help

Among the uninterested:

51% feel organizations can

34% feel the average person can help

Plain factual information about the general purposes of the United Nations is not the answer to this problem. Interested people, of course, tend to have this information and to feel that they can do something useful. But where interest is lacking, the informed people as well as the uninformed are likely to hold these defeatist attitudes. It seems likely then that people need information which will awaken interest; they need to know what it is they can do and to be shown how their doing these things will influence developments which have an important bearing on their own lives. In other words, information needs to be related to efficacy and salience.

What People Are Doing

The support which the United Nations receives from the public is largely a passive one. As we have seen, expressed opinions are largely favorable to its existence and to continued American participation, but people are not, by and large, vitally concerned. Their indifference frequently is supported or rationalized by the feeling that the United Nations is not their responsibility since the average person can do nothing to affect its course.

This background of attitudes in itself implies the low level of participation that is actually found. Only 15% of the adults of Cincinnati say that they "belong to any groups or organizations or attend any meetings where they talk about world affairs like the United Nations." This is, incidentally, the same proportion as NORC found for the nation at large in April, 1947. Organizational membership is, of course, more widespread than this. In all, 47% report belonging to some kind of organization in answer to a later query which made no reference to the organizations' activities. This discrepancy may be explained by several factors; (1) some of the organizations actually do not have any programs discussing world affairs; (2) some people belong to organizations having programs of this kind but do not take part in them; (3) others may be thinking in terms of the main purpose of the organization and do not name organizations in which discussion of world events is a minor part of their activities.

It may be noted here that men's and women's social fraternal and professional groups are most frequently cited as discussing world events. School, veterans', political and local study groups are next most frequently named. Less than half of one per cent (actually only two people in the sample) report participation in the American Association for the United Nations or the United Nations Association of Cincinnati. The complete distribution of organizational membership in Cincinnati is shown in the table below in a way which permits seeing how people conceive of their

organizations in relation to programs of discussion of world affairs. For example, while 14% report membership in labor unions, only 1% report their labor unions as organizations which discuss world affairs.

<u>Type of Organization</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Proportions belonging to organizations</u>	
		<u>Named org. as one discussing world affairs</u>	<u>Did not name org. as one discussing world affairs</u>
All types	47%** =	15%**	32%**
Men's & Women's group	21	4	17
Labor unions	14	1	13
Church groups	9	1	8
School groups	6	2	4
Veterans' groups	6	2	4
Political groups	2	2	*
Local study groups	2	2	-
Social action groups	2	1	1
American Assn. for the United Nations or United Nations Association of Cincinnati	*	*	-
Miscellaneous	4	1	3

*Less than 0.5%

**Percentages in each column add to more than the percentages of people belonging to organizations of any type because many people belong to more than one type of organization.

Those who do not think of themselves as belonging to organizations which carry on discussion programs were asked: "Have you ever been approached to join such a group or attend such a meeting?" From this question, there is a superficial indication that discussion activities have not been receiving much publicity. In addition to the 15% who already belong, there are 7% who say they have been approached to take part but refused. This leaves 78% who say they do not belong to organizations which discuss world affairs and have not been approached to join one.

Public knowledge of these activities is low in Cincinnati. When asked, "Do you happen to know the names of any groups or organizations here in Cincinnati that are trying to help the United Nations," only 10% said "yes." Three per cent named social action groups; 2%, the American Association for the United Nations or the United Nations

Association of Cincinnati; and the remainder gave answers scattered over labor unions, school, church, fraternal, professional and veterans' groups. At a later point in the questionnaire, everyone was asked if he had ever heard of a private organization called the American Association for the United Nations. Here, 16 per cent said "Yes," they had heard of it. This is, of course, a far higher proportion than the 2% who thought of it without suggestion, and probably includes some people who did not know the organization but did not wish to appear ignorant. But even this larger figure indicates that the AAUN has not come to public attention.

There is, among the few people who know of Cincinnati organizations working for the United Nations, a good deal of respect for the people who belong to them. Half the group praise them for their disinterested motives; no one charges them with being radicals or crackpots. There is some resentment of them, however, as socially or otherwise superior.

(Asked only of people who know the names of any groups or organizations in Cincinnati that are trying to help the United Nations.)
 "What do you think about the kind of people who belong?"

<u>Strong approval:</u> They're very unselfish, working for the public good, etc.	5%
<u>Indifferent approval:</u> They're all right, I guess	1
<u>Ambivalent:</u> They are people superior to respondent in education or energy; they're too smart for me	1
<u>Disapproval:</u> They're snobs, high-hats, etc. ...	1
<u>Disapproval:</u> non-specific: They are just no good	1
<u>No opinion</u>	$\frac{1}{10\%}$

But even though few people have heard of organizations interested in advancing United Nations' goals, and these few are not particularly prejudiced against them, it should not be concluded that the widespread non-participation is to be attributed solely or even primarily to the fact that people haven't heard about these organizations nor been invited to join. People who are not participating were asked if there was any particular reason why they did not and their answers indicate pretty clearly that lack of information is not the main difficulty. As shown below, only 4% imply that the reason why they are not participating is that they haven't been approached and don't know of any groups to join. The largest group offers no real explanation: 42% answers by saying they don't know why they don't participate, they haven't any particular reasons for not doing so, but somehow they just

don't. Lack of time, other things taking precedence is the reason offered by another 23%, while 6% say frankly that they just aren't interested. Even though lack of time or the press of other activities may sometimes be a valid reason, it is frequently just another way of saying that something is not sufficiently interesting to merit making time for it. The "too-busy's," "not interested's" and "don't know's" comprise 71% of the adults of Cincinnati, indicating again a vast amount of indifference lying behind non-participation:

"Do you happen to belong to any groups or organizations or attend any meetings where they talk about world affairs like the United Nations? (If 'No') Is there any particular reason why you don't?"

Belong	15%
Haven't been asked to join, not familiar with any groups to join	4
Time: Haven't got the time; too busy, other activities interfere	23
Just not interested	6
Personal reasons: age, health, newness in community, etc.	6
Dislike belonging to any organization	3
Wouldn't do any good, unnecessary, none of my business	1
Opposed to United Nations	*
Don't know why; no particular reason	42
	<u>100%</u>

*Less than 0.5%

A "United Nations Week?"

The idea of observing a national United Nations Week was not familiar to most respondents at the time of the survey. People were asked:

"By the way, you know beginning September 14th they're observing United Nations week all over the country. Have you heard anything about it?"

Nineteen per cent said they had heard about it. Most of the interviewing on this survey was, however, completed before September 14th. Among the few respondents interviewed after the beginning of the United Nations Week, 37% had heard about it, as compared with 17% of those interviewed earlier. From this, it may be concluded that the publicity attendant on United Nations Week was having some effect, though it still was leaving most of the public unaware.

People were asked what they thought of the idea, regardless of whether they had heard anything about it or not. There was very little actual opposition to the idea. Rather, as is so often the case with opinions in this area people gave verbal approval, though indifference was a strong undercurrent:

47% actively supported UN week as being a good way of educating people or creating interest

26% gave an apathetic kind of approval or non-opposition. They thought it was "all right," "wouldn't do any harm," "might as well have it."

19% were indifferent, didn't care

4% said "it depends" on how it's done or whether people are interested, etc.

4% were critical, thought it would do no good

Opinions about United Nations Week simply reinforce the points already made earlier. It received far more active support from those who had heard about it, 70% of them expressing active approval as compared with 42% of those who had not heard about it. But again, this is not an effect attributable directly to information. Interested, informed people were more likely to have heard about it, more likely to participate in organizations where they would hear about it, more likely to have attitudes which would predispose them favorably to the idea.

IN SUMMARY: In spite of some dissatisfaction with the way the United Nations has so far been proceeding, the public expects the United Nations to succeed and wants the United States to continue its participation. Dissatisfaction and pessimism are more often expressed by those who are uninformed about the United Nations. Many people feel that there is nothing they can do to aid the United Nations, and this sense of individual futility fits in to the complex of apathy, lack of concern, and of information. While more people think that organizations can help the United Nations, few are acquainted with any of them, few actually take part in their programs, and few care to. A campaign to awaken interest in and promote knowledge about the United Nations like United Nations Week encounters little active resistance, but must reckon with the indifference and passivity which lie behind statements of support.

APPENDIX

OUTLINE OF THE STUDY

The Sample

This report is based on a sample of the adult population of the Cincinnati Metropolitan District. In selecting the sample, a procedure was followed which gave every household within the city and its suburbs an equal chance of being included. Once this random sample of households was drawn, an attempt was made to interview one person within each of them, these persons to be chosen in such a way as to constitute a representative sample of the adults of Greater Cincinnati. In a quarter of the cases, rigid controls were instituted to make certain that every member of a household would have an equal chance of being interviewed; in the remainder of the sample the individual to be interviewed was not completely predetermined. Careful comparisons indicated that the 745 interviews obtained tended to give over-representation to the more easily accessible households and individuals, but adjustments to correct for this potential source of bias have been made. The adjusted sample, on which this report is based, constitutes an accurate miniature of the adult population of the Cincinnati Metropolitan District.

The characteristics of the adjusted sample, shown below, indicate its representativeness:

Men	46%
Women	54
Wealthy and prosperous	19%
Middle Class	61
Poor	20
Adults, 21-39 years of age	48%
Adults, 40 and over	52
Attended college	17%
Attended high school	47
Eighth grade or less	36
Veterans	13%
Non-veterans	87
White	88%
Negro	12

The actual interviewing was done in the month of September, 1947, ninety per cent of it being completed in the first two weeks of the month.

The Questionnaire

The complete schedule of questions asked (exclusive of factual items about the respondent) is shown below:

1. When you think of the problems facing the United States now, which one comes to your mind first? What other problems do you think of?
2. We'd like to know how much interest the public takes in a number of questions. For example, do you yourself take a keen interest, only a mild interest, or practically none at all in news about (each item below)?
 - A. Our trade with other countries
 - B. Our relations with Russia
 - C. The cost of living
 - D. The United Nations
 - E. Strikes and labor problems
 - F. The control of the atomic bomb
3. Do you think there will always be wars between countries, or do you think someday we'll find a way to prevent wars?
4. Do you expect the United States to fight in another war within the next ten years?
5. What do you think could be done to make war less likely?
6. Do you think there should eventually be some sort of international control of atomic bombs, or should each country remain free to make its own bombs?
7. Would you like to see the United States join in the movement to establish an international police force to maintain world peace?
8. Do you think it will be best for the future of this country if we take an active part in world affairs, or if we stay out of world affairs?
9. Do you think most foreign countries can be trusted to meet us half-way in working out problems together, or do you think most of them cannot be trusted to meet us half-way?
10. Do you think we can count on Russia to meet us half-way in working out problems together?
11. Do you think you would be better off personally if the United States would trade more with other countries?
12. What would you say is the main purpose of the United Nations organization?

13. As far as you know, is it the job of the United Nations to (each item below)
- A. Deal with disarmament and control of the atomic bomb?
 - B. Improve health conditions in different parts of the world?
 - C. Work out peace treaties with Germany and Japan?
 - D. Increase trade between countries?
 - E. See that all people everywhere get equal rights?
 - F. Set up a new world language to be used in all countries?
14. What would be your best guess on the amount of money the United Nations organization spends each year - about 2 million dollars, about 25 million, about a hundred million or about eight hundred million?
15. Have you heard or read anything about the veto power in the United Nations?
- IF "YES"
- A. How do you think it's supposed to work?
 - B. Can it be used only in the Security Council or also in the General Assembly of the United Nations?
 - C. Do you think the veto power is a good rule, or not?
 - D. Is it your impression that the United States originally wanted this rule, or did we just agree because other countries wanted it?
16. What would you say are some of the good things the United Nations organization has done so far?
17. What would you say are some of the bad things about the United Nations so far?
18. In general, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the progress that the United Nations organization has made so far?
19. Is there anything about the United Nations organization that you would like to know more about? What?
20. Do you think the United Nations organization will succeed in spite of the disagreements that have come up among England, Russia and the United States, or do you think these disagreements are so serious that the United Nations organization will fail?
21. Some people say there are so many disagreements in the United Nations, that we would be better off to get together with other countries and work on international problems outside the U.N.

Other people say that working through the U.N. is the best way to preserve peace?

How do you feel about this? (Should we work separately with any countries that want to join us, or should we work mainly through the United Nations?)

22. Do you think there is anything the United States can do to make the United Nations more successful, or are we doing all we can?

IF "CAN DO MORE": In what way?

23. Do you think there's anything the average person can do to help make the United Nations more successful? What?

24. Do you happen to belong to any groups or organizations, or attend any meetings, where they talk about world affairs like the United Nations?

IF "YES":

A. Which groups?

IF "NO":

A. Is there any particular reason why you don't?

B. Have you ever been approached to join such a group or attend such a meeting?

25. Do you happen to know the names of any groups or organizations here in Cincinnati that are trying to help the United Nations?

IF "YES":

A. Which ones?

B. What do you think about the kind of people who belong?

26. In your opinion, can these groups and organizations do anything to help the United Nations in a practical way?

IF "YES": What can they do?

27. Have you ever heard of a private organization called the American Association for the United Nations?

28. By the way, you know beginning September 14th, they're observing United Nations Week all over the country.

A. Have you heard anything about it?

B. What do you think of the idea?