

Caddell, Patrick (2)

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May 24, 1979

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MEMORANDUM

TO: The Democratic Committee
FROM: Cambridge Survey Research
RE: Results of miscellaneous questions on the February
1979 DNC survey

This memorandum will report the results of questions on several miscellaneous issues not covered in the following memos already sent to the DNC: 1. Inflation, 2. Government Reorganization, 3. SALT, and 4. The Carter Image.

We can begin our examination of these issues by looking at what Americans perceive to be the most pressing problems facing the nation.

Inflation remains far and away the most important problem in the minds of most Americans. We asked our sample to name the three most important problems facing the country, and found that when condensing first, second and third responses, an astounding 72% mention inflation. Looking at first responses only, inflation is mentioned by nearly one-half the sample, followed by about one-tenth that mention the energy crisis, one-twentieth who mention general economic problems, and another one-twentieth who mention foreign affairs. A full listing of first, second

and third responses follows.

What do you feel are the three major problems facing the United States today?

	<u>1st</u>	<u>2nd</u>	<u>3rd</u>
Inflation, high cost of living, high prices	48%	15%	9%
Energy crisis, gas and fuel prices and shortage, utility costs	8	14	7
Economy in general, economics, recession, depression	5	3	1
Foreign affairs, foreign policy, foreign involvement, international conditions between nations, Vietnam, foreign aid, Middle East	5	3	9
Jobs, unemployment, not enough work for everyone	4	10	6
Taxes, high taxes, tax reform, tax structure	4	5	7
Crime, rising crime, law and order, lenient courts, letting criminals out too soon	3	6	6
Moral decay, lack of honesty and integrity, greed	2	2	4
Corruption in government, crooked politicians, honesty in government, lack of integrity in government	1	2	4
Welfare, too much welfare and relief, food stamps	1	3	3
Government spending, waste in government, Congress raising their salary	1	3	2
Food prices and food shortage	1	1	1
Government too big, too many government controls, bureaucracy	1	2	4
The President, Carter, the present Administration, lack of a national leader	1	1	1
Problems of the elderly, need social security increase, health care and tax break for aged	1	2	2

What are the three major problems? (continued)

	<u>1st</u>	<u>2nd</u>	<u>3rd</u>
Government and politics in general, mess in government, rotten government, government needs reform, lack of leadership	1	2	3
Schools and education, quality of funding for education	1	2	2
Poverty and starvation	1	1	1
Drugs, drug abuse, narcotics, dope and alcohol	1	1	2
Medical and health care	1	1	3
Peace, wars, threat of wars, need for peace	1	1	2
Racism and racial problems, discrim- ination, segregation, equal opportunity	1	1	1
Environment, ecology, pollution, conservation, natural resources, over- population	1	2	2
Man's regard for his fellow man, lack of concern for each other, people don't love each other, lack of cooperation	1	1	1
Defense and national prestige stay #1 in world	1	1	1
Problems in Iran	1	--	--
Low wages and salaries, low income	--	1	1
Housing costs and shortages, high rents, proper housing	--	1	1
Lack of confidence and trust in govern- ment	--	1	1
Too many imports, balance of payments	--	--	1
Other	3	4	5
Don't know	1	3	8

Defense and foreign policy

A plurality of Americans favor an expansion of defense
and military capabilities. As the next table shows, however,

nearly one-half of all Americans think our defense capabilities are "just about right" or feel that "too much" is spent on defense.

Which of these statements is closest to your opinion:

We need to expand our national defense and strengthen our military.	42%
Our defense is just about right now and should neither be increased nor decreased.	31
Too much is spent on defense; we would be safe spending less.	17
(Don't know)	10

A clear plurality of Americans support the Carter-proposed increase in military spending even at the expense of domestic programs. As the table below shows, however, slightly more than one-third oppose the 3% defense spending increase in the Carter budget,

While cutting many domestic programs, the budget did call for an increase in real defense spending of about 3%. Do you approve or disapprove of the decision to increase defense spending while cutting domestic programs?

Approve	46%
(Don't know)	17
Disapprove	37

Most Americans are troubled about the image of the United States in the world community, and see the country's position weakening every day. As the next table shows, more than one-half of our respondents are pessimistic about the standing of the U.S. in the eyes of the rest of the world.

In general, how would you rate the position of the United States in the world today -- excellent, good, only fair or poor?

Excellent	5%	44%
Good	39	
Only fair	42	54%
Poor	12	
(Don't know)	2	

Nearly two-thirds of the American public believes this shaky position will worsen rather than improve. As the next table shows, about one-fifth think the situation will remain stable.

In general, do you think the U.S. position in the world is growing stronger or becoming weaker?

Growing stronger	13%
Becoming weaker	62
(Staying the same)	21
(Don't know)	4

President Carter's decision to establish full diplomatic relations with China enjoys the support of fully six Americans in ten. As the table below shows, less than three in ten oppose the initiative.

Would you say you strongly approve, somewhat approve, somewhat disapprove or strongly disapprove of President Carter's decision to recognize the mainland government -- the People's Republic of China -- as the legitimate government of China?

Strongly approve	23%	60%
Somewhat approve	37	
Somewhat disapprove	15	27%
Strongly disapprove	12	
(Don't know)	14	

Interestingly, when apprised of the severance of governmental relations with the Taiwanese that accompanied the recognition of China, we note a near complete shift in opinion from the previous question. As the next table shows, only between one-quarter and one-third of our sample supports the breaking of relations with the Nationalist government.

In order to establish relations with mainland China, we had to break off diplomatic relations with the government of Taiwan. Do you strongly approve, somewhat approve, somewhat disapprove or strongly disapprove of this action?

Strongly approve	8%	28%
Somewhat approve	20	
Somewhat disapprove	28	57%
Strongly disapprove	29	
(Don't know)	16	

On the question of establishing a formal defense commitment with the Taiwanese, Americans seem hesitant and divided. As the table below shows, while a plurality support such a defense relationship nearly an equal amount are uncertain and almost three in ten oppose it. Looking at the results a different way, fully 62% of Americans are either undecided or oppose a defense relationship with the Nationalist government of Taiwan.

Some people say that there is really little danger that the mainland government will use force to try to capture Taiwan and that they are secure. Others say that the U.S. needs to have a formal defense commitment to Taiwan even if this damages our relationship with the mainland government we have recognized. Should we have a formal defense commitment to Taiwan, or not?

Yes	38%	62%
(Not sure)	34	
No	28	

The cities

Recently, the President has been criticized for a lack of concern for the nation's urban problems. We wanted to determine how the public viewed the situation in America's cities and found that a solid majority believe that little or no progress has been made in aiding troubled urban centers. As the next table shows, only about one-third of our sample see any progress being made during the Carter years.

Just in the last few years, do you think we have made a lot of progress, some progress, little progress or have we fallen behind in aiding America's cities?

A lot of progress	6%	35%
Some progress	29	
Little progress	23	57%
Fallen behind	30	
(No change at all)	4	
(Don't know)	8	

Government regulation

The Carter Administration has, from its inception, been associated with the movement to remove unnecessary government regulations on business. The success of airline industry

deregulation has spurred talk of further action in fields such as trucking and communications. Interestingly, as public support for deregulation intensifies, people like Senator Kennedy have been emphasizing their links to the deregulation movement as well. We asked our sample to choose, from a list of broad alternatives, the approach to deregulation they thought was closest to their opinion. As the next table shows, a plurality of Americans support deregulation "across the board", while a substantial one-quarter favor increases in health and safety regulations while at the same time decreasing regulations on profits and business operations.

Which of the following four statements is
closest to your opinion:

We need to increase government regulation of business across the board.	14%
We need to decrease regulation of business across the board.	29
We should increase government regulations on things like profits and the way business does business, but get government out of areas like health and safety.	15
We should increase regulations in the areas of health and safety but decrease regulations in areas such as profits and the way business does business.	26
(Don't know)	17

Turning to the specific question of removing regulations from trucking, we find that a clear plurality (once apprised of the success of airline deregulation) support the deregulation of that industry. As the table below shows, there is still a considerable amount of indecision on the issue.

In the last year, the government took controls off the airline industry, which have permitted more competition and actually lowered fares. Some people now say that we should also take regulations off the trucking industry in the hope of achieving the same thing. Other people say that the two industries are very different and that what worked for the airlines would not work for trucking. Would you favor or oppose removing controls from the trucking industry?

Favor	43%
(Don't know)	31
Oppose	27

National health care

The eventual public alignment on the scope and cost of a National Health Care system will have a significant impact on the 1980 election process. While Senator Kennedy is attempting to broaden his base of issue-identification, he is still primarily associated with National Health Care. In the next question, we confront respondents with the two broad alternatives to the present system and readily identify the two new approaches with Senator Kennedy and

the President. As the table below shows, less than one-quarter of our sample support the current health care system, while the remainder are slightly more in favor of Senator Kennedy's "comprehensive" plan than support the President's.

Recently there has been a controversy over national health care policy. The first group of people, led by Senator Edward Kennedy, argue that we need a comprehensive national health care system that would give every American as much care as he or she needs. They say that health care is so important that we must move forward regardless of the cost. A second group, lead by President Carter, argues that the comprehensive plan would be too costly -- as much as \$30 billion per year -- and that we should settle instead for gradually beginning a health care plan that would cover people for major illnesses only. Still a third group of people argues that the current system is good enough and that a combination of private insurance, employer coverage, Medicare and Medicaid is already adequate. Which is closer to your opinion?

We need a comprehensive national health care system	38%
Gradually begin a health care plan for major illnesses only	30
Current system is good enough	24
(Don't know)	8

Next, we removed the obvious political associations with Senator Kennedy and the President and asked our sample to choose from among four alternative approaches: 1. the current system, 2. catastrophic insurance coverage for everyone with total coverage for the poor, 3. universal comprehensive insurance coverage and, 4. a nationalized government-run

Cambridge Survey Research

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MEMORANDUM

TO: The Democratic National Committee
FR: Cambridge Survey Research
RE: Results of inflation measures on February, 1979 national survey

Inflation remains the most urgent national problem on the minds of most Americans. We asked our sample to name the three most important problems facing the country and found that, when condensing first, second, and third responses, an astounding 72% mention inflation. As the table below shows, of the top five problems mentioned, three are clear-cut economic concerns.

Most important problems facing country

Inflation	72%
Energy crisis	29
Foreign affairs	22
Jobs, unemployment	20
Taxes	16

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The Economy

People's attitudes toward inflation are shaped to a large degree by their perceptions of the status of the economy at large. Our next measure asks respondents to assess the state of the nation's economy over the past six months. As the next comparative table shows, nearly one-half of our sample feel the economy has gotten a little worse while almost another one-third think the situation is a lot worse than six months ago.

During the past six months, do you think the nation's economy has improved a lot, improved a little, gotten a little worse, or gotten a lot worse?

	February 1979	R 18 1979 IV	R 17 1978 IV	R 16 1978 III	R 15 1978 II	R 14 1978 I	R 13 1977 IV
Improved a lot	2%	2%	1%	2%	1%	5%	3%
Improved a little	17	12	18	25	25	30	36
(Stayed the same)	8	9	11	15	15	17	25
Gotten a little worse	46	46	44	39	37	34	27
Gotten a lot worse	27	29	24	17	18	14	7
(Don't know)	1	2	3	2	4	1	2

Our sample expressed slightly less pessimism when asked to project the state of the economy one year from today. As the next table shows, however, only about one-quarter of Americans foresee any degree of improvement in the economic picture over the next year.

In the coming year, do you think that the nation's economy will improve a lot, improve a little, get a little worse or get a lot worse?

Will improve a lot	2%
Will improve a little	23
Will get a little worse	41
Will get a lot worse	20
(Will stay the same)	8
(Don't know)	6

Demographically, people who are optimistic about the state of the economy a year from now tend more often than not to be Democrats, liberals, blacks, unskilled blue collar workers, between the ages of 56-65, and residents of the Midlands.

A full demographic breakdown follows.

In the coming year, do you think that the nation's economy will improve a lot, improve a little, get a little worse or get a lot worse?

	Will improve a lot	Will improve a little	Will get a little worse	Will get a lot worse	Stay the same	Don't know
<u>Overall</u>	2%	23	41	20	8	6
<u>Party preference</u>						
Democrat (44)	2	25	38	19	8	7
Independent (37)	2	21	45	19	8	5
Republican (17)	—	22	43	21	9	5
<u>Political ideology</u>						
Liberal (26)	2	25	41	20	6	6
Moderate (24)	2	23	38	18	12	8
Conservative (42)	2	21	44	22	8	4
<u>Carter favorability rating</u>						
Favorable (54)	2	30	38	15	8	6
Unfavorable (39)	1	13	47	25	9	5
Can't rate (7)	—	22	40	23	7	9
<u>Carter job perfor- mance rating</u>						
Excellent (4)*	10	36	22	14	6	11
Good (29)	2	34	36	12	10	6
Only fair (44)	1	21	47	18	7	5
Poor (21)	1	9	42	33	10	6
<u>Democratic primary for President</u>						
Carter (44)	3	31	35	16	8	6
Lean Carter (12)	1	32	40	16	4	7
Undecided (17)	3	20	34	24	6	13
Brown (22)	2	18	44	19	10	6
Lean Brown (5)	—	3	43	43	10	—
<u>Democratic primary for President</u>						
Kennedy (53)	4	22	39	21	9	5
Lean Kennedy (9)	—	22	46	21	4	7
Undecided (11)	4	20	29	29	8	11
Carter (22)	2	36	36	14	6	7
Lean Carter (5)	—	20	36	8	14	22

Will the economy improve or get worse during the next year (continued)

		Will improve a lot	Will improve a little	Will get a little worse	Will get a lot worse	Stay the same	Don't know
<u>Overall</u>		2%	23	41	20	8	6
<u>Sex</u>							
Female (50)		1	21	41	21	7	8
Male (50)		2	25	41	18	9	4
<u>Race</u>							
White (89)		2	22	43	20	8	6
Black (10)		1	30	31	21	9	8
<u>Occupation</u>							
Professional (5)		—	24	46	13	7	10
White collar (14)		1	22	46	22	8	2
White collar clerical (9)		1	22	43	27	5	3
Government (4)*		2	20	41	25	10	3
Skilled blue collar (14)		3	20	47	14	13	4
Unskilled blue collar (14)		3	27	37	18	8	8
Retired (26)		2	24	40	17	9	7
Self-employed (6)		1	22	44	18	12	2
<u>Ethnic background</u>							
Irish (11)		1	24	35	25	12	4
English (20)		2	21	47	17	6	7
French (4)*		2	41	37	11	8	2
German (17)		—	19	45	22	8	6
Italian (5)		—	21	52	15	8	4
Eastern European (7)		3	20	47	22	6	2
Scandinavian (4)*		2	17	31	27	18	4
Spanish (4)*		8	21	31	17	10	14
<u>Education</u>							
Some grade school (10)		2	28	36	16	5	13
Some high school (15)		3	26	36	21	5	9
Graduated high school (32)		2	22	42	20	10	4
Technical/vocational (5)		—	28	48	13	4	8
Some college (20)		2	20	42	21	10	4
Graduated college (12)		1	19	50	15	9	6
Graduate/professional (7)		—	25	40	26	7	2
<u>Religion</u>							
Protestant (58)		2	23	41	18	9	7
Catholic (30)		3	25	40	20	8	5
Jewish (4)*		4	14	53	25	2	3
Other (4)*		2	13	43	32	6	4
None (4)*		—	21	43	24	10	2

Will the economy improve or get worse during the next year (continued)

		Will improve a lot	Will improve a little	Will get a little worse	Will get a lot worse	Stay the same	Don't know
<u>Overall</u>		2%	23	41	20	8	6
<u>Income</u>							
\$0-3,999	(5)	1	26	36	21	4	12
\$4-6,999	(11)	3	24	39	20	6	8
\$7-9,999	(11)	3	25	39	19	9	6
\$10-14,999	(16)	2	22	37	23	9	7
\$15-19,999	(18)	3	20	44	19	8	6
\$20,000 or over	(29)	1	22	46	18	9	3
<u>Union membership</u>							
Respondent	(17)	3	27	40	18	9	4
Family member	(13)	2	21	41	25	6	6
No member	(70)	2	22	42	19	9	7
<u>Age</u>							
18-25	(12)	2	19	41	22	9	7
26-35	(17)	3	19	46	21	6	5
36-45	(17)	2	22	42	20	9	5
46-55	(18)	—	23	42	20	11	4
56-65	(17)	2	31	35	20	7	6
Over 65	(19)	2	23	42	16	10	7
<u>Urban/rural</u>							
Urban	(46)	2	23	37	21	9	7
Suburban	(35)	1	22	47	17	8	5
Rural	(20)	2	24	41	19	8	6
<u>Area I</u>							
Northeast	(15)	1	14	45	23	8	8
Industrial	(25)	1	25	47	17	6	5
Midlands	(15)	1	28	33	25	8	5
South	(19)	3	26	37	19	7	9
Central	(14)	3	23	42	18	11	4
Pacific	(13)	4	19	41	16	14	6
<u>Area II</u>							
California	(10)	5	19	41	17	11	7
West	(11)	2	22	45	15	10	6
New York	(8)	1	6	46	29	7	11
South	(13)	3	27	36	18	7	10
Industrial	(28)	1	27	45	19	5	4
Border	(8)	1	25	40	21	7	6
New England	(7)	1	23	44	17	11	5
Midwest	(15)	2	23	34	23	13	4

DNC

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Will the economy improve or get worse during the next year (continued)

	<u>Will improve a lot</u>	<u>Will improve a little</u>	<u>Will get a little worse</u>	<u>Will get a lot worse</u>	<u>Stay the same</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
<u>Overall</u>	2%	23	41	20	8	6
<u>Area III</u>						
South (24)	2	27	38	18	7	8
Industrial (52)	2	22	43	20	7	6
Other (24)	2	20	42	19	13	4

In contrast to the rather gloomy outlook for the national economy, Americans seem fairly well satisfied with their own personal financial status. As the next table shows, about seven respondents in ten express some degree of satisfaction with their family's financial position, while less than one-third say they are dissatisfied.

In general, would you say you are pretty well satisfied, with your family's present financial situation, more or less satisfied, or not satisfied at all?

Pretty well satisfied	31%	71
More or less satisfied	40	
Not satisfied at all	28	
(Don't know)	2	

While a plurality of Americans say they are worse off financially today than a year ago, about six in ten say they are either in the same situation or actually better off than a year ago.

We are interested in how people are getting along financially these days. Would you say that you are better off or worse off financially than you were a year ago?

Better	26%	61
(Same)	35	
Worse	39	
(Don't know)	1	

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Looking ahead a year, nearly two-thirds feel they will fare better or the same financially, while fewer than three people in ten see worsening personal financial situations.

Now, looking ahead -- do you think that a year from now you will be better off financially, worse off or just about the same as now?

Better	23%	} 64
Worse	29	
The same	41	
(Don't know)	7	

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Inflation

Next, we shifted our emphasis from the general economic picture to the specific concern of inflation. On this score, Americans are unambiguously pessimistic. As the next table shows, fully seven respondents in ten feel inflation will, to some degree, worsen over the next year.

How about inflation in the coming year: do you think that it will improve a lot, improve a little, get a little worse or get a lot worse?

Improve a lot	2%
Improve a little	18
Get a little worse	45
Get a lot worse	26
(Stay the same)	7
(Don't know)	3

People who are most pessimistic about the course of inflation over the next year tend more often than not to be Republicans, moderates, and residents of the Northeast.

A full demographic breakdown follows.

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How about inflation in the coming year: do you think that it will improve a lot, improve a little, get a little worse or get a lot worse?

	Improve a lot	Improve a little	Get a little worse	Get a lot worse	Stay the same	Don't know
<u>Overall</u>	2%	18	45	26	7	3
<u>Party preference</u>						
Democrat (44)	2	20	41	26	7	4
Independent (37)	2	14	51	24	6	4
Republican (17)	--	18	45	27	8	2
<u>Political ideology</u>						
Liberal (26)	1	16	47	26	5	4
Moderate (24)	1	16	40	28	9	6
Conservative (42)	2	18	47	25	7	2
<u>Carter favorability rating</u>						
Favorable (54)	2	23	43	21	7	5
Unfavorable (39)	1	10	48	34	6	2
Can't rate (7)	1	14	54	22	5	3
<u>Carter job perfor- mance rating</u>						
Excellent (4)*	--	43	26	16	8	7
Good (29)	2	23	45	18	7	5
Only fair (44)	1	15	51	25	6	2
Poor (21)	2	10	39	39	7	3
<u>Democratic primary for President</u>						
Carter (44)	2	26	38	23	6	5
Lean Carter (12)	3	17	48	25	4	4
Undecided (17)	1	18	37	34	4	6
Brown (22)	3	11	50	23	10	2
Lean Brown (5)	--	11	31	45	10	3
<u>Democratic primary for President</u>						
Kennedy (53)	3	17	41	30	6	3
Lean Kennedy (9)	2	20	55	17	4	2
Undecided (11)	2	20	29	30	11	8
Carter (22)	1	28	44	18	5	5
Lean Carter (5)	--	13	29	33	11	14

Inflation in the coming year (continued)

		Improve a lot	Improve a little	Get little worse	Get a lot worse	Stay the same	Don't know
<u>Overall</u>		2%	18	45	26	7	3
<u>Sex</u>							
Female (50)		1	18	44	27	5	5
Male (50)		2	17	46	24	8	3
<u>Race</u>							
White (89)		1	16	47	25	6	4
Black (10)		2	26	27	34	7	3
<u>Occupation</u>							
Professional (5)		—	19	49	20	6	6
White collar (14)		1	15	50	25	7	2
White collar clerical (9)		2	16	43	35	4	1
Government (4)*		2	5	48	33	10	2
Skilled blue collar (14)		2	18	51	23	4	2
Unskilled blue collar (14)		3	19	44	25	6	4
Retired (26)		2	21	43	22	7	5
Self-employed (6)		2	16	50	20	11	1
<u>Ethnic background</u>							
Irish (11)		1	19	42	30	7	2
English (20)		2	15	49	24	6	3
French (4)*		4	21	47	17	12	—
German (17)		—	16	49	26	6	3
Italian (5)		—	14	42	32	7	5
Eastern European (7)		2	12	55	25	4	2
Scandinavian (4)*		2	20	33	29	9	8
Spanish (4)*		4	23	32	24	8	10
<u>Education</u>							
Some grade school (10)		3	22	38	23	8	6
Some high school (15)		1	22	35	31	6	6
Graduated high school (32)		2	19	46	26	5	3
Technical/vocational (5)		—	15	51	16	13	5
Some college (20)		2	13	49	25	8	3
Graduated college (12)		1	13	55	22	8	2
Graduate/professional (7)		1	17	47	28	5	1
<u>Religion</u>							
Protestant (58)		1	17	45	26	7	4
Catholic (30)		2	20	42	25	6	4
Jewish (4)*		2	11	52	29	2	4
Other (4)*		—	20	39	30	9	2
None (4)*		2	8	62	21	5	2

Inflation in the coming year (continued)

		Improve a lot	Improve a little	Get little worse	Get a lot worse	Stay the same	Don't know
<u>Overall</u>		28	18	45	26	7	3
<u>Income</u>							
\$0-3,999	(5)	4	12	35	32	7	10
\$4-6,999	(11)	1	27	38	25	5	5
\$7-9,999	(11)	2	21	39	26	7	6
\$10-14,999	(16)	3	17	44	28	6	3
\$15-19,999	(18)	1	13	50	25	7	3
\$20,000 or over	(29)	2	16	51	23	6	3
<u>Union membership</u>							
Respondent	(17)	2	18	48	25	6	2
Family member	(13)	1	15	45	29	6	3
No member	(70)	2	18	45	25	7	4
<u>Age</u>							
18-25	(12)	2	14	47	28	4	5
26-35	(17)	2	14	48	28	6	3
36-45	(17)	2	16	53	21	5	4
46-55	(18)	—	20	43	28	6	3
56-65	(17)	2	22	38	29	6	3
Over 65	(19)	2	20	44	21	9	5
<u>Urban/rural</u>							
Urban	(46)	2	19	43	27	5	4
Suburban	(35)	2	16	46	25	8	4
Rural	(20)	1	18	48	23	7	3
<u>Area I</u>							
Northeast	(15)	1	13	38	34	9	6
Industrial	(25)	1	16	52	24	5	2
Midlands	(15)	1	24	42	25	3	5
South	(19)	3	21	42	25	6	4
Central	(14)	2	17	45	24	9	3
Pacific	(13)	2	13	48	23	9	5
<u>Area II</u>							
California	(10)	3	13	47	22	9	6
West	(11)	1	18	47	23	9	2
New York	(8)	—	4	36	46	6	7
South	(13)	5	21	40	25	6	4
Industrial	(28)	1	19	48	24	5	3
Border	(8)	—	20	52	26	1	2
New England	(7)	1	24	39	21	12	4
Midwest	(15)	2	17	47	24	6	3

Inflation in the coming year (continued)

	<u>Improve a lot</u>	<u>Improve a little</u>	<u>Get little worse</u>	<u>Get a lot worse</u>	<u>Stay the same</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
<u>Overall</u>	2%	18	45	26	7	3
<u>Area III</u>						
South (24)	3	21	45	24	5	3
Industrial (52)	1	16	46	26	6	4
Other (24)	1	17	44	26	9	3

Our basic measure of inflation psychology (the acceptance or rejection of inflation's inevitability) shows that nearly a majority of our sample (47%) are unwilling to accept inflation as a permanent fact of life. This would suggest the fairly positive message that Americans see inflation as a surmountable obstacle. However, as the next comparative trend chart shows, the percentage of Americans who have resigned themselves to the inevitability of inflation is beginning to rise, a reversal of the trend seen in the previous several quarters.

Would you agree or disagree: We've got to learn to live with inflation; prices will never be stable again.

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
February, 1979	41%	12	47
R 18 - 1979 I	40%	10	50
R 17 - 1978 IV	36%	10	54
R 16 - 1978 III	35%	10	55
R 15 - 1978 II	35%	12	54
R 14 - 1978 I	55%	8	37
R 13 - 1977 IV	51%	11	39
R 12 - 1977 III	52%	9	39
R 11 - 1977 II	53%	10	37
R 10 - 1977 I	45%	11	44

A demographic analysis shows that:

- * Democrats and political conservatives are evenly split on the inevitability of inflation.
- * Upper-income people are less likely to accept inflation as a permanent fact of life.

- * Geographically, residents of the Northeast are most likely to accept the permanence of inflation.

A full demographic breakdown of this question follows.

Would you agree or disagree: We've got to learn to live with high inflation; prices are never going to be stable again.

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
<u>Overall</u>	41%	12	47
<u>Party preference</u>			
Democrat (44)	44	12	44
Independent (37)	38	12	51
Republican (17)	39	11	50
<u>Political ideology</u>			
Liberal (26)	36	10	54
Moderate (24)	38	16	46
Conservative (42)	45	9	46
<u>Carter favorability rating</u>			
Favorable (54)	41	12	48
Unfavorable (39)	44	10	47
Can't rate (7)	39	18	43
<u>Carter job performance rating</u>			
Excellent (4)*	28	18	55
Good (29)	42	12	46
Only fair (44)	44	11	46
Poor (21)	40	11	49
<u>Democratic primary for President</u>			
Carter (44)	47	10	43
Lean Carter (12)	44	18	39
Undecided (17)	47	16	38
Brown (22)	42	11	47
Lean Brown (5)	32	10	58
<u>Democratic primary for President</u>			
Kennedy (53)	49	10	41
Lean Kennedy (9)	43	20	37
Undecided (11)	35	22	43
Carter (22)	38	11	51
Lean Carter (5)	45	12	43

...learn to live with high inflation (continued)

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
<u>Overall</u>	41%	12	47
<u>Sex</u>			
Female (50)	41	12	47
Male (50)	42	12	47
<u>Race</u>			
White (89)	40	11	49
Black (10)	52	15	33
<u>Occupation</u>			
Professional (5)	26	12	62
White collar (14)	34	11	55
White collar clerical (9)	41	15	45
Government (4)*	45	6	50
Skilled blue collar (14)	41	12	47
Unskilled blue collar (14)	47	13	40
Retired (26)	45	13	43
Self-employed (6)	43	6	51
<u>Ethnic background</u>			
Irish (11)	41	13	46
English (20)	37	10	53
French (4)*	42	9	49
German (17)	39	10	51
Italian (5)	50	11	39
Eastern European (7)	45	10	46
Scandinavian (4)*	42	5	53
Spanish (4)*	40	27	33
<u>Education</u>			
Some grade school (10)	52	12	36
Some high school (15)	46	17	37
Graduated high school (32)	42	12	46
Technical/vocational (5)	38	9	54
Some college (20)	42	7	51
Graduated college (12)	26	14	61
Graduate/professional (7)	35	12	54
<u>Religion</u>			
Protestant (58)	41	10	49
Catholic (30)	42	14	44
Jewish (4)*	50	13	37
Other (4)*	37	14	49
None (4)*	38	10	52

...learn to live with high inflation (continued)

		<u>Agree</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
<u>Overall</u>		41%	12	47
<u>Income</u>				
\$0-3,999	(5)	46	15	39
\$4-6,999	(11)	44	15	41
\$7-9,999	(11)	48	10	43
\$10-14,999	(16)	39	14	47
\$15-19,999	(18)	43	10	47
\$20,000 or over	(29)	37	9	54
<u>Union membership</u>				
Respondent	(17)	45	11	44
Family member	(13)	42	14	44
No member	(70)	40	11	48
<u>Age</u>				
18-25	(12)	41	11	47
26-35	(17)	36	15	50
36-45	(17)	43	9	48
46-55	(18)	44	9	47
56-65	(17)	38	11	51
Over 65	(19)	47	13	40
<u>Urban/rural</u>				
Urban	(46)	43	12	46
Suburban	(35)	39	13	49
Rural	(20)	43	9	48
<u>Area I</u>				
Northeast	(15)	53	15	32
Industrial	(25)	39	11	50
Midlands	(15)	36	8	56
South	(19)	37	15	48
Central	(14)	48	7	45
Pacific	(13)	39	14	48
<u>Area II</u>				
California	(10)	40	14	47
West	(11)	40	10	50
New York	(8)	58	18	24
South	(13)	36	13	51
Industrial	(28)	37	11	52
Border	(8)	44	14	42
New England	(7)	45	13	42
Midwest	(15)	43	7	50

...learn to live with high inflation (continued)

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
<u>Overall</u>	41%	12	47
<u>Area III</u>			
South (24)	41	13	46
Industrial (52)	41	12	47
Other (24)	43	9	48

Personal Economic Well-Being

Interestingly, six respondents in ten feel their personal standard of living has either improved or remained the same over the last few years. This would suggest that "real" income has not been as severely ravaged by inflation as is commonly believed. However, when "steady-staters" are excluded, more Americans still see a decline in their personal standard of living than see an improvement.

Over the last few years, has your standard of living improved a lot, improved a little, gone down a little or gone down a lot?

Improved a lot	7%)	34%	60%
Improved a little	27)		
(Stayed the same)	26)	26%	
Gone down a little	29)	40%	
Gone down a lot	11)		

The President's Role in Fighting Inflation

The extent of control President Carter is perceived to have over inflation will clearly shape public expectations of his economic policies over the next two years. Our current data indicate that very few Americans believe the President can do a lot to slow the pace of inflation. As the next table shows, fully four respondents in ten believe that the President's actions will have little or no impact on slowing down inflation. Interestingly, however, our trend data on this question show that our sample is somewhat more optimistic about the President's ability to do at least something to slow inflation than they have been in the past.

How much control do you think President Carter has over inflation -- that is, realistically do you think the President can do a lot to slow down inflation, something but not a lot, only a little, or can't he do much at all to slow down inflation?

	<u>A</u> <u>lot</u>	<u>Something</u> <u>but not a lot</u>	<u>Only a</u> <u>little</u>	<u>Can't do</u> <u>much at all</u>	<u>Don't</u> <u>know</u>
February, 1979	16%	41	24	18	2
R 18 - 1979 I	11%	30	28	27	3
R 17 - 1978 IV	14%	32	29	23	3
R 16 - 1978 III	10%	35	29	22	4

Demographically, those who feel the President can do something to slow inflation tend to be independents, political moderates or liberals, (somewhat surprisingly) those who give the President an only fair job performance rating, the best-educated, upper-income people, younger people, and residents of the Northeast.

People who feel the President can't do much at all are generally Republicans, conservatives, and residents of the Pacific states.

A full demographic analysis follows.

How much control do you think President Carter has over inflation -- that is, realistically, do you think the President can do a lot to slow down inflation, something to slow down inflation but not a lot, only a little to slow down inflation, or can't he really do much at all to slow down inflation?

	A lot	Something but not a lot	Only a little	Can't do much at all	Don't know
<u>Overall</u>	16%	41	24	18	2
<u>Party preference</u>					
Democrat (44)	17	40	24	15	4
Independent (37)	14	44	23	18	1
Republican (17)	17	37	23	22	2
<u>Political ideology</u>					
Liberal (26)	15	44	25	14	3
Moderate (24)	15	44	25	14	3
Conservative (42)	16	40	23	20	2
<u>Carter favorability rating</u>					
Favorable (54)	13	43	28	14	2
Unfavorable (39)	20	38	20	22	1
Can't rate (7)	13	40	18	23	6
<u>Carter job perfor- mance rating</u>					
Excellent (4)*	15	33	31	16	5
Good (29)	12	44	25	16	3
Only fair (44)	13	45	24	16	2
Poor (21)	24	30	19	25	2
<u>Democratic primary for President</u>					
Carter (44)	15	41	23	18	4
Lean Carter (12)	18	41	33	6	3
Undecided (17)	19	38	22	15	7
Brown (22)	15	38	24	19	4
Lean Brown (5)	24	42	27	6	--
<u>Democratic primary for President</u>					
Kennedy (53)	18	39	24	16	4
Lean Kennedy (9)	15	50	22	10	3
Undecided (11)	22	37	23	12	6
Carter (22)	12	39	25	20	4
Lean Carter (5)	14	43	31	13	--

Carter's control over inflation (continued)

		A lot	Something but not a lot	Only a little	Can't do much at all	Don't know
<u>Overall</u>		16%	41	24	18	2
<u>Sex</u>						
Female (50)		15	42	23	17	3
Male (50)		16	40	25	18	2
<u>Race</u>						
White (89)		15	41	24	17	2
Black (10)		18	34	23	20	5
<u>Occupation</u>						
Professional (5)		21	41	29	8	1
White collar (14)		14	41	28	16	1
White collar clerical (9)		18	39	23	20	1
Government (4)*		10	55	11	23	2
Skilled blue collar (14)		13	42	28	15	1
Unskilled blue collar (14)		15	40	25	16	4
Retired (26)		16	38	25	19	3
Self-employed (6)		14	49	13	23	1
<u>Ethnic background</u>						
Irish (11)		16	38	22	19	5
English (20)		14	38	27	20	2
French (4)*		12	50	15	24	--
German (17)		16	47	25	12	1
Italian (5)		14	34	28	22	3
Eastern European (7)		18	45	21	14	1
Scandinavian (4)*		12	37	25	23	4
Spanish (4)*		23	32	19	18	8
<u>Education</u>						
Some grade school (10)		18	40	22	17	3
Some high school (15)		18	34	19	24	6
Graduated high school (32)		16	40	25	17	3
Technical/vocational (5)		20	39	27	14	--
Some college (20)		12	42	24	20	2
Graduated college (12)		14	46	25	13	1
Graduate/professional (7)		13	47	26	14	1
<u>Religion</u>						
Protestant (58)		15	40	24	20	2
Catholic (30)		16	42	24	15	4
Jewish (4)*		21	53	23	4	--
Other (4)*		16	21	35	26	2
None (4)*		16	46	20	16	3

Carter's control over inflation (continued)

		<u>A lot</u>	<u>Something but not a lot</u>	<u>Only a little</u>	<u>Can't do much at all</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
<u>Overall</u>		16%	41	24	18	2
<u>Income</u>						
\$0-3,999	(5)	22	33	24	18	3
\$4-6,999	(11)	20	30	24	20	6
\$7-9,999	(11)	21	38	19	19	3
\$10-14,999	(16)	9	39	30	19	4
\$15-19,999	(18)	17	46	22	14	—
\$20,000 or over	(29)	14	43	24	17	1
<u>Union membership</u>						
Respondent	(17)	14	40	26	17	3
Family member	(13)	15	41	25	17	3
No member	(70)	16	41	23	18	2
<u>Age</u>						
18-25	(12)	13	46	25	13	3
26-35	(17)	20	45	19	13	4
36-45	(17)	14	43	24	18	2
46-55	(18)	18	36	25	19	2
56-65	(17)	14	42	25	19	1
Over 65	(19)	15	35	24	22	3
<u>Urban/rural</u>						
Urban	(46)	15	39	25	18	3
Suburban	(35)	16	40	25	17	2
Rural	(20)	15	45	20	18	1
<u>Area I</u>						
Northeast	(15)	17	44	20	13	6
Industrial	(25)	13	41	30	15	1
Midlands	(15)	21	41	23	13	2
South	(19)	21	39	20	17	3
Central	(14)	13	43	20	24	1
Pacific	(13)	7	36	26	28	3
<u>Area II</u>						
California	(10)	8	38	22	29	3
West	(11)	8	38	29	23	1
New York	(8)	25	36	17	14	8
South	(13)	21	36	22	18	4
Industrial	(28)	15	40	29	15	2
Border	(8)	14	53	20	13	—
New England	(7)	10	51	23	13	4
Midwest	(15)	21	41	20	17	1

Carter's control over inflation (continued)

	<u>A lot</u>	<u>Something but not a lot</u>	<u>Only a little</u>	<u>Can't do much at all</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
<u>Overall</u>	16%	41	24	18	2
<u>Area III</u>					
South (24)	17	43	21	16	2
Industrial (52)	17	39	25	17	3
Other (24)	11	43	24	20	2

Next, we phrased the question of Carter's control over inflation another way, and discovered that a plurality of Americans feel President Carter is not handling the inflation problem as well as he could.

Which of these statements is closer to your opinion:

Inflation is so difficult that there is not much any President can do about it.	42%
(Don't know)	12
Jimmy Carter is just not handling the inflation problem as well as he could.	46

The following are some of the demographic highlights on this question:

- * Pluralities of liberals, moderates, and conservatives feel the President is not doing all he can to curb inflation.
- * Educationally, the most criticism comes from the better-educated segments.
- * Fifty-four percent of the people between the ages of 18-25 are critical of the President's handling of inflation.
- * Fifty-three percent of Midland residents are critical of the President.

A full demographic analysis follows.

Which of the following statements is closest to your opinion?

	Inflation is so difficult there is not much any President can do about it	Don't know	Jimmy Carter is just not handling the inflation problem as well as he could
<u>Overall</u>	42%	12	46
<u>Party preference</u>			
Democrat (44)	45	12	43
Independent (37)	41	12	47
Republican (17)	33	8	58
<u>Political ideology</u>			
Liberal (26)	43	11	45
Moderate (24)	40	15	45
Conservative (42)	41	9	50
<u>Carter favorability rating</u>			
Favorable (54)	55	13	31
Unfavorable (39)	26	7	68
Can't rate (7)	35	21	44
<u>Carter job perfor- mance rating</u>			
Excellent (4)*	64	18	18
Good (29)	56	16	28
Only fair (44)	39	11	50
Poor (21)	25	5	70
<u>Democratic primary for President</u>			
Carter (44)	58	14	28
Lean Carter (12)	37	16	47
Undecided (17)	33	13	54
Brown (22)	34	7	59
Lean Brown (5)	41	11	48
<u>Democratic primary for President</u>			
Kennedy (53)	40	9	51
Lean Kennedy (9)	43	9	49
Undecided (11)	35	24	40
Carter (22)	63	15	21
Lean Carter (5)	40	15	46

Which is closest to your opinion (continued)

		Inflation is so difficult there is not much any President can do about it	Don't know	Jimmy Carter is just not handling the inflation problem as well as he could
<u>Overall</u>		42%	12	46
<u>Sex</u>				
Female (50)		41	13	47
Male (50)		43	11	46
<u>Race</u>				
White (89)		42	10	47
Black (10)		41	22	37
<u>Occupation</u>				
Professional (5)		40	12	48
White collar (14)		47	8	45
White collar clerical (9)		29	16	55
Government (4)*		47	8	46
Skilled blue collar (14)		43	12	46
Unskilled blue collar (14)		45	11	44
Retired (26)		44	13	44
Self-employed (6)		43	8	50
<u>Ethnic background</u>				
Irish (11)		40	12	49
English (20)		44	10	47
French (4)*		49	5	45
German (17)		39	10	51
Italian (5)		51	10	39
Eastern European (7)		41	6	53
Scandinavian (4)*		35	5	60
Spanish (4)*		31	29	40
<u>Education</u>				
Some grade school (10)		42	16	42
Some high school (15)		45	13	42
Graduated high school (32)		45	11	44
Technical/vocational (5)		45	13	43
Some college (20)		40	10	50
Graduated college (12)		36	10	55
Graduate/professional (7)		37	11	52
<u>Religion</u>				
Protestant (58)		42	11	47
Catholic (30)		44	13	43
Jewish (4)*		17	15	69
Other (4)*		53	13	34
None (4)*		39	10	51

Which is closest to your opinion (continued)

		Inflation is so difficult there is not much any President can do about it	Don't know	Jimmy Carter is just not handling the inflation problem as well as he could
<u>Overall</u>		42%	12	46
<u>Income</u>				
\$0-3,999	(5)	45	11	45
\$4-6,999	(11)	45	18	38
\$7-9,999	(11)	39	14	48
\$10-14,999	(16)	44	11	45
\$15-19,999	(18)	39	11	50
\$20,000 or over	(29)	45	9	47
<u>Union membership</u>				
Respondent	(17)	45	11	44
Family member	(13)	45	12	44
No member	(70)	41	12	48
<u>Age</u>				
18-25	(12)	33	13	54
26-35	(17)	37	14	49
36-45	(17)	44	11	46
46-55	(18)	44	10	46
56-65	(17)	47	10	43
Over 65	(19)	45	12	43
<u>Urban/rural</u>				
Urban	(46)	39	13	49
Suburban	(35)	42	11	46
Rural	(20)	50	10	41
<u>Area I</u>				
Northeast	(15)	38	15	47
Industrial	(25)	48	9	43
Midlands	(15)	37	11	53
South	(19)	44	13	43
Central	(14)	41	9	50
Pacific	(13)	40	14	46
<u>Area II</u>				
California	(10)	38	15	47
West	(11)	45	10	46
New York	(8)	39	15	47
South	(13)	43	15	42
Industrial	(28)	45	11	44
Border	(8)	45	7	48
New England	(7)	37	15	48
Midwest	(15)	39	9	53

Which is closest to your opinion (continued)

	Inflation is so difficult there is not much any President can do about it	Don't know	Jimmy Carter is just not handling the inflation problem as well as he could
<u>Overall</u>	42%	12	46
<u>Area III</u>			
South (24)	45	11	44
Industrial (52)	42	12	47
Other (24)	40	12	48

All in all, it seems that the President is perceived as lacking significant control over inflation, but failing to properly exercise the influence he does possess.

The Carter Anti-Inflation Program

Turning to the specific administration program of voluntary wage/price guidelines, we find that only about one-sixth of our sample believe the plan will work, one-quarter are undecided on the impact of the plan, and nearly six people in ten are resigned to its failure. As the next table shows, there has been a considerable drop in the percentage of people who feel it will work, since the last quarter of 1978.

Recently, President Carter announced a new plan to fight inflation which included voluntary wage/price guidelines.
Do you think the plan will work or not?

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Not sure</u>	<u>No</u>
February, 1979	17%	25%	58
R 18 - 1979 I	9	22	69
R 17 - 1978 IV	29	24	57
* R 16 - 1978 III	15	46	40

* Pre-voluntary guidelines

Demographically, people who feel the plan has a chance of success tend to be Democrats, liberals, low-income people, and residents of the Industrial states -- though in no case do a plurality see it working. People who think the plan will fail are generally Republicans, conservatives, upper-income earners, and residents of the Central states.

Those who express uncertainty as to the success or failure of the voluntary wage/price guidelines tend to be moderates, Democrats, blacks (33%), the less-educated, lower-income people, and residents of the Northeast. Thus, the President's plan faces generally non-committal attitudes from some of the most important traditional Democratic constituencies. A full demographic breakdown of this question follows.

Recently, President Carter announced a new plan to fight inflation which included voluntary wage/price guidelines. Do you think that plan will work or not?

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Not sure</u>	<u>No</u>
<u>Overall</u>	17%	25	58
<u>Party preference</u>			
Democrat (44)	19	29	52
Independent (37)	15	23	62
Republican (17)	17	17	67
<u>Political ideology</u>			
Liberal (26)	20	23	57
Moderate (24)	16	34	50
Conservative (42)	15	19	66
<u>Carter favorability rating</u>			
Favorable (54)	22	27	52
Unfavorable (39)	10	20	70
Can't rate (7)	15	34	51
<u>Carter job performance rating</u>			
Excellent (4)*	35	30	35
Good (29)	27	29	45
Only fair (44)	13	23	65
Poor (21)	8	20	72
<u>Democratic primary for President</u>			
Carter (44)	28	30	42
Lean Carter (12)	16	27	57
Undecided (17)	12	30	58
Brown (22)	11	26	63
Lean Brown (5)	7	29	65
<u>Democratic primary for President</u>			
Kennedy (53)	14	28	58
Lean Kennedy (9)	22	24	55
Undecided (11)	15	38	47
Carter (22)	30	29	41
Lean Carter (5)	27	25	48

Wage/price guidelines; do you think it will work (continued)

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Not sure</u>	<u>No</u>
<u>Overall</u>	17%	25	58
<u>Sex</u>			
Female (50)	15	29	56
Male (50)	19	21	61
<u>Race</u>			
White (89)	16	24	60
Black (10)	22	33	45
<u>Occupation</u>			
Professional (5)	19	22	60
White collar (14)	13	17	70
White collar clerical (9)	10	27	64
Government (4)*	21	25	54
Skilled blue collar (14)	17	23	60
Unskilled blue collar (14)	21	26	52
Retired (26)	18	26	57
Self-employed (6)	9	23	68
<u>Ethnic background</u>			
Irish (11)	18	27	54
English (20)	15	19	67
French (4)*	10	18	72
German (17)	13	21	66
Italian (5)	23	26	51
Eastern European (7)	16	24	60
Scandinavian (4)*	13	25	63
Spanish (4)*	20	40	40
<u>Education</u>			
Some grade school (10)	21	33	46
Some high school (15)	18	33	50
Graduated high school (32)	19	23	58
Technical/vocational (5)	16	20	64
Some college (20)	12	24	63
Graduated college (12)	13	19	68
Graduate/professional (7)	18	20	63
<u>Religion</u>			
Protestant (58)	17	23	60
Catholic (30)	18	27	55
Jewish (4)*	15	32	53
Other (4)*	14	16	70
None (4)*	12	34	54

Wage/price guidelines; do you think it will work (continued)

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Not sure</u>	<u>No</u>
<u>Overall</u>	17%	25	58
<u>Income</u>			
\$0-3,999 (5)	26	30	44
\$4-6,999 (11)	15	30	55
\$7-9,999 (11)	19	35	46
\$10-14,999 (16)	18	26	56
\$15-19,999 (18)	15	21	64
\$20,000 or over (29)	17	18	65
<u>Union membership</u>			
Respondent (17)	20	19	61
Family member (13)	12	26	63
No member (70)	17	26	57
<u>Age</u>			
18-25 (12)	16	30	54
26-35 (17)	13	27	60
36-45 (17)	12	25	63
46-55 (18)	19	19	62
56-65 (17)	19	24	57
Over 65 (19)	20	27	53
<u>Urban/rural</u>			
Urban (46)	17	24	59
Suburban (35)	17	25	58
Rural (20)	16	26	58
<u>Area I</u>			
Northeast (15)	15	33	52
Industrial (25)	20	22	59
Midlands (15)	15	28	57
South (19)	19	25	56
Central (14)	13	19	68
Pacific (13)	15	25	60
<u>Area II</u>			
California (10)	16	26	58
West (11)	13	20	67
New York (8)	13	33	54
South (13)	19	25	56
Industrial (28)	20	22	59
Border (8)	21	22	58
New England (7)	17	34	49
Midwest (15)	12	26	62

Wage/price guidelines; do you think it will work (continued)

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Not sure</u>	<u>No</u>
<u>Overall</u>	17%	25	58
<u>Area III</u>			
South (24)	19	22	59
Industrial (52)	17	25	58
Other (24)	13	28	59

Americans seem willing to wait for a considerable period of time before expecting any meaningful results from President Carter's voluntary wage/price guidelines. As the next table shows, less than one-tenth of our sample expect immediate results, with a majority of respondents recognizing that the guidelines may take a year or longer to work their way through the economy and have an impact on inflation.

If the program does work, when do you think we should see results: right away, in a month or two, six months from now, in a year or so, or even further in the future?

Right away	3%
In a month or two	4
Six months from now	20
In a year or so	30
Further in future	26
(Don't know)	18

Another part of the President's effort to curb inflation was the submission of a lean budget to the Congress. Despite being informed of the many real spending cuts in government programs, more than six respondents in ten approve of the President's budget cuts.

In an effort to hold down government spending, the budget deficit and inflation, President Carter recently announced a budget which involves cuts in real spending on many government programs. Do you approve or disapprove of these cuts?

Approve	61%
(Don't know)	19
Disapprove	20

An added component of President Carter's anti-inflation package is the "real wage insurance" plan, which has made no real headway in Congress. In essence, this guarantees that workers who abide by wage guidelines will not be robbed of real earnings by an inflation rate in excess of 7%. As our next table shows, a near majority of Americans oppose the plan, about one-quarter are in favor of it and another one-quarter remain undecided.

President Carter also proposed a program called "real wage insurance" which would give rebates to workers who voluntarily held down wage demands if the inflation rate was higher than the guidelines. Some people say that this is only fair and will encourage success. Others say it would be too complicated to administer and might end up costing billions of dollars. In general, do you favor or oppose the idea?

Favor	26%
(Don't know)	26
Oppose	47

The crucial undecided block of respondents tend to be (somewhat surprisingly) Democrats, moderates, people who lean to Senator Kennedy in a race with the President (43%), blacks, the less-educated (probably due to the complexity of the plan's provisions), low-income people, the very old and very young, and residents of the Northeast and Pacific states.

A full demographic analysis of this question appears on the next few pages.

President Carter also proposed a program called "real wage insurance" which would give rebates to workers who voluntarily held down wage demands if the inflation rate was higher than the guidelines. Some people say that this is only fair and will encourage success. Others say it would be too complicated to administer and might end up costing billions of dollars. In general, do you favor or oppose the idea?

	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>Oppose</u>
<u>Overall</u>	26%	26	47
<u>Party preference</u>			
Democrat (44)	29	30	41
Independent (37)	26	23	51
Republican (17)	19	23	58
<u>Political ideology</u>			
Liberal (26)	32	27	42
Moderate (24)	25	29	46
Conservative (42)	25	19	56
<u>Carter favorability rating</u>			
Favorable (54)	31	29	40
Unfavorable (39)	22	22	57
Can't rate (7)	23	29	49
<u>Carter job performance rating</u>			
Excellent (4)*	38	25	37
Good (29)	34	29	37
Only fair (44)	24	23	53
Poor (21)	18	28	54
<u>Democratic primary for President</u>			
Carter (44)	31	31	37
Lean Carter (12)	27	33	40
Undecided (17)	30	36	34
Brown (22)	20	26	54
Lean Brown (5)	46	21	33
<u>Democratic primary for President</u>			
Kennedy (53)	29	29	42
Lean Kennedy (9)	26	43	31
Undecided (11)	24	38	38
Carter (22)	31	25	44
Lean Carter (5)	28	39	33

... "real wage insurance" (continued)

		<u>Favor</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>Oppose</u>
<u>Overall</u>		26%	26	47
<u>Sex</u>				
Female	(50)	26	31	44
Male	(50)	27	22	51
<u>Race</u>				
White	(89)	26	25	49
Black	(10)	32	32	36
<u>Occupation</u>				
Professional	(5)	36	17	47
White collar	(14)	26	17	58
White collar clerical	(9)	23	28	49
Government	(4)*	29	24	47
Skilled blue collar	(14)	31	22	47
Unskilled blue collar	(14)	26	34	40
Retired	(26)	22	31	47
Self-employed	(6)	27	19	55
<u>Ethnic background</u>				
Irish	(11)	25	32	43
English	(20)	21	20	59
French	(4)*	16	27	57
German	(17)	25	24	51
Italian	(5)	34	26	40
Eastern European	(7)	29	29	42
Scandinavian	(4)*	34	13	52
Spanish	(4)*	32	48	21
<u>Education</u>				
Some grade school	(10)	22	37	41
Some high school	(15)	26	37	37
Graduated high school	(32)	29	26	45
Technical/vocational	(5)	29	21	50
Some college	(20)	25	20	55
Graduated college	(12)	29	17	54
Graduate/professional	(7)	21	23	56
<u>Religion</u>				
Protestant	(58)	25	25	50
Catholic	(30)	29	27	44
Jewish	(4)*	30	30	40
Other	(4)*	28	33	40
None	(4)*	18	29	53

... "real wage insurance" (continued)

		<u>Favor</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>Oppose</u>
<u>Overall</u>		26%	26	47
<u>Income</u>				
\$0-3,999	(5)	25	42	33
\$4-6,999	(11)	26	39	34
\$7-9,999	(11)	35	26	39
\$10-14,999	(16)	26	30	45
\$15-19,999	(18)	28	19	53
\$20,000 or over	(29)	26	16	58
<u>Union membership</u>				
Respondent	(17)	29	22	49
Family member	(13)	28	31	41
No member	(70)	26	26	48
<u>Age</u>				
18-25	(12)	33	30	38
26-35	(17)	31	24	45
36-45	(17)	27	24	49
46-55	(18)	25	24	51
56-65	(17)	29	24	48
Over 65	(19)	19	31	50
<u>Urban/rural</u>				
Urban	(46)	30	27	43
Suburban	(35)	23	25	52
Rural	(20)	22	28	49
<u>Area I</u>				
Northeast	(15)	37	30	33
Industrial	(25)	25	25	51
Midlands	(15)	31	24	45
South	(19)	21	27	52
Central	(14)	24	23	54
Pacific	(13)	23	30	47
<u>Area II</u>				
California	(10)	21	30	49
West	(11)	27	24	49
New York	(8)	42	35	24
South	(13)	21	27	52
Industrial	(28)	26	24	50
Border	(8)	22	27	51
New England	(7)	30	27	43
Midwest	(15)	27	25	49

... "real wage insurance" (continued)

	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>Oppose</u>
<u>Overall</u>	26%	26	47
<u>Area III</u>			
South (24)	21	26	53
Industrial (52)	27	27	46
Other (24)	29	26	45

In order for the President's anti-inflation package to win the approval of the American public, it is crucial that it be perceived as fair to all segments of society. Based on the data from this survey, that may be a very difficult task. As the next table shows, only about one-seventh of our sample feel the President's plan will affect all groups pretty much equally, while more than six respondents in ten single out one group they feel will bear the brunt of the sacrifice. The lower and middle classes are seen as the groups that will be most disadvantaged by the plan.

Do you think President Carter's anti-inflation plan affects all groups in society pretty much equally and fairly or do you think some groups are especially hurt? [IF HURT] Can you name one group that is hurt?

Low-income people, poor, lower class	19%
No, all equal	15
Middle class, middle-income groups, middle-class worker	14
Senior citizens, retired people	6
Working class, blue collar worker, working man	6
Fixed income people	4
Minorities	2
Yes, but don't know who or no group indicated	2
Low and middle-income groups	2
Little guy, common man	2
Small business	1
Farmers	1
Lower-middle class	1
Non-union factories and offices, non-union workers	1
Rich	1
(Other)	5
(Don't know)	19

The Deregulation Alternative

The concept of saving money through deregulation has been a hallmark of the Carter Administration. Many argue that further easing or elimination of various regulations would lessen producer costs and thereby dampen inflation. Given the past successes of deregulation in, for example, the airline industry, such an approach may be both an effective and popular method of attacking inflation. As the next table shows, almost one-half of our sample favor the idea of relaxed regulations to fight inflation, with only about one-third opposed.

Still another approach to fighting inflation is reducing regulations which may be beneficial in themselves -- such as air and water pollution controls, safety rules and auto mileage standards -- but which cost money to comply with and which will ultimately result in charges to the consumer in terms of higher prices. In general, would you favor or oppose relaxing some regulations to fight inflation?

Favor	48%
(Don't know)	17
Oppose	35

Opposition to this approach to fighting inflation is strongest among Democrats, liberals and moderates, (somewhat surprisingly) professional workers, the best-educated,

union members, and residents of the Pacific states. A full analysis of the demographics follows.

Still another approach to fighting inflation is reducing regulations which may be beneficial in themselves -- such as air and water pollution controls, safety rules and auto mileage standards -- but which cost money to comply with and which will ultimately result in charges to the consumer in terms of higher prices. In general, would you favor or oppose relaxing some regulations to fight inflation?

	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>Oppose</u>
<u>Overall</u>	48%	17	35
<u>Party preference</u>			
Democrat (44)	43	18	38
Independent (37)	52	15	34
Republican (17)	55	14	30
<u>Political ideology</u>			
Liberal (26)	47	16	38
Moderate (24)	40	22	38
Conservative (42)	56	11	33
<u>Carter favorability rating</u>			
Favorable (54)	44	19	37
Unfavorable (39)	55	13	32
Can't rate (7)	39	23	38
<u>Carter job performance rating</u>			
Excellent (4)*	31	28	41
Good (29)	45	19	36
Only fair (44)	48	16	36
Poor (21)	58	11	31
<u>Democratic primary for President</u>			
Carter (44)	44	19	37
Lean Carter (12)	39	15	46
Undecided (17)	39	31	29
Brown (22)	45	14	42
Lean Brown (5)	44	10	46
<u>Democratic primary for President</u>			
Kennedy (53)	42	18	40
Lean Kennedy (9)	41	23	35
Undecided (11)	42	33	25
Carter (22)	46	16	39
Lean Carter (5)	47	11	43

Favor or oppose relaxing some regulations to fight inflation (continued)

	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>Oppose</u>
<u>Overall</u>	48%	17	35
<u>Sex</u>			
Female (50)	44	20	36
Male (50)	53	14	33
<u>Race</u>			
White (89)	49	16	35
Black (10)	45	25	30
<u>Occupation</u>			
Professional (5)	37	16	47
White collar (14)	48	12	40
White collar clerical (9)	53	13	34
Government (4)*	55	9	36
Skilled blue collar (14)	45	20	34
Unskilled blue collar (14)	48	19	34
Retired (26)	51	19	31
Self-employed (6)	63	5	32
<u>Ethnic background</u>			
Irish (11)	52	16	32
English (20)	52	12	36
French (4)*	48	11	41
German (17)	51	15	34
Italian (5)	38	18	44
Eastern European (7)	43	15	41
Scandinavian (4)*	51	13	36
Spanish (4)*	54	22	24
<u>Education</u>			
Some grade school (10)	46	24	31
Some high school (15)	46	25	29
Graduated high school (32)	50	16	34
Technical/vocational (5)	47	13	40
Some college (20)	49	14	37
Graduated college (12)	54	9	37
Graduate/professional (7)	45	13	42
<u>Religion</u>			
Protestant (58)	53	17	31
Catholic (30)	44	18	38
Jewish (4)*	41	23	36
Other (4)*	42	10	48
None (4)*	37	16	47

Favor or oppose relaxing some regulations to fight inflation (continued)

		<u>Favor</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>Oppose</u>
<u>Overall</u>		48%	17	35
<u>Income</u>				
\$0-3,999	(5)	41	20	40
\$4-6,999	(11)	37	25	38
\$7-9,999	(11)	44	26	30
\$10-14,999	(16)	48	16	36
\$15-19,999	(18)	46	14	40
\$20,000 or over	(29)	56	10	34
<u>Union membership</u>				
Respondent	(17)	46	13	41
Family member	(13)	51	14	35
No member	(70)	48	18	33
<u>Age</u>				
18-25	(12)	46	16	38
26-35	(17)	46	15	39
36-45	(17)	44	17	39
46-55	(18)	52	16	33
56-65	(17)	51	17	32
Over 65	(19)	50	18	32
<u>Urban/rural</u>				
Urban	(46)	47	18	34
Suburban	(35)	46	16	38
Rural	(20)	55	14	31
<u>Area I</u>				
Northeast	(15)	49	19	32
Industrial	(25)	44	19	38
Midlands	(15)	56	13	31
South	(19)	52	17	30
Central	(14)	53	14	33
Pacific	(13)	57	18	46
<u>Area II</u>				
California	(10)	37	17	46
West	(11)	47	15	38
New York	(8)	54	21	24
South	(13)	53	18	29
Industrial	(28)	44	19	37
Border	(8)	54	14	32
New England	(7)	43	17	40
Midwest	(15)	57	11	32

Favor or oppose relaxing some regulations to fight inflation (continued)

	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>Oppose</u>
<u>Overall</u>	48%	17	35
<u>Area III</u>			
South (24)	52	18	30
Industrial (52)	46	18	36
Other (24)	49	14	37

When confronted with a choice between the deregulation approach and President Carter's wage/price guidelines, our next measure shows that more Americans would prefer a relaxing of regulations to fight inflation than would prefer the current wage/price guidelines.

If you had to choose between relaxing regulations as a method of fighting inflation, and guidelines such as President Carter has proposed, which would you take?

Relaxing regulations	39%
(Don't know)	26
President Carter's guidelines	35

Demographically, the strongest support for the relaxed regulation approach comes from Republicans, conservatives, the very wealthy, and residents of the Central states region. The strongest support for the voluntary guideline approach comes from Democrats, moderates, people earning \$4-7,000 per year, and residents of the Pacific states. A full breakdown follows.

If you had to choose between relaxing regulations as a method of fighting inflation and guidelines such as President Carter has proposed, which would you take?

	Relaxing regulations	Don't know	President Carter's guidelines
<u>Overall</u>	39%	26	35
<u>Party preference</u>			
Democrat (44)	36	27	37
Independent (37)	41	24	35
Republican (17)	45	26	29
<u>Political ideology</u>			
Liberal (26)	38	24	39
Moderate (24)	33	26	41
Conservative (42)	45	23	32
<u>Carter favorability rating</u>			
Favorable (54)	31	27	42
Unfavorable (39)	50	23	27
Can't rate (7)	38	35	27
<u>Carter job perfor- mance rating</u>			
Excellent (4)*	18	30	52
Good (29)	29	27	44
Only fair (44)	40	26	34
Poor (21)	55	23	22
<u>Democratic primary for President</u>			
Carter (44)	31	27	41
Lean Carter (12)	32	29	40
Undecided (17)	35	36	29
Brown (22)	44	23	34
Lean Brown (5)	46	17	38
<u>Democratic primary for President</u>			
Kennedy (53)	40	29	31
Lean Kennedy (9)	29	23	48
Undecided (11)	32	43	25
Carter (22)	31	20	49
Lean Carter (5)	22	26	52

...regulations/guidelines (continued)

		Relaxing regulations	Don't know	President Carter's guidelines
<u>Overall</u>		39%	26	35
<u>Sex</u>				
Female	(50)	34	28	37
Male	(50)	43	24	33
<u>Race</u>				
White	(89)	40	25	35
Black	(10)	32	32	36
<u>Occupation</u>				
Professional	(5)	27	32	41
White collar	(14)	41	24	35
White collar clerical	(9)	42	30	29
Government	(4)*	49	16	35
Skilled blue collar	(14)	40	24	36
Unskilled blue collar	(14)	39	25	37
Retired	(26)	37	27	36
Self-employed	(6)	46	24	30
<u>Ethnic background</u>				
Irish	(11)	37	29	34
English	(20)	46	21	33
French	(4)*	29	19	52
German	(17)	43	25	33
Italian	(5)	38	18	44
Eastern European	(7)	32	34	33
Scandinavian	(4)*	50	24	25
Spanish	(4)*	28	39	33
<u>Education</u>				
Some grade school	(10)	29	36	35
Some high school	(15)	39	29	32
Graduated high school	(32)	39	23	38
Technical/vocational	(5)	44	30	27
Some college	(20)	44	24	32
Graduated college	(12)	40	21	39
Graduate/professional	(7)	34	28	38
<u>Religion</u>				
Protestant	(58)	42	25	33
Catholic	(30)	33	30	37
Jewish	(4)*	34	25	42
Other	(4)*	36	20	44
None	(4)*	41	20	39

...regulations/guidelines (continued)

		Relaxing regulations	Don't know	President Carter's guidelines
<u>Overall</u>		39%	26	35
<u>Income</u>				
\$0-3,999	(5)	36	34	30
\$4-6,999	(11)	23	34	43
\$7-9,999	(11)	42	23	35
\$10-14,999	(16)	34	28	38
\$15-19,999	(18)	41	26	33
\$20,000 or over	(29)	47	18	35
<u>Union membership</u>				
Respondent	(17)	36	25	39
Family member	(13)	38	22	40
No member	(70)	40	27	33
<u>Age</u>				
18-25	(12)	39	24	37
26-35	(17)	38	31	31
36-45	(17)	38	27	35
46-55	(18)	40	23	37
56-65	(17)	40	25	34
Over 65	(19)	36	26	38
<u>Urban/rural</u>				
Urban	(46)	36	28	36
Suburban	(35)	38	25	37
Rural	(20)	46	26	28
<u>Area I</u>				
Northeast	(15)	39	25	36
Industrial	(25)	36	25	39
Midlands	(15)	39	33	28
South	(19)	38	27	35
Central	(14)	43	27	30
Pacific	(13)	38	21	41
<u>Area II</u>				
California	(10)	40	22	39
West	(11)	39	27	34
New York	(8)	44	21	36
South	(13)	39	26	35
Industrial	(28)	36	26	38
Border	(8)	36	31	34
New England	(7)	36	28	35
Midwest	(15)	42	30	28

...regulations/guidelines (continued)

	<u>Relaxing regulations</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>President Carter's guidelines</u>
<u>Overall</u>	39%	26	35
<u>Area III</u>			
South (24)	39	29	32
Industrial (52)	39	25	36
Other (24)	38	26	36

Wage and price controls

Obviously, one alternative to the current program is controls. However, our data point to a reversal in a year-long trend of increasing support for the concept of wage and price controls. In both our Cambridge Report and DNC data, we have witnessed dramatic drops in the percentage of people who favor the imposition of either wage or price controls. While a plurality still favor the imposition of price controls, this support is no longer at the majority levels we saw in the third and fourth quarters of 1978. As the next table shows, nearly one-half of our sample oppose complete controls on wage and salary increases.

Favor or oppose complete controls on wage and salary increases?

	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>Oppose</u>
February 1979	40%	12	48
R18 -- 1979 I	33%	12	54
R17 -- 1978 IV	47%	12	41
R16 -- 1978 III	39%	11	50
R15 -- 1978 II	34%	15	51
R13 -- 1977 IV	31%	9	60
R12 -- 1977 III	34%	9	57
R11 -- 1977 II	36%	11	54

The demographics on this question present a hodgepodge of seemingly contradictory groups. Strongest support for

wage controls comes from Democrats, conservatives, the very poor, union members, the elderly, and residents of the Northeast. Strong opposition to the wage controls comes from Republicans, moderates, the very wealthy, the very young and residents of the Central states. A full demographic breakdown of these results appears on the next few pages.

Would you favor or oppose complete controls on wages and salary increases to fight inflation?

	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>Oppose</u>
<u>Overall</u>	40%	12	48
<u>Party preference</u>			
Democrat (44)	44	12	43
Independent (37)	37	13	50
Republican (17)	38	9	53
<u>Political ideology</u>			
Liberal (26)	41	12	48
Moderate (24)	34	17	49
Conservative (42)	43	8	48
<u>Carter favorability rating</u>			
Favorable (54)	43	11	46
Unfavorable (39)	39	11	50
Can't rate (7)	33	16	52
<u>Carter job performance rating</u>			
Excellent (4)*	34	29	37
Good (29)	45	14	41
Only fair (44)	38	8	54
Poor (21)	41	12	47
<u>Democratic primary for President</u>			
Carter (44)	50	10	40
Lean Carter (12)	33	21	46
Undecided (17)	44	14	42
Brown (22)	44	13	43
Lean Brown (5)	32	16	52
<u>Democratic primary for President</u>			
Kennedy (53)	49	11	40
Lean Kennedy (9)	39	13	49
Undecided (11)	34	22	44
Carter (22)	42	11	47
Lean Carter (5)	42	21	37

...favor/oppose complete controls (continued)

		<u>Favor</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>Oppose</u>
<u>Overall</u>		40%	12	48
<u>Sex</u>				
Female	(50)	37	15	48
Male	(50)	44	10	47
<u>Race</u>				
White	(89)	40	12	48
Black	(10)	38	16	46
<u>Occupation</u>				
Professional	(5)	23	13	64
White collar	(14)	30	9	61
White collar clerical	(9)	31	13	56
Government	(4)*	44	10	47
Skilled blue collar	(14)	42	12	46
Unskilled blue collar	(14)	38	15	47
Retired	(26)	49	14	37
Self-employed	(6)	44	5	51
<u>Ethnic background</u>				
Irish	(11)	37	14	49
English	(20)	36	10	55
French	(4)*	44	13	44
German	(17)	43	9	48
Italian	(5)	51	12	37
Eastern European	(7)	44	12	45
Scandinavian	(4)*	30	9	61
Spanish	(4)*	49	25	26
<u>Education</u>				
Some grade school	(10)	56	15	29
Some high school	(15)	47	17	36
Graduated high school	(32)	43	12	44
Technical/vocational	(5)	38	12	50
Some college	(20)	37	10	53
Graduated college	(12)	24	9	67
Graduate/professional	(7)	20	11	69
<u>Religion</u>				
Protestant	(58)	40	12	48
Catholic	(30)	45	12	42
Jewish	(4)*	41	15	44
Other	(4)*	27	9	64
None	(4)*	19	18	63

...favor/oppose complete controls (continued)

		<u>Favor</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>Oppose</u>
<u>Overall</u>		40%	12	48
<u>Income</u>				
\$0-3,999	(5)	51	14	35
\$4-6,999	(11)	47	17	36
\$7-9,999	(11)	45	16	38
\$10-14,999	(16)	44	10	46
\$15-19,999	(18)	40	12	48
\$20,000 or over	(29)	32	7	61
<u>Union membership</u>				
Respondent	(17)	47	10	43
Family member	(13)	44	13	44
No member	(70)	38	13	49
<u>Age</u>				
18-25	(12)	33	12	55
26-35	(17)	32	16	52
36-45	(17)	38	11	51
46-55	(18)	39	11	50
56-65	(17)	48	13	40
Over 65	(19)	49	10	41
<u>Urban/rural</u>				
Urban	(46)	40	12	48
Suburban	(35)	41	12	47
Rural	(20)	40	13	36
<u>Area I</u>				
Northeast	(15)	49	13	39
Industrial	(25)	43	10	47
Midlands	(15)	41	11	49
South	(19)	40	15	45
Central	(14)	31	9	59
Pacific	(13)	35	17	48
<u>Area II</u>				
California	(10)	33	18	49
West	(11)	31	12	57
New York	(8)	58	12	30
South	(13)	40	15	45
Industrial	(28)	43	11	46
Border	(8)	39	11	50
New England	(7)	39	14	47
Midwest	(15)	38	10	52

...favor/oppose complete controls (continued)

	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>Oppose</u>
<u>Overall</u>	40%	12	48
<u>Area III</u>			
South (24)	37	13	50
Industrial (52)	42	12	46
Other (24)	39	13	48

Our next table shows the course of public opinion on the question of price controls.

Do you generally favor or oppose complete controls on prices?

	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>Oppose</u>
February 1979	48%	12	40
R18 -- 1979 I	45%	12	43
R17 -- 1978 IV	55%	12	33
R16 -- 1978 III	50%	10	40
R15 -- 1978 II	46%	10	44
R13 -- 1977 IV	38%	10	52
R12 -- 1977 III	43%	9	48
R11 -- 1977 II	43%	10	46

Demographically, the strongest support for price controls comes from Democrats, liberals, people earning \$7-10,000 per year, union members, people approaching retirement age and residents of the Northeast. Strongest opposition to price controls comes from Republicans, conservatives, those earning over \$20,000 per year, people aged 46-55 and residents of the Central states. A full demographic breakdown follows.

Would you favor or oppose complete controls on prices to fight inflation?

	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>Oppose</u>
<u>Overall</u>	48%	12	40
<u>Party preference</u>			
Democrat (44)	54	13	34
Independent (37)	47	11	42
Republican (17)	40	11	49
<u>Political ideology</u>			
Liberal (26)	55	10	35
Moderate (24)	43	17	40
Conservative (42)	47	8	45
<u>Carter favorability rating</u>			
Favorable (54)	51	11	38
Unfavorable (39)	47	12	41
Can't rate (7)	41	17	43
<u>Carter job performance rating</u>			
Excellent (4)*	40	24	36
Good (29)	51	13	36
Only fair (44)	47	8	45
Poor (21)	51	13	36
<u>Democratic primary for President</u>			
Carter (44)	55	10	35
Lean Carter (12)	50	21	29
Undecided (17)	60	15	25
Brown (22)	48	12	39
Lean Brown (5)	48	13	39
<u>Democratic primary for President</u>			
Kennedy (53)	63	10	27
Lean Kennedy (9)	49	11	40
Undecided (11)	46	23	31
Carter (22)	40	12	48
Lean Carter (5)	45	28	26

...favor/oppose complete price controls (continued)

		<u>Favor</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>Oppose</u>
<u>Overall</u>		48%	12	40
<u>Sex</u>				
Female (50)		48	14	38
Male (50)		48	10	42
<u>Race</u>				
White (89)		47	11	42
Black (10)		61	18	21
<u>Occupation</u>				
Professional (5)		27	13	60
White collar (14)		44	8	49
White collar clerical (9)		44	9	47
Government (4)*		47	12	41
Skilled blue collar (14)		53	12	35
Unskilled blue collar (14)		54	13	32
Retired (26)		50	15	35
Self-employed (6)		46	5	49
<u>Ethnic background</u>				
Irish (11)		45	12	43
English (20)		42	9	49
French (4)*		61	13	27
German (17)		47	13	40
Italian (5)		60	8	32
Eastern European (7)		56	9	35
Scandinavian (4)*		39	7	55
Spanish (4)*		62	13	25
<u>Education</u>				
Some grade school (10)		62	15	24
Some high school (15)		60	15	25
Graduated high school (32)		52	14	34
Technical/vocational (5)		49	12	39
Some college (20)		42	9	48
Graduated college (12)		32	8	61
Graduate/professional (7)		26	9	65
<u>Religion</u>				
Protestant (58)		47	12	41
Catholic (30)		54	12	34
Jewish (4)*		62	9	29
Other (4)*		33	6	61
None (4)*		39	12	49

...favor/oppose complete price controls (continued)

		<u>Favor</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>Oppose</u>
<u>Overall</u>		48%	12	40
<u>Income</u>				
\$0-3,999	(5)	58	20	22
\$4-6,999	(11)	57	13	30
\$7-9,999	(11)	62	14	24
\$10-14,999	(16)	46	12	42
\$15-19,999	(18)	48	11	42
\$20,000 or over	(29)	40	7	53
<u>Union membership</u>				
Respondent	(17)	56	8	35
Family member	(13)	54	14	32
No member	(70)	46	12	42
<u>Age</u>				
18-25	(12)	49	12	40
26-35	(17)	46	12	41
36-45	(17)	48	13	40
46-55	(18)	46	10	43
56-65	(17)	54	11	35
Over 65	(19)	48	12	40
<u>Urban/rural</u>				
Urban	(46)	53	12	35
Suburban	(35)	46	11	43
Rural	(20)	42	14	44
<u>Area I</u>				
Northeast	(15)	60	11	29
Industrial	(25)	51	11	38
Midlands	(15)	51	12	37
South	(19)	48	14	38
Central	(14)	40	7	53
Pacific	(13)	37	17	46
<u>Area II</u>				
California	(10)	36	17	48
West	(11)	36	9	55
New York	(8)	74	9	17
South	(13)	46	16	38
Industrial	(28)	51	12	37
Border	(8)	52	8	40
New England	(7)	43	15	42
Midwest	(15)	51	10	39

...favor/oppose complete price controls (continued)

	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>Oppose</u>
<u>Overall</u>	48%	12	40
<u>Area III</u>			
South (24)	45	13	43
Industrial (52)	51	12	37
Other (24)	46	11	43

Our data indicate that there is a clear preference among Americans for price controls over wage controls. However, when the two are presented as a package, almost one-half are opposed to wage and price controls together. As the next table shows, less than four respondents in ten support such a package.

Would you favor or oppose complete controls on wages and prices?

Favor	38%
(Don't know)	13
Oppose	49

Interestingly, support for the wage/price package is more likely to come from supporters of price controls than supporters of wage controls.

	<u>Support for price controls alone</u>	<u>Support for wage controls alone</u>
Supporters of wage/ price package	85%	80%

Similarly, opposition to the wage/price package is more likely to come from opponents of wage controls than from opponents of price controls.

	Opposition to price controls alone	Opposition to wage controls alone
Opposition to wage/price package	69%	79%

Conclusions

The results of this survey show that Americans are still gravely concerned about the inflation that has plagued them for most of this decade. However, they refuse to accept inflation as an inevitable fact of life. They foresee inflation worsening over the next year, and see a corresponding decline in the economy at large. Many worry about their own personal financial future.

While most Americans continue to believe that the President has only limited control over inflation, the trend points to an increasing belief that he can at least "do something" if not "a lot". What the President has done so far comes in for fairly heavy criticism. For example, despite the anti-inflation package he presented to Congress, nearly one-half of the American public think he is not handling the inflation problem as well as he could. Nearly six people in ten feel the President's wage/price guidelines will fail. However, perhaps due to its tax-slashing nature, Americans overwhelmingly favor the President's

leaner budget. The "real wage insurance" plan is opposed by a plurality of Americans, including many key elements of the traditional Democratic constituency. Moreover, most people believe that the President's plan will disproportionately affect lower-and middle-class people.

There are some positive results. More than three-quarters of the public recognize that the President's plan may not yield tangible results until at least six months from its inception. People are supportive of easing industry regulation as a way of dampening the inflationary spiral, a policy which the Administration has always supported in principle.

Our data on wage/price controls shows a reversal of the previous trend in support of such measures. A near majority opposes wage controls, and while a plurality support price controls, the percentage has dropped seven points since the fourth quarter of 1978. Similarly, a near majority opposes a combined wage/price control package.

All in all, the President is faced with a public that is growing increasingly restless about the government's inability to solve the inflation problem. They are continuing to hold out hope that such solutions will be forthcoming, but are pessimistic about the President's policies that are now in place and, perhaps more importantly, divided on whether he can be effective against inflation at all.

The fact that they are receptive to the President's "tight" Federal budget, suggests that they view government as a prime source of inflationary difficulties. The willingness to try a policy of eased regulation of business reinforces this interpretation. Any further anti-inflation policy must take these attitudes into account.

system.

As the table below indicates, a surprising one-fifth of Americans support a totally nationalized system, about one-third support the essential elements of Senator Kennedy's plan, and slightly more than one-quarter support a plan resembling the President's. Only about one-seventh support the current system.

Some people have proposed a national medical or health care system. I'm going to read you four different proposals and I'd like you to tell me which one you most support.

Keeping things as they are today.	16%
A small system where poor people are given medical insurance and everyone is protected against a sudden major illness.	27
A system of national health insurance where everyone is guaranteed as much health care as he or she needs.	32
A totally nationalized system where not only is everyone guaranteed as much health care as he or she needs, but doctors and hospitals are taken over by the government and fees, salaries and prices are regulated.	18
(Not sure)	7

Alienation

The extent to which Americans feel unable to affect the political process will have an impact on their percep-

tions of political institutions like the Presidency. A feeling of detachment from the process of decision-making fosters disinterest and non-participation. The belief that one has a stake in the eventual outcome of public policy questions understandably stimulates interest and action.

Our first question asks respondents to agree or disagree with a statement asserting that most politicians don't really care about the average person. As the comparative table below shows, slightly more people agree with the statement than did in the fourth quarter of 1978. It should also be noted that indecision on this question has been nearly cut in half since the fourth quarter of 1978.

Alienation

Most politicians don't really care about people like you.

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>(Don't know)</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
Today	59%	8	33
R17 -- 1978 IV	55%	13	33
R 9 -- 1976 IV	59%	6	35
R 7 -- 1976 II	60%	5	35
R 5 -- 1975 IV	63%	6	32
R 4 -- 1975 III	60%	5	34
R 3 -- 1975 II	52%	8	41
R 2 -- 1975 I	55%	6	39
R 1 -- 1974 IV	56%	7	38

Compared with the last quarter of 1978, Americans are a bit less skeptical about the motivations of politicians. As the table below shows, a slim majority reject the notion that all politicians are alike.

Most politicians are so similar, it doesn't
really make much difference who gets elected.

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>(Don't know)</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
Today	44%	5	51
R17 -- 1978 IV	48%	9	43
R 9 -- 1976 IV	39%	4	57
R 7 -- 1976 II	43%	3	54
R 5 -- 1975 IV	42%	6	52
R 4 -- 1975 III	42%	5	54
R 3 -- 1975 II	39%	5	56
R 2 -- 1975 I	44%	4	52
R 1 -- 1974 IV	41%	4	56

Also, there is a slight increase since the fourth quarter of 1978 in the percentage of those who disagree with the contention that Americans have been consistently lied to by their leaders over the last 10 years.

Over the last ten years, this country's leaders
 have consistently lied to the American people.

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>(Don't know)</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
Today	56%	11	33
R17 -- 1978 IV	56%	14	30
R 9 -- 1976 IV	67%	8	25
R 7 -- 1976 II	69%	7	24
R 5 -- 1975 IV	66%	8	26
R 4 -- 1975 III	68%	6	26
R 3 -- 1975 II	68%	7	25
R 2 -- 1975 I	69%	7	25

However, the perception that the country is being run for special interests and not the common man is at its highest level since the second quarter of 1976. As the next table shows, there has been an eight percentage point drop in the number of people who agree with the statement that the country is run for the average man.

Despite what some people say, this country is
 run for the good of the average person.

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>(Don't know)</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
Today	36%	9	55
R17 -- 1978 IV	44%	14	43
R 9 -- 1976 IV	41%	8	51
R 7 -- 1976 II	36%	7	57
R 5 -- 1975 IV	36%	6	58
R 3 -- 1975 II	34%	6	60
R 2 -- 1975 I	45%	8	47
R 1 -- 1974 IV	40%	7	50

Cambridge Survey Research

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MEMORANDUM

TO: The Democratic National Committee
FROM: Cambridge Survey Research
RE: Survey information on government reorganization

This memorandum will present the results of the February national survey as far as they pertain to the question of public attitudes toward government reorganization.

Defining the problem

One major aspect in the public's alienation from government these days is the widely held perception that government is inefficient, and that this inefficiency poses problems. The public blames inefficiency primarily on the bureaucracy, that is, those who are responsible for carrying out policy decisions; however, policy-makers themselves are also held accountable.

First of all, 61% of the public tell us there is considerable duplication of effort and paperwork in government and this is the major root of government's

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present difficulties. One-half of the public (50%) say a major cause of the problem lies in the fact that the bureaucracy is not well organized. Again, one-half (51%) lay blame on bad management practices: overhiring and overfunding for programs.

Actually, 80% of the public point to weak or incompetent management -- if we are to include the criticisms of poor organization as well as specific references to poor management skills. Elected policy makers are not so widely castigated as administration generally: 11% mention the President is responsible for government's problems and 14% hold the Cabinet accountable.

Congress receives criticism from as many people as blame both elements of the executive combined. The specific reference in the survey linked Congress with overspending -- a topic certain to attract the ire of the public in its present mood.

Another area which comes under fire is partly a matter of execution and partly faulty design: 28% of the public believe government too often takes on the wrong role in problem solving. Conservatives are in the forefront of this criticism, although moderates and liberals are also critical. Interestingly, for the most part these basic perceptions of what's wrong with government do not

vary much according to the respondents' political ideologies.

Interestingly, these days people are more likely to fault overspending and overdevelopment of programs (42%) than they are to criticize unsuccessful efforts to streamline government (11%).

Please look at this card. On it are some possible causes of problems in government. I'd like you to examine the reasons and tell me which one you think is the single most important cause of problems in government. Which one is second? Which is third?

	<u>1st</u>	<u>2nd</u>	<u>3rd</u>	<u>Total</u>
There is too much duplication and too much paper-work in government	27%	22%	12%	61%
The governmental departments and agencies are organized too poorly to carry out programs efficiently	25	14	11	50
Too many people work for the Federal government	9	10	12	31
Too often the government takes on the wrong role in problem solving	7	10	11	28
Government personnel are usually incompetent and unconcerned about their performance	7	9	9	25
The Congress has passed too many bills and programs	5	9	8	22
There is too much money to spend on programs	6	7	7	20
Most bureaucrats won't follow directions from above and Civil Service keeps them from being punished	3	5	8	16
The people in the Cabinet aren't really competent managers	3	4	7	14
There are insufficient amounts of money to adequately carry out programs	4	3	4	11
The President doesn't concentrate enough on managing programs	3	3	5	11
(Don't know)	2	4	5	2

Defining what constitutes a solution

While it is interesting to consider what the public views as wrong with government, the essential question for this audience is what objective or objectives do the public want -- what does the public expect to achieve -- if reform efforts are made.

The public is basically looking for cost savings: tax dollars should be better spent, waste, frills, and red tape should be cut down, and government should cost less -- these are four out of the five most widely seen outgrowths of Federal government reorganization. Sensibly, the public does not expect the quality of service or accessibility to improve. Oddly, relatively few people think that the size of the bureaucratic beast, or its complexity, will shrink: simplification of forms and reduced red tape (27%); reduction in number of employees (23%); reduction in number of governmental units (19%). Fewer than one-half as many people expect these structural efficiencies as expect to save money.

Which of the following would be the most important result of reorganizing the Federal government?

	<u>1st</u>	<u>2nd</u>	<u>3rd</u>	<u>Total</u>
Government will be more efficient; dollars will be spent better	30%	20%	11%	61%
Government will be more competent and work better	24	11	10	45
Waste and frills will be cut down	10	15	18	43
Government will cost less	9	13	10	32
Government forms will be simplified and red tape reduced	5	8	14	27
The number of Federal employees will be reduced	7	10	6	23
There will be greater accessibility for the ordinary person to agencies and programs	4	6	9	19
The number of governmental units will be reduced	3	7	5	15
There will be better delivery of services	3	4	7	14
Regulation of businesses will be reduced	2	3	5	10

Especially since the public seem to think that economics can be achieved without substantial reorganization of the bureaucracy or reduction in force, it is interesting to see that what people tell us is important to them is that current employees improve their performance and become more productive while unnecessary work be reduced.

We obtained this information by asking the public to tell us the importance they would give six possible objectives in a government reorganization effort. Interestingly, while the high priorities to curtailment of inefficient tasks (such as red tape and paperwork) and crackdowns on laziness on the job are very widespread, the paramount item is the reduction of fraud.

In view of the data we have just examined, it is hardly surprising to find -- again -- that basic restructuring is not given high priorities by most of the public.

I'm going to read you some possible parts of government reorganization efforts and after each one I'd like you to tell me how important accomplishing each of these is to you personally. Would it be very important, important, only somewhat important or not important at all?

	<u>Very important</u>	<u>Important</u>	<u>Only somewhat important</u>	<u>Not important at all</u>	<u>(Don't know)</u>
Preventing fraud in government operations	77%	92% — 15	3	2	3
Reducing red tape in government	60%	87% — 27	8	2	3
Improving the performance and productivity of Federal workers	52%	85% — 33	8	3	4
Decreasing the paperwork that business has to do	48%	80% — 32	13	4	4
Reducing the number of Federal departments and agencies	47%	77% — 30	13	4	5
Increasing public participation in the ways regulations are made	34%	69% — 35	19	7	6
Restructuring the Federal government by reorganizing the Cabinet	24%	53% — 29	23	10	15

Perceptions of structural reorganization

Not only do people tend largely to put a low priority on restructuring the government by reorganizing the Cabinet, but when we focus particularly upon that possibility, we find the

country is evenly divided, and quite uncertain, as to whether there will be any positive benefit from this. Indeed, fewer than one-third feel reorganizing the Cabinet is the key to overall reorganization, so we could say that this approach has more detractors and skeptics by a wide margin.

Some people say that reorganizing the Cabinet departments to make them more efficient is the key to reorganization. Other people say this is merely moving boxes around on organization charts and has no real impact on how government works. Which is closer to your opinion?

Reorganizing Cabinet departments is the key	31%
(Don't know)	30
Reorganization of Cabinet has no real impact	39

In examining the demographic breakdowns, we find that undecided Kennedy primary voters are very uncertain about the proposed Cabinet reorganization and seem more likely to think it has no real impact (29%) than that it would be effective (12%). The data among undecided voters in a Brown race is similar.

At the outset of this memo, we noted that people are not expecting a true "reorganization", but rather an improvement in the efficiency of the present structure. This finding is once again strengthened as we examine how

important it is that Carter reduce the government (and Cabinet) by one department. Only one American in five says it is very important, while two in five think it is somewhat important and equally large groups are skeptical or indifferent at present.

Some people say that Carter, by creating a Department of Energy and possibly creating a separate Department of Education, is actually doing the opposite of what he said he would do. How important is it to you that Carter abolish at least one department as part of reorganization: very important, only somewhat important or not really important at all?

Very important	22%
Only somewhat important	38
Not really important at all	26
(Don't know)	15

Republicans (34%) and conservatives (29%) are among the most likely to place a high priority on decreasing the number of departments.

Carter's detractors are those more likely to look favorably on cutting back on departments. However, even among these people, a plurality think it either only somewhat or not really important to go ahead and try.

Eliminating fraud

As we looked at what the public hopes to achieve in a government reorganization, we found that disclosure and stopping of fraud had a wider appeal than even other widely accepted goals, such as improving staff efficiency. Yet, two voters in five haven't heard of the GSA scandals. And, among those who have, relatively few (one in six) give the Administration high ratings for handling the situation.

Have you heard about the scandal in the GSA
— the General Services Administration? [IF
YES] Do you think the Administration is doing
an excellent, good, only fair or poor job of
investigating and cleaning up the problem?

Yes, excellent	2%
Yes, good	8
Yes, only fair	18
Yes, poor	18
Yes, (don't know)	9
Have not heard of scandal	37
(Don't know)	7

Even more of the public are unaware that President Carter is trying to reform the Federal Civil Service System. As is typical on issue awareness readings, we find that those with more limited educations are among the least likely to know of the President's reform efforts; likewise, low income respondents (less than \$7,000). Three respondents

in five living in the Northeast, and New York specifically, tell us they have not heard of the President's Civil Service reform. This is the lowest awareness level in any major region of the country. Significantly, these areas are only marginally less likely than other parts of the country to feel Civil Service reform is very important.

One part of President Carter's reorganization plan is Civil Service reform. Have you heard about efforts to reform the Federal Civil Service system or not?

Yes	40%
(Not sure)	13
No	47

How important do you feel Civil Service reform is?

Very important	38%
Somewhat important	36
Not very important	5
Not important at all	3
(Don't know)	18

Improving personnel management

As we have seen, the public really wants internal tightening and better management controls. One aspect of potential Civil Service reform which we examined specifically deals with salaries. Three-quarters of the country approve

of remodeling the government in more of a business-like image -- implicitly they have been saying this in the data already examined -- and now we find them saying that Federal pay scales should resemble wage guidelines in the private sector, even if that means cutting back on wages for government employees. In fact, even 66% of the government workers in our survey favor this proposal.

Some people say that the Federal government pays too much for some jobs in relation to private industry. Would you favor or oppose bringing Federal pay into line with pay in private industry on a regional basis, even if some government employees' salaries were reduced?

Favor	74%
(Don't know)	14
Oppose	12

Impact on the election

As we have seen repeatedly in this overview of the public's reactions to the problems and reforms of government, people are not looking to make major structural changes in the Federal government but rather to make significant changes in procedures and staff practices. These entail major reforms in management policies and practices, but do not necessarily (from the public's perspective) require reorganization.

How important is reform? We were not aware at the outset of this survey of a distinction the public seems to be making between reform and reorganization. The reader should bear in mind that there may be a distinction in fact -- for the public is actually critical of massive structural reform, such as eliminating a Cabinet ranked department.

Carter's position on reorganization appears to be fairly influential. Almost two-thirds of the public say that it is somewhat important to critical in their assessment of him at election time. This seems to be particularly the case among current Kennedy supporters -- more than one in five of whom say it is critical.

While government reform clearly has some appeal to the public, the problem the public believes the President should be working to overcome is that of inflation. As we see in the following table, reductions in the budget deficit and government spending are high priorities with only one-quarter as many as for fighting inflation.

Which of the following would you like to see President Carter work on first in the coming year? Which would you like to see him work on second?

	<u>1st</u>	<u>2nd</u>	<u>Total</u>
Reduce inflation	36%	16%	52%
Create jobs, solve unemployment	14	9	23
Reduce taxes	9	13	22
Eliminate waste and fraud	7	7	14
Reduce the deficit and government spending	5	8	13

On looking at the demographic breakdowns, we find that those most interested in government reform are the highly educated and well to do, professionals. It seems to have more appeal to older voters (those over 45) than younger. There is more apparent support in New England than other parts of the country. After inflation fighting, there seems to be some support for government reform among those with extremely low level incomes -- who may be dealing with the government more often than the rest of the public.

All in all, from a political point of view, it seems clear that the Administration would be better off with a few highly visible "scalps" -- jobs reduced, money saved, fraud eliminated -- than with any kind of massive reorganization -- however much that effort improved efficiency.

Some people say that reorganizing the Cabinet departments to make them more efficient is the key to reorganization. Other people say this is merely moving boxes around on organization charts and has no real impact on how government works. Which is closer to your opinion?

	Reorganizing Cabinet departments is the key	Don't know	Reorganization of Cabinet has no real impact
<u>Overall</u>	31%	30	39
<u>Party preference</u>			
Democrat (44)	27	35	37
Independent (37)	33	26	40
Republican (17)	33	25	42
<u>Political ideology</u>			
Liberal (26)	33	27	41
Moderate (24)	24	39	38
Conservative (42)	35	22	43
<u>Carter favorability rating</u>			
Favorable (54)	29	32	39
Unfavorable (39)	33	26	41
Can't rate (7)	24	39	38
<u>Carter job perfor- mance rating</u>			
Excellent (4)*	29	30	41
Good (29)	31	32	38
Only fair (44)	30	31	40
Poor (21)	33	27	41
<u>Democratic primary for President</u>			
Carter (44)	30	33	38
Lean Carter (12)	28	37	36
Undecided (17)	18	52	30
Brown (22)	27	27	46
Lean Brown (5)	31	32	38
<u>Democratic primary for President</u>			
Kennedy (53)	35	32	33
Lean Kennedy (9)	20	43	37
Undecided (11)	12	60	29
Carter (22)	21	26	53
Lean Carter (5)	21	40	40

...key to reorganization (continued)

		Reorganizing Cabinet departments is the key	Don't know	Reorganization of Cabinet has no real impact
<u>Overall</u>		31%	30	39
<u>Sex</u>				
Female (50)		28	36	36
Male (50)		33	25	43
<u>Race</u>				
White (89)		31	29	40
Black (10)		26	38	36
<u>Occupation</u>				
Professional (5)		24	30	46
White collar (14)		27	20	54
White collar clerical (9)		35	33	32
Government (4)*		31	30	39
Skilled blue collar (14)		32	25	43
Unskilled blue collar (14)		34	34	32
Retired (26)		31	31	38
Self-employed (6)		27	37	36
<u>Ethnic background</u>				
Irish (11)		30	34	36
English (20)		30	26	44
French (4)*		41	25	34
German (17)		33	26	41
Italian (5)		28	34	38
Eastern European (7)		28	33	39
Scandinavian (4)*		35	13	51
Spanish (4)*		25	48	26
<u>Education</u>				
Some grade school (10)		31	42	27
Some high school (15)		34	40	26
Graduated high school (32)		31	29	40
Technical/vocational (5)		33	29	39
Some college (20)		31	25	44
Graduated college (12)		30	24	47
Graduate/professional (7)		19	21	60
<u>Religion</u>				
Protestant (58)		32	29	39
Catholic (30)		31	34	35
Jewish (4)*		20	31	48
Other (4)*		22	16	62
None (4)*		31	24	45

...key to reorganization (continued)

		Reorganizing Cabinet departments is the key	Don't know	Reorganization of Cabinet has no real impact
<u>Overall</u>		31%	30	39
<u>Income</u>				
\$0-3,999	(5)	25	48	27
\$4-6,999	(11)	29	34	37
\$7-9,999	(11)	33	35	32
\$10-14,999	(16)	34	30	36
\$15-19,999	(18)	32	29	39
\$20,000 or over	(29)	29	21	51
<u>Union membership</u>				
Respondent	(17)	36	25	40
Family member	(13)	27	32	41
No member	(70)	30	31	39
<u>Age</u>				
18-25	(12)	30	31	39
26-35	(17)	26	33	41
36-45	(17)	30	27	43
46-55	(18)	32	28	40
56-65	(17)	34	30	36
Over 65	(19)	31	33	36
<u>Urban/rural</u>				
Urban	(46)	28	32	40
Suburban	(35)	32	27	41
Rural	(20)	35	32	33
<u>Area I</u>				
Northeast	(15)	29	43	28
Industrial	(25)	32	30	38
Midlands	(15)	37	27	36
South	(19)	29	29	42
Central	(14)	27	26	47
Pacific	(13)	30	25	45
<u>Area II</u>				
California	(10)	32	25	43
West	(11)	27	23	50
New York	(8)	29	45	26
South	(13)	25	32	43
Industrial	(28)	34	29	37
Border	(8)	30	28	42
New England	(7)	28	40	32
Midwest	(15)	33	29	38

...key to reorganization (continued)

	<u>Reorganizing Cabinet departments is the key</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>Reorganization of Cabinet has no real impact</u>
<u>Overall</u>	31%	30	39
<u>Area III</u>			
South (24)	26	29	45
Industrial (52)	34	30	36
Other (24)	28	32	40

Some people say that Carter, by creating a Department of Energy and possibly creating a separate Department of Education, is actually doing the opposite of what he said he would do. How important is it to you that Carter abolish at least one department as part of reorganization: very important, only somewhat important, or not really important at all?

	Very important	Only somewhat important	Not really important at all	Don't know
<u>Overall</u>	22%	38	26	15
<u>Party preference</u>				
Democrat (44)	19	38	25	18
Independent (37)	20	40	29	12
Republican (17)	34	32	21	13
<u>Political ideology</u>				
Liberal (26)	17	42	31	10
Moderate (24)	18	43	26	14
Conservative (42)	29	33	24	15
<u>Carter favorability rating</u>				
Favorable (54)	16	41	28	15
Unfavorable (39)	30	34	22	14
Can't rate (7)	20	38	24	19
<u>Carter job perfor- mance rating</u>				
Excellent (4)*	12	35	34	19
Good (29)	15	41	29	14
Only fair (44)	21	41	25	13
Poor (21)	35	29	21	15
<u>Democratic primary for President</u>				
Carter (44)	19	40	27	15
Lean Carter (12)	16	40	34	10
Undecided (17)	14	38	16	32
Brown (22)	25	36	21	17
Lean Brown (5)	17	34	39	10
<u>Democratic primary for President</u>				
Kennedy (53)	22	35	25	18
Lean Kennedy (9)	20	44	16	20
Undecided (11)	7	52	14	28
Carter (22)	19	40	30	11
Lean Carter (5)	10	31	43	16

...abolishment of at least one department (continued)

		Very important	Only somewhat important	Not really important at all	Don't know
<u>Overall</u>		22%	38	26	15
<u>Sex</u>					
Female (50)		18	39	26	17
Male (50)		25	37	26	12
<u>Race</u>					
White (89)		22	38	26	14
Black (10)		18	41	25	17
<u>Occupation</u>					
Professional (5)		13	40	38	9
White collar (14)		23	32	34	11
White collar clerical (9)		21	43	25	10
Government (4)*		19	33	40	8
Skilled blue collar (14)		15	45	24	17
Unskilled blue collar (14)		20	40	24	17
Retired (26)		29	37	19	15
Self-employed (6)		20	40	20	20
<u>Ethnic background</u>					
Irish (11)		24	37	24	14
English (20)		25	37	22	15
French (4)*		20	44	25	11
German (17)		22	41	26	11
Italian (5)		21	41	21	18
Eastern European (7)		20	38	30	12
Scandinavian (4)*		22	32	32	14
Spanish (4)*		19	33	19	29
<u>Education</u>					
Some grade school (10)		25	30	19	26
Some high school (15)		14	42	24	20
Graduated high school (32)		20	43	23	14
Technical/vocational (5)		37	33	13	17
Some college (20)		24	35	30	10
Graduated college (12)		26	32	31	11
Graduate/professional (7)		17	37	42	4
<u>Religion</u>					
Protestant (58)		25	38	23	14
Catholic (30)		20	36	26	18
Jewish (4)*		11	41	35	13
Other (4)*		16	36	32	16
None (4)*		3	41	48	8

...abolishment of at least one department (continued)

		Very important	Only somewhat important	Not really important at all	Don't know
<u>Overall</u>		22%	38	26	15
<u>Income</u>					
\$0-3,999	(5)	27	35	16	22
\$4-6,999	(11)	24	32	26	18
\$7-9,999	(11)	23	40	22	15
\$10-14,999	(16)	22	38	22	18
\$15-19,999	(18)	22	38	27	13
\$20,000 or over	(29)	19	40	32	10
<u>Union membership</u>					
Respondent	(17)	24	34	29	13
Family member	(13)	19	46	23	12
No member	(70)	22	37	26	16
<u>Age</u>					
18-25	(12)	11	42	34	14
26-35	(17)	19	38	30	13
36-45	(17)	18	41	27	15
46-55	(18)	23	37	26	14
56-65	(17)	24	38	22	17
Over 65	(19)	31	35	19	16
<u>Urban/rural</u>					
Urban	(46)	21	38	26	15
Suburban	(35)	20	38	28	14
Rural	(20)	25	38	20	16
<u>Area I</u>					
Northeast	(15)	27	30	26	17
Industrial	(25)	18	49	21	13
Midlands	(15)	19	32	35	14
South	(19)	24	35	24	17
Central	(14)	28	38	24	10
Pacific	(13)	16	38	29	18
<u>Area II</u>					
California	(10)	18	37	26	19
West	(11)	24	38	27	11
New York	(8)	26	35	25	14
South	(13)	24	35	23	18
Industrial	(28)	20	44	22	14
Border	(8)	20	42	25	12
New England	(7)	29	24	27	21
Midwest	(15)	19	36	34	12

...abolishment of at least one department (continued)

	<u>Very important</u>	<u>Only somewhat important</u>	<u>Not really important at all</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
<u>Overall</u>	22%	38	26	15
<u>Area III</u>				
South (24)	23	36	26	16
Industrial (52)	20	40	26	14
Other (24)	25	36	25	15

One part of President Carter's reorganization plan is Civil Service reform. Have you heard about the efforts to reform the Federal Civil Service system or not?

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Not sure</u>	<u>No</u>
<u>Overall</u>	40%	13	47
<u>Party preference</u>			
Democrat (44)	35	14	51
Independent (37)	46	13	41
Republican (17)	41	10	49
<u>Political ideology</u>			
Liberal (26)	43	10	47
Moderate (24)	38	16	45
Conservative (42)	42	11	47
<u>Carter favorability rating</u>			
Favorable (54)	40	12	48
Unfavorable (39)	41	12	47
Can't rate (7)	36	24	40
<u>Carter job performance rating</u>			
Excellent (4)*	38	11	51
Good (29)	39	15	46
Only fair (44)	41	11	48
Poor (21)	41	13	45
<u>Democratic primary for President</u>			
Carter (44)	36	11	53
Lean Carter (12)	32	19	50
Undecided (17)	31	17	52
Brown (22)	37	11	52
Lean Brown (5)	44	19	37
<u>Democratic primary for President</u>			
Kennedy (53)	34	10	56
Lean Kennedy (9)	37	22	41
Undecided (11)	38	17	45
Carter (22)	38	16	47
Lean Carter (5)	28	14	58

Civil Service reform (continued)

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Not sure</u>	<u>No</u>
<u>Overall</u>	40%	13	47
<u>Income</u>			
\$0-3,999 (5)	21	20	59
\$4-6,999 (11)	26	17	57
\$7-9,999 (11)	36	16	48
\$10-14,999 (16)	39	13	48
\$15-19,999 (18)	45	12	44
\$20,000 or over (29)	50	9	41
<u>Union membership</u>			
Respondent (17)	45	10	45
Family member (13)	31	15	55
No member (70)	40	13	47
<u>Age</u>			
18-25 (12)	35	14	52
26-35 (17)	39	14	47
36-45 (17)	34	16	50
46-55 (18)	44	10	46
56-65 (17)	44	8	48
Over 65 (19)	40	15	45
<u>Urban/rural</u>			
Urban (46)	42	14	44
Suburban (35)	39	13	48
Rural (20)	36	11	53
<u>Area I</u>			
Northeast (15)	31	9	60
Industrial (25)	40	13	48
Midlands (15)	44	14	43
South (19)	40	18	43
Central (14)	44	13	44
Pacific (13)	41	10	49
<u>Area II</u>			
California (10)	39	10	51
West (11)	51	14	36
New York (8)	22	10	68
South (13)	41	19	40
Industrial (28)	37	13	50
Border (8)	42	14	44
New England (7)	44	8	48
Midwest (15)	42	13	45

Civil Service reform (continued)

		<u>Yes</u>	<u>Not sure</u>	<u>No</u>
<u>Overall</u>		40%	13	47
<u>Sex</u>				
Female (50)		32	15	52
Male (50)		47	11	42
<u>Race</u>				
White (89)		41	13	46
Black (10)		32	14	54
<u>Occupation</u>				
Professional (5)		43	14	43
White collar (14)		55	8	37
White collar clerical (9)		33	15	52
Government (4)*		49	8	44
Skilled blue collar (14)		39	14	48
Unskilled blue collar (14)		30	11	59
Retired (26)		41	15	44
Self-employed (6)		39	11	49
<u>Ethnic background</u>				
Irish (11)		40	8	52
English (20)		44	13	42
French (4)*		38	11	51
German (17)		44	13	43
Italian (5)		41	6	53
Eastern European (7)		37	10	53
Scandinavian (4)*		36	19	45
Spanish (4)*		29	17	54
<u>Education</u>				
Some grade school (10)		25	12	63
Some high school (15)		32	15	53
Graduated high school (32)		35	13	52
Technical/vocational (5)		46	17	37
Some college (20)		44	15	41
Graduated college (12)		54	8	38
Graduate/professional (7)		65	7	28
<u>Religion</u>				
Protestant (58)		40	13	47
Catholic (30)		40	12	48
Jewish (4)*		37	9	54
Other (4)*		46	16	38
None (4)*		39	13	49

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Civil Service reform (continued)

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Not sure</u>	<u>No</u>
<u>Overall</u>	40%	13	47
<u>Area III</u>			
South (24)	45	16	39
Industrial (52)	37	11	52
Other (24)	41	14	46

How important do you feel Civil Service reform is?

	<u>Very important</u>	<u>Somewhat important</u>	<u>Not very important</u>	<u>Not important at all</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
<u>Overall</u>	38%	36	5	3	18
<u>Party preference</u>					
Democrat (44)	37	34	6	2	21
Independent (37)	39	39	5	4	13
Republican (17)	38	38	4	4	16
<u>Political ideology</u>					
Liberal (26)	39	38	6	2	16
Moderate (24)	36	39	7	3	15
Conservative (42)	42	36	4	4	15
<u>Carter favorability rating</u>					
Favorable (54)	38	37	4	2	19
Unfavorable (39)	38	38	5	4	15
Can't rate (7)	41	20	10	2	28
<u>Carter job perfor- mance rating</u>					
Excellent (4)*	31	39	10	3	16
Good (29)	37	38	4	2	19
Only fair (44)	37	39	5	3	17
Poor (21)	46	28	4	4	17
<u>Democratic primary for President</u>					
Carter (44)	36	32	6	1	25
Lean Carter (12)	38	38	4	3	18
Undecided (17)	32	36	4	4	24
Brown (22)	40	35	9	2	15
Lean Brown (5)	51	32	3	—	14
<u>Democratic primary for President</u>					
Kennedy (53)	38	33	6	2	22
Lean Kennedy (9)	38	39	7	—	16
Undecided (11)	24	43	5	5	24
Carter (22)	39	32	6	2	21
Lean Carter (5)	50	25	3	3	18

Importance of Civil Service Reform (continued)

		<u>Very important</u>	<u>Somewhat important</u>	<u>Not very important</u>	<u>Not important at all</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
<u>Overall</u>		38%	36	5	3	18
<u>Sex</u>						
Female (50)		33	37	5	2	22
Male (50)		43	35	5	4	13
<u>Race</u>						
White (89)		39	36	5	3	17
Black (10)		34	37	5	4	21
<u>Occupation</u>						
Professional (5)		37	33	12	3	15
White collar (14)		46	37	7	2	9
White collar clerical (9)		39	37	4	3	18
Government (4)*		32	45	5	2	16
Skilled blue collar (14)		36	40	5	2	18
Unskilled blue collar (14)		24	44	5	5	22
Retired (26)		44	30	4	3	20
Self-employed (6)		43	39	5	3	11
<u>Ethnic background</u>						
Irish (11)		39	27	4	5	25
English (20)		40	37	4	3	15
French (4)*		34	51	6	2	8
German (17)		41	37	2	2	17
Italian (5)		35	35	12	3	15
Eastern European (7)		41	38	5	2	13
Scandinavian (4)*		47	34	2	2	14
Spanish (4)*		36	41	2	2	20
<u>Education</u>						
Some grade school (10)		30	27	1	7	35
Some high school (15)		32	37	7	3	21
Graduated high school (32)		35	39	3	3	20
Technical/vocational (5)		53	31	4	1	10
Some college (20)		42	35	8	2	13
Graduated college (12)		43	37	8	4	8
Graduate/professional (7)		47	40	4	1	8
<u>Religion</u>						
Protestant (58)		38	35	5	3	19
Catholic (30)		38	37	5	2	18
Jewish (4)*		36	45	6	4	9
Other (4)*		35	50	2	2	11
None (4)*		37	39	6	4	14

Importance of Civil Service Reform (continued)

		<u>Very important</u>	<u>Somewhat important</u>	<u>Not very important</u>	<u>Not important at all</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
<u>Overall</u>		38%	36	5	3	18
<u>Income</u>						
\$0-3,999	(5)	38	25	3	2	33
\$4-6,999	(11)	33	35	5	3	25
\$7-9,999	(11)	37	35	8	3	17
\$10-14,999	(16)	40	37	4	5	14
\$15-19,999	(18)	38	43	6	1	12
\$20,000 or over	(29)	44	34	4	3	15
<u>Union membership</u>						
Respondent	(17)	41	34	7	4	15
Family member	(13)	29	43	5	5	18
No member	(70)	39	36	5	2	18
<u>Age</u>						
18-25	(12)	30	43	5	2	20
26-35	(17)	34	42	5	3	17
36-45	(17)	37	40	7	2	14
46-55	(18)	42	34	6	5	13
56-65	(17)	40	34	4	2	19
Over 65	(19)	43	28	4	3	21
<u>Urban/rural</u>						
Urban	(46)	38	36	5	3	18
Suburban	(35)	41	36	6	3	15
Rural	(20)	33	38	5	3	20
<u>Area I</u>						
Northeast	(15)	32	36	8	3	21
Industrial	(25)	40	38	5	3	15
Midlands	(15)	40	38	2	4	17
South	(19)	36	34	6	3	21
Central	(14)	35	37	5	4	19
Pacific	(13)	46	35	4	1	14
<u>Area II</u>						
California	(10)	48	33	3	1	14
West	(11)	34	41	8	3	14
New York	(8)	25	34	13	4	25
South	(13)	38	31	6	3	23
Industrial	(28)	41	38	4	3	14
Border	(8)	31	40	6	2	21
New England	(7)	41	37	3	3	16
Midwest	(15)	37	35	3	4	21

Importance of Civil Service Reform (continued)

	<u>Very important</u>	<u>Somewhat important</u>	<u>Not very important</u>	<u>Not important at all</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
<u>Overall</u>	38%	36	5	3	18
<u>Area III</u>					
South (24)	35	35	6	3	21
Industrial (52)	40	36	5	3	16
Other (24)	37	38	4	3	18

Some people say that reorganization is so much a part of Carter's program that it will have a lot of influence on how they feel about him when it comes time for re-election. Do you personally think his success or failure in reorganization will be absolutely critical to you, somewhat important, slightly important or not really important at all?

	Absolutely critical	Somewhat important	Slightly important	Not really important at all	Don't know
<u>Overall</u>	20%	42	16	15	7
<u>Party preference</u>					
Democrat (44)	18	46	15	13	9
Independent (37)	20	41	17	17	5
Republican (17)	26	36	15	15	8
<u>Political ideology</u>					
Liberal (26)	18	44	21	11	7
Moderate (24)	19	48	16	13	5
Conservative (42)	23	39	13	19	7
<u>Carter favorability rating</u>					
Favorable (54)	14	47	18	13	8
Unfavorable (39)	29	37	13	16	6
Can't rate (7)	17	43	14	17	10
<u>Carter job performance rating</u>					
Excellent (4)*	10	41	16	20	13
Good (29)	13	48	18	13	8
Only fair (44)	20	43	17	14	6
Poor (21)	32	35	9	19	5
<u>Democratic primary for President</u>					
Carter (44)	13	47	15	16	9
Lean Carter (12)	21	51	20	7	2
Undecided (17)	22	38	12	14	14
Brown (22)	26	49	10	9	7
Lean Brown (5)	17	40	22	11	10
<u>Democratic primary for President</u>					
Kennedy (53)	22	44	14	11	9
Lean Kennedy (9)	22	54	16	4	5
Undecided (11)	13	45	11	16	15
Carter (22)	12	43	17	20	8
Lean Carter (5)	11	65	14	11	—

Importance of Carter's reorganization program on his re-election (continued)

		<u>Absolutely critical</u>	<u>Somewhat important</u>	<u>Slightly important</u>	<u>Not really important at all</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
<u>Overall</u>		20%	42	16	15	7
<u>Sex</u>						
Female (50)		18	44	13	16	9
Male (50)		22	41	18	14	6
<u>Race</u>						
White (89)		20	43	15	15	7
Black (10)		19	40	17	13	11
<u>Occupation</u>						
Professional (5)		12	52	23	9	4
White collar (14)		22	43	18	17	1
White collar clerical (9)		22	40	11	19	9
Government (4)*		8	52	13	23	4
Skilled blue collar (14)		18	51	13	12	7
Unskilled blue collar (14)		19	47	15	12	8
Retired (26)		22	37	16	17	8
Self-employed (6)		25	46	16	8	6
<u>Ethnic background</u>						
Irish (11)		19	43	12	14	11
English (20)		20	43	15	19	4
French (4)*		34	35	19	6	5
German (17)		19	44	19	13	5
Italian (5)		17	46	12	17	8
Eastern European (7)		19	49	13	16	4
Scandinavian (4)*		22	42	19	11	7
Spanish (4)*		10	47	9	19	16
<u>Education</u>						
Some grade school (10)		17	42	9	16	16
Some high school (15)		14	43	15	16	11
Graduated high school (32)		19	45	16	14	6
Technical/vocational (5)		32	34	17	8	9
Some college (20)		22	41	16	17	4
Graduated college (12)		22	37	20	16	5
Graduate/professional (7)		23	48	18	10	1
<u>Religion</u>						
Protestant (58)		21	41	16	16	7
Catholic (30)		20	46	13	14	8
Jewish (4)*		13	49	19	10	10
Other (4)*		16	43	20	20	2
None (4)*		10	38	29	13	11

Importance of Carter's reorganization program on his re-election (continued)

		<u>Absolutely critical</u>	<u>Somewhat important</u>	<u>Slightly important</u>	<u>Not really important at all</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
<u>Overall</u>		20%	42	16	15	7
<u>Income</u>						
\$0-3,999	(5)	27	29	14	15	16
\$4-6,999	(11)	20	40	15	16	9
\$7-9,999	(11)	22	42	16	11	9
\$10-14,999	(16)	17	44	19	14	7
\$15-19,999	(18)	19	45	16	16	4
\$20,000 or over	(29)	22	42	15	16	5
<u>Union membership</u>						
Respondent	(17)	26	41	14	13	6
Family member	(13)	19	44	15	18	5
No member	(70)	19	43	16	15	8
<u>Age</u>						
18-25	(12)	14	40	23	13	10
26-35	(17)	20	45	15	13	8
36-45	(17)	20	47	17	12	4
46-55	(18)	20	46	14	13	6
56-65	(17)	22	41	13	19	6
Over 65	(19)	21	37	17	16	10
<u>Urban/rural</u>						
Urban	(46)	16	44	17	16	8
Suburban	(35)	24	40	16	13	6
Rural	(20)	21	44	13	15	7
<u>Area I</u>						
Northeast	(15)	26	38	16	12	9
Industrial	(25)	18	47	18	11	6
Midlands	(15)	24	38	15	17	7
South	(19)	17	42	15	17	10
Central	(14)	21	42	12	21	3
Pacific	(13)	16	44	19	15	7
<u>Area II</u>						
California	(10)	17	45	16	16	7
West	(11)	21	43	16	15	4
New York	(8)	27	32	16	13	13
South	(13)	16	40	16	20	9
Industrial	(28)	19	45	17	12	7
Border	(8)	17	52	15	8	8
New England	(7)	25	44	16	10	6
Midwest	(15)	21	37	14	22	6

Importance of Carter's reorganization program on his re-election (continued)

	<u>Absolutely critical</u>	<u>Somewhat important</u>	<u>Slightly important</u>	<u>Not really important at all</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
<u>Overall</u>	20%	42	16	15	7
<u>Area III</u>					
South (24)	17	44	15	15	8
Industrial (52)	21	42	16	14	8
Other (24)	20	41	17	17	5

Which of the following would you like to see President Carter work on second in the coming year? *

1. Working to reduce inflation
2. Cutting new jobs, solving unemployment
3. Working to reduce taxes
4. Eliminating waste and fraud in government
5. Working to reduce the budget deficit and reduce government spending

	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>
<u>Overall</u>	16%	9	13	7	8
<u>Party preference</u>					
Democrat (44)	16	10	13	6	6
Independent (37)	15	10	12	8	8
Republican (17)	17	6	14	7	10
<u>Political ideology</u>					
Liberal (26)	14	12	13	6	6
Moderate (24)	18	8	15	7	9
Conservative (42)	15	7	12	8	9
<u>Carter favorability rating</u>					
Favorable (54)	16	11	13	6	7
Unfavorable (39)	16	7	13	7	10
Can't rate (7)	14	9	11	9	7
<u>Carter job performance rating</u>					
Excellent (4)*	14	5	10	—	3
Good (29)	18	9	12	8	7
Only fair (44)	14	10	14	7	7
Poor (21)	18	8	12	6	11
<u>Democratic primary for President</u>					
Carter (44)	16	10	12	5	7
Lean Carter (12)	11	11	24	10	—
Undecided (17)	22	6	9	6	9
Brown (22)	14	14	11	10	3
Lean Brown (5)	13	15	13	5	5

* These responses represent the five highest choices; See Appendix for complete question and responses.

Second problem you'd like to have Carter work on (continued)

		<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>
<u>Overall</u>		16%	9	13	7	8
<u>Democratic primary for President</u>						
Kennedy	(53)	19	11	13	7	4
Lean Kennedy	(9)	11	17	20	6	7
Undecided	(11)	13	6	10	4	10
Carter	(22)	14	10	14	11	—
Lean Carter	(5)	12	11	18	6	7
<u>Sex</u>						
Female	(50)	16	9	12	7	9
Male	(50)	15	9	13	6	7
<u>Race</u>						
White	(89)	16	9	13	7	8
Black	(10)	14	14	17	2	4
<u>Occupation</u>						
Professional	(5)	11	7	10	11	6
White collar	(14)	16	6	15	6	10
White collar clerical	(9)	19	9	9	8	4
Government	(4)*	26	6	16	6	4
Skilled blue collar	(14)	15	10	15	10	11
Unskilled blue collar	(14)	13	13	14	6	6
Retired	(26)	14	8	12	5	9
Self-employed	(6)	14	13	13	3	5
<u>Ethnic background</u>						
Irish	(11)	14	11	12	5	10
English	(20)	15	7	11	9	12
French	(4)*	13	10	16	6	12
German	(17)	14	7	15	8	7
Italian	(5)	31	5	6	6	5
Eastern European	(7)	18	13	9	7	5
Scandinavian	(4)*	16	6	15	9	4
Spanish	(4)*	22	26	11	2	6

Second problem you'd like to have Carter work on (continued)

	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>
<u>Overall</u>	16%	9	13	7	8
<u>Education</u>					
Some grade school (10)	14	13	15	4	7
Some high school (15)	17	10	18	7	4
High school graduate (32)	17	11	12	7	8
Technical/vocational (5)	19	8	10	6	12
Some college (20)	15	9	14	9	7
College graduate (12)	14	7	8	6	9
Graduate/professional (7)	14	2	13	7	9
<u>Religion</u>					
Protestant (58)	14	9	13	8	8
Catholic (30)	19	9	13	5	6
Jewish (4)*	19	21	11	4	7
Other (4)*	15	—	6	5	13
None (4)*	18	17	13	7	5
<u>Income</u>					
\$0-3,999 (5)	20	7	10	7	10
\$4-6,999 (11)	12	13	12	4	4
\$7-9,999 (11)	14	12	18	7	6
\$10-14,999 (16)	15	11	9	7	9
\$15-19,999 (18)	17	6	15	5	9
\$20,000 or over (29)	17	9	10	9	8
<u>Union membership</u>					
Respondent (17)	18	10	12	6	9
Family member (13)	13	12	15	4	7
No member (70)	16	9	13	8	8
<u>Age</u>					
18-25 (12)	12	17	14	4	7
26-35 (17)	15	9	15	6	5
36-45 (17)	15	9	12	7	7
46-55 (18)	17	10	12	10	10
56-65 (17)	18	8	12	7	10
Over 65 (19)	15	7	13	6	8
<u>Urban/rural</u>					
Urban (46)	17	12	12	5	5
Suburban (35)	17	7	14	7	9
Rural (20)	9	8	12	9	10

Second problem you'd like to have Carter work on (continued)

		<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>
<u>Overall</u>		16%	9	13	7	8
<u>Area I</u>						
Northwest	(15)	23	13	8	3	10
Industrial	(25)	18	10	14	8	7
Midlands	(15)	12	10	16	6	6
South	(19)	13	7	13	9	7
Central	(14)	12	9	12	5	9
Pacific	(13)	16	8	14	9	7
<u>Area II</u>						
California	(10)	16	7	13	9	8
West	(11)	14	10	12	6	7
New York	(8)	26	22	11	4	5
South	(13)	9	6	14	11	9
Industrial	(28)	17	10	13	8	7
Border	(8)	21	15	12	5	4
New England	(7)	20	2	7	1	17
Midwest	(15)	10	6	17	5	6
<u>Area III</u>						
South	(24)	14	10	13	9	7
Industrial	(52)	18	10	13	7	7
Other	(24)	13	6	12	4	10

Which of the following would you like to see President Carter work on first in the coming year? *

- (1) Working to reduce inflation
- (2) Creating new jobs/solving unemployment
- (3) Working to reduce taxes
- (4) Eliminating waste and fraud in government
- (5) Working to reduce the budget deficit and reduce government spending

	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>
<u>Overall</u>	36%	14	9	7	5
<u>Party preference</u>					
Democrat (44)	35	18	9	7	2
Independent (37)	38	11	9	6	6
Republican (17)	37	8	9	10	12
<u>Political ideology</u>					
Liberal (26)	35	17	9	6	1
Moderate (24)	37	13	9	7	3
Conservative (42)	38	9	8	8	9
<u>Carter favorability rating</u>					
Favorable (54)	38	14	10	6	4
Unfavorable (39)	38	12	9	7	7
Can't rate (7)	22	16	4	11	5
<u>Carter job performance rating</u>					
Excellent (4)*	30	21	5	8	--
Good (29)	33	14	12	7	5
Only fair (44)	40	12	7	6	4
Poor (21)	37	13	11	9	9
<u>Democratic primary for President</u>					
Carter (44)	34	18	9	8	2
Lean Carter (12)	36	19	7	10	4
Undecided (17)	42	19	7	6	1
Brown (22)	30	23	10	3	2
Lean Brown (5)	37	6	11	3	3
<u>Democratic primary for President</u>					
Kennedy (53)	34	19	8	5	1
Lean Kennedy (9)	44	22	7	4	2
Undecided (11)	38	24	5	3	3
Carter (22)	34	13	12	12	4
Lean Carter (5)	29	17	15	8	4

*These responses represent the five highest choices. See Appendix for complete question responses.

...Carter work on first (continued)

	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>
<u>Overall</u>	36%	14	9	7	5
<u>Sex</u>					
Female (50)	36	13	10	7	5
Male (50)	37	14	8	7	6
<u>Race</u>					
White (89)	38	11	10	7	6
Black (10)	23	38	4	4	1
<u>Occupation</u>					
Professional (5)	35	12	7	3	15
White collar (14)	43	10	7	4	4
White collar clerical (9)	36	10	9	6	9
Government (4)*	24	12	4	13	8
Skilled blue collar (14)	34	16	12	6	3
Unskilled blue collar (14)	31	18	11	5	2
Retired (26)	39	14	7	11	5
Self-employed (6)	51	1	12	6	5
<u>Ethnic background</u>					
Irish (11)	39	10	9	13	1
English (20)	38	8	10	8	7
French (4)*	40	15	5	6	--
German (17)	41	8	10	4	8
Italian (5)	33	21	7	10	6
Eastern European (7)	37	15	10	5	4
Scandinavian (4)*	39	2	11	4	15
Spanish (4)*	31	24	10	4	2
<u>Education</u>					
Some grade school (10)	32	18	9	9	3
Some high school (15)	32	19	12	5	1
Graduated high school (32)	38	12	9	9	4
Technical/vocational (5)	31	12	8	11	6
Some college (20)	40	11	9	6	7
Graduated college (12)	39	11	6	3	5
Graduate/professional (7)	34	16	5	3	16
<u>Religion</u>					
Protestant (58)	35	13	9	8	6
Catholic (30)	39	14	9	6	4
Jewish (4)*	42	15	13	4	--
Other (4)*	40	10	--	8	12
None (4)*	26	23	9	2	--

...Carter work on first (continued)

	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>
<u>Overall</u>	36%	14	9	7	5
<u>Income</u>					
\$0-3,999 (5)	21	26	10	13	3
\$4-6,999 (11)	39	18	4	9	4
\$7-9,999 (11)	38	18	10	6	4
\$10-14,999 (16)	36	10	12	6	4
\$15-19,999 (18)	36	12	8	9	2
\$20,000 or over (29)	38	8	8	5	9
<u>Union membership</u>					
Respondent (17)	30	16	10	7	2
Family member (13)	33	10	12	5	5
No member (70)	39	14	8	7	6
<u>Age</u>					
18-25 (12)	33	18	11	4	--
26-35 (17)	40	16	7	3	3
36-45 (17)	37	10	9	5	4
46-55 (18)	34	12	9	8	8
56-65 (17)	38	14	11	8	4
Over 65 (19)	37	13	7	11	9
<u>Urban/rural</u>					
Urban (46)	34	18	9	4	5
Suburban (35)	38	11	8	9	4
Rural (20)	40	9	9	9	8
<u>Area I</u>					
Northeast (15)	36	12	8	9	2
Industrial (25)	39	16	6	5	4
Midlands (15)	36	10	7	7	7
South (19)	36	13	8	7	7
Central (14)	35	10	19	9	9
Pacific (13)	34	18	8	5	3
<u>Area II</u>					
California (10)	34	18	9	6	4
West (11)	35	10	16	5	7
New York (8)	40	17	9	3	1
South (13)	39	12	6	7	7
Industrial (28)	38	15	6	7	3
Border (8)	31	14	10	6	8
New England (7)	31	7	8	15	3
Midwest (15)	37	13	12	7	8

...Carter work on first (continued)

	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>
<u>Overall</u>	36%	14	9	7	5
<u>Area III</u>					
South (24)	37	12	9	7	7
Industrial (52)	38	16	7	6	4
Other (24)	33	11	14	8	5