

Caddell, Patrick (1)

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Cambridge Survey Research

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MEMORANDUM

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TO HAMILTON JORDAN
FROM PATRICK H. CADDELL
RE ELECTION PROSPECTS AND VOTER TURNOUT
DATE OCTOBER 28, 1978

It seems to be the general consensus of both the journalistic and political communities at this time that the Democratic party will do fairly well in the upcoming elections sustaining minimal losses in the Congress. This is an opinion we have generally shared.

However, it is now appropriate to raise some questions about the validity of that opinion, not because of any personality, political, or issue factor in this undefined election but because of the turnout -- specifically the possibility of a low and abnormally structured turnout. A very low turnout which is constructed such that Democratic groups turnout less than Republican groups could pose a significant threat to a number of our office holders. In short, our losses could well be greater, than either predicted or merited, by a turnout problem combined with some other lesser factors. This is not to say such an occurrence will take place but rather to point out the need to be seriously concerned about the possibility of such an event.

Recently we have begun to pull together some research and thinking on this matter. Some of the factors which raise concern are the following:

1. Turnout trends

Since 1960 every Presidential election has seen a decline in the percentage of eligible age voters who participate. Since 1962 every subsequent off year election turnout has registered a decline in voters. In 1974 only 36% of all eligibles voted. A new nonvoter study by the Committee for the Study of the American Electorate recently predicted that turnout this year might well drop below one-third.

As turnouts fall to lower and lower levels the possibility of disproportionate turnout, i.e. one group in the electorate

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being considerably higher or lower than the norm, dramatically increases. Because the declines by group may differ greatly the makeup of the electorate itself can be altered. This becomes increasingly more likely as the turnout drops to microscopic levels. A concern arises that those population subgroups most normally Democratic will turnout in significantly less numbers than more normally Republican subgroups, thus changing the makeup of the electorate to one that is more Republican than past electorates. Since Democratic subgroups have poorer turnout history than Republican subgroups the concern is legitimate that their rate of decline might well be significantly greater hence artificially jeopardizing the Democratic party performances. Thus we may well find situations where Democratic candidates lose not because of political factors or issues but rather from an abnormal turnout pattern of the electorate on November 7.

2. The Lesson of 1974

It is crucial to remember that much of the Democratic margins in the House come from victories won in marginal districts in 1974. Any reading of the 1974 turnout suggests that Watergate and the Ford pardon of Nixon added to a general malaise among Republican groups which kept many of them home. Thus the drop in turnout from 1970 to 1974 was not primarily a function of decline among more traditional Democratic groups but rather an across the board decline that was uniquely reflected in normally Republican subgroups as well as Democratic groups.

In 1974 there were about fourteen marginally Republican districts won by Democrats by margins of four points (52% to 48%) or less. There were also fourteen marginal Republican seats that were held by the GOP by a margin of four points or less.

Our partial analysis of turnout finds that in these two groupings of generally Republican districts that there is a rather startling difference in relative declines between 1970 and 1974. The 14 Republican districts that went Democratic in 1974 on an average had a percentage decline in turnout from 1970 that was five times greater than the average for the 14 GOP districts that remained Republican. On average the GOP retained districts held turnout levels very close to the 1970 results while the Democrats gained seats in districts with an average decline in turnout of about three percent.

While on first glance, the difference might not seem all that significant one must remember that the Democrat gains were in elections decided by less than four points. Also, a number of the narrowly retained GOP seats were ones that many commentators expected the Democrats to pick up in the landslide. While not overstating the case, there is some cause to hypothesize that if the turnout in these Republican districts had not dropped off, i.e. Republican groups dropping

off at disproportionate levels, that these narrowly won seats might well have also become narrow losses. One implication of this hypothesis for 1978 could be that without the broader 1976 Presidential turnout for support, a return of higher voting Republican groups to disproportionate higher voting levels at a time of Democratic group vote decline could endanger many of these Democratic holdings. If the thesis has merit then we face the possibility of unanticipated losses if the turnout skews as it declines.

3. Presidential Influence

It has always been a truism of political commentary that the "in" party loses seats in mid term elections. To a great extent this has been explained by a kind of "surge and decline" thesis that argues that Presidents sweep in Congressmen and then the Congressmen suffer without the leadership at the top of the ticket.

A persuasive new paper by Sam Kernell of the University of California at San Diego shows, however, that a more active thesis can be proved: people who are unhappy with the incumbent President, regardless of his level of popularity, actually turn-out at a higher rate than people who are satisfied with Presidential performance.

Kernell shows clearly that:

"Both political parties fare worse in midterm Congressional elections when an incumbent from their party occupies the White House than when they represent the opposition."

Furthermore, the level of popularity, as Kernel shows, is not that important:

"The greater strength of negative evaluations suggests that voters upset with an incumbent's performance will be more activated to vote against the individual than are satisfied voters likely to support him. Thus even a popular President is not immune from negative voting; he still must work to overcome the disproportionately greater turnout and defection among those voters who are displeased for one reason or another with his performance."

Without tediously presenting Kernel's data -- which are persuasive -- it is sufficient to say that the data would suggest that those people who are displeased with the President will be voting this November at a higher rate than those who like him, regardless of party or demographic factors. This factor, even weakened, added to a declining and disproportionate turnout could upset a number of current calculations.

4. 1978 to Date

A review of the primary voting this year is sobering when considered in the context of the beformentioned factors.

First, the turnouts which on the whole have been atrocious, point to a lower turnout than 1974. According to the Non Voter Study two-thirds (2/3) of the states holding primaries showed lower rates of voting in 1978 than in 1974 or the next comparative election. Only two states, isolated Hawaii and Proposition 13 bound California, had turnouts that exceeded 40%. Over one-half of the states had turnouts below 30% and one-third had turnouts below 20%.

Second, we have already witnessed some signs of abnormal disproportionate turnouts in various states. Some areas in states have had quite dramatic increases in turnout from four years ago while other areas in the state experienced drastic decline. As turnouts decrease the impact of any increase is intensified beyond the size of the increase itself.

Third, current public polls in several states as well as private soundings are indicating dramatic variances when an effort is made to isolate most likely voters. The differences as the samples are reduced to likelier voters invariably reveals drastic declines in the Democratic candidate's standing; placing Democrats with large leads in expanded samples into narrower leads and sometimes putting Democrats with narrow leads behind. Predicting turnout is often the trickiest part of political survey research and thus may be misleading. Nonetheless it is disturbing.

These findings are compounded by the high percentage of undecided voters that are being seen in the late stages of this election. It is yet unclear whether these pockets of undecided voters will simply choose not to vote or will tend to all break in one direction or will tend to divide reflecting the decisions of committed voters. In terms of the Democrats incumbent advantage, a break in a single direction would most certainly be an alarming development.

Fourth, the "hostile" mood of the electorate. Survey after survey has shown the public upset with government; the point is hardly newsworthy. However, this year it seems that something has finally broken and that mood is being translated into more and more negative voting. It is difficult to quantify such things but in state after state we have seen more negative campaigns and more voters expressing "anti-" reasons for voting than in previous years. Such a mood in our experience tends to produce anti incumbent votes.

The combination of turnout factors and mood have already produced some very negative evidence this year. We have seen startling primary defeats and almost as many startling cases

of primaries that should never have taken place in the first place. Mike Dukakis lost; Hugh Carey and Ella Grasso and Brendan Byrne all had remarkably tough races. Furthermore the phenomenon was hardly confined to Democrats; even Meldrim Thompson suffered an astonishingly bad primary in New Hampshire.

In the last four elections, anti-incumbent sentiment has been most prevalent in statewide and particularly U.S. Senate races. Despite the Democratic sweep of the Congressional and State legislative levels in 1974, the performance at the Senate level was most distressing. In a class where the Democrats lost five seats with a close 1968 Presidential race, the Democrats, in a landslide, were unable to recapture more than four seats. In 1976 one-half of the seats up changed hands, nine Democratic seats turned Republican and nine previously GOP seats were taken by Democrats.

This pattern seems to be repeating itself this year. There are an increasing number of tight races at the statewide level and particularly in Senate races numerous incumbents of both parties seem to be in trouble. There are two points that are unclear as yet. First, will a last minute broad based surge or a strange turnout produce a sweep for either party rather than a standoff? Second, will these anti-incumbent instincts manifest themselves at the Congressional level? This did not happen in 1974 or 1976. If it did extend to the Congressional level in 1978 exacerbating a low disproportionate turnout the Democrats could be a surprised party on November 8.

Conclusions

This memo is not a prediction of disaster. Indeed, it may well result that this undefined election will conclude with the basically good showing expected for the Democrats. However, there are enough disturbing signs to suggest the possibility of a different outcome with more serious losses than anticipated.

By far, the most important and distressing concern has to be the unpredictable level and structure of voter turnout. It could well produce a negative result unwarranted by the present political, policy, or issue environment. A GOTV effort by the President and Party in the last week should be their first priority.

cc Frank Moore
Tim Kraft
John White

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Mr. President:

Enclosed are three items:

1) An issues summary of the last major field survey. It's a verbal point by point summary that runs only nine pages. Each point is marked by footnotes that refer to the actual questions and results in a footnote appendix. This appendix is attached to the summary. This should provide a quick and easy reference to look over the issue results.

2) The full issues analysis in the blue bound volume should you wish to read the actual analysis. For easier reading no breakouts or key group analysis is provided.

3) A quick memo on the aftermath of the Bert Lance situation that you will find quite encouraging.

Pat -

Pat Caddell

P.S. - on item (2) you might particularly be interested in the section of analysis on Re-organization P. 67 in the blue book as well as Tax reform P. 26, welfare reform P. 39, optimism/pessimism P. 14.

19

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2 November 1977

MEMORANDUM

TO THE PRESIDENT
 FROM PATRICK CADDELL
 RE AFTERMATH OF THE LANCE RESIGNATION

This memorandum presents the findings of a study conducted shortly after the resignation of Budget Director Bert Lance. The major conclusion to be drawn from the findings is that, while an overwhelming majority of the American people feel Bert Lance should have resigned as he did, the affair has done little to sway the generally favorable personal image of President Carter.

In fact, the majority of Americans approved of the way Carter handled himself during the Bert Lance affair, with less than one in three reporting that they disapproved of Carter's actions. A full 1/3 strongly approved compared with 12% who strongly disapproved.

How about President Carter, would you say you strongly approved, somewhat approved, somewhat disapproved or strongly disapproved of the way he handled himself in the whole affair?

Strongly approved	33	}	65%
Somewhat approved	32		
Somewhat disapproved	19	}	31%
Strontly disapproved	12		
Don't know	5%		

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Democrats were slightly more inclined to approve of Carter's behavior than either Independents or Republicans, with Republicans showing slightly more disapproval. A high ratio -- 7 in 10 -- of those favorable to Carter reported that they approved of the way he had handled himself. In addition, those that gave him an excellent or good performance rating approved of his actions by 87% and 73% respectively.

However, it is evident from the findings that this was not an issue that divided sharply along partisan lines. In addition, though positive attitudes toward the President and his performance to date had some correlation with more positive feelings toward Carter and Lance over the affair, differences were not very substantial. It is clear, then, that this was not an issue centered in the political arena.

Moreover, most Americans feel that, right or wrong, Jimmy Carter's actions during the affair were born out of honest and altruistic motivations. In fact 80% felt Carter acted either out of a sense of justice or was sincerely concerned about helping a personal friend.

- * 51% feel that Carter was acting out of a sense of justice to give Lance a chance to defend himself and clear his name.

- * 30% believe Carter was sincerely concerned about a close personal friend and tried to help him.
- * Only 10% think Carter never really understood what was going on and made mistakes.
- * And only a tiny minority -- 4% of the population -- believe Carter tried to cover up Lance's wrong-doing because he himself had things to hide.

Which of these best describes the reasons Jimmy Carter behaved the way he did during the Lance affair in your opinion:

Carter tried to cover up Lance's wrong-doing because he himself had things to hide;	4%
Carter was sincerely concerned about a close personal friend and tried to help him;	30
Carter never really understood what was going on and made mistakes;	10
Carter was acting out of a sense of justice to give Lance a chance to defend himself and clear his name.	51

The majority of American voters also feel that the President showed constraint and good judgment throughout this domestic crisis, and report that Jimmy Carter has, in fact, risen in their estimations.

I think more of Jimmy Carter for standing by Bert Lance despite all the pressure that was put on him.

Agree	66%
Don't know	6
Disagree	28

It is not surprising, then, that 7 out of 10 Americans disagreed with the suggestion that they think less of Carter because he delayed in forcing Bert Lance out of government when his banking practices and loans became known.

I think less of Jimmy Carter for not forcing Bert Lance out of government sooner when his banking practices and loans became known.

Agree	26%
Don't know	5
Disagree	69

The same ratio also rejected the idea that the President and the White House tried to cover up the "improper" things that Lance had done.

I think the President and the White House tried to cover up the improper things that Lance did.

Agree	23%
Don't know	9
Disagree	67

Confidence in Carter, then, shows little sign of erosion over the affair.

- * A substantial majority of voters (73%) disagree that the affair has had a negative impact on their faith in the Carter Administration.

- * Only 21% report that they will never have as much confidence in the President because of the way he handled himself.

The controversy surrounding the Budget Director was obviously an issue that the public followed closely. When asked to what degree they were personally concerned about the Lance problem, the majority of voters expressed at least some concern.

Lance affair

Very concerned	32%	} 73%
Somewhat concerned	41%	
Not really concerned	26	
Don't know	2	

The majority of Americans also believed that it was right for Bert Lance to resign, although two people in ten think that he should have remained in office.

Based on what you know, do you think Bert Lance should have resigned as Director of the Office of Management and Budget as he did or should he have stayed?

Should have resigned	74%
Don't know	5
Should have stayed	21

Strongest approval of Lance's resignation came among Independents and Republicans; higher-than-average sentiment that Lance should remain in office was evidenced by those giving Carter an excellent performance record. However, there was little difference in sentiment between those that favor Carter and those that report being unfavorable toward him.

Pressed for their reasons as to why they thought Bert Lance should or should not have stayed in office no one factor emerged as being predominantly persuasive.

Among those who felt Lance should have stayed on as Budget Director, the prevailing sentiment -- at the 19% level -- seemed to be that he was not guilty of any wrongdoing. Fourteen per cent thought he was doing a good job, and the same percentage seemed to feel that nothing had yet been proven against him. Just over 1 in 10 felt that if Lance was right, he should have stayed and fought, while the same number expressed the view that Lance's banking activities were common business practices anyway.

(If think Bert Lance should have stayed on as
Director of the Office of Management and Budget)
Why do you take that position? (21%)

Not guilty of anything, didn't do anything wrong	19% (of 21%)
Was doing a good job, qualified, capable	14
Nothing was proven against him	14
He should have stayed and fought if he was right	12
Standard business practice, everybody does it, way business is run, nobody is holier than thou	10
Everything and everybody against him (publicity, he didn't stand a chance)	3
Prior business is nobody's business	2
He should have stayed	2
Not guilty of much, immoral but not illegal	1
Other	17
Don't know	4

Among those who approved of Lance's resignation, the largest minority -- 14 percent -- thought Lance "guilty", or a "crook." However, just over 1 in 10 took the view that he didn't stand a chance with everything and everyone against him -- the implication being that publicity had irrevocably harmed him. Smaller numbers felt that Lance was morally wrong (9%), that he had impaired both Carter's effectiveness (9%) and his own (8%), and that he had generally lost credibility (6%). Even smaller minorities felt that it was in his own best interests and the interests of the country for him to resign, notably that the U.S. couldn't stand another scandal à la Watergate.

(If you think Bert Lance should have resigned as Director of the Office of Management and Budget) Why do you take that position? (74%)

Dishonest, crook, guilty	14%	(of 74%)
Everything and everybody against him (publicity, he didn't stand a chance)	12	
He was wrong to do an overdraft, morally wrong, conflict of interest	9	
He would hurt the Carter Administration or presidency, impaired Carter's effectiveness	9	
His effectiveness was impaired, wouldn't be able to do his job	8	
If he couldn't manage own affairs, how could he manage the country's	7	
People wouldn't trust him, his credibility was bad	6	
For the good of the country, for the good of all, for the benefit of U.S.	5	
When your reputation is marred you should get out, if accused, you should resign	4	

...Lance should have resigned (continued)

Incompetent	3%
Best thing to do	3
For his own sake, cause him and his family less embarrassment, for his health, etc.	3
Country couldn't stand another scandal, couldn't stand another Watergate	3
Because of the new morality, Carter said would clean the slate	2
Other	9
Don't know	3

In fact, when asked whether or not the Lance affair reminded them in any way of how Watergate got started, a slight majority agreed with this proposition, although almost 1 in 4 saw no relationship between the events. It is evident that paranoia in the wake of Watergate had something to do with people's feelings about the Lance affair, the idea that too many rumblings in Washington and the press were a portent of bad tidings.

The Lance affair sort of reminds me of how Watergate got started; where there's that much smoke there's got to be something wrong.

Agree	56%
Don't know	4
Disagree	39

While a plurality of Americans approved of the way the Senate Committee handled itself during the affair, almost 4 in 10 expressed dissatisfaction with the behavior of the Committee.

How about the Senate Committee -- headed by Senators Ribicoff and Percy -- would you say you strongly approved, somewhat approved, somewhat disapproved or strongly disapproved of the way it handled itself during the affair?

Strongly approved	19%	} 48%
Somewhat approved	29	
Somewhat disapproved	20	} 37%
Strongly disapproved	17	
Don't know	15	

A majority of both Republicans (53%) and Carter detractors (58%) approved of the way the Committee had conducted the hearing, while Independents (39%), Carter supporters (40%) and those that think Carter is doing an excellent job (46%) were more likely to disapprove of the Senate Committee members' behavior.

The preceding findings suggest that the national notoriety and its implications for the Administration were more at issue than Lance's actual guilt. This is borne out by the fact that 73% of the population believe that, whatever else may have been involved, Lance should have resigned because his credibility as a manager had been destroyed.

However, when it came to perceptions of Lance himself, 63% of American voters approved of the way in which Bert Lance had handled himself during the affair. Moreover, almost 9 out of 10 people had seen or heard about Lance's appearance before the Senate Committee, of which a plurality expressed being more favorable toward Lance following the hearings.

Over the course of the whole Lance affair would you say you strongly approved, somewhat approved, somewhat disapproved or strongly disapproved of the way Bert Lance behaved or handled himself?

Strongly approved	32%	63%
Somewhat approved	31	
Somewhat disapproved	19	31%
Strongly disapproved	12	
Don't know	6	

(If saw Bert Lance's appearance before the Senate Committee or read/heard about it) Did what you see make you more or less favorable toward Lance?

More favorable	44%
Less favorable	34
Made no difference	17
Not sure	5

All in all, one-third of the American voters felt that Lance had been vindicated by the Senate Committee hearings and were sorry to see him go, although a majority of Americans felt that the hearings had not satisfied them with regard to Lance's innocence.

For me, the hearing before the Senate Committee vindicated Lance and I'm sorry to see him go.

Agree	33%
Don't know	12
Disagree	55

Again, Democrats (40%) and Carter supporters (39%) were more likely to agree that Lance had been vindicated, with highest disagreement coming among Independents (62%) and Republicans (59%).

On the subject of press and media coverage, respondents were about evenly divided on the issue.

How about the press and news media, would you say that you strongly approved, somewhat a-proved, somewhat disapproved or strongly disapproved of the way it handled itself during the Lance affair?

Strongly approved	18%	46%
Somewhat approved	28	
Somewhat disapproved	24	46%
Strongly disapproved	22	
Don't know	8	

* 46% felt that the news media tried to create a sensational story even if it meant presenting news about Lance unfairly and persecuting him with unproven and undocumented allegations;

* 45% felt that they were just doing their job of digging out the truth and presenting it to the American people.

Which of these best describes your opinion of the way the newspapers and television media acted in the Lance affair:

The news media tried to create a sensational story even if it meant presenting news about Lance unfairly and persecuting him with unproven and undocumented allegations.	46%
The news media just did their job of digging out the truth and presenting it to the American people.	45
Don't know	8

However, a slight majority disagreed that the Lance affair had received a disproportionate amount of attention by the news media, but again, a notably high 4 out of 10 felt the press had been overzealous and unfair.

The whole Lance affair was blown out of proportion by the newspapers; they should have left it alone.

Agree	39%
Don't know	6
Disagree	55

More . . .

Summary

In the end, the reaction to Lance's resignation appears to be a national sigh of relief. While relatively large minorities of Americans felt that the press had been irresponsible, the Senate Committee not always fair, or that Lance had vindicated himself during the hearings, the majority seem to feel that it was best for the Administration and the country to have the Lance affair behind us.

It's interesting to note that both the President and Bert Lance received higher and stronger positive ratings for their handling of the situation than did either the Senate Committee or the Press. Overall, the President's approval/disapproval marks were 65%-31%, Lance was 63%-31%, the Senate Committee 48%-37%, and the press 46%-46%.

President Carter himself is seen by two-thirds of voters to have behaved in an exemplary manner and the same high proportion of voters say that they actually think more of him for handling the affair the way he did. Among those unfavorable to Carter and those less favorable to his overall job performance, it is notable that their opinions of his actions during the Lance affair were about evenly divided. Fifty percent of those reporting being unfavorable to the President, and 56% of those giving him an only fair performance rating, approved of his conduct. Further, while Democrats were slightly more inclined than either Independents or Republicans to view the President and Lance in a favorable light, differences were apt to be small, and an indication that the affair was not really a "political issue".

National

Would you favor or oppose the U.S. guaranteeing Israel's safety and giving a commitment that would defend her, if necessary, in return for which Israel would return most of the land taken from the Arabs in 1967 in order to have peace?

	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>Oppose</u>
<u>Overall</u>	35%	29	36
<u>Party preference</u>			
Democrat (54)	35	33	32
Independent (24)	39	24	37
Republican (21)	29	23	47
<u>Political ideology</u>			
Liberal (26)	34	28	38
Moderate (29)	38	32	30
Conservative (37)	34	25	41
<u>Sex</u>			
Female (51)	30	33	37
Male (49)	40	24	36
<u>Race</u>			
White (88)	35	27	38
Black (10)	29	43	28
<u>Occupation</u>			
Professional (5)	44	16	41
White collar (18)	38	23	39
Blue collar (25)	31	30	38
Government (6)	36	23	41
Teacher (4)*	39	31	30
Self-employed (7)	28	24	48
Retired (24)	34	34	32

National

Favor or oppose guaranteeing Israel's safety (continued)

	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>Oppose</u>
<u>Union membership</u>			
Respondent (17)	38	28	34
Family member (12)	33	28	39
No member (71)	35	29	36
<u>Age group</u>			
18-25 (10)	32	29	39
26-35 (20)	39	25	37
36-45 (18)	37	30	33
46-55 (17)	33	25	41
56-65 (18)	33	28	40
Over 65 (19)	33	37	30
<u>Areas</u>			
Northeast (15)	45	25	30
Industrial (25)	31	31	38
Midlands (15)	35	23	42
South (19)	29	37	33
Central (14)	35	29	37
Pacific (13)	39	24	37
<u>Areas</u>			
California (10)	42	23	35
West (12)	35	31	35
New York (9)	43	27	30
South (14)	26	40	34
Industrial (27)	32	30	38
Border (8)	32	29	40
New England (6)	47	21	32
Midlands (13)	35	21	44
<u>Areas</u>			
Rocky Mountains (5)	41	21	38
Other (95)	35	29	36

National

The President has outlined several key elements of a Middle East peace agreement: an expressed willingness by the Arabs to recognize Israel's sovereignty and to normalize relations with Israel; phased Israeli withdrawal from occupied territories, combined with effective security measures; a homeland for the Palestinians. Do you think this represents a fair basis for a settlement?

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Not sure</u>	<u>No</u>
<u>Overall</u>	48%	39	13
<u>Party preference</u>			
Democrat (54)	46	42	12
Independent (24)	54	34	12
Republican (21)	48	38	14
<u>Political ideology</u>			
Liberal (26)	52	36	12
Moderate (29)	49	42	9
Conservative (37)	47	38	15
<u>Sex</u>			
Female (51)	43	45	12
Male (49)	54	33	13
<u>Race</u>			
White (88)	50	36	13
Black (10)	26	65	9
<u>Occupation</u>			
Professional (5)	63	20	17
White collar (18)	52	36	11
Blue collar (25)	50	38	12
Government (6)	53	35	12
Teacher (4)*	57	30	13
Self-employed (7)	43	41	16
Retired (24)	39	49	12

National

Middle East peace settlement (continued)

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Not sure</u>	<u>No</u>
<u>Ethnic group</u>			
Irish (11)	43	42	15
English (15)	55	32	13
German (15)	51	34	16
Italian (6)	48	36	15
Afro-American (7)	33	58	9
Scandinavian (4)*	68	28	4
<u>Education</u>			
Some grade school (13)	39	52	9
Some high school (16)	39	51	10
Graduated high school (32)	46	41	13
Technical/vocational (4)*	44	34	22
Some college (18)	60	26	14
Graduated college (10)	56	36	8
Graduate/professional (7)	55	27	18
<u>Religion</u>			
Protestant (57)	47	43	11
Catholic (30)	52	35	13
Jewish (3)*	20	23	57
Other (5)	51	41	8
None (4)*	55	35	10
<u>Total household income</u>			
\$0-3,999 (8)	41	52	8
\$4-6,999 (9)	44	48	8
\$7-9,999 (12)	43	48	10
\$10-12,999 (12)	52	35	13
\$13-14,999 (10)	44	43	13
\$15-19,999 (15)	53	32	15
\$20-24,999 (11)	55	29	15
Over \$25,000 (10)	70	20	10

National

Middle East peace settlement (continued)

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Not sure</u>	<u>No</u>
<u>Union membership</u>			
Respondent (17)	56	31	13
Family member (12)	43	42	16
No member (71)	47	41	12
<u>Age group</u>			
18-25 (10)	56	34	11
26-35 (20)	51	39	10
36-45 (18)	53	33	14
46-55 (17)	45	39	17
56-65 (18)	48	39	13
Over 65 (19)	39	49	12
<u>Areas</u>			
Northeast (15)	55	31	15
Industrial (25)	42	43	15
Midlands (15)	48	38	15
South (19)	41	51	8
Central (14)	50	41	9
Pacific (13)	62	25	14
<u>Areas</u>			
California (10)	61	25	14
West (12)	49	43	9
New York (9)	54	31	15
South (14)	35	56	9
Industrial (27)	43	43	14
Border (8)	49	37	15
New England (6)	56	30	14
Midlands (13)	55	33	12
<u>Areas</u>			
Rocky Mountains (5)	55	34	12
Other (95)	48	40	13

Would you favor or oppose the U.S. guaranteeing Israel's safety and giving a commitment that would defend her, if necessary, in return for which Israel would return most of the land taken from the Arabs in 1967 in order to have peace?

	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>Oppose</u>
Overall	35%	29%	36%
<u>Party preference</u>			
Democrat (54)	35	33	32
Independent (24)	39	24	37
Republican (21)	29	23	47
<u>Political ideology</u>			
Liberal (26)	34	28	38
Moderate (29)	38	32	30
Conservative (37)	34	25	41
<u>Sex</u>			
Female (51)	30	33	37
Male (49)	40	24	36
<u>Race</u>			
White (88)	35	27	38
Black (10)	29	43	28
<u>Occupation</u>			
Professional (5)	44	16	41
White collar (18)	38	23	39
Blue collar (25)	31	30	38
Government (6)	36	23	41
Teacher (4)*	39	31	30
Self-employed (7)	28	24	48
Retired (24)	34	34	32
<u>Ethnic group</u>			
Irish (11)	32	30	38
English (15)	36	22	42
German (15)	34	24	42
Italian (6)	40	27	32
Afro-American (7)	34	39	28
Scandinavian (4)*	42	25	33
<u>Education</u>			
Some grade school (13)	32	39	30
Some high school (16)	33	34	33
Graduated high school (32)	34	29	37
Technical/vocational (4)*	26	20	53
Some college (18)	40	23	37
Graduated college (10)	40	26	34
Graduate/professional (7)	37	21	43

Guaranteeing Israel's safety in return for Israel
returning most of the land taken from the Arabs
in 1967. Continued

	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>Oppose</u>
<u>Religion</u>			
Protestant (57)	33%	31%	37%
Catholic (30)	39	27	34
Jewish (3)*	28	16	56
Other (5)	34	27	39
None (4)*	41	26	33
<u>Total household income</u>			
\$0-3,999	33	42	25
\$4-6,999 (9)	41	33	26
\$7-9,999 (12)	33	34	33
\$10-12,999 (12)	35	28	37
\$13-14,999 (10)	37	22	41
\$15-19,999 (15)	36	25	40
\$20,24,999 (11)	35	21	44
Over \$25,000 (10)	39	20	40
<u>Union membership</u>			
Respondent (17)	38	28	34
Family member (12)	33	28	39
No member (71)	35	29	36
<u>Age group</u>			
18-25 (10)	32	29	39
26-35 (20)	39	25	37
36-45 (18)	37	30	33
46-55 (17)	33	25	41
56-65 (18)	33	28	40
Over 65 (19)	33	37	30
<u>Areas</u>			
Northeast (15)	45	25	30
Industrial (25)	31	31	38
Midlands (15)	35	23	42
South (19)	29	37	33
Central (14)	35	29	37
Pacific (13)	39	24	37
<u>Areas</u>			
California (10)	42	23	35
West (12)	35	31	35
New York (9)	43	27	30
South (14)	26	40	34
Industrial (27)	32	30	38
Border (8)	32	29	40
New England (6)	47	21	32
Midlands (13)	35	21	44

Guaranteeing Israel's safety in return for Israel
returning most of the land taken from the Arabs
in 1967. Continued

	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>Oppose</u>
<u>Areas</u>			
Rocky Mountains (5)	41%	21%	38%
Other (95)	35	29	36

National

Favor or oppose guaranteeing Israel's safety (continued)

	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>Oppose</u>
<u>Ethnic group</u>			
Irish (11)	32	30	38
English (15)	36	22	42
German (15)	34	24	42
Italian (6)	40	27	32
Afro-American (7)	34	39	28
Scandinavian (4)*	42	25	33
<u>Education</u>			
Some grade school (13)	32	39	30
Some high school (16)	33	34	33
Graduated high school (32)	34	29	37
Technical/vocational (4)*	26	20	53
Some college (18)	40	23	37
Graduated college (10)	40	26	34
Graduate/professional (7)	37	21	43
<u>Religion</u>			
Protestant (57)	33	31	37
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None (4)*	41	26	33
<u>Total household income</u>			
\$0-3,999 (8)	33	42	25
\$4-6,999 (9)	41	33	26
\$7-9,999 (12)	33	34	33
\$10-12,999 (12)	35	28	37
\$13-14,999 (10)	37	22	41
\$15-19,999 (15)	36	25	40
\$20-24,999 (11)	35	21	44
Over \$25,000 (10)	39	20	40

Cambridge Survey Research

Suite 1250 1775 Pennsylvania Avenue, Washington, D.C. 20006 Telephone (202) 223-6345

October 21, 1977

5

Dear Mr. President:

Enclosed is some foreign policy information from our September field survey which Zbig wanted you to have immediately.

Also included is the reaction to the Department of Education. I know this issue is pressing and thought you would want this information to work into your arguments. As you know this is a matter of great concern to teachers and a lot of our friends are anxiously hoping that we will keep our commitment on the Department of Education.

The rest of the issues report will be ready next week, but I wanted you to have this information quickly.

Best,

Pat

Pat Caddell

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Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138
(617) 661-3212

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

We tested several proposals for reorganizing the Department of Health, Education and Welfare beginning with the creation of a separate Department of Education:

As you probably know, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare is the largest domestic department. Although many people focus on the welfare area, actually HEW has 118 programs that deal with non-income, non-welfare areas like day care, employment training, mental health, drug abuse and the elderly.

Some people say that the "education" part of HEW should be spun off and made a separate department -- a Department of Education -- that would include the education functions presently handled by HEW as well as the many other education programs which are handled by other agencies. At present, the government spends \$20 billion on 200 education-related programs through 20 different agencies. These people argue that such a department would be more effective, would reduce the size of HEW, and would give proper prominence to a critical area that is often relegated to a back-burner behind health and social welfare programs. Others say such a separate department would be a bad idea, that such a department would fall under the influence of teacher groups and unions and that education is properly one of the social areas that should be coordinated with other government health and social programs. Do you feel a separate Department of Education is a good idea or not?

Good idea	55%
Don't know	24
Not a good idea	21

Thus, a separate Department of Education which would reduce the size of HEW is favored by a 2 to 1 margin. Upper income, better educated voters, younger voters, and residents of the Rocky Mountain states are particularly favorable. There are few groups who are strongly opposed although blacks and low income voters are less likely to have an opinion.

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TO PRESIDENT CARTER
FROM PATRICK CADDELL
RE FOREIGN POLICY QUESTIONS
DNC Field Survey, 1500 Interviews
August 23 - September 12, 1977
DATE OCTOBER 21, 1977

Following are the results of the questions on foreign policy which we included in our latest field survey. As we noted in the full report, interest in foreign affairs is increasing and voters are particularly concerned about the Middle East and the Panama Canal. Interestingly, however, when we gave voters a list of foreign problems for the President these ranked far below relations with our allies and human rights as the top priority:

Which of the following problems do you think the President should work on first? Which should be second?

	<u>1st</u>	<u>2nd</u>	<u>Total</u>
Problem of Human Rights	24%	13%	37%
Relations with our allies	21	19	40
Relations with the Soviet Union	18	17	35
The Middle East Problem	14	16	30
Relations with the Third World	7	8	15
Relations with Latin America	6	9	15
Relation with African countries	4	8	12
Don't know	8	11	*

IN CAMBRIDGE
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Latin America, Africa, and Third World countries, in general, take a back seat in importance. Among Jewish voters the Middle East jumps to 47% as a first priority and 13% as the second. As a follow up to our July survey, we asked some specific questions on the Middle East peace agreement:

The President has outlined several key elements of a Middle East peace agreement: an expressed willingness by the Arabs to recognize Israel's sovereignty and to normalize relations with Israel; phased Israeli withdrawal from occupied territories combined with effective security measures; a homeland for the Palestinians. Do you think this represents a fair basis for a settlement?

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
Overall	48%	13%	39%
Jewish voters	20	57	23

As on all the Middle East questions, Jewish voters differ substantially from other voters.

We asked the 13% who felt this was not a fair basis for a settlement what elements they disagreed with:

(IF NO) What elements do you disagree with?
 (% of the 13% who disagreed)

	<u>First</u>	<u>Second</u>	<u>Total</u>
Israel shouldn't give up territory, shouldn't give up anything	12%	4%	16%
Phased Israeli withdrawal from occupied territories	9	1	10
We shouldn't force them, we shouldn't tell them what to do, we can't settle their problems	4	3	7
Palestinian homeland	3	3	6
Arabs and Palestinians won't go along with it, Arabs can't be trusted, Arabs want it all	1	1	2
All parts, everything, don't like anything about the plan	1	-	1
Arabs recognize Israel	1	-	1
Arabs normalizing relations with Israel	1	-	1
Effective security measures, Israeli security, guerilla protection for Israel	-	1	1
Other	6	5	11
Don't know	63	81	*
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	

Not surprisingly, giving up the territory and withdrawal are the main reasons for the opposition. However, the striking fact is how few of those who oppose the plan can give specific reasons. The reaction is more instinctual than reasoned.

The next proposal -- a guaranteed Israeli defense in exchange for returning the land taken from the Arabs in 1967 -- is more controversial with the general public and unpopular with Jewish voters:

Would you favor or oppose the United States guaranteeing Israel's safety and giving a commitment that would defend her, if necessary, in return for which Israel would return most of the land taken from the Arabs in 1967 in order to have peace.

	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>Oppose</u>
All voters	35%	29%	36%
Jewish voters	28	16	56

This proposal is rejected most strongly by Jewish voters who are against giving up the 1967 land and other voters (principally from southern and border states) who are opposed to a defense commitment. The plan -- without this commitment -- is far less controversial.

Carter Job Performance Rating

<u>Issue</u>	<u>August - September</u>		<u>April</u>		<u>Total posi- tive change</u>	<u>Total "excel- lent" change</u>	<u>Total nega- tive change</u>	<u>Total "poor" change</u>
	<u>P</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>N</u>				
Human rights	65	30	79	18	-14	(-10)	+12	(+3)
Mid-east*	34	52	33	52	+1	(+1)	0	(-1)
Foreign policy	32	67	50	42	-18	(-5)	+25	(+8)
Handling Russians	28	61	41	50	-13	(-4)	+11	(+4)

*Jews in July 27-65, now 18-67.

P = positive
N = negative

C
✓

Summary of Issue Concerns
of the American People

(DNC Field Survey, 1500 Interviews)
August 31 - September 12, 1977

General Concerns

- Energy has continued to decline as a major issue and economic issues -- inflation and unemployment -- have regained their top position. ^{1&2/}
- Government spending and waste and the welfare problem have increased as problems voters mention most often.
- Voters remain as cynical of government as ever although there has been some upswing on the question of integrity of public officials. The major shift in the "mood of the people" has been in their expectation for the future. The optimism we saw in December has faded and voters see the past, present, and future as quite similar. They are becoming resigned to the idea that problems like inflation, poverty and war will be ever with us. ^{3/}

Economy

- While 35% of the voters say the economy has improved in the past year, a majority believe it has stayed the same or worsened. ^{4/} Voters see no substantial change -- for better or worse -- in the next year and seem to be becoming resigned to a depressed economy. ^{5/} Despite their lack of belief that the economy has or will recover, the number of people

who say they are satisfied with their family's present financial condition has increased 9 points since December. ^{6/}

- Despite this air of resignation, voters believe economic problem can be solved. Unemployment and tax inequities are viewed as possible to overcome and a majority of voters believe that inflation can also be stopped. On the other hand, they have little hope that the Federal budget will ever be balanced. ^{7/}
- Tax Reform - generally voters are more upset with the inequity of the tax system than with the level of taxes they pay and two-thirds of the voters believe their taxes are unfair. ^{8&9/}
- Social Security - The idea of taking money out of the general fund to supplement Social Security is extremely controversial; only senior citizens strongly support this proposal. ^{10/}

Energy

- Accompanying the decline in energy as a major issue concern was the drop in support of the Administration's energy bill. Voters now break 40% in favor, 33% opposed, an eight point decline since July. ^{11/} The change is due mainly to the loss of Democratic support; Democratic voters have gone from 61% favorable in July to 45% favorable in September.
- There are also slight declines in the degree of seriousness voters see in the energy situation. Nonetheless, 66% still view the energy crisis as

real and the issue will undoubtedly remain in the forefront of voters minds.^{12/}

- While solar energy is popular and viewed as technically possible, it is not seen as an immediate practical alternative for individual families. With the exception of young people and residents of the Rocky Mountain states, solar energy is generally viewed as something for the future.^{13&14/}

Agriculture

- Voters are generally quite sympathetic to the poor financial condition of farmers and agree that Federal Government has not done enough to help.^{15&16/} However, three programs, which have been proposed to correct the problem -- including price supports -- were soundly opposed.^{17/} Food stockpiling was the only proposal to win overall support.^{18/}
- Food Stamps - Opposition to food stamps was not as high as we expected (35% favorable, 45% unfavorable) but the reaction to the cash-in proposal was extremely negative (78% opposed).^{19/} Voters may be skeptical of government programs but they are even more skeptical of handing out money.^{20/}

Health, Education and Welfare

- Both the welfare reform and hospital cost containment programs have had little impact on the general public. Less than half the voters have even heard about these proposals.^{21&22/} The reaction to the welfare reform plan is particularly disappointing; 70% of the voters believe too little emphasis has been placed on jobs and eliminating fraud.^{23/}

- Guaranteed jobs - even at Federal expense - is still a popular program with voters dividing 52% to 38% on this question. ^{24/}
- Medicaid Abortions - A majority of voters approve of both the Supreme Court decision (55%) and of President Carter's position (61%). Only 28% of the voters (mainly people under 30) believe that the decision against Medicaid abortions showed a lack of compassion for the poor. ^{25&26/}
- Saccharine - The proposed ban on Saccharine is rejected 58%-22%. ^{27/}
- Department of Education - Voters support a separate Department of Education by a 2-1 margin. Voters like the idea of consolidating education functions and the aspect of making HEW smaller. ^{28/}
- Bi-lingual education - While half the voters believe that American language and culture are paramount, a quarter favor bi-lingual education and an additional 19% believe that there should be some attempt to preserve the native culture. Support for bi-lingualism is highest among the lowest and highest income groups and is more popular in the west than the east. ^{29/}

Urban Problems

- Only 22% of the voters favor cutting aid to older cities while two-thirds favor increasing aid or maintaining the current level of spending. ^{30/}
- Cash-ins are also unpopular for housing; voters want more not less accountability for their tax dollars. ^{31/}

Foreign Policy and Defense

- Interest in foreign affairs is increasing with the Middle East and the Panama Canal both being volunteered as important problems. However, human rights and relations with our allies are chosen as more important. ^{32/}

- With the exception of Jewish voters, the President's Middle East peace accord receives substantial support. ^{33/} Guaranteeing Israeli's safety in return for her surrendering the 1967 land is a more controversial proposal with the general public. Jewish voters rejected it by a 2-1 margin. ^{34/}

- Balance of Power - A plurality of voters believe the U.S. surpasses the USSR militarily and in nuclear weapons; they believe the USSR is stronger in European forces. ^{35&36/} A majority of voters now favor withdrawing troops from Korea by 1982. ^{37/}

- Neutron Bomb - Voters oppose the bomb by a 49% - 31% margin; women and young people are most negative. ^{38/}

Trade

- While the concept of free trade is popular, there is considerable support for protecting American industry. Union members and political conservatives are most likely to hold strong "buy American" feelings. In general, however, it is cost, rather than country, which determines purchase. 39-40-41-42/

Regulations

- While there is a general feeling that the government imposes too many regulations, most specific regulatory agencies are viewed as helping protect the public. The FDA is the most popular. Even the much maligned OSHA is regarded favorably although half the voters have never heard of it. 43&44/

The Congress

- Voters believe that Congressional decisions have an important impact on their daily lives. If the 1978 elections were held today voters say they would vote for Democratic Congressional candidates by a 53%-22% margin. 45&46/
- The pay raise is a liability although only 28% of the voters regard it as important as other congressional decisions. 47/
- Despite the publicity given to difficulties between the Congress and the White House, 81% say relations are better now than they were under the Ford Administration. 48/

The Party

- Traditional party labels -- "liberal" and "for the average man" for the Democrats and "conservative" and "supports the goals of big business" for the Republicans -- still apply. The Democratic party also is viewed as more open, creative and pro-human rights. Interestingly, favoring economy in government -- once a GOP strength -- is now viewed as more descriptive of the Democratic than the Republican party. ^{49/}

Reorganization

- At this point most Americans are only moderately interested in reorganization. While most voters believe it is important, expectations for its success are low and only 1 in 4 voters can think of any impact a re-organized government will have on their lives. ^{50/}
- Those most interested and optimistic about reorganization are upper income, better educated Democrats -- the classic good government types. Unalienated voters, people who are confident about themselves and the country, are most likely to back reorganization. The alienated -- poor, minorities, less educated and elderly -- are more skeptical and will have to be shown the effects of the program before they believe it will work.

- Despite the cynicism voters recognize a need for change; by a 56% - 37% margin they rate the Federal Government as inefficient.^{51/} While 63% of the voters believe that government employees do not work as hard as people in the private sector,^{52/} personnel factors rank far below others as the reason for inefficiency.^{53/} While voters believe that the number of Federal employees is too high, only 15% favor firing workers. Attrition through retirement is far more popular.^{54/}

- The main code words for the reorganization are efficiency and cutting out duplication. On list after list these emerged as voters' priorities. Voters also place considerable importance on programs which reflect the priorities of the American people.^{55/}

- The reduction of the Federal budget ranks last in the expectations voters have from the reorganization. Interestingly, it is not as high a priority as efficiency, competence and honesty. Voters are more interested in spending money better than in spending less money.^{56&57/}

- HEW and social welfare programs are the major priorities for more efficient management. Both liberals and conservatives feel strongly that these programs must be run better.^{58&59/}

- As we discussed in the political report, voters have become extremely skeptical about President Carter's ability to reorganize the government. This was one of the major themes of the campaign and voters will judge Carter on whether they perceive changes in the government. The term reorganization is too general and vague for most people to relate to, but the impact of reorganization can be shown in small understandable ways. While "good government types" may look at structural and bureaucratic changes, most people will judge reorganization on the basis of personal experience. Until reorganization touches the people it will remain just a political slogan.

FOOTNOTES

General Concerns

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

	<u>1st</u>	<u>2nd</u>	<u>3rd</u>	<u>Total</u>
Inflation, high prices, high cost of living, food prices	17%	13%	10%	40%
Jobs, unemployment	16	13	10	39
Energy crisis, gas and fuel prices, high utilities	12	10	8	30
Crime, law enforcement, lenient laws and courts	8	9	9	26
Economy, recession, depression	7	4	3	14
Welfare, food stamps	4	5	5	14
Big government and government spending too many government controls, bureaucracy, return government to the people, states rights, budget, national debt, waste in government, government inefficiency, mismanagement in government, bankruptcy, solvency	3	3	3	9
Government and politics in general, poor leadership, lack of qualified representatives, Carter, the President	3	2	3	8
Taxes	3	5	5	13
Foreign affairs, Mid East, foreign relations, foreign aid, sending too much overseas, take care of U.S. first	3	4	5	12
Moral decay, lack of religion, lack of respect, apathy, greed, lack of honesty, breakdown of family, lack of patriotism, people not caring about each other, godlessness, permissiveness, lack of values	3	3	6	12
Corruption, honesty in government, crooked politicians, graft	2	2	2	6
Panama Canal (treaty)	2	2	1	5
Pollution, ecology, environment, conservation, overpopulation, natural resources	2	3	3	8
Racism, integration and racial problems, discrimination, busing	2	3	3	8
Health care and medical insurance, cost of medicine	1	2	1	4
Lack of faith in government	1	1	1	3

General Concerns

Three major problems facing the United States today. Continued

	<u>1st</u>	<u>2nd</u>	<u>3rd</u>	<u>Total</u>
Schools and education	1%	2%	3%	6%
Care of elderly, Medicare and Social Security, elderly on fixed income, age discrimination; mandatory retirement	1	2	3	6
Poverty, lack of help for poor people	1	1	1	3
War, peace, arms race, nuclear arms and proliferation	1	2	2	5
Defense spending, military budget, lack of national security, military strength	-	-	1	1
Other	5	7	8	20
Don't know	1	3	6	10

2. Two most important problems facing the United States.

	<u>1976</u> <u>December</u>	<u>April 23-25</u>	<u>1977</u> <u>July</u>	<u>September</u>
Energy	10%	53%	31%	22%
Economy	21	13	16	19
Inflation	32	30	29	30
Jobs	42	21	24	29
Government	15	7	7	15
Decay	17	11	11	6
Crime	15	9	13	17
Welfare	6	3	4	9
Foreign Affairs	10	12	17	11
Pollution	4	5	6	5
Busing	3	2	4	*

General Concerns

3. Mood of the Country

	<u>5 years ago</u>	<u>Today</u>	<u>5 years from now</u>
September 1977	5.0	5.1	5.3
December 1976	5.2	5.1	6.3
R8 - 1976 III	5.2	5.0	5.9
R7 - 1976 II	5.6	4.9	5.8
R6 - 1976 I	5.6	4.8	5.8
R5 - 1975 IV	5.8	4.6	5.4
R4 - 1975 III	6.1	4.6	5.6
R3 - 1975 II	6.2	4.3	5.9
R2 - 1975 I	6.4	4.3	5.4
R1 - 1974	5.9	4.5	5.7
1972	5.6	5.5	6.1
1959	6.5	6.7	7.4

(Comparative data is from the Cambridge Report series and from polls conducted by Watts, Free and Cantril.)

Economy

4. During the past six months what do you think has happened to the nation's economy -- do you think that the economy has improved a lot during the past six months, a little, has it gotten a little worse, a lot worse, or do you think it has stayed about the same?

Improved a lot	5%	35%
Improved a little	30	
Gotten a little worse	20	27%
Gotten a lot worse	7	
Stayed the same	30	
Some aspects better, others worse	5	
Don't know	2	

Economy

5. Looking ahead -- do you think a year from now you will be better off financially, worse off, or just about the same as now?

	<u>Better</u>	<u>The same</u>	<u>Worse</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
DNC September 1977	28%	42	24	7
R11 - 1977 II	33%	38	21	8
R10 - 1977 I	38%	37	15	10
R9 - 1976 IV	38%	36	16	10
R8 - 1976 III	33%	43	14	10
R7 - 1976 II	34%	42	15	8
R6 - 1976 I	32%	43	14	10
R5 - 1975 IV	26%	48	16	9
R4 - 1975 III	30%	44	15	11

6. 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?

	<u>Pretty well satisfied</u>	<u>More or less satisfied</u>	<u>Not satisfied at all</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
DNC September '77	36%	37	25	1
R11 - 1977 II	27%	38	34	1
R10 - 1977 I	28%	38	32	2
R9 - 1976 IV	27%	38	33	1
R8 - 1976 III	42%	29	26	3
R7 - 1976 II	28%	39	32	1
R6 - 1976 I	30%	36	34	1
R5 - 1975 IV	31%	41	28	-
R4 - 1975 III	33%	37	29	1

Economy

7. I'd like to read you a number of different proposals and have you tell me for each one whether you think it can be accomplished or if you think it is just political talk.

	<u>Can be done</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>Just Political talk</u>
Substantially reducing un-employment	65%	8%	27%
Reforming the welfare system	65	8	28
Reforming the tax system to make it fairer for the average wage earner	57	8	35
Substantially reduce inflation	52	10	39
Reducing by half our dependence on imported oil in the next ten years	51	17	32
Reorganizing the Federal Government to make it simpler and more efficient	48	12	40
Achieving a balanced Federal budget by 1981	30	11	59
Getting the Soviet Union to treat its citizens more humanely	19	17	64

8. When people talk about tax reform they frequently mean two different things -- the total level of taxes that they pay and the fairness of the taxes that they pay. In the first case, they mean that the overall level they pay is so high that it is a real burden on them. In the second case, they mean that whatever they pay, other people are paying less when they should be paying more. Which do you think is the bigger problem -- the overall level of Federal taxes or the fairness of those taxes?

Overall level of Federal taxes	26%
Fairness of those taxes	61
Don't know	13

Economy

9. Recently there has been a lot of talk about tax reform. When you think about the Federal income taxes that most people pay, do you think they are very fair to people like yourself, only somewhat fair, somewhat unfair, or very unfair to people like yourself?
-

Very fair	7%	31%
Only somewhat fair	24	
Somewhat unfair	33	64%
Very unfair	31	
Don't know	6	

10. President Carter recently proposed using money from the general income tax fund to supplement the Social Security program which has been financed in the past by its own separate tax. Do you favor or oppose this change?
-

Favor	40%
Oppose	38
Don't know	22

Energy

11. Do you have a generally favorable or unfavorable opinion of President Carter's energy program that is now before the Congress?
-

	<u>September</u>	<u>July</u>	<u>April</u>
Favorable	40%	47%	48%
Unfavorable	33	26	29
Don't know	27	27	23

Energy

12. Where do you think our energy problems will be in ten years?

	<u>September</u>		<u>May</u>
1 Not serious at all	2%	} 27%	2%
2	3		1
3	5		3
4	6		5
5	11		10
6	7	} 66%	7
7	10		7
8	12		12
9	11		12
10 Very Serious	26		30
Don't know	8		11

13. Do you think it would be technically possible -- ignoring the question of how much it would cost to construct the unit -- to build a solar power unit that would take over 75% or more of the heating, cooling, and water heating in your home today?

Yes	60%
No	18
Not sure	21

14. (IF YES) Do you think such a unit would be financially feasible today. That is, given how much it would cost to construct such a unit compared to your savings in fuel, do you think you would be able to recover your investment in a reasonable period of time?

Yes	40%
No	39
Don't know	21

Agriculture

15. On the whole, do you think American farmers get paid too little, too much, or about the right amount for the food they produce?

Too little	46%
Too much	11
About right	29
Don't know	14

16. Do you think the Federal Government does too much, too little, or the right amount to ensure fair prices for farmers?

Too much	17%
Too little	40
About right	26
Don't know	17

17. Recently there have been complaints by farmers that because of large crops the prices they are getting are less than the cost of producing food. If this is true would you favor or oppose each of the following methods of solving the problem:

	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
The federal government paying farmers the difference between what they can get in the free market and what they need to make a profit even if the money had to come out of higher taxes.	23%	56%	21%
The federal government buying and selling food so that the amount on the market would shrink and thus cause prices to increase.	19	66	15
Farmers cutting back on the amount they produce so that prices would increase.	25	58	17

18. Would you favor or oppose the government establishing a food stockpile that could be sold in bad years to keep food prices down?

Favor	67%
Don't know	13
Oppose	19

Agriculture

19. Have you heard about the Federal Food Stamp program? (IF YES) Do you have a generally favorable or unfavorable opinion of that program?

Yes, favorable	35%
Yes, unfavorable	45
Yes, (not sure)	15
Have not heard	5

20. Some people have proposed abolishing the Food Stamp Program and, instead, giving cash to poor people so that they could buy what they want. Would you favor or oppose this?

Favor	14%
Don't know	8
Oppose	78

Health, Education and Welfare

21. President Carter recently announced a major welfare reform package. Did you get a generally favorable or unfavorable opinion of this program from what you heard about it?

Favorable	35%
Unfavorable	13
Have not heard about it	31
Don't know	21

22. Have you heard about the plan recently introduced by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare to hold down health care costs? (IF YES) Do you think the plan will do a lot, do something, do only a little, or do nothing at all, to hold down costs?

Yes, a lot	5%
Yes, something	15
Yes, only a little	20
Yes, nothing at all	10
Yes, don't know	8
Have not heard	43

ELECTROSTATIC REPRODUCTION MADE FOR
PRESERVATION PURPOSES

Health, Education and Welfare

23. Opinion of Welfare Reform Plan

	<u>Too much</u>	<u>Too little</u>	<u>Right amount</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
Aid to poor people	32%	26%	26%	17%
Aid to cities and states	23	23	28	26
Emphasis on jobs	6	64	15	15
Emphasis on preventing fraud	4	71	11	14

24. Do you favor or oppose guaranteeing Federal jobs to anyone who wants to work, even if it means the government will create a job if no job is available in the private sector?

Favor	52%
Oppose	38
Don't know	10

Medicaid Abortions

25. The Supreme Court recently ruled that the government does not have to pay for abortions for poor women. Do you approve or disapprove of this decision?

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
Overall	55%	36%	9%
Catholics	62	30	8
Women	55	37	8
\$0-3,999	53	40	7

26. President Carter announced that he supported the decision not to pay for abortions for poor women. Some people criticized his remarks, saying it showed he really did not care about the problems of poor people and lacked compassion. Do you agree or disagree with this criticism?

Agree	28%
Disagree	61
Don't know	10

Health, Education and Welfare

27. Recently the government announced a ban on the artificial sweetner saccharine. Do you favor or oppose this ban?

Favor	22%
Oppose	58
Don't know	20

28. Some people say that the "education" part of HEW should be spun off and made a separate department -- a Department of Education -- that would include the education functions presently handled by HEW as well as the many other education programs which are handled by other agencies. At present, the government spends \$20 billion on 200 education-related programs through 20 different agencies. These people argue that such a department would be more effective, would reduce the size of HEW, and would give proper prominence to a critical area that is often relegated to a back-burner behind health and social welfare programs. Others say such a separate department would be a bad idea, that such a department would fall under the influence of teacher groups and unions and that education is properly one of the social areas that should be coordinated with other government health and social programs. Do you feel a separate Department of Education is a good idea or not?

Good idea	55%
Don't know	24
Not a good idea	21

29. In many parts of the country there are groups of people, most often Spanish-speaking people, for whom English is a second language, or who may not speak English at all. Some people say that public schools should encourage bi-lingual education to keep the old culture in tact -- in this case, Spanish. Other people say the shcools should put an emphasis on English and American culture. Which is closer to your view?

Encourage bi-lingual education	26%
Emphasize English and American culture	49
Try to do both (volunteered)	19
Don't know	6

Urban Problems

30. Do you think the Federal Government should increase the amount of aid it gives to our larger cities, decrease the amount of aid or keep it about the same?

Increase	26%
Decrease	22
Keep same	40
Don't know	12

31. Some people have proposed ending the current system where the Federal Government pays for the improvement of housing for the poor and elderly and instead giving more money directly to poor people in the form of cash so they can spend it to improve their own housing if they wish. Would you favor or oppose this change?

Favor	20%
Oppose	67
Don't know	13

Foreign Affairs and Defense

32. Which of the following problems do you think the President should work on first? Which should be second?

	<u>First</u>	<u>Second</u>	<u>Total</u>
{ Problem of Human Rights	24%	13%	37%
Relations with our Allies	21	19	40
Relations with the Soviet Union	18	17	35
The Middle East problem	14	16	30
Relations with the Third World	7	8	15
Relations with Latin America	6	9	15
Relation with African Countries	4	8	12
Don't know	8	11	*

Foreign Affairs and Defense

33. The President has outlined several key elements of a Middle East peace agreement: an expressed willingness by the Arabs to recognize Israel's sovereignty and to normalize relations with Israel; phased Israeli withdrawal from occupied territories combined with effective security measures; a homeland for the Palestinians. Do you think this represents a fair basis for a settlement?

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
Overall	48%	13%	39%
Jewish voters	20	57	23

34. Would you favor or oppose the United States guaranteeing Israel's safety and giving a commitment that would defend her, if necessary, in return for which Israel would return most of the land taken from the Arabs in 1967 in order to have peace?

	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>Oppose</u>
All voters	35%	29%	36%
Jewish voters	28	16	56

35. Just in general, do you think the United States or the Soviet Union is stronger militarily?

U.S.	47%
USSR	33
Don't know	20

	<u>Stronger in Nuclear Weapons</u>	<u>Stronger in Forces Europe</u>
U.S.	51%	27%
USSR	25	48
Don't know	24	25

Foreign Affairs and Defense

37. Would you favor or oppose pulling all American ground troops out of Korea by 1982?

	<u>September 1977</u>	<u>December 1976*</u>
Favor	51%	48%
Oppose	31	35
Don't know	18	16

*The wording in the December survey excluded the 1982 timetable. "Would you favor or oppose bringing the troops home from Korea," the immediacy implied in the December survey may account for the slightly higher opposition.

38. Recently there has been a lot of talk about the so-called neutron bomb, which kills with radiation rather than with fire and heat. Some people argue this bomb will be useful in Europe where it can be used against hostile troops without hurting allies; others argue that it is a barbaric weapon and should not be built. Would you favor or oppose the U.S. going ahead with construction of the neutron bomb?

Favor	31%
Oppose	49
Don't know	21

Trade

39. Some people say that they have the right to buy products no matter what country they are manufactured in. Other people say that no such right exists and the government can resist imports from some countries. Which is closer to your opinion?

Have a right	43%
Government can resist	49
Don't know	8

40. In general, do you think people benefit more from free trade between nations or more if each nation sticks to producing and selling within its own borders?

Free trade	72% ←
Stick to producing within	19
Don't know	10

Trade

41. Even if they are less efficient than foreign firms, we should try to preserve American shoe and textile factories. Would you agree or disagree with this statement?

Agree	71%
Disagree	16
Don't know	13

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
42. I always try to buy products made in America whenever I can	66%	28%	6%
I always shop for the best value regardless of what country a product is made in.	69	27	4

Regulations

43. I'm going to read you some areas where the Federal Government imposes regulations. In each case, I'd like you to tell me whether the regulations tend to help the industry or firms involved in business more, tend to help the general public more, tend to help both industry and the public equally or hurt both the industry and the public?

	<u>Help Business</u>	<u>Help Public</u>	<u>Help both</u>	<u>Hurt both</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
Regulation of the <u>airline</u> industry as to the amounts they can charge for tickets and the routes they can fly	18%	33%	21%	16%	21%
Regulation of the <u>drug</u> industry as to drugs they can sell and tests that have to be met first	8	51	23	10	8
Regulation of the <u>food</u> industry as to additives that they can add to food	9	56	19	8	8
Regulation of the <u>oil</u> industry in terms of prices it can charge	22	38	14	13	14

Regulations

44. Have you heard about the Occupational Safety and Health Administration -- sometimes called OSHA? (IF YES) Do you have a generally favorable or unfavorable opinion of this agency?

Yes - favorable	21%	} 53%
Yes - unfavorable	15	
Yes - not sure	17	
Have never heard	47	

The Congress

45. How much impact would you say decisions made by Congress have on your daily life -- a great deal, some, only a little, hardly any or none at all?

A great deal	42%
Some	30
Only a little	14
Hardly any	9
None at all	3
Don't know	3

46. As you probably know, there will be an election for U.S. Congressmen in your area in 1978. If the election were being held today, for whom would you vote, the Democrat or the Republican?

Democrat	40%	} 53% ←
Lean Democrat	13	
Republican	15	} 22%
Lean Republican	7	
Undecided	23	
Don't know	2	

47. Now, I'd like to ask you how important you consider a Congressman's position on the pay increase compared to his position on such issues as unemployment, inflation and energy. Compared to his position on these issues, would you consider a Congressman's position on the pay increase to be very important, somewhat important, only slightly important or not at all important?

Very important	28%
Somewhat important	28
Only slightly important	23
Not at all important	12
Don't know	8

The Congress

48. Overall, would you say that the relationship between President Carter and the Congress is better, worse, or about the same as the relationship between President Ford and the Congress?

	<u>All voters</u>	<u>Democrats</u>	<u>Republicans</u>
Better	43%	50%	29%
Worse	12	8	18
Same	38	34	46
Don't know	8	8	6

The Party

49. Now I'd like to read you some words and phrases and have you tell me whether each one better describes the Democratic or Republican party. If you feel a phrase describes both parties equally well, or that it describes neither, just say so.

	<u>Democratic Party</u>	<u>Republican Party</u>	<u>Both Equal</u>	<u>Neither</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
Liberal	60%	14%	13%	6%	9%
For the average man	52	9	18	15	7
For human rights overseas	42	10	30	6	13
Open to all groups	38	7	36	10	8
Creative, innovative	33	10	28	17	13
For economy in government	33	26	22	13	6
Concerned about the environment	29	8	47	9	8
For a strong national defense	25	28	36	5	6
Conservative	16	55	14	7	8
Supports goals of big business	13	57	20	4	7

Reorganization

50. If the President succeeds in re-organizing the government, will it change your life in any significant fashion? (IF YES) HOW?

<u>YES</u>	26%
Will lower taxes, change tax rates, might lower taxes, will make life easier for middle class taxpayers	8%
Will make government more responsive and accessible, will provide better service, improve public relations with government and trust in government	2
Depends on what is done or how government is changed	2
Will lower costs of government, will reduce federal budget, will save money, will balance budget	1
Will make things better for everyone, will improve government in general, good idea	1

Reorganization

How will government re-organization change your life? Continued

Will help economy in general, help to cut inflation	1%
Will increase taxes	1
Might affect my employment with government or with federally funded job	1
Other	6
Don't know	6
Don't know	24%
<u>NO</u>	50%

51. When you think about the performance of the Federal government, would you describe it as very efficient, somewhat efficient, somewhat inefficient or very inefficient?

Very efficient	3%	}	37%
Somewhat efficient	34		
Somewhat inefficient	34	}	56%
Very inefficient	22		
Don't know	8		

52. Do you think the average employee of the Federal Government works harder than the average person in a private industry, at about the same level, or not as hard?

Works harder	2%
About the same	29
Not as hard	63
Don't know	6

Reorganization

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

	<u>1st</u>	<u>2nd</u>	<u>3rd</u>	<u>Total</u>
The governmental departments and agencies are organized too poorly to carry out programs efficiently	28%	15%	14%	57%
There is too much duplication and too much paperwork in government	18	19	18	55
Too often the government takes on the wrong role in problem solving	7	14	12	33
The Congress has passed too many bills and programs	14	6	9	29
Government personnel are usually incompetent and unconcerned about their performance	6	12	8	26
Too many people work for the Federal Government	5	8	13	26
There is too much money to spend on programs	8	6	4	18
Most bureaucrats won't follow directions from above and Civil Service keeps them from being punished	3	5	9	17
The President doesn't concentrate enough on managing programs	6	5	3	14
There are insufficient amounts of money to adequately carry out programs	4	6	4	14
The people in the Cabinet aren't really competent managers	2	4	5	11

54. Many people say that we need to cut down drastically the number of Federal employees and should fire as many as necessary immediately. Others say we should not fire federal employees but, rather, cut back by not hiring new employees and not replacing employees when they retire. Still others say that we need the employees we have and if there is a problem it is in lack of good management at the top. Which is closer to your opinion?

Fire employees	15%
Attrition thru retirement	46
Need present amount	17
Other	7
Don't know	13

Reorganization

55. A. Most Important

Government more efficient and taxes spent better.
Government more competent.
Government programs reflect priorities of American people.
Waste and frills cut down.
Government more honest.
Government cost less.

B. Somewhat Important

Less duplication.
Government fairer.
Government forms simplified; red tape reduced.
Government more open.
Greater accessibility to Government agencies.
Better delivery of services.

C. Not Too Important

Streamlined organization to make Government more understandable.
Government de-centralized.
Number of Government units reduced.
Number of Federal employees reduced.
Regulation of business reduced.
Government more compassionate.

56. A. Most Likely to Happen

Less duplication
More competent and work better
Programs reflecting priorities
Greater accessibility

B. Somewhat Likely

Better delivery of services
Number of employees reduced
Number of governmental units reduced
Government forms simplified
Government will be more open
Government will be more efficient, dollars spent better
Streamlined organization to make government more understandable.

Reorganization

C. Not Too Likely

Government more compassionate
Regulation of business reduced
Waste and frill cut down
Government de-centralized - less in Washington
Government more honest
Government will be fairer
Government will cost less

57.

Importance vs. Expectation

	<u>Importance Rank</u>	<u>Expectation Rank</u>
More efficient	1	8
More competent	2	2
Programs reflect priorities	3	3
Waste and frills out	4	14
Government more honest	5	16
Government cost less	6	18
Less duplication	7	1
Government fairer	8	17
Forms simplified	9	8
Government more open	10	9
Greater accessibility	11	4
Better delivery of services	12	5
Streamlined government	13	11
Government decentralized	14	15
Number of government units reduced	15	7
Number of Federal employees reduced	16	6
Regulation of business reduced	17	13
Government more compassionate	18	12

Reorganization

58. What one area of government do you feel most needs to be re-organized to be made more efficient?

Welfare, welfare reform	18%
Legislative, Congress, Senate	8
HEW, Health, Education and Welfare, Social services	8
Taxes, tax reform, tax structure	5
Defense Department, military, Pentagon	4
All, the whole government, all areas, too many to name	4
The courts, judicial system, the Supreme Court, the judiciary	3
Social Security, income for older people	3
Budget, too much spending	3
Health department, health care and medical costs	3
Postal service, Post Office	3
Education, educational programs, school system	3
Energy, energy area and programs	3
Executive branch, administration, bureaucracy	3
Employment, jobs, job programs	2
Social services, help to low income	2
Department of Labor	1
Department of Agriculture, farm programs or administration	1
Foreign aid	1
Other	7
Don't know	17

59. Could you please tell me which of these programs you think most needs to be reorganized to run more efficiently? Which is second? Which is third?

	<u>1st</u>	<u>2nd</u>	<u>3rd</u>	<u>Total</u>
Social service programs to the poor	29%	17%	13%	59%
Health care	16	19	15	50
Energy area	15	13	11	39
Education	11	11	13	35
Postal service	9	9	8	26
Labor programs	7	8	9	24
Defense	5	7	8	20
Foreign policy	3	5	7	15
Urban Programs	3	4	7	14
Agriculture Programs	2	5	6	13
Business Programs	1	2	3	6