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## IMPLICATIONS OF PUBLIC OPINION FOR SPACE PROGRAM PLANNING, 1980-2000

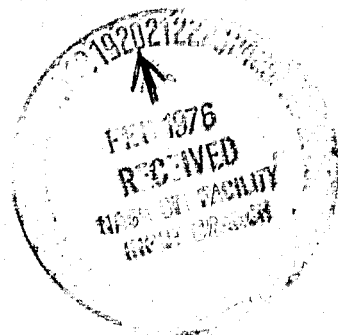
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

I. Introduction and Summary . . . . . 1

II. Methodological Comments . . . . . 18

III. The Public Salience of NASA and Other Issues . . . . . 20

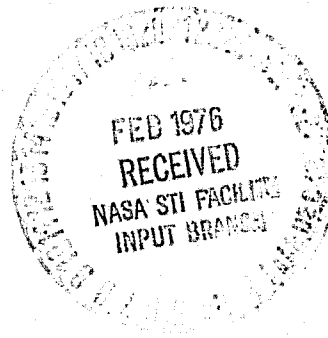
IV. Some Sources of General Budget Pressure. . . . . 32

V. The Size and Priority of NASA's Budget . . . . . 44

VI. Temporary Presidential Leverage Over Policies . . . . . 61

VII. Some Linkages to Other Issue-Areas . . . . . 65

VIII. Attitudes Toward Science . . . . . 74



## I. INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY

### A. Introduction

In a democracy like the United States the goals of public programs and the degree to which various goals are funded are (and should be) crucially affected by public opinion, although not usually in any direct or simple way. Public opinion is divided into various groups, some of which are organized and some of which are unorganized.

Public opinion affects the space program both through providing direct support, apathy, or opposition, and through an amorphous concern about the tax burden, budgetary pressures, and national priorities. The effects of public opinion on the space program are mediated through governmental institutions, most notably the Congress and various executive agencies such as the Office of Management and Budget. It is useful to think of Congress as in part a filter which can suppress or magnify the pressures of public opinion or of the various groups which together constitute public opinion. This relationship between a flow of opinion and a filter is reproduced in microcosm: the opinions of the members of Congress are filtered through the various committees and other institutional mechanisms, including especially the key oversight committees, the appropriations committees, and the overall budget and technology assessment groups. Having thus been twice filtered, public opinion affects the programs of NASA in a crucial but not completely determinate fashion. That is, within the mandate NASA receives there is considerable room for maneuver, for autonomous expert decisions.

This view of public opinion as providing basic orientations and limits upon NASA via a filtering process must be qualified by recognition of the feedback which occurs between NASA and public opinion. NASA programs are not only determined by (filtered) public opinion. In turn NASA programs on occasion exercise some degree of influence over public opinion. The public reacts to vague images of whether NASA is conducting useful, practical research, furthering national security or prestige, pursuing an historic adventure, or satisfying intellectual curiosity for a group of career-oriented specialists. The public forms relatively strong images of NASA when its attention is captured by a dramatic event such as the moon landing and it operates according to rather vague images when its attention is not so captured.

The purpose of this report is to discuss what implications for the future of the space program can be drawn from available data on public opinion. In what follows we shall discuss the salience and visibility of NASA as compared with other issues, the sources of general pressure on the federal budget which could affect NASA, the public's opinions regarding the size and priority of NASA's budget, the degree to which the executive can exercise leverage over NASA's budget through influencing or disregarding public opinion, the effects of linkages to other issues on space programs, and the public's general attitudes toward the progress of science with which NASA is so closely identified. Subsequent sections of this report will break down public opinion in greater detail in order to provide perspectives on the groupings within overall public opinion which affect NASA's future one way or another.

We dealt with the implications of public opinion groupings' holding different valuations of areas of social benefit and NASA objectives in an earlier and much more extensive study. See A.J. Wiener and B. Bruce-Briggs, Contextual Planning for NASA: A Second Workbook of Alternative Future Environments for Mission Analysis, HI-1272/3-RR, April 30, 1971, Hudson Institute, Croton-on-Hudson, New York (2 vols.). See especially Volume One, Chapter IV, and compare the "Public Perception Matrix, Sheet 6," available from the Outlook for Space coordinating officer, in which we have filled in the general program vs. benefit matrix used by the Outlook for Space study group as it might be filled in by these groups important to NASA: the "Academic Estate," the "Responsible Center," and "Provincial Leaders." These groups are defined in our 1971 report, where we use them and other relevant factions in a similar matrix with NASA programs and objectives, as well as a matrix with alternative future scenarios for NASA. Almost all of the 1971 study remains relevant to the issues dealt with in this report. Volume One is a convenient summary; Volume Two, contains a detailed profile of U.S. public opinion and an analysis of the stability of U.S. values. As the poll data in the current report indicate, little has changed since 1971 and the general conclusions thus far remain constant. They may be briefly summarized here.

Since its incipience, the space program has not been deeply pertinent to the interests of the general public. Within this general context, the seven areas of national interest-benefit themselves vary in relevance. In addition, some have been more relevant in the past (reaction to Sputnik was competitive) and have lost importance because

of changes in the political, social and international situation. The reverse is also true; that is, certain areas (e.g., international cooperation) have gained in importance in the present day because of "detente" and other changes in interest and events. Such variations should also be expected in the 1980-2000 period.

For the present day, on the whole, the seven areas as related to space activities can be roughly listed in order of importance to the general public, as contrasted to influential segments of the public and decision-making groups within NASA, OBM, and Congress. The list might look as follows:

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| Desirable and important for morale.  | 1. Vitality of the U.S. as a nation  |
| These are surely desirable because of strong humanitarian and peaceful interests, but are not salient. | 2. Basic needs of individual U.S. citizens. (But can space contribute in a demonstrably relevant way to this?) |
| These are interesting, but not important.  | 3. Basic needs of humanity on a global basis   |
| Little preoccupation with this today. **   | 4. International cooperation and understanding*  |
|  | 5. Expansion of human knowledge  |
|  | 6. Exploration of the unknown  |
|  | 7. National prestige and self-esteem   |

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\* Although international cooperation and understanding are valued, political feasibility and potential negative consequences are a very important consideration here. For example, the potential misuse of an international weather modification program makes such a program very questionable. In addition, programs may have political repercussions because of fears of surveillance or control by foreign nations or interference in internal affairs. Moreover, the general public continues to feel competitive and suspicious towards the Russians and Chinese, and may be very different in this respect than the NASA study group or other members of the Scientific Estate or Responsible Center, etc.

\*\* Though useful in the 1976 Bicentennial.

The two charts in Part II of this report make a key methodological point: issues distant from the immediate concerns of the mass public--such as foreign policy, foreign aid, and space--must be analyzed in ways quite different from issues that are close to the personal concerns of most Americans, or of crucial interest groups--such as employment policy, agriculture policy, mass transit policy, and so forth. On the more distant kinds of issues the public frequently holds no opinions at all, or shifts erratically in the opinions it holds, depending upon key events or key opinion leaders, or just as often holds totally contradictory opinions simultaneously. (This latter possibility is one which holds particular frustration for the policy analyst, and which is often disregarded, but a moment's thought yields the understanding that ambivalence and contradiction are omnipresent in human feelings, and that careful, consistent opinions are a rarity confined to those issues which are so immediate and salient that one is forced to work out an internally consistent position. Is it surprising that the future of space is, for most people, not an issue of immediate, pressing, personal concern, which must be thought through carefully?)

It follows from this that the first issue of concern to an agency is the degree to which it and the issues it faces are visible and relevant to the public. At any one time public attention is concentrated on only a few major issues which are of permanent concern or which are objects of current media attention. The first set of charts in section III indicates the issues which the public regarded as constituting the country's most important problem over a period of a generation, indicating dramatically that war and economic issues occupy

the heights of public concern. Fear of war and anxiety about inflation together occupied the top position 40 times out of the 48 times the question was asked. The bar charts illustrating the public's response to the question of what constituted the country's most important problem indicate that although war and economic issues together have a dominant role, the precise issues upon which public attention focuses fluctuate greatly over time, including in addition to war and economic problems such issues as crime, drug abuse, corruption, race issues, and so forth.

Only twice in an entire generation have space issues appeared on the list of most important problems facing the nation, namely on two occasions in 1958 when Sputnik triggered sufficient concern to raise space problems once to fourth place and once to fifth place. But outside the brief period between January 1958 and March 1958 space problems have not been among the most salient for the American public. Thus as the succeeding chart concludes space is not a major concern of Americans nor even a particularly salient interest of most of the public.

The following charts on pages 26 through 41 identify the national and personal hopes and fears of the American public. These charts reinforce the conclusions of the preceding charts. A long list of hopes and fears for the nation on page 27 fails to include any mention of space or even any mention of an issue which the public would currently perceive as being directly related to space. Similarly the personal hopes and fears listed on page 28 focus on cataclysms like wars, economic concerns and direct personal concerns about such things as crime, health, and aspirations for children.



It is worth noting that whenever any basic governmental or social function is perceived as being threatened or as breaking down, public attention and public hopes tend to focus around the restoration of that basic function and to exclude from attention all less basic concerns. In particular whenever peace, health, law and order, economic stability, or economic growth is threatened attention focuses on restoration of the basic function and excludes from attention or downgrades in priority any of what are seen as the relative luxuries of public policy--namely such things as foreign aid, basic research, and space programs. In our parallel report to the Outlook for Aeronautics program we noted that whenever world attention is riveted on a situation like a famine, investments in high technology tend to become perceived as luxuries or even as frivolities.\* Similarly when domestic public attention is riveted on an issue like crime or the other key problems noted on page 31, the relative interest in and willingness to accept space programs tends to decline.

Because NASA has such low visibility as a public issue, public opinion does not determine any of the details of program planning for space. However as we shall remark below, certain kinds of programs and certain kinds of relationships to other areas of public policy provide more numerous opportunities for NASA to attract public attention and support than other kinds of programs and linkages. But first it is important to notice that the low visibility of NASA programs implies that NASA is more vulnerable to general unease and pressure on the federal budget than to strong public sensitivities about particular priorities. The sources of general budget pressure are noted in the

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\*Such a perception may be erroneous in the long run, but pressing issues focus attention on extremely, even irrationally, short-term concerns.

fourth section of our collection of charts. The principal sources of general budget pressure are general anxiety about the economy and declining confidence in governmental and related institutions and leaders. The mid-1970s have of course so far constituted periods of objective economic difficulties including both severe inflation and severe recession. Page 32 and 33 demonstrate the extent to which these objective problems have been correctly perceived by the public. Page 34 is striking in that it pinpoints the heavy degree to which government is blamed for the country's economic difficulties. The effect of having the public blame the government primarily for economic difficulties is that confidence in governmental leaders and institutions declines and the willingness of much of the public to allow budget increases for government items that are perceived as non-necessities tends to decrease.

This blaming of government for economic difficulties is just one small aspect of a pervasive and long-run decline in the public's confidence in the future of the country, in the country's leaders, and in the country's principal institutions. Pages 35 and 36 indicate that although there is still a great deal of confidence in and liking for the United States and its future a substantial proportion of the public expresses severe doubts. Pages 37 and 38 show that the public has relatively low levels of confidence in key U.S. institutions and in particular that confidence has declined greatly since the mid-1960s. The decline predates Watergate and therefore cannot be viewed as a short-term response to the difficulties of the Nixon Administration. In these and succeeding charts we have emphasized those institutions

most directly related to the space program, namely major companies, the Executive branch of government, the press, the scientific community, the Congress and the military. It is worth noting that of all these institutions the scientific community carries the highest prestige followed by the military and by major companies. The Executive branch of the Congress and the press rate very low in public prestige.

The charts beginning on page 39 show public confidence in institutions broken down according to various groupings of the population. Confidence in major companies in the scientific community and in Congress increases with education, whereas confidence in the Executive, the press and the military declines with increasing education. Whites tend to have more confidence in U.S. institutions than blacks with the single exception of the press. Confidence in companies, the Executive branch of government, Congress and the military increases with age, whereas confidence in the press and the scientific community shows some tendency to decline with age (page 41). A breakdown of public opinion by occupation shows surprising uniformity of degree of confidence in key institutions except that the prestige of the scientific community is much stronger among members of higher status occupations than of lower status occupations. And, finally, degree of urbanization seems to have surprisingly little influence over confidence in American institutions. Overall the studies of confidence in institutions indicate a general breakdown of confidence in leadership groups of all kind and this almost certainly implies decreasing willingness to support federal government initiatives and budgets that do not support perceived immediate self-interest of voters.

Although the major influence of mass public opinion on NASA probably comes through general budget pressure acting upon a program almost invisible to most of the public most of the time, there are some polls indicating how the public feels about the priority NASA's budget should have relative to other programs and the size of the budget the public feels appropriate for NASA. Pages 44 and 45 show the public listing space third after the Vietnam war and foreign aid as public spending programs which should be cut first and similarly ranking third from last in responses to a question regarding which programs should be cut least. The latter chart is interesting, however, because it also reveals a substantial base of public support, typically around 10 to 15 percent of the population, which believes that space should be one of the programs cut least. Charts 46 and 47 reveal that very little of the public would support increases in NASA's budget and that a slight majority in favor of increasing the budget or keeping it the same has turned into a majority in favor of decreasing the budget. A succeeding series of charts, 48 through 54, breaks out these levels of support and opposition by education, age, occupation, and income. College educated people provide more support than non-college educated. There has been a general decline of support since the late 1960s. In the support provided the space program by all age groups and the homogeneity of opinion among age groups has increased dramatically between 1969 and 1974, with a majority in favor of decreasing the NASA budget. All occupational groups except professionals and skilled workers believed by 1974 that the space budget should be cut. Higher income groups have generally given relatively greater support to the space program

than lower income groups but their support has declined faster than other groups.

Finally, pages 56 and 57 show that only the age group from 30-49, the college educated, the high-income people, and the suburban residents believe that the past costs of the space program have been worth the expenditure and that even among these groups the margin of support tends to be tiny; when asked about future costs no racial age, education, income, residential or political party group believed in 1970 that the space program was worth \$4 billion a year to the country. In sum the general public attitude toward NASA's budget has been and continues to be rather negative--especially if the costs rise above a certain "noise-level" threshold, which may currently be in the neighborhood of \$3 billion.

#### Conclusions

The conclusions to be drawn from these public opinion polls are that barring unanticipated changes in morale or in the perceived urgency of other areas of government expenditure or in the excitement or perceived payoff attached to the space program, NASA cannot look to the public for support of increased or even constant budgets. NASA must instead rely upon linkages to other areas of public concern, upon the support of key groups of interested citizens and of experts in this field, and upon the general discretion in such matters that the public allows to the government in general and the executive in particular, in allocating funds for programs that are far from immediate personal concerns.

The space program shares with the foreign aid program and with most, though not all, foreign policy issues, the willingness of the public to let experts make the key decisions within very broad limits. However, an

Important cautionary note is introduced into these considerations by Chart 59 which illustrates the fact that great breakthroughs such as Sputnik and the space competition which followed it captured public attention and by Chart 60 which shows that the U.S. public is quick to blame political and governmental officials for allowing the United States to fall behind a competitor. This kind of blame constituted, in effect, strong support for the space program--at least in a period when the public connected space issues to the Cold War.

The following set of charts is intended to indicate the degree to which presidential leadership can draw support in areas that are far from immediate concern, even when the basic instincts of the public run in opposite directions. When Eisenhower landed troops in Lebanon, when Kennedy supported the Bay of Pigs invasion, when Johnson intervened in Santa Domingo, and when Nixon allowed intervention in Cambodia, the public strongly supported the president and in fact the popularity ratings of the president rose in each case. In each case also there was a subsequent decline, but the immediate wave of support for the president helped the president's policy carry the day. The public's strong interest in supporting its President is indicated most dramatically in Chart 64 on the Cambodian intervention, which shows that even though more than twice as many people felt that the U.S. should not send troops into Cambodia the public was willing to support by a margin of 3 to 2 the president's action in dispatching troops for that purpose. Likewise, America's foreign aid programs have persisted with relatively large budgets over a period considerably longer than the lifetime of substantial space program budgets because of presidential support despite public indifference or hostility.

The lesson here for NASA is that the public allows experts and political decision-makers considerable latitude in making budget and program direction decisions in matters that the public considers far from its own competence and interest. Of course if things go disastrously as they have in Vietnam and with occasional parts of the aid program, the public acquires greater interest in the program and, in effect, severely narrows the range of discretion allowed to public officials. NASA has of course not encountered the kinds of controversies and disasters that some other areas of public policy have and thus considerable discretion remains. In this regard it may be worthwhile to note the May 1961 space exploration poll quoted in page 66 which indicates that even in 1961 an almost two to one majority of the American people opposed the idea of spending \$40 billion to send a man to the moon. The program went ahead rapidly and successfully despite public opposition because of support by key groups and key agencies, and also because of a linkage to the Cold War.

As mentioned earlier, linkages between the space program and other areas of national concern provide key bases of support for NASA. As mentioned previously in this report and as argued on page 65, war and the fear of war have remained paramount concerns of the American people. One of the great sources of support for U.S. space programs in the past has been the linkage between the space program and the Cold War. The three polls quoted on page 66 demonstrate this dramatically. When questions were asked about the value of space programs in isolation from other issues, the public overwhelmingly opposed continuation of the space program. However, as indicated by the March 1960 poll on

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science and missile development, the public was overwhelmingly willing to support science and missile programs devoted to helping the country catch up with the Russians in a period of intense Cold War. That catching up with the Russians was perceived as being necessary and as being directly related to the space program is demonstrated dramatically by the polls quoted on page 68. The turn-around by 1961 illustrated on page 69 is quite dramatic. Perceptions were similar in most other countries, as indicated by some of the polls cited on page 70. Page 71 reveals the possibility that at least in other countries a perceived need for the United States to catch up with the Soviet Union could once again develop, and the reversals in American foreign policy going on as this report is written in early 1975 could demonstrate the possibility of a revival of a fear of hostile countries getting ahead of the United States. Nonetheless, for the time being at least, the era of detente has effectively severed the previous linkage between rapid advances in space and the military position of the United States. It goes without saying that so long as there is no revival of serious threats to the United States the spirit of detente is likely to persist, and the country will make vigorous efforts to enable detente to persist.

Are there other issue areas with which the space program is sufficiently identified to bring broad public support? One possibility is promotion of international cooperation and conceivably NASA will receive continued support because of executive interest in using the space program to promote continued detente with the Soviet Union and perhaps to promote enhanced cooperation with countries like Japan. However, support in these cases will come from the executive or other



parts of the government rather than from the public at large. The public's willingness to push for large expenditures of money is much greater in the face of a perceived threat of war than for the positive purpose of marginally enhancing international cooperation. A second possible issue area is national pride. The rating of scientific progress as a contributor to the greatness of America is very high and NASA is, of course, identified closely with scientific progress. Despite the current nadir of national pride and the current decline in enthusiasm for scientific progress, it could well be that the bicentennial year will revive national pride and that some resurgence of enthusiasm for scientific progress will accompany improving economic conditions (assuming that economic conditions actually do improve).

The pages beginning with number 74 dealing with attitudes towards science reinforce this view of science as a key contributor to the American way of life. Page 75 indicates, however, that the kinds of science meant by the public include primarily near-term technological benefits such as medical research and major appliances. Thus support for space science will come either from rather mild interest in general scientific progress, or from more immediate benefits which are either positive like those of weather forecasting and medical research or which facilitate the solution of the most severe negative problems as indicated on page 76.

Finally, pages 77 and 78 suggest that, contrary to what one might have thought, there is considerable and growing support for the proposition that "UFO's are real" and "there are people somewhat like ourselves living on other planets." Surprisingly, these beliefs tend to be stronger among younger, more affluent, more urban, and better-educated Americans.

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Though one wishes the Gallup organization had put the questions more sensibly, the answers do suggest at least a latent reservoir of support for the search for extra-terrestrial life.

It may be useful to add some comments on how these public perceptions may change as the space program continues during the 1980-2000 period:

It seems likely that there will be a positive impact on national morale of being at the leading edge of an expanding horizon of technology and knowledge.

It seems likely that there will be changes in man's view of the world. There may be an expanding global outlook. There may be an increasingly international perspective on problems of world-wide concern. Evidence of such effects is difficult or impossible to obtain, but there are reasons to expect such effects, if not now, then as the years go by.

Increased knowledge of the dynamics of the solar system and their terrestrial impact increases our daily awareness of being part of that system. As man "masters" the solar system, he can regain, in a sense, the geocentric position lost in the Copernican revolution. There is a possibility of enhancement of aesthetic, romantic, adventurous and religious aspects of world-views as a result of increased awareness of areas outside the world of every-day experience, i.e., increased awareness of the relatively unknown areas beyond the familiar terrestrial surface.

Quality of life may be improved as terrestrial applications significantly increase man's ability to deal with terrestrial problems on a global basis. Particularly important will be the development of

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adequate empirical data for reasonable and effective international environmental protection.

It is not only the space program which will have an impact, but having a space program. That is, the space program does not arrive from space, as an "independent variable," and then "impact" upon society, attitudes, and world-views. There is a difference between the kind of society that 1) develops and continues a space program, with its associated commitments of money and skilled manpower, and managerial and technological infrastructures, as well as technological spin-offs and attitudinal consequences, on the one hand, and 2) the kind of society that cuts back or discontinues a space program, writing it off as a detour, an experiment, or even a mistake. The analogy was spelled out in the NASA-sponsored book, The Railroad and the Space Program, where it was pointed out that the issue was not simply what was the impact of the railroad on American life, but also, what did it mean that we were the kind of society that built a nation-wide system of railroads? Clearly, the decision (or failure of decision) to abandon the railroad system, in part, has consequences, as well as the abandonment itself.

## II. METHODOLOGICAL COMMENT

### AMERICAN PUBLIC OPINION

"THE GENERAL PUBLIC RARELY, IF EVER, IS FULLY ENOUGH INFORMED TO REACT LOGICALLY TO PROPOSALS OR ALTERNATIVES THAT INVOLVE A COMPLEX WEB OF ARGUMENTS. DETAILS OF ELIGIBILITY AND FUNDING AND NATIONAL FISCAL IMPLICATIONS ARE, MOST OF THE TIME, BEYOND THE RANGE OF THE MATERIALS THROUGH WHICH THE AVERAGE CITIZEN REACTS TO PUBLIC ISSUES.

"THIS POINT IS NOT MADE TO DEPRECATE THE AMERICAN PUBLIC OR THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS. THAT PROCESS HAS SURVIVED NEARLY TWO CENTURIES OF CRISES IN AN IMPRESSIVE MANNER THAT DEFIES BOTH EXPECTATION AND ANALYSIS. AND TIME AND TIME AGAIN IN PERIODS OF STRESS THE AMERICAN ELECTORATE HAS MADE WHAT HISTORY EVENTUALLY CAME TO REGARD AS A WISE AND PRUDENT CHOICE. THE POINT IS MADE RATHER TO PLACE THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR PUBLIC OPINION ANALYSIS WHERE IT BELONGS: ON SURVEY RESEARCH ANALYSTS AND ELECTED PUBLIC OFFICIALS, WHO MUST LEARN TO READ BEYOND SUPERFICIAL POLL DATA TO DISCOVER THE CORE OF PUBLIC SENTIMENT AND THE TOLERABLE LIMITS OF PUBLIC POLICY....

"A TESTING OF PUBLIC OPINION ON ANY COMPLEX ISSUE MUST PROBE NOT ONLY THE PUBLIC'S REACTION TO A SIMPLISTICALLY STATED POLICY, BUT ALSO THE DEGREE TO WHICH THE PUBLIC WILL ACCEPT VARIOUS ALTERNATIVE SOLUTIONS TO THE PROBLEM. IT MUST ATTEMPT TO LEARN WHETHER THERE IS A CONSENSUS AS TO PURPOSE THAT TRANSCENDS SPECIFIC PROPOSALS, AND WHAT IS THE LIMIT OF THAT CONSENSUS. AND IT MUST ATTEMPT TO GAUGE THE DEGREE TO WHICH PUBLIC MISUNDERSTANDING, OR PARTIAL UNDERSTANDING, OBSCURES ITS OWN BEST REACTION TO THE PROPOSAL."<sup>\*</sup>

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<sup>\*</sup>MICHAEL E. SCHILTZ, PUBLIC ATTITUDES TOWARD SOCIAL SECURITY 1935-1965, U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION AND WELFARE, SOCIAL SECURITY ADMINISTRATION, OFFICE OF RESEARCH AND STATISTICS, RESEARCH REPORT NO. 33, P. 181.

PUBLIC ATTITUDES FOLLOWING ORBITING  
OF SPUTNIK I (OCTOBER 4, 1957)

"IN SUMMARY, THE OPINIONS HELD BY MANY AMERICANS REGARDING THIS FIRST STEP INTO SPACE WERE SOMETIMES INCONSISTENT, OCCASIONALLY RICH IN NON SEQUITURS, AND FREQUENTLY ILLOGICAL. ALSO, THESE OPINIONS DID NOT INDICATE UNANIMOUS PSYCHOLOGICAL SHOCK OR NATIONAL LOIN GIRDING, AS THE PRESS AND MANY ISSUE MAKERS HAVE INSISTED...."

"CONSIDER, FINALLY, THE WORDS OF B. R. FISHER AND G. BELKNAP REGARDING THEIR STUDIES OF AMERICAN ATTITUDES TOWARD FOREIGN AFFAIRS (AND SUBSTITUTE 'SPACE AGE' FOR 'FOREIGN AFFAIRS'):

"NOT ONLY ARE FOREIGN AFFAIRS QUESTIONS ORDINARILY LESS IMMEDIATELY CONSEQUENTIAL FOR THE INDIVIDUAL THAN SUCH QUESTIONS AS EMPLOYMENT, RECREATION, AND FAMILY LIFE, BUT THEY ARE ALSO LESS REAL.... THIS SITUATION MAKES THE USUAL ROLE OF THE ORDINARY CITIZEN MORE ONE OF A CUSTOMER THAN A PROCESS PARTICIPANT. HE CAN "BUY" A POINT OF VIEW, OR SEVERAL OF THEM; AND IF THESE VIEWPOINTS ARE LOGICALLY IN CONFLICT, HE NEED ONLY AVOID USING THEM SIMULTANEOUSLY... BECAUSE IT IS NOT FUNCTIONALLY NECESSARY FOR MOST PEOPLE TO DEVELOP A COMPLETE AND CONSISTENT PHILOSOPHY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS (SINCE THEY ARE NOT A PART OF THE IMMEDIATE ENVIRONMENT WHICH THE INDIVIDUAL MUST ORGANIZE OR ADJUST TO), THE GROSS PICTURES OFFERED THE CITIZEN CAN BE ACCEPTED PIECEMEAL, AND WE SHOULD NOT BE SURPRISED TO FIND THEM SOMETIMES CONTRADICTORY."

---

\*B.R. FISHER, AND G. BELKNAP, AMERICA'S ROLE IN WORLD AFFAIRS, ANN ARBOR, MICH., UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN, SURVEY RESEARCH CENTER, 1952, p. 42, QUOTED IN DONALD N. MICHAEL, "THE BEGINNING OF THE SPACE AGE AND AMERICAN PUBLIC OPINION," THE PUBLIC OPINION QUARTERLY, NO. 24, P. 582 (1960).

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## III. THE PUBLIC SALIENCE OF NASA AND OTHER ISSUES

THE MOST IMPORTANT PROBLEM

GALLUP POLL QUESTION, "WHAT DO YOU THINK IS THE MOST IMPORTANT PROBLEM FACING THIS COUNTRY TODAY?" WAS ASKED 48 TIMES FROM 1947 TO 1974.

"WAR" AND "THREAT OF WAR" NAMED 26 TIMES AS MOST IMPORTANT ISSUE AND 31 TIMES AS ONE OF TOP THREE.

"KEEPING PEACE" NAMED TOP PROBLEM 4 TIMES AND ONE OF TOP THREE 6 TIMES.

"INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS" WAS MOST IMPORTANT ISSUE 2 TIMES AND ONE OF THREE MOST IMPORTANT 8 TIMES.

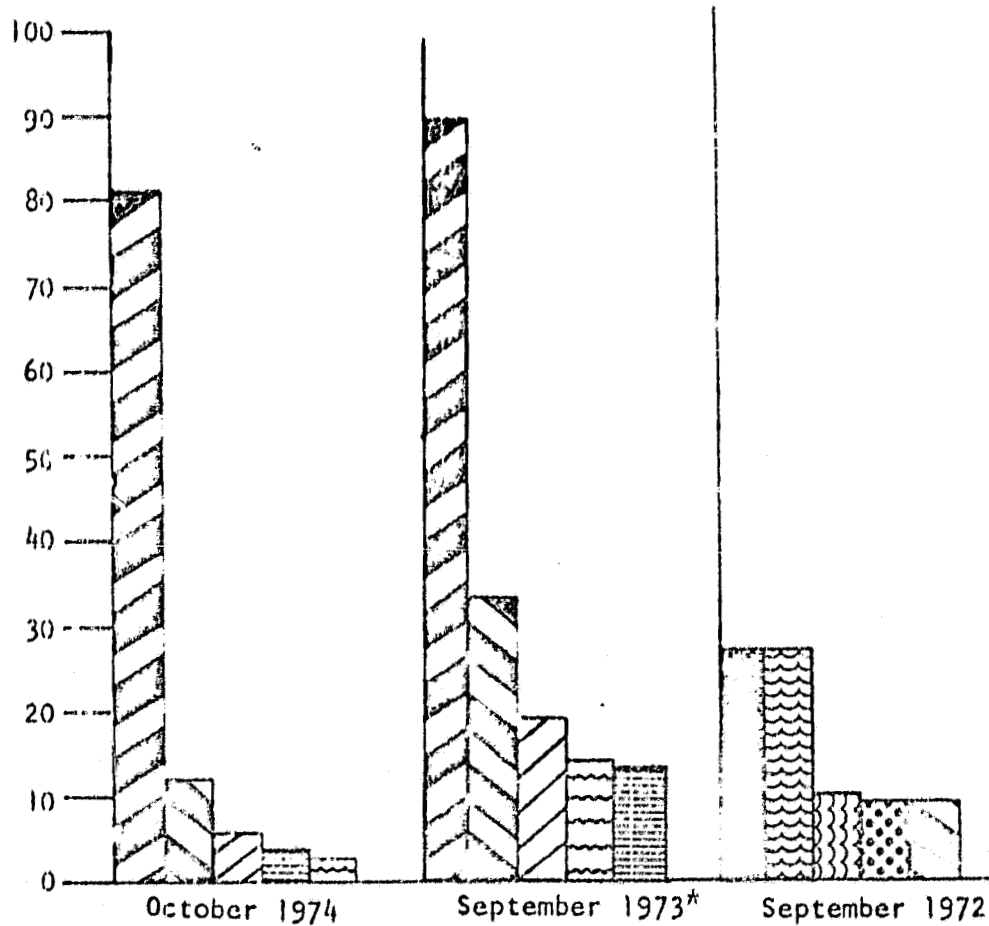
AS A GROUP THIS WAS MOST IMPORTANT PROBLEM 32 TIMES AND ONE OF TOP THREE 45 TIMES.











INFLATION WAS TOP PROBLEM 8 TIMES AND ONE OF MOST IMPORTANT THREE 27 TIMES.

FEAR OF WAR AND ANXIETY ABOUT INFLATION TOGETHER OCCUPIED THE TOP POSITION 40 TIMES OUT OF THE 48 THE QUESTION WAS ASKED AND WERE AMONG THE TOP THREE 72 TIMES.

THE MOST IMPORTANT PROBLEM  
GALLUP POLLS

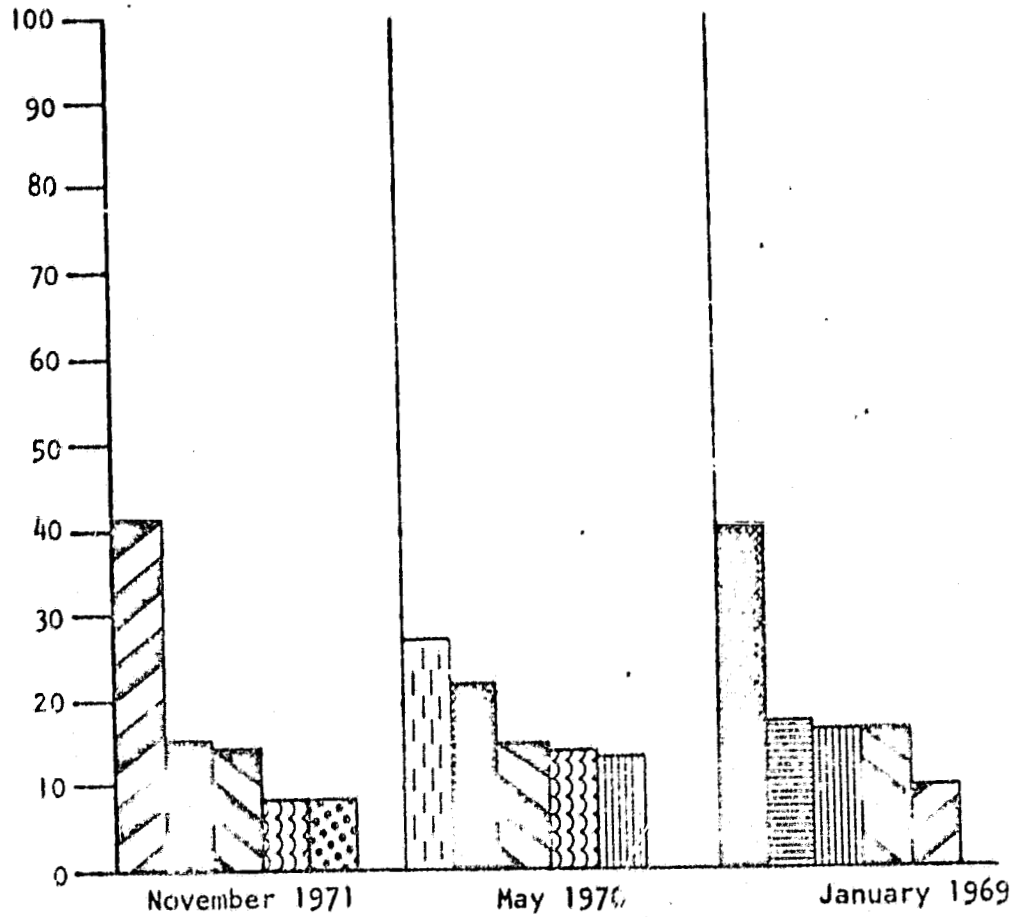
"What do you think is the most important problem facing this country today?"











-  Inflation, High Cost of Living
-  Crime, Domestic Violence
-  Drugs, Drug Abuse
-  Other Problems
-  Watergate, Corruption in Government
-  International Problems
-  Discontent with, lack of trust in government
-  International Problems
-  Unemployment
-  War, Threat of War, Vietnam

\*The percentages indicate the combined responses to the following questions: "What do you think is the most important problem facing this country today?" and "What do you think is the NEXT most important problem facing this country today?"

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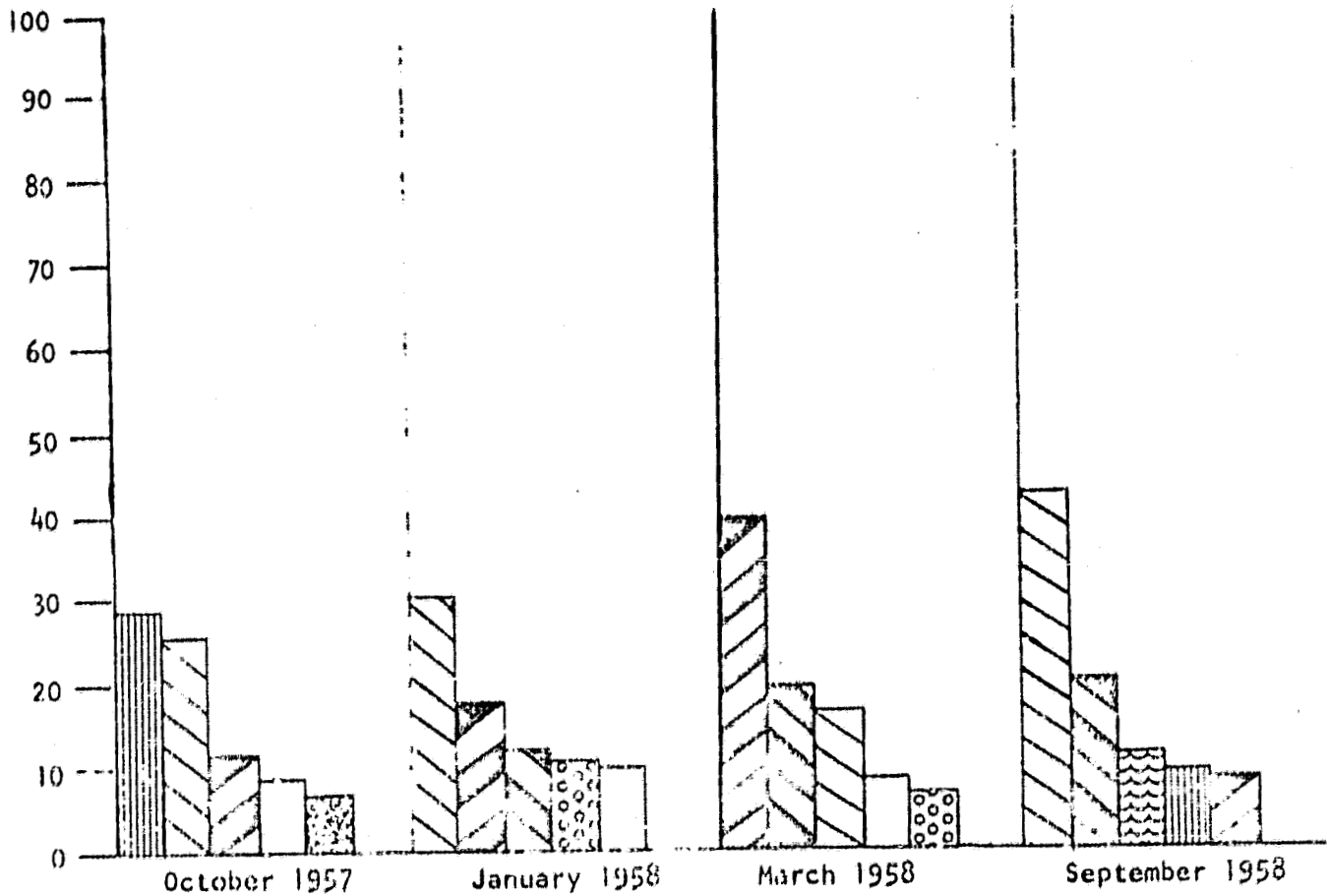










- |  |  |
|--|--|
|  War, Threat of War, Vietnam    |  Race, Racial Problems  |
|  Other Problems                 |  Campus Unrest          |
|  Inflation, High Cost of Living |  International Problems |
|  Crime, Domestic Violence       |  Drugs, Drug Abuse      |



THE MOST IMPORTANT PROBLEM (CONT.)

IN 1958 SPUTNIKS AND SPACE PROBLEMS WERE TWICE ON THE LIST,  
IN FOURTH AND FIFTH PLACE. OTHERWISE, SPACE DOES NOT  
APPEAR ON ANY OF THE LISTS OF THE TOP FIVE PROBLEMS.



- |  |  |
|--|--|
|  Keeping the Peace              |  Race, Racial Problems    |
|  Other Problems                 |  Sputniks, Space Problems |
|  Inflation, High Cost of Living |  No Opinion, Don't Know   |
|  Unemployment                   |  Defense Preparedness     |

SALIENCY OF SPACE ISSUE

SPACE IS NOT A SALIENT ISSUE, NOT BEING OF DOMINANT INTEREST IN THE LIVES OF AMERICANS.

THE PUBLIC REACTS TO EVENTS OF DEEP PERSONAL CONCERN, HEIGHTENED NATIONAL INTEREST, CURRENT PROMINENCE IN THE MEDIA OR GOVERNMENT, OR A PERCEIVED CRISIS.

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NATIONAL AND PERSONAL HOPES AND FEARS\*1972

...EVEN WHEN THE CONTEXT WAS EXPLICITLY NATIONAL, THE HORIZONS OF THE PEOPLE IN VIEWING THEIR COUNTRY'S SITUATION WERE DISTINCTLY LIMITED. UNLESS PRODDED BY INTERVIEWERS, ONLY SMALL MINORITIES OF AMERICANS IN MID-1972 SEEMED PREOCCUPIED WITH MOST OF THE MAJOR PROBLEMS THAT CONFRONTED THE NATION. SIGNIFICANTLY, OUR SURVEY FAILED TO UNCOVER ANY TOPIC OF INTENSELY CONCENTRATED CONCERN AMONG AMERICANS, WITH THE POSSIBLE EXCEPTION OF THE WAR/PEACE THEME.\*\*

1974

...PUBLIC CONCERN FOR INTERNATIONAL AND DEFENSE MATTERS WAS MUCH LOWER THAN FOR MOST DOMESTIC PROBLEMS; AND INTERNATIONAL AND DEFENSE ITEMS WERE GIVEN THE VERY LOWEST PUBLIC SPENDING PRIORITY....

IN THE DOMESTIC ARENA, THE PUBLIC INDICATED SUBSTANTIAL WILLINGNESS TO SPEND TAX MONEY TO ALLEVIATE (AND HOPEFULLY SOLVE) MANY OF THE DOMESTIC PROBLEMS FACING THIS COUNTRY. EVEN WHEN REMINDED THAT SUCH OUTLAYS EVENTUALLY COME OUT OF THEIR OWN AND OTHER TAXPAYERS' POCKETS, OUR CITIZENS LEAN TOWARD INCREASING SPENDING ON THOSE ISSUES THEY ARE CONCERNED OR WORRIED ABOUT. AND THIS FEELING EMERGED EVEN THOUGH...THE PUBLIC EXPRESSED A DISTINCT LOSS OF CONFIDENCE IN THE EFFICACY OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENTAL INSTITUTIONS THAT HANDLE THIS SPENDING. IN THIS SENSE THE GREAT MAJORITY OF THE PUBLIC IS WHAT MIGHT BE CALLED, IN A SHORT-HAND BUT VERY REALISTIC SENSE, LIBERAL...

...WHEN...WE PROBED DEEPLY INTO THE ITEMS AMERICANS MENTIONED AS PERSONAL HOPES AND FEARS, WE FOUND THAT SIGNIFICANT BREAKTHROUGHS HAD OCCURRED IN THE DISTINCTION THEY NORMALLY DREW BETWEEN THEIR OWN SITUATIONS AND THE STATE OF THE NATION. NATIONAL, POLITICAL, SOCIAL, AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS HAD INFILTRATED INTO THEIR PERSONAL PREOCCUPATIONS TO AN UNPRECEDENTED DEGREE--PARTICULARLY CONCERNS ABOUT SUCH MATTERS AS INFLATION, WATERGATE AND ALL IT STOOD FOR, AND EVEN THE DANGER OF POLITICAL INSTABILITY. THERE WAS A PREVAILING MOOD OF UNCERTAINTY AND SKEPTICISM.\*\*\*

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\*FROM THE WORK OF HADLEY CANTRIL, LLOYD A. FREE, WILLIAM WATTS, ALBERT H. CANTRIL AND CHARLES W. ROLL, JR.

\*\*WILLIAM WATTS AND LLOYD A. FREE, EDS., STATE OF THE NATION (NEW YORK: UNIVERSE BOOKS, 1973), P. 257.

\*\*\*WILLIAM WATTS AND LLOYD A. FREE, STATE OF THE NATION 1974 (WASHINGTON, D.C.: POTOMAC ASSOCIATES, 1974), PP. 297, 298 AND 301.

THE TABLES FOLLOWING WERE TAKEN FROM WATTS AND FREE 1973 AND 1974. A DASH (--) ON EACH OF THESE FOUR TABLES INDICATES MENTION BY LESS THAN 5 PERCENT OF THE SAMPLE. A SHIFT OF 4 PERCENTAGE POINTS BETWEEN STUDIES IS CONSIDERED STATISTICALLY SIGNIFICANT.

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"WHAT ARE YOUR WISHES AND HOPES FOR THE FUTURE OF THE UNITED STATES? IF YOU PICTURE THE FUTURE OF THE U.S. IN THE BEST POSSIBLE LIGHT, HOW WOULD THINGS LOOK, LET US SAY, ABOUT TEN YEARS FROM NOW?"

"AND WHAT ABOUT YOUR FEARS AND WORRIES FOR THE FUTURE OF OUR COUNTRY? IF YOU PICTURE THE FUTURE OF THE U.S. IN THE WORST POSSIBLE LIGHT, HOW WOULD THINGS LOOK ABOUT TEN YEARS FROM NOW?"

NATIONAL HOPES  
(PERCENTAGES)

	1959	1964	1971	1972	CHANGE IN 1974
PEACE.....	48	51	51	56	27
EMPLOYMENT.....	13	15	16	17	10
LAW AND ORDER.....	--	--	11	14	11
ECONOMIC STABILITY; NO INFLATION.....	12	5	18	13	24
SOLUTION OF POLLUTION PROBLEMS.....	--	--	10	12	5
NATIONAL UNITY AND POLITICAL STABILITY (INTERNAL PEACE AND ORDER; ABSENCE OF UNREST, TENSIONS, ANTAGONISMS).....	--	9	15	11	15
IMPROVED STANDARD OF LIVING; GREATER NATIONAL PROSPERITY.....	20	28	11	10	11
SOCIAL JUSTICE (GREATER EQUALITY FOR ALL ELEMENTS OF THE POPULATION).....	--	--	--	8	n.a.
SOLUTION OF DRUG PROBLEM.....	--	--	6	7	n.a.
EFFICIENT GOVERNMENT; COMPETENT LEADERSHIP	--	--	--	6	11
EDUCATION.....	--	--	--	6	6
HONEST GOVERNMENT.....	--	--	--	5	25
ELIMINATION OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION AND PREJUDICE.....	14	15	10	5	n.a.
PUBLIC MORALITY (ETHICAL STANDARDS, RELIGION).....	7	10	8	5	10
BETTER WORLD (MORE INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING AND COOPERATION).....	17	6	7	5	n.a.

NATIONAL FEARS  
(PERCENTAGES)

	1959	1964	1971	1972	CHANGE IN 1974
WAR (ESPECIALLY NUCLEAR WAR).....	64	50	30	35	24
LACK OF LAW AND ORDER.....	--	5	11	16	13
ECONOMIC INSTABILITY; INFLATION; RECESSION	18	13	17	13	28
NATIONAL DISUNITY AND POLITICAL INSTABILITY (UNREST, TENSIONS, ANTAGONISMS, CIVIL WAR)	--	8	26	13	12
DRUG PROBLEM.....	--	--	7	9	n.a.
COMMUNISM.....	12	29	12	8	8
POLLUTION.....	--	--	9	8	6
LACK OF PUBLIC MORALITY (ETHICALLY, RELIGIOUSLY).....	--	5	6	6	6
LOSS OF DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM; TOTALITARIANISM	--	5	5	5	n.a.
UNEMPLOYMENT.....	7	6	7	5	n.a.
POPULATION GROWTH.....	--	--	--	5	n.a.
THREAT, AGGRESSION, DOMINATION BY A COMMUNIST POWER.....	--	--	--	5	5

PERSONAL HOPES AND FEARS

"ALL OF US WANT CERTAIN THINGS OUT OF LIFE. WHEN YOU THINK ABOUT WHAT REALLY MATTERS IN YOUR OWN LIFE, WHAT ARE YOUR WISHES AND HOPES FOR THE FUTURE? IN OTHER WORDS, IF YOU IMAGINE YOUR FUTURE IN THE BEST POSSIBLE LIGHT, WHAT WOULD YOUR LIFE LOOK LIKE THEN IF YOU ARE TO BE HAPPY?"

"TAKING THE OTHER SIDE OF THE PICTURE, WHAT ARE YOUR FEARS AND WORRIES FOR THE FUTURE? IN OTHER WORDS, IF YOU IMAGINE YOUR FUTURE IN THE WORST POSSIBLE LIGHT, WHAT WOULD YOUR LIFE LOOK LIKE THEN?"

PERSONAL HOPES  
(PERCENTAGES)

	1959	1964	1971	1972	CHANGE IN 1974
PEACE IN THE WORLD; NO WARS.....	9	17	19	32	16
BETTER STANDARD OF LIVING.....	38	40	27	29	29
GOOD HEALTH FOR SELF.....	40	29	29	27	28
ASPIRATIONS FOR CHILDREN (OPPORTUNITIES, ESPECIALLY EDUCATION; SUCCESS; HAPPINESS).....	29	35	17	23	24
HAPPY FAMILY LIFE.....	18	18	14	18	15
OWN HOUSE OR LIVE IN BETTER ONE.....	24	12	11	12	11
GOOD HEALTH FOR FAMILY.....	16	25	13	12	11
GOOD JOB; CONGENIAL WORK.....	7	9	6	10	11
WEALTH.....	--	5	7	8	8
LEISURE TIME; RECREATION; TRAVEL.....	11	5	6	8	9
PEACE OF MIND; EMOTIONAL STABILITY AND MATURITY.....	5	9	8	7	9
ECONOMIC STABILITY IN GENERAL; NO INFLATION	--	--	6	7	15
SAFETY FROM CRIME.....	--	--	--	7	6
EMPLOYMENT.....	5	8	6	6	6
SOCIAL JUSTICE (GREATER EQUALITY, ELIMINA- TION OF DISCRIMINATION).....	--	--	--	6	7
HAPPY OLD AGE.....	10	8	6	6	8
SELF-IMPROVEMENT OR DEVELOPMENT.....	--	--	--	5	5
CHRISTIAN REVIVAL.....	--	--	--	5	5

PERSONAL FEARS  
(PERCENTAGES)

	1959	1964	1971	1972	CHANGE IN 1974
WAR.....	21	29	17	28	18
ILL HEALTH FOR SELF.....	40	25	28	21	25
LOWER STANDARD OF LIVING.....	23	19	18	18	16
ILL HEALTH FOR FAMILY.....	25	27	16	12	12
UNEMPLOYMENT.....	10	14	13	10	12
ECONOMIC INSTABILITY IN GENERAL; INFLATION	--	--	11	9	26
DRUG PROBLEM IN FAMILY.....	--	--	7	9	5
INADEQUATE OPPORTUNITIES OR UNHAPPINESS FOR CHILDREN.....	12	10	8	8	10
CRIME.....	--	--	5	8	9
POLLUTION.....	--	--	7	6	n.a.
POLITICAL INSTABILITY (DISSENSION, UNREST, TURMOIL).....	--	--	5	5	6
SOCIAL DECAY (SPIRITUAL, ETHICAL, RELIGIOUS).....	--	--	--	5	9

HOPES AND PROSPECTS FOR THE FUTURE\*

"LET ME READ YOU SOME THINGS SOME PEOPLE HAVE SAID THEY WOULD LIKE TO SEE HAPPEN. WOULD YOU LIKE TO SEE (READ LIST) HAPPEN OR NOT?" AND "NOW LET ME ASK YOU IF YOU THINK EACH OF THESE THINGS WILL HAPPEN IN YOUR LIFETIME."

	<u>1972</u>	<u>1968</u>
	%	%
<u>AN END TO ALL WARS</u>		
WANT	99	96
WILL HAPPEN	11	32
<u>A DECLINE IN VIOLENCE IN U.S.</u>		
WANT	99	97
WILL HAPPEN	33	31
<u>AGREEMENT WITH RUSSIA TO END WARS</u>		
WANT	97	92
WILL HAPPEN	45	41
<u>AGREEMENT WITH CHINA TO END WARS</u>		
WANT	97	X
WILL HAPPEN	40	X
<u>AN END TO UNEMPLOYMENT</u>		
WANT	95	89
WILL HAPPEN	12	39
<u>A DECLINE IN PREJUDICE</u>		
WANT	95	85
WILL HAPPEN	44	41
<u>LIFE WITHOUT CONSTANT TENSIONS</u>		
WANT	93	86
WILL HAPPEN	9	16
<u>EQUALITY FOR BLACKS</u>		
WANT	89	74
WILL HAPPEN	51	45
<u>DESEGREGATION OF SCHOOLS</u>		
WANT	73	X
WILL HAPPEN	55	X
<u>DESEGREGATION OF HOUSING</u>		
WANT	71	X
WILL HAPPEN	52	X

X - NOT ASKED IN 1968

\*THE HARRIS SURVEY, RELEASE OF DECEMBER 25, 1972.

CRIME

CRIME IS SEEN AS OUR MOST IMPORTANT URBAN ISSUE TODAY.

ACCORDING TO GALLUP:

"SURVEY EVIDENCE INDICATES THAT THE PROPORTION OF VOTERS WHO SAY THEY ARE AFRAID TO GO OUT ALONE AT NIGHT IN THEIR OWN NEIGHBORHOODS HAS SHOWN A DRAMATIC INCREASE IN RECENT YEARS. IT IS ESPECIALLY HIGH IN CITIES OVER ONE MILLION IN POPULATION AND EVEN IN SMALLER CITIES IT HAS REACHED AN ASTOUNDING LEVEL.

"WOMEN PARTICULARLY ARE FEARFUL OF PERSONAL ATTACKS WHEN THEY LEAVE THEIR HOMES IN THEIR OWN DISTRICTS. AS MANY AS THREE WOMEN IN FOUR AMONG WOMEN OVER THE AGE OF 50 SAY THEY ARE AFRAID TO GO OUT ALONE IN THEIR NEIGHBORHOODS.

"FEAR OF PERSONAL ASSAULTS IS BY NO MEANS LIMITED TO THE LARGER CITIES. NOTWITHSTANDING GOVERNMENT CRIME STATISTICS, VOTERS THROUGHOUT THE NATION SAY THAT CRIME HAS INCREASED DURING THE LAST YEAR IN COMMUNITIES WHERE THEY LIVE."\*

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\* GALLUP OPINION INDEX, NOVEMBER 1972, P. 5.



MOST IMPORTANT COMMUNITY PROBLEM\*

'What is the most important problem facing this community today?' (1968)	'What do you regard as your community's worst problem?' (1972)
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Crime and lawlessness (#2 nationally)</li> <li>2. Education: crowded schools, poor quality of education</li> <li>3. Transportation: parking, traffic</li> <li>4. High taxes</li> <li>5. Unemployment</li> <li>6. Lack of community service programs</li> <li>7. High cost of living (#4 nationally)</li> <li>8. Racial problems (#3 nationally)</li> <li>9. Slums, overcrowded housing</li> <li>10. Poor local government</li> <li>11. Sanitation: garbage, sewage</li> <li>12. Lack of cultural, recreational facilities</li> <li>13. Lack of religion, ethics</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Crime</li> <li>2. Transportation</li> <li>3. Drugs</li> <li>4. Juvenile delinquency</li> <li>5. Taxes</li> <li>6. Sanitation</li> <li>7. Unemployment</li> <li>8. Community service problems</li> <li>9. Education</li> <li>10. Pollution</li> <li>11. Racial problems</li> <li>12. Recreational needs</li> <li>13. Slums and housing</li> </ol>

\*GALLUP POLLS.

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## IV. SOME SOURCES OF GENERAL BUDGET PRESSURE

A RAPID DEEPENING OF ANXIETY ABOUT THE ECONOMY  
TOOK PLACE BETWEEN 1973 AND 1974:

ECONOMIC OUTLOOK \*

Question: "Which of these do you think is likely to be true of 1974:  
A year of economic prosperity or a year of economic difficulty?"

	<u>Prosperity</u>	<u>Difficulty</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
1973	46%	47%	13%
1974	7	85	8

EMPLOYMENT OUTLOOK <sup>a</sup>

Question: "Which of these do you think is likely to be true of 1974:  
A year of full employment or a year of rising unemployment?"

	<u>Full Employment</u>	<u>Rising Unemployment</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
1973	42%	43%	15%
1974	8	84	8

ACCORDING TO A GALLUP REPORT, "NEVER IN THE FOUR-DECADE HISTORY OF GALLUP AUDITS OF THE PUBLIC'S TOP WORRIES HAS CONCERN OVER THE ECONOMY BEEN SO PROMINENT." THE RESULTS OF A SERIES OF QUESTIONS ASKED BY GALLUP IN AUGUST 1974 ON ECONOMIC EXPECTATIONS, INFLATION RESPONSIBILITY, FAMILY ECONOMIC SITUATION AND SPENDING REVEAL, ACCORDING TO GALLUP, "A PROFOUNDLY PESSIMISTIC OUTLOOK."\*\*

\*GALLUP OPINION INDEX, NO. 103, JANUARY 1974, PP. 6-7.

\*\*GALLUP OPINION INDEX, NO. 112, OCTOBER 1974, P. 1.

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LIKELIHOOD OF A 1930s DEPRESSION

Question: "Some economists think the U.S. economy is heading toward a depression, such as the nation experienced in the 1930s. Do you agree or disagree?"

August 1974

	AGREE %	DISAGREE %	NO OPINION %
NATIONAL	46	44	10
Professional & business	34	57	9
Clerical and sales	39	52	9
Manual workers	52	40	8
Skilled	51	42	7
Unskilled	53	38	9
\$20,000 and over	28	63	9
\$15,000-\$19,999	39	57	4
\$10,000-\$14,999	43	49	8
\$ 5,000-\$ 9,999	54	34	12
Under \$ 5,000	56	32	12
College	34	59	7
High School	48	42	10
Grade School	55	32	13
Republicans	33	60	7
Democrats	53	38	9
Independents	45	45	10
18-29 years	49	39	12
30-49 years	45	48	7
50 and over	45	45	10
White	45	46	9
Non-white	54	32	14

\* GALLUP POLL

RESPONSIBILITY FOR INFLATION

Question: "In your opinion, which is most responsible for inflation - government, business, or labor?"

	GOVERNMENT %	BUSINESS %	LABOR %	NO OPINION %
July 1974	48	16	19	17
July 1973	46	19	25	10
July 1972	39	20	29	14
July 1968	46	12	26	16
October 1959	14	15	41	30

(Total for 1972 column adds to more than 100 per cent because some gave more than one answer.)

ALTHOUGH THERE WAS LITTLE AGREEMENT AS TO REMEDIES FOR INFLATION, THE ANSWERS GIVEN MOST FREQUENTLY IN THE ABOVE POLL WERE WAGE-PRICE CONTROLS AND REDUCED FEDERAL SPENDING

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\*GALLUP POLLS, REPORTED IN CURRENT OPINION, VOLUME 11, ISSUE 9, SEPTEMBER 1974, p. 97.

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CONFIDENCE IN THE FUTURE OF THE UNITED STATES\*

QUESTION: "HOW MUCH CONFIDENCE DO YOU HAVE IN THE FUTURE OF THE UNITED STATES: QUITE A LOT, SOME, VERY LITTLE, OR NONE AT ALL?"

APRIL 1974

	<u>QUITE A LOT</u>	<u>SOME</u>	<u>VERY LITTLE</u>	<u>NONE AT ALL</u>	<u>NO OPINION</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
<u>NATIONAL</u>	68	19	10	2	1
<u>RACE</u>					
WHITE	72	17	9	1	1
NON-WHITE	45	30	18	5	2
<u>EDUCATION</u>					
COLLEGE	77	17	4	1	1
HIGH SCHOOL	66	20	11	2	1
GRADE SCHOOL	63	18	13	4	2
<u>AGE</u>					
TOTAL UNDER 30	53	30	14	2	1
18-24 YEARS	48	34	14	3	1
25-29 YEARS	62	24	13	1	†
30-49 YEARS	72	15	19	2	2
50 AND OLDER	75	15	8	1	1
<u>INCOME</u>					
\$20,000 AND OVER	82	15	2	†	1
\$15,000-\$19,000	77	15	6	1	1
\$10,000-\$14,999	67	17	13	2	1
\$ 7,000-\$ 9,999	71	14	11	2	2
\$ 5,000-\$ 6,999	69	21	8	2	†
\$ 3,000-\$ 4,999	53	27	14	4	2
UNDER \$3,000	46	35	12	4	3
<u>OCCUPATION</u>					
PROF. AND BUS.	77	15	7	1	†
CLERICAL AND SALES	67	23	7	1	2
MANUAL WORKERS	65	19	11	3	2
NON-LABOR FORCE	71	17	9	2	1

\*GALLUP POLL

†LESS THAN 1 PERCENT.

RATING OF THE UNITED STATES\*

QUESTION: "HERE IS AN INTERESTING EXPERIMENT. YOU WILL NOTICE THAT THE BOXES ON THIS CARD GO FROM THE HIGHEST POSITION OF PLUS 5, OR SOMETHING YOU LIKE VERY MUCH, TO THE LOWEST POSITION OF MINUS 5, OR SOMETHING YOU DISLIKE VERY MUCH. HOW FAR UP THE SCALE OR HOW FAR DOWN THE SCALE WOULD YOU RATE THE UNITED STATES?"

JULY 1973

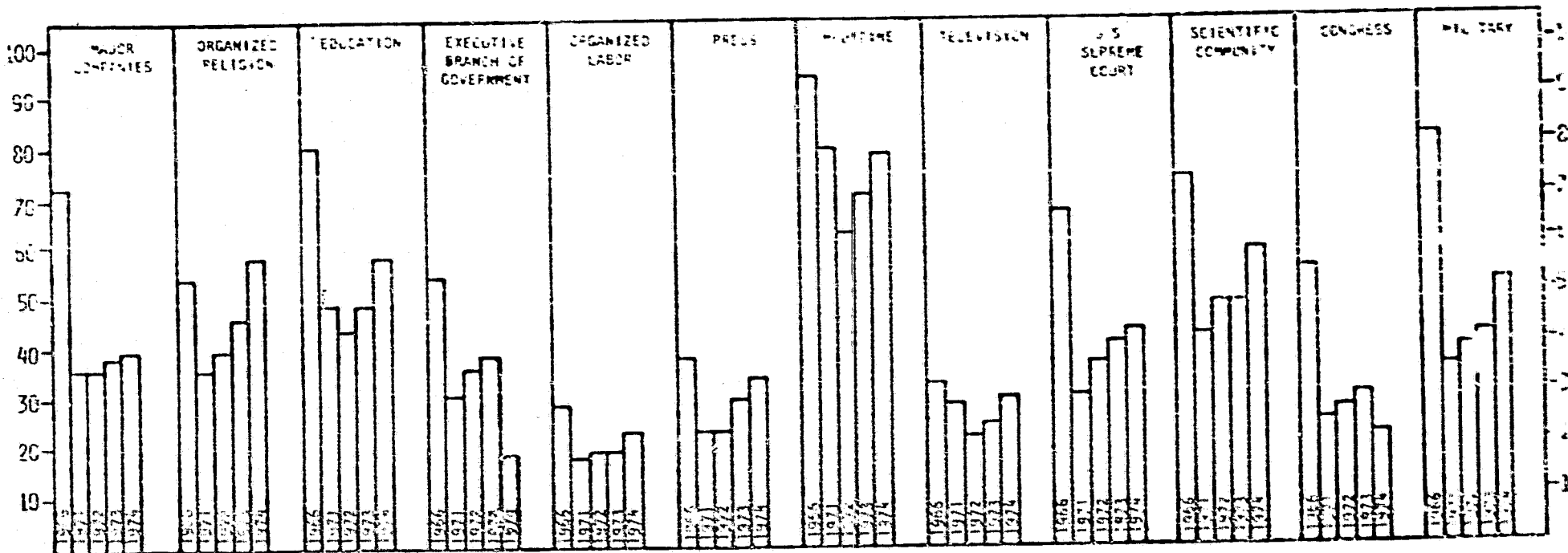
	<u>+5</u> %	<u>+4</u> %	<u>+3</u> %
<u>NATIONAL</u>	62	12	12
<u>RACE</u>			
WHITE	64	12	12
NON-WHITE	46	14	11
<u>EDUCATION</u>			
COLLEGE	48	17	17
HIGH SCHOOL	65	12	11
GRADE SCHOOL	69	8	7
<u>OCCUPATION</u>			
PROF. AND BUS.	58	14	14
WHITE COLLAR	67	14	9
FARMERS	65	10	9
MANUAL WORKERS	62	12	12
<u>AGE</u>			
18-24 YEARS	45	14	20
25-29 YEARS	57	16	11
TOTAL UNDER 30 YEARS	49	15	17
30-49 YEARS	62	14	11
50 AND OLDER	70	9	8
<u>INCOME</u>			
\$15,000 AND OVER	60	15	14
\$10,000-\$14,999	62	12	13
\$ 7,000-\$ 9,999	60	15	11
\$ 5,000-\$ 6,999	62	12	11
\$ 3,000-\$ 4,999	66	7	7
UNDER \$3,000	62	9	9

\*GALLUP PCLL

NOTE: ONLY THE THREE HIGHEST POSITIONS ARE LISTED HERE.

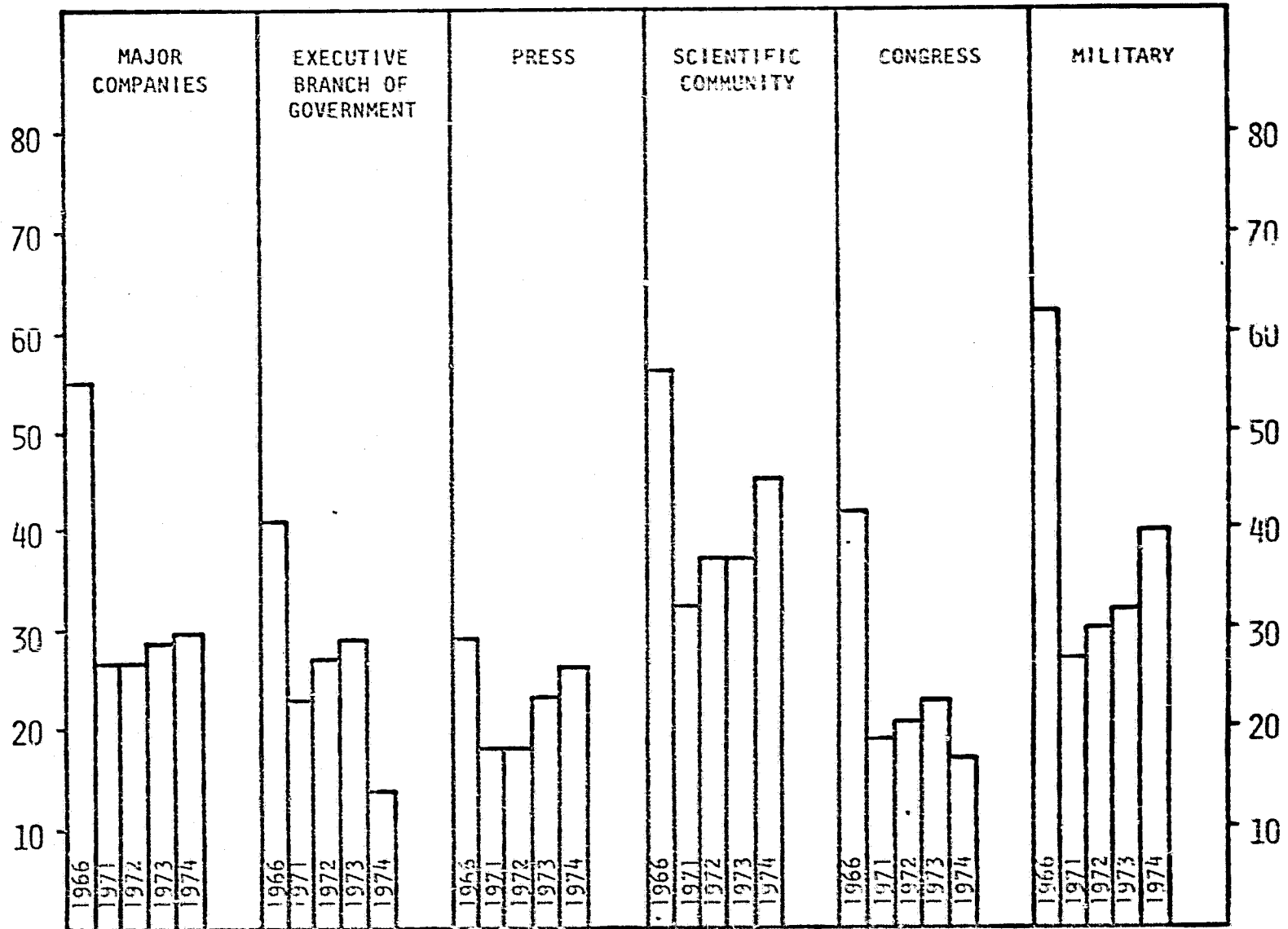
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GREAT DEAL OF CONFIDENCE IN LEADERS OF KEY U.S. INSTITUTIONS\*  
NATIONAL RESPONSE, 1965-1974 (HARRIS AND NGRC SURVEYS)



\*The years 1966 to 1972 were charted from Harris Surveys and the 1973 and 1974 responses are from the National Opinion Research Center's General Social Surveys of 1973 and 1974.

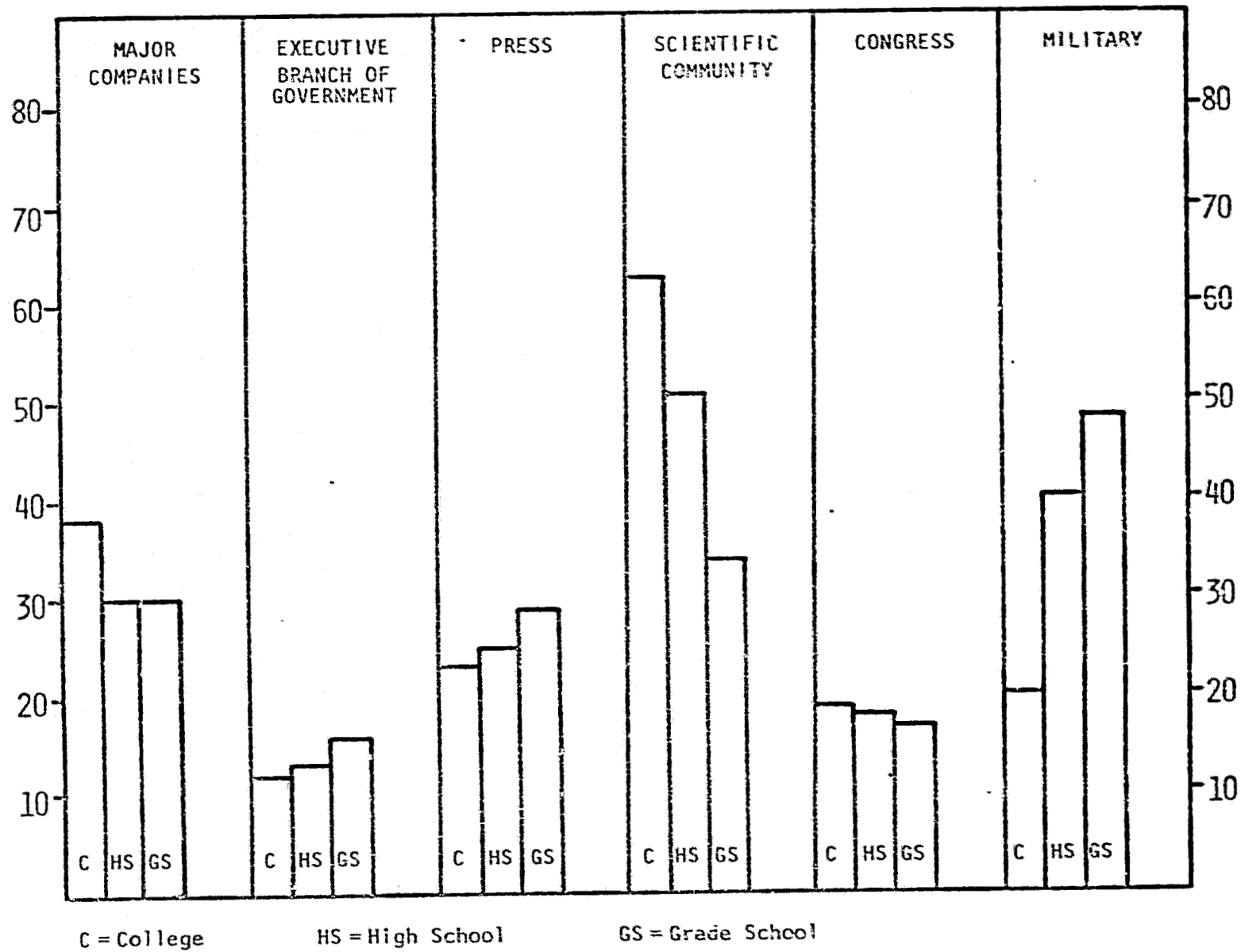
GREAT DEAL OF CONFIDENCE IN LEADERS OF KEY U.S. INSTITUTIONS\*  
NATIONAL RESPONSE, 1966-1974 (HARRIS AND NORC SURVEYS)



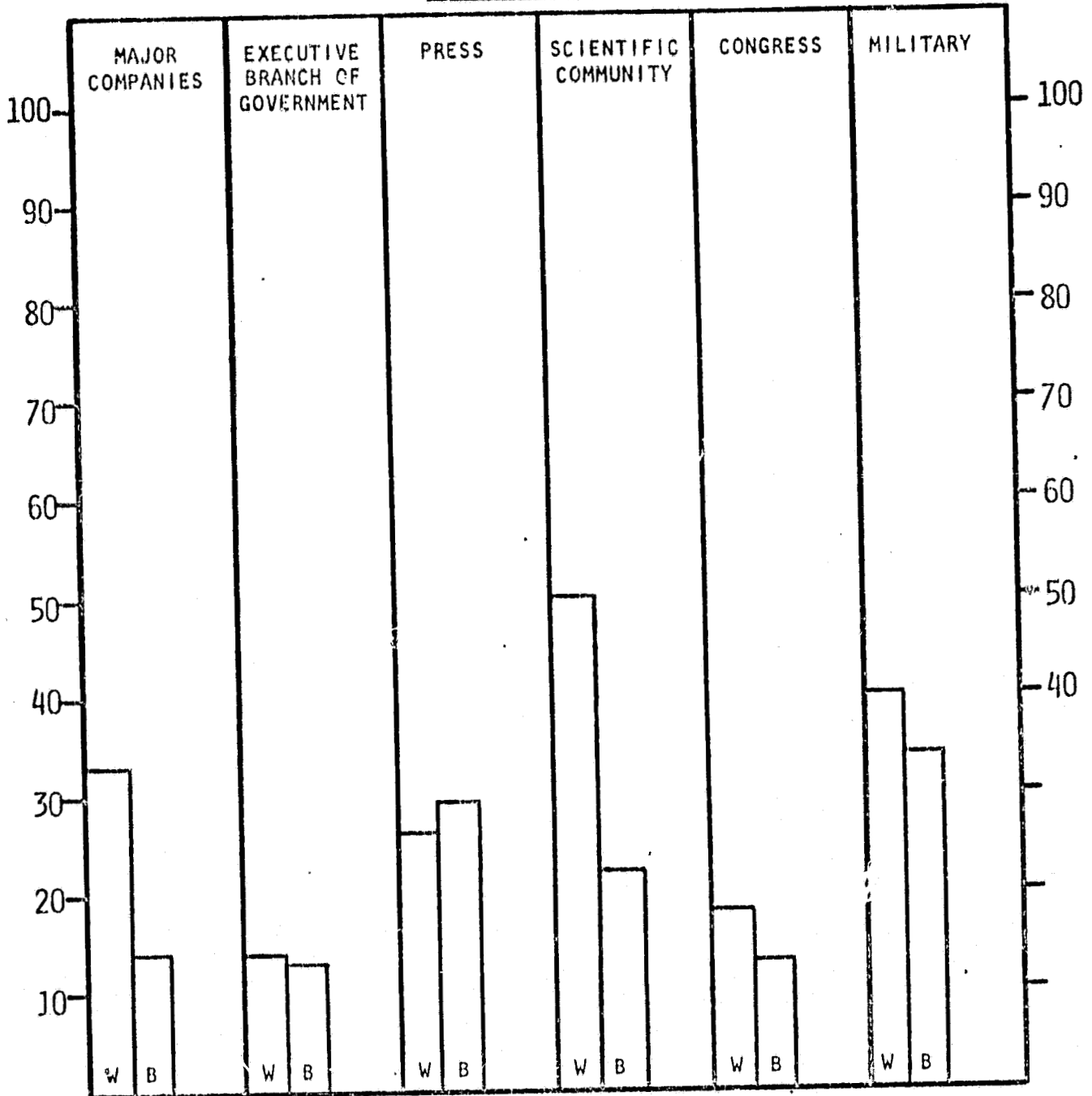
\*The 1973 and 1974 responses are from the National Opinion Research Center's General Social Surveys of 1973 and 1974.



GREAT DEAL OF CONFIDENCE IN LEADERS OF KEY U.S. INSTITUTIONS  
BY EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT, 1974

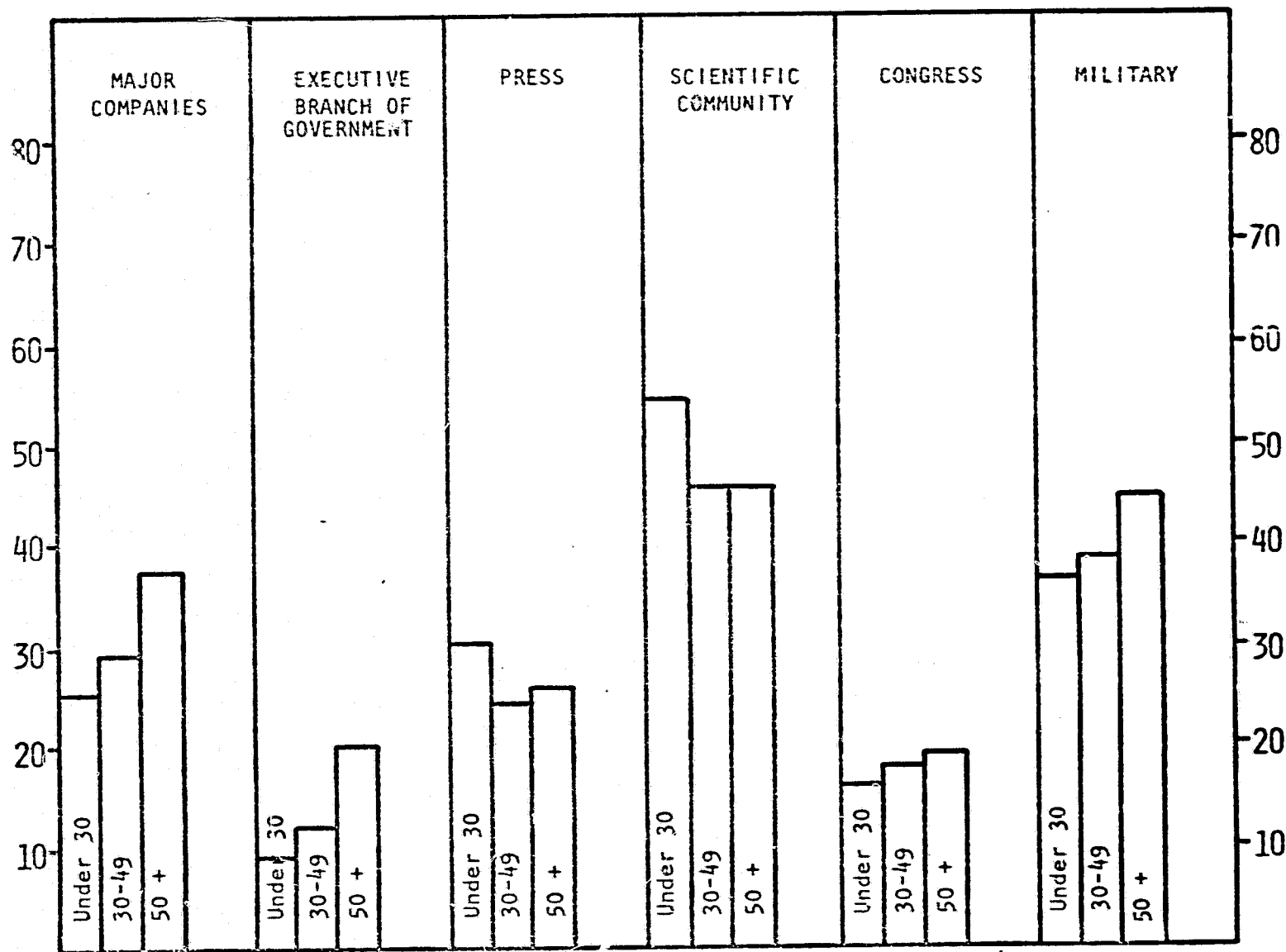


### GREAT DEAL OF CONFIDENCE IN LEADERS OF KEY U.S. INSTITUTIONS BY RACE, 1974

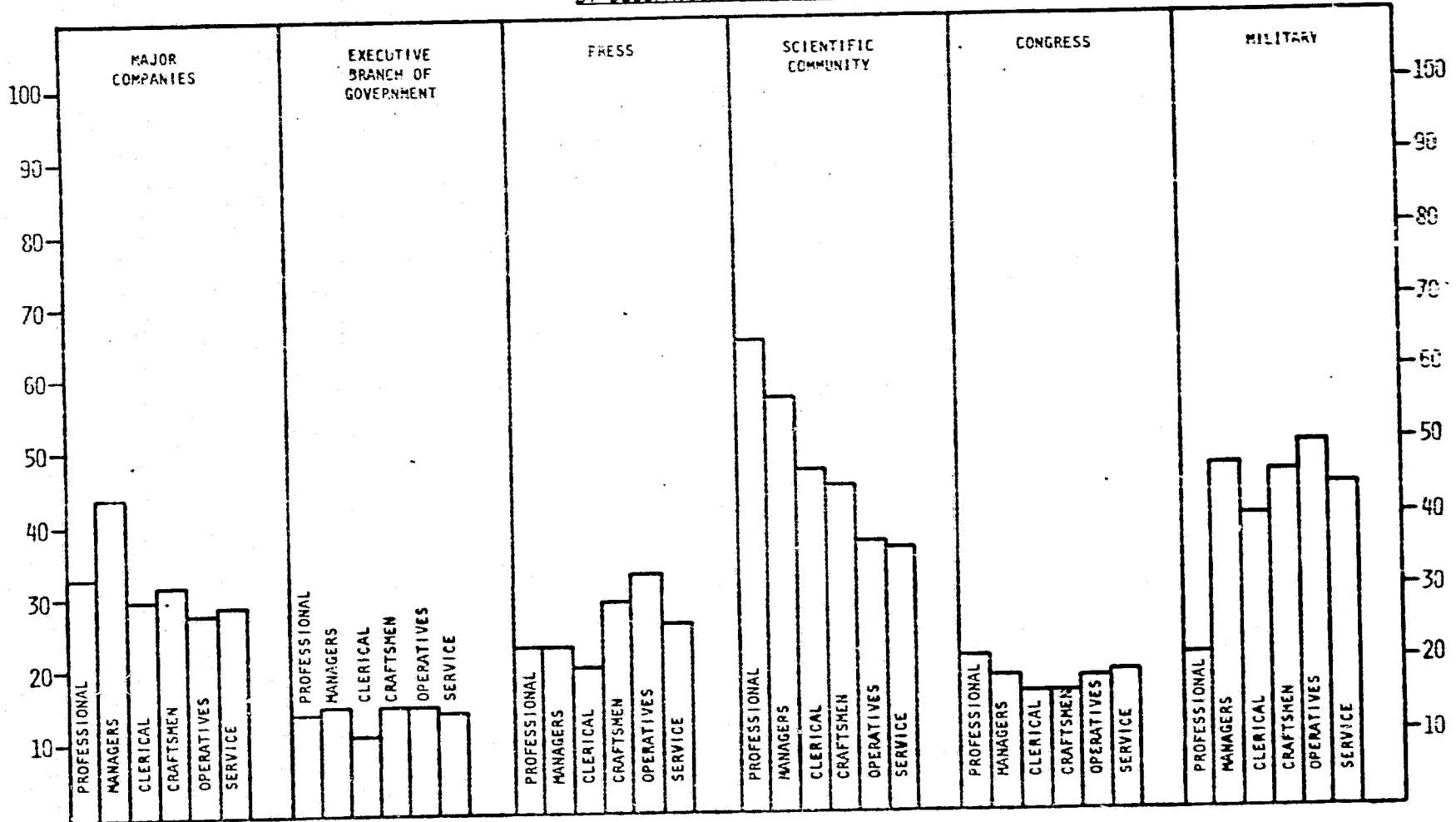


W = White  
B = Black

GREAT DEAL OF CONFIDENCE IN LEADERS OF KEY U.S. INSTITUTIONS  
BY AGE LEVEL 1974



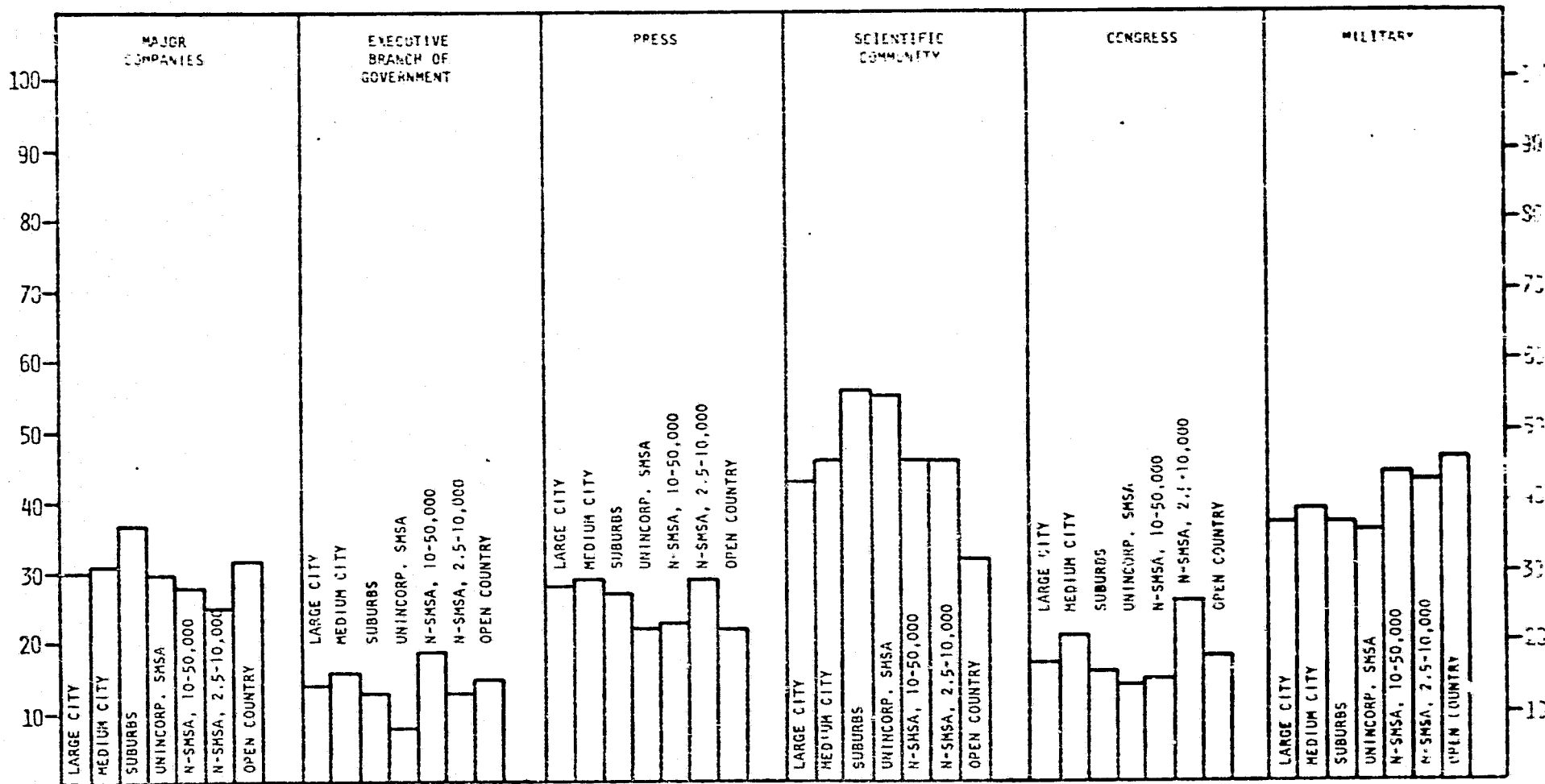
GREAT DEAL OF CONFIDENCE IN LEADERS OF KEY U.S. INSTITUTIONS  
BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES\*



\*The "farm" category is not included due to the small sample size.

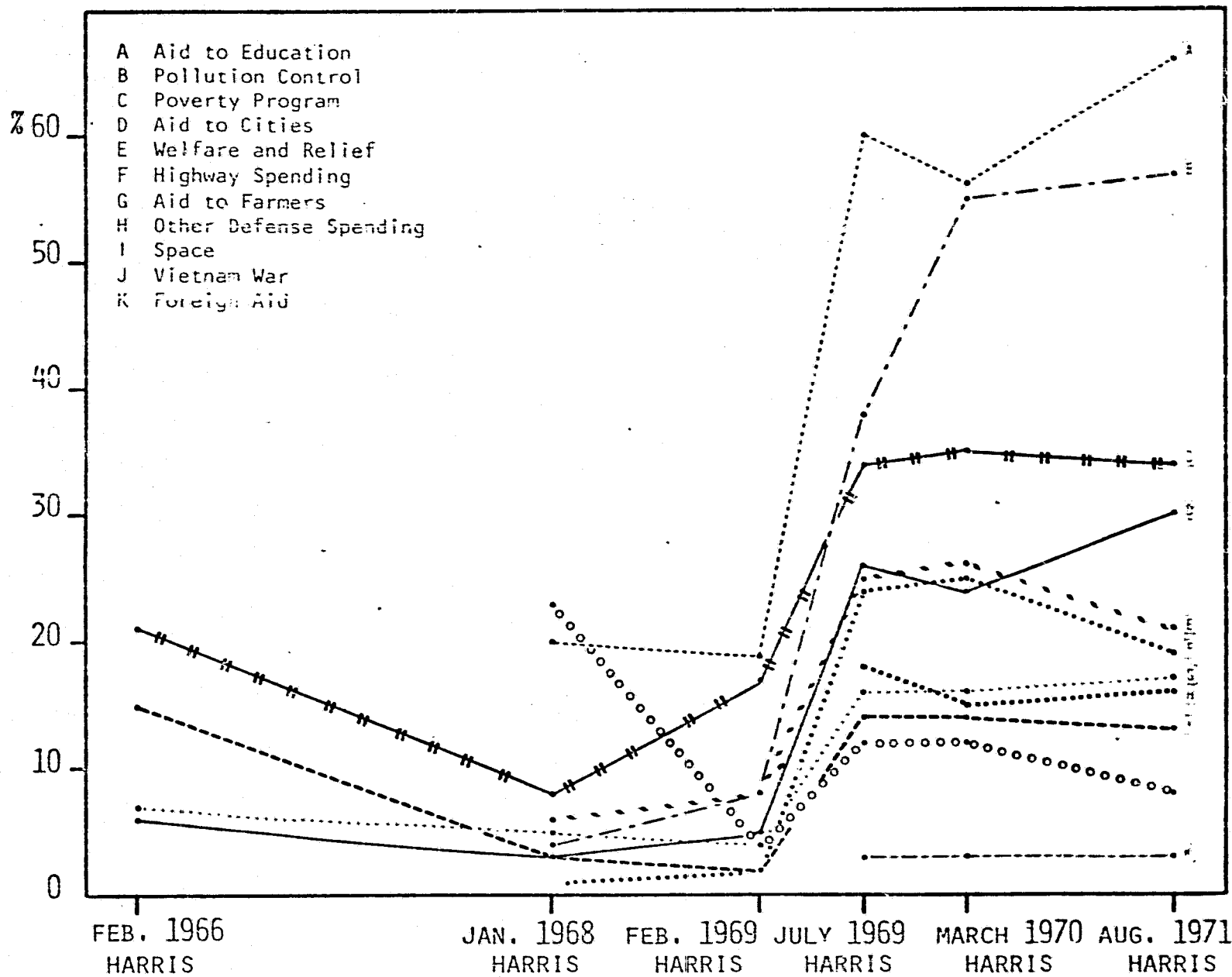
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GREAT DEAL OF CONFIDENCE IN LEADERS OF KEY U.S. INSTITUTIONS  
BY NORC SIZE OF PLACE, 1974\*



\*The NORC category of "Non-SMSA, incorporated area less than 2,500 or an unincorporated area of 1,000-2,4999" was omitted due to the small sample size.

PROGRAMS TO BE CUT LEAST IN FEDERAL SPENDING

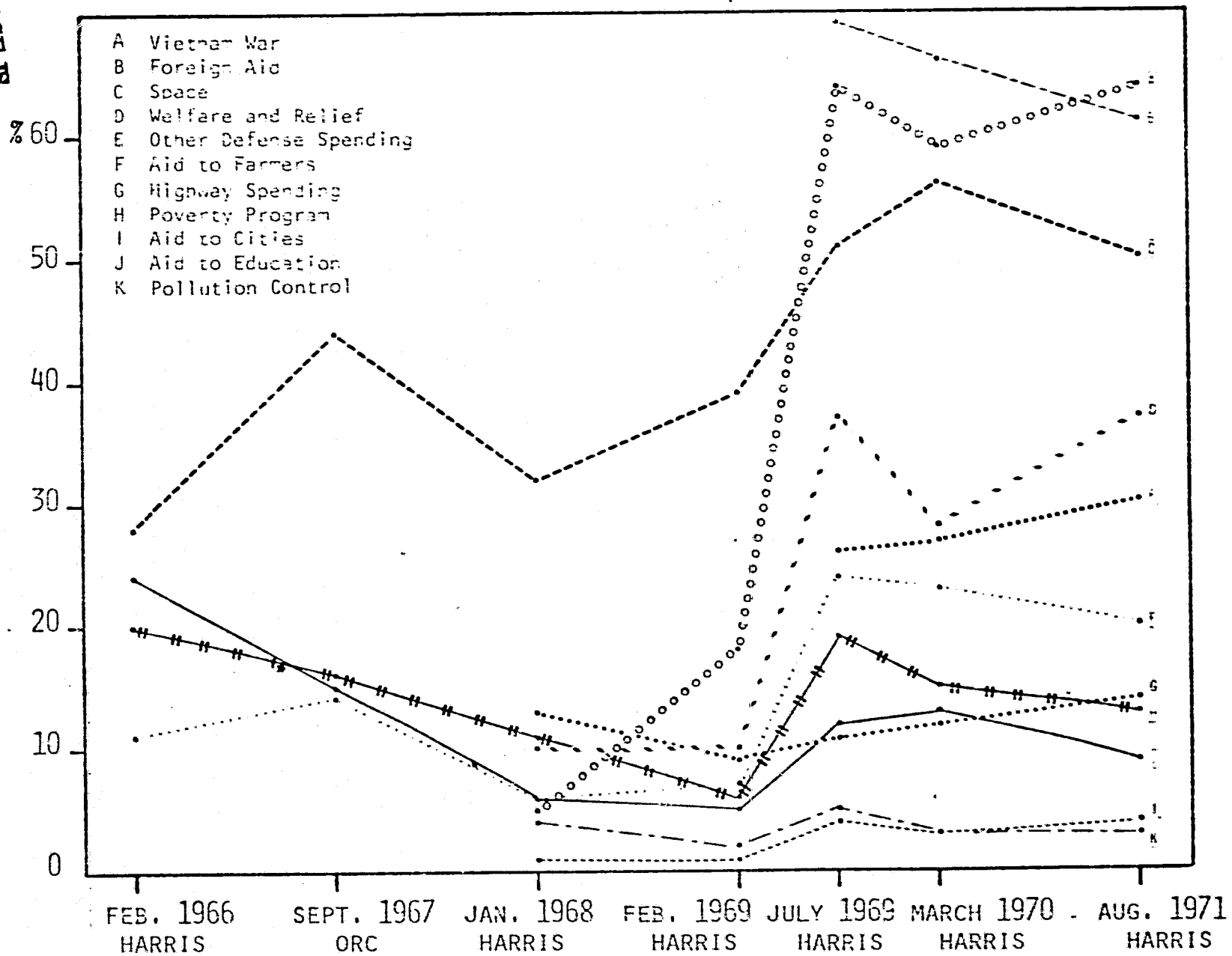


V. THE SIZE AND PRIORITY OF NASA'S BUDGET

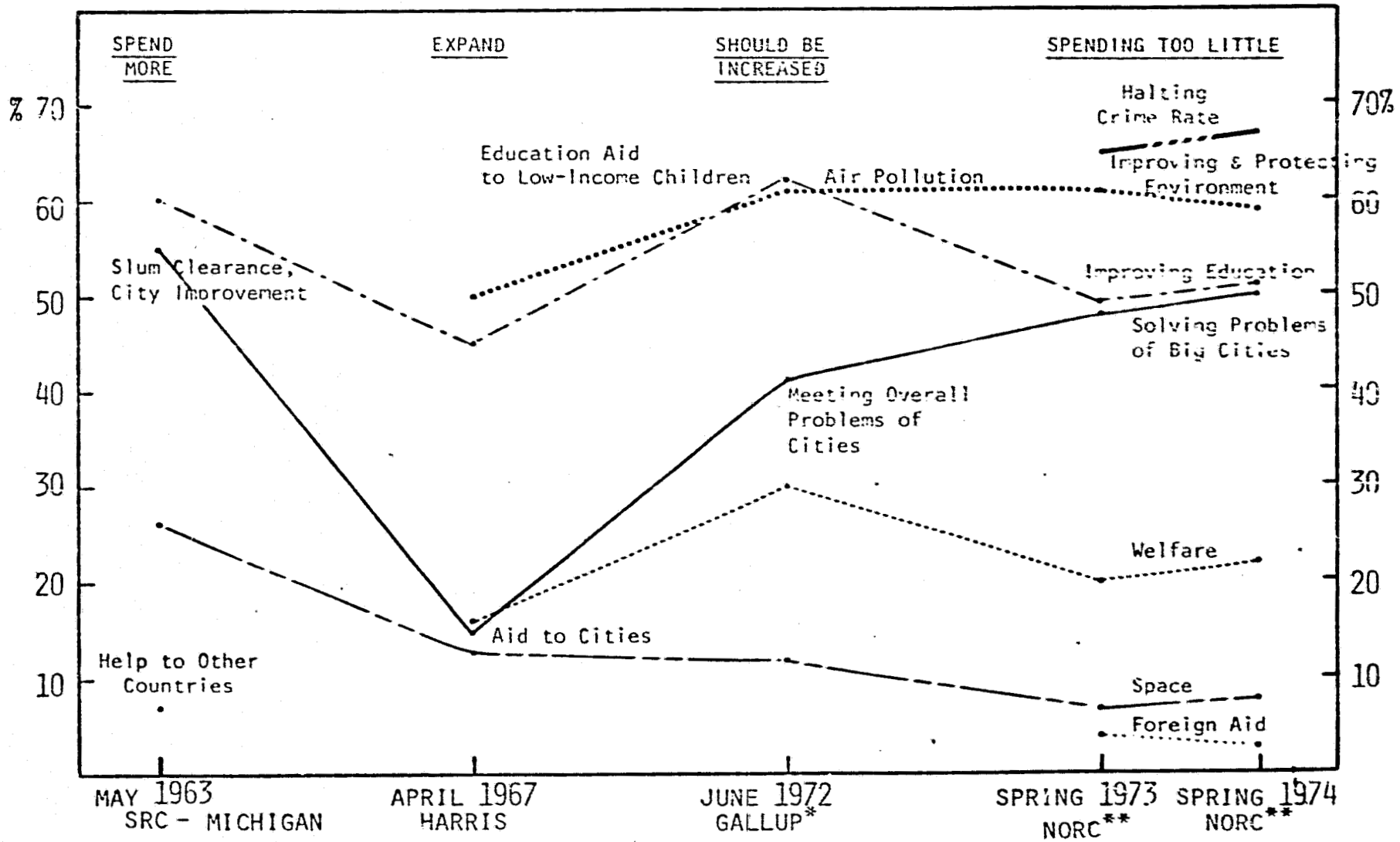
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### PROGRAMS TO BE CUT FIRST IN FEDERAL SPENDING



# GOVERNMENT SPENDING--SELECTED ISSUES--1963-1974--NATIONAL RESPONSE



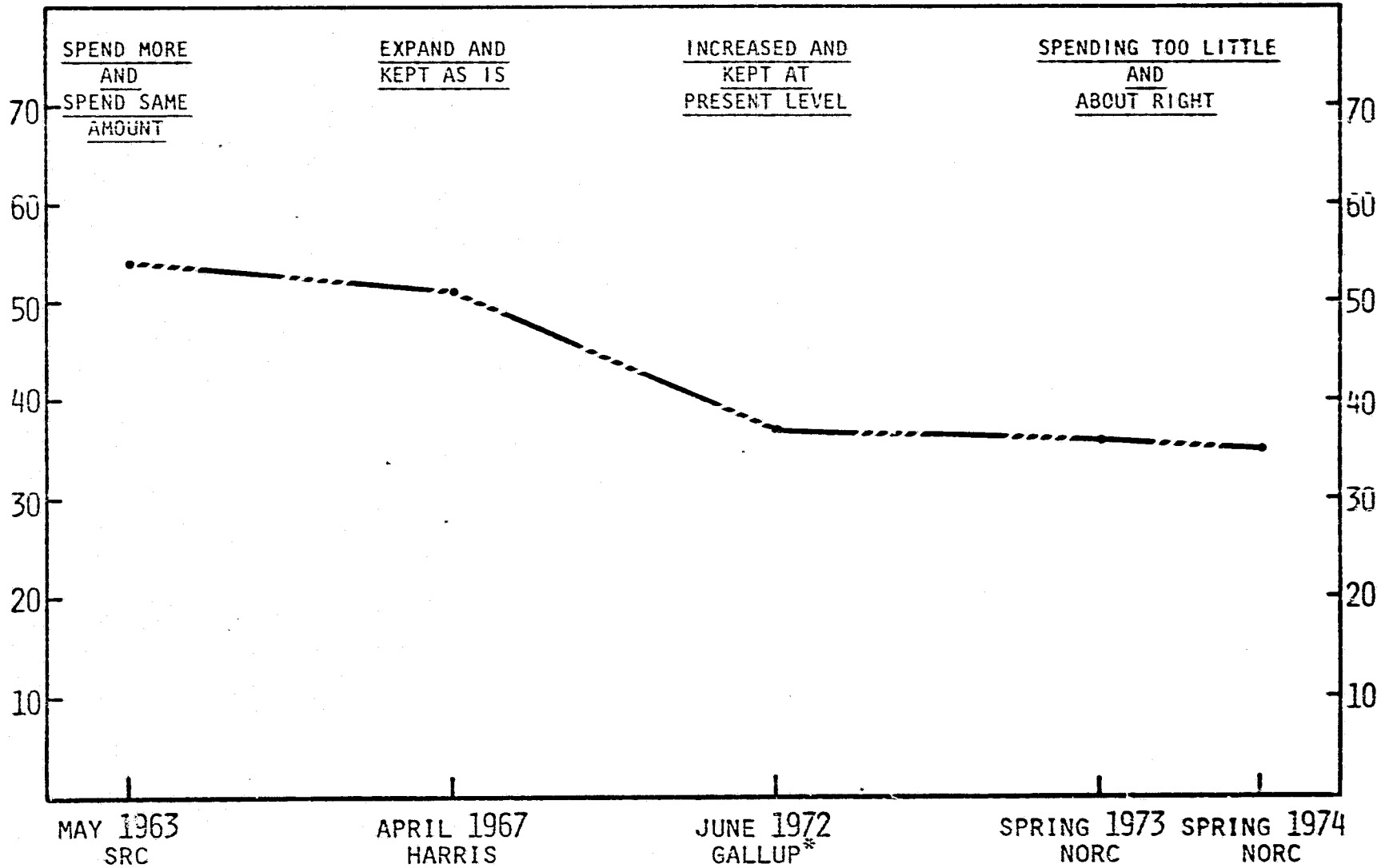
\*From Watts & Free, pp. 294-297.

\*\*The General Social Survey



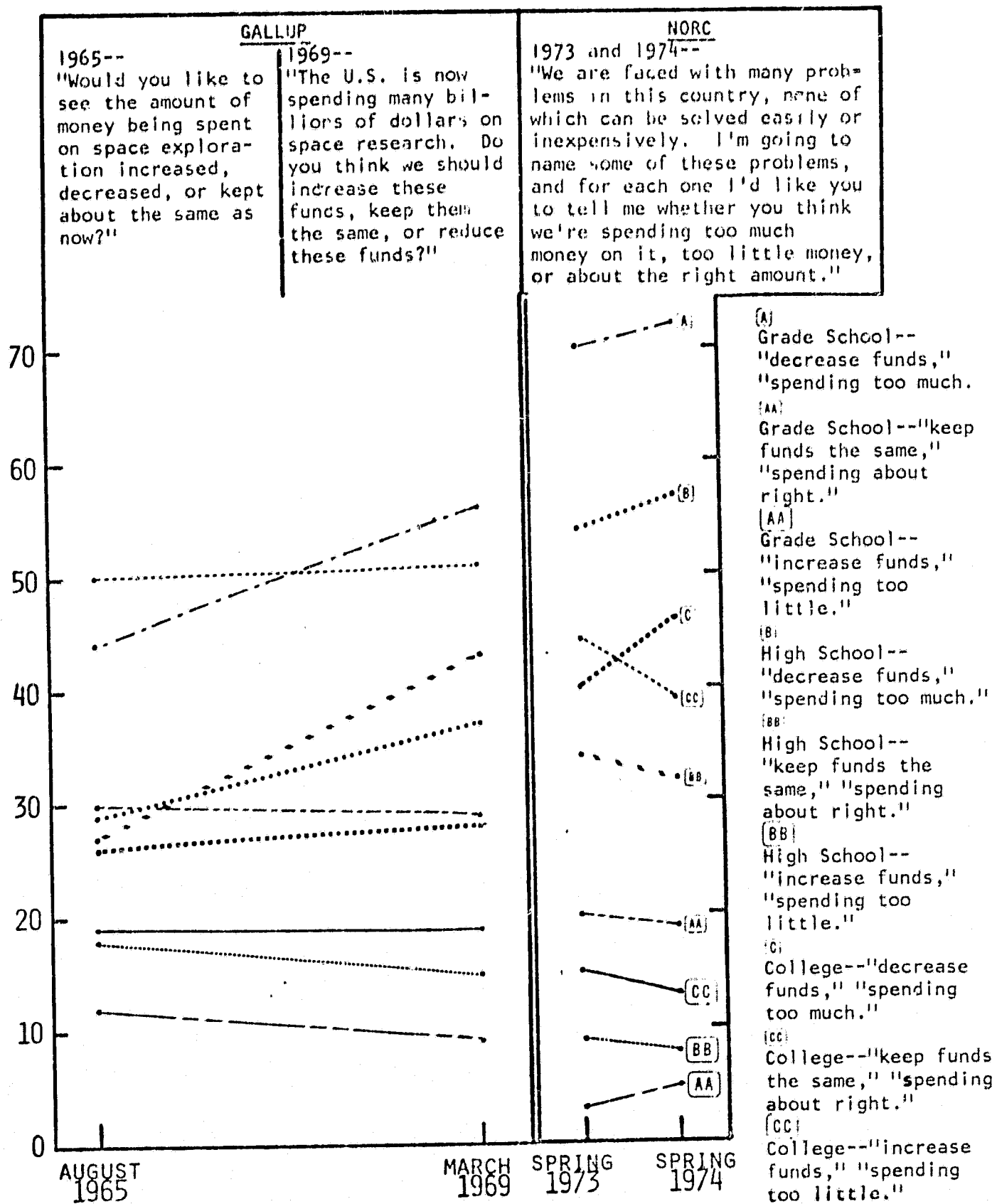
GOVERNMENT SPENDING--SUPPORT FOR SPACE--1963-1974--NATIONAL RESPONSE

INCREASED AND KEPT THE SAME



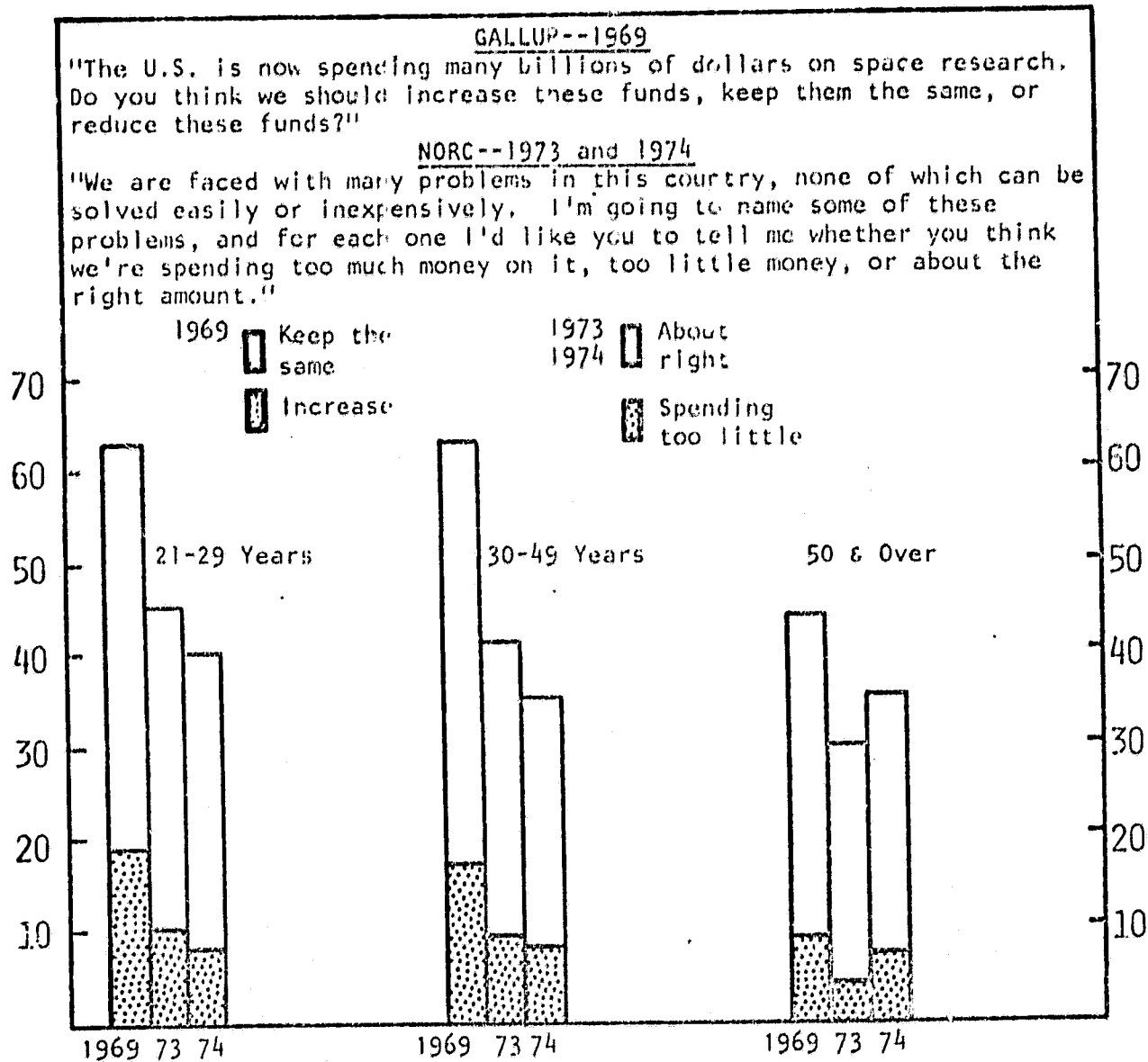
\*From Watts & Free, p. 297.

## SUPPORT FOR AND AGAINST THE SPACE PROGRAM: FEDERAL SPENDING 1969, 1973 AND 1974--BY EDUCATION



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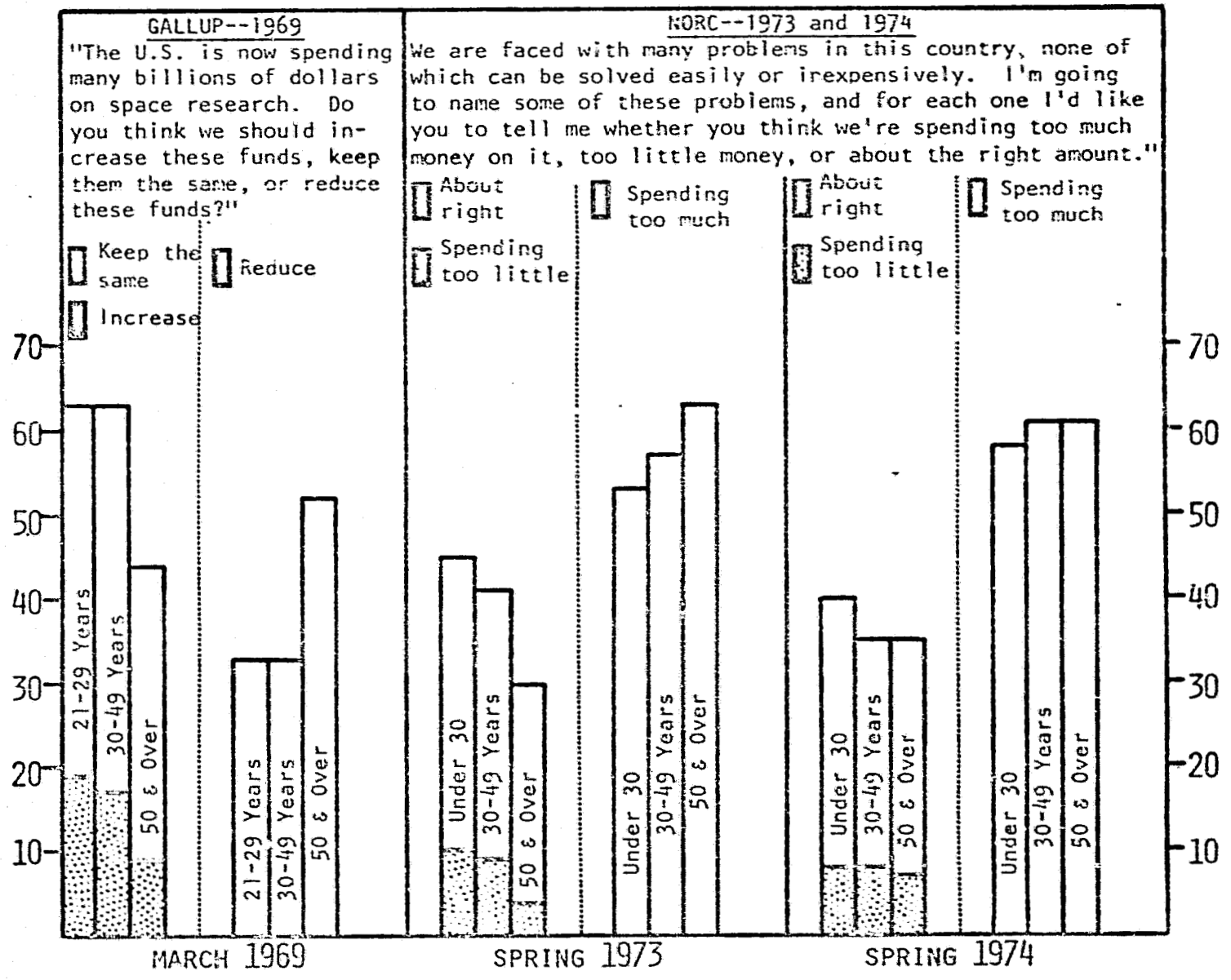
SUPPORT FOR THE SPACE PROGRAM:  
FEDERAL SPENDING 1969, 1973 AND 1974--BY AGE



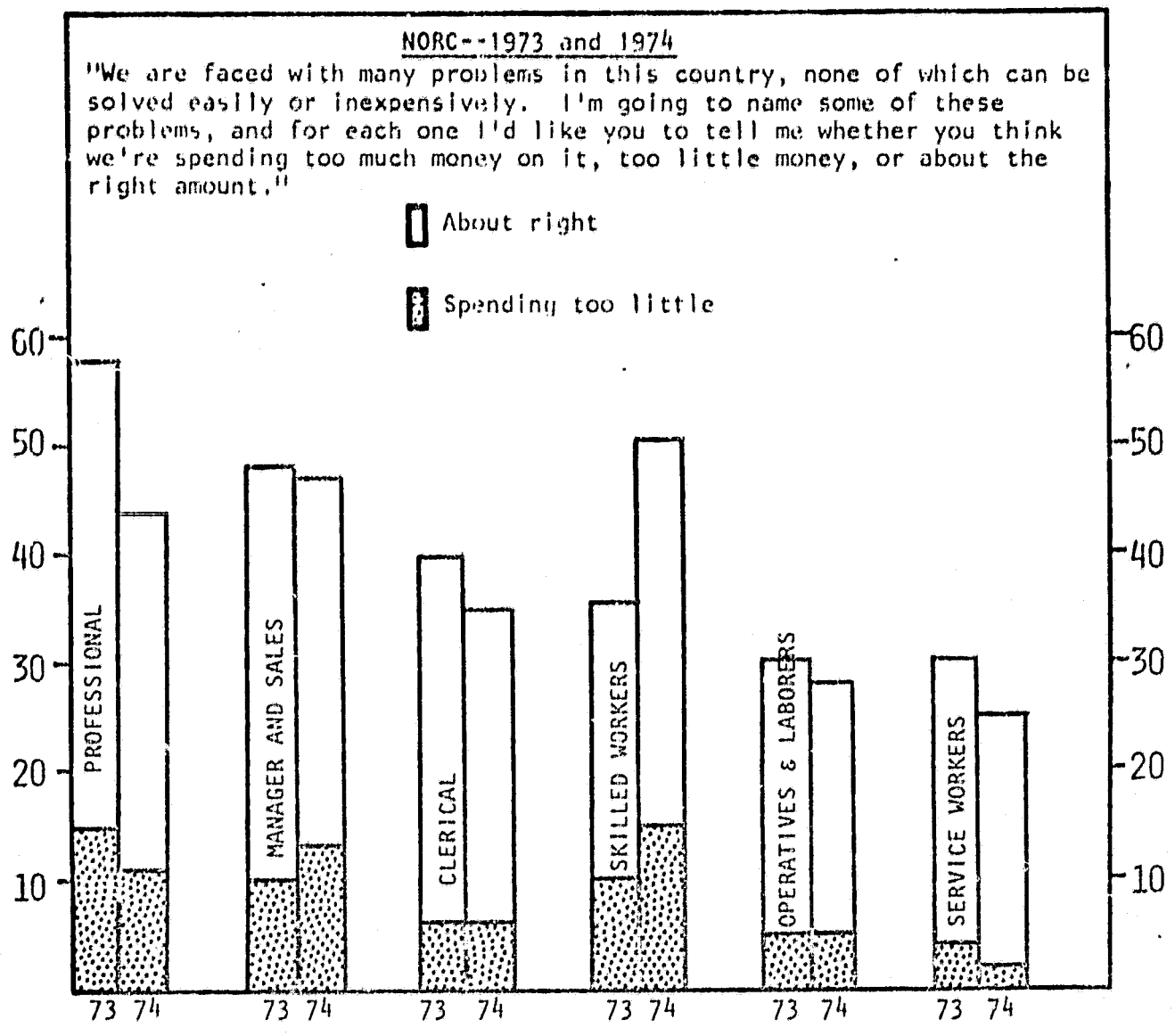
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SUPPORT FOR AND AGAINST THE SPACE PROGRAM:  
FEDERAL SPENDING 1969, 1973 AND 1974--BY AGE

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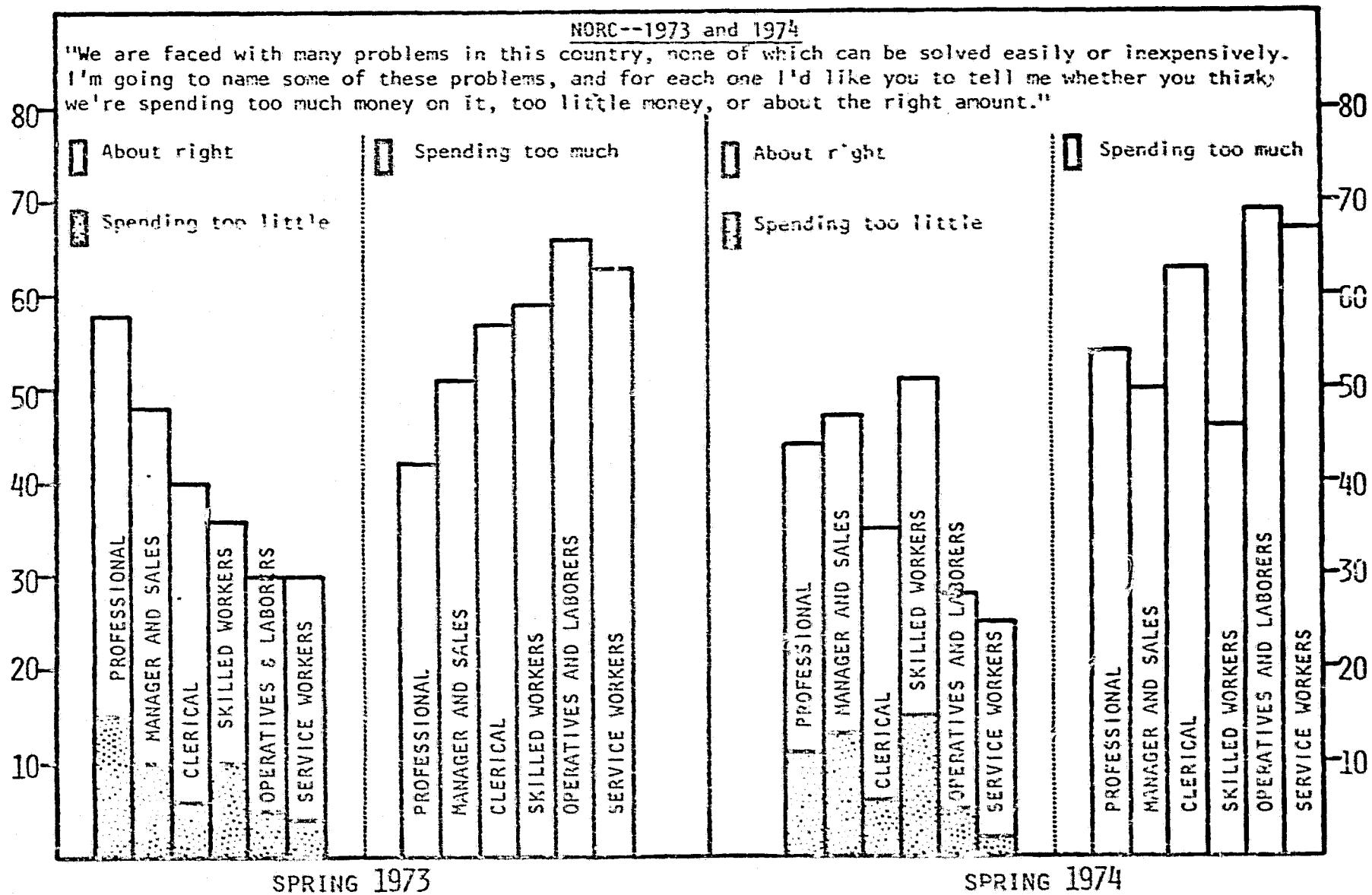
### SUPPORT FOR THE SPACE PROGRAM: FEDERAL SPENDING, 1973 AND 1974--BY OCCUPATION\*



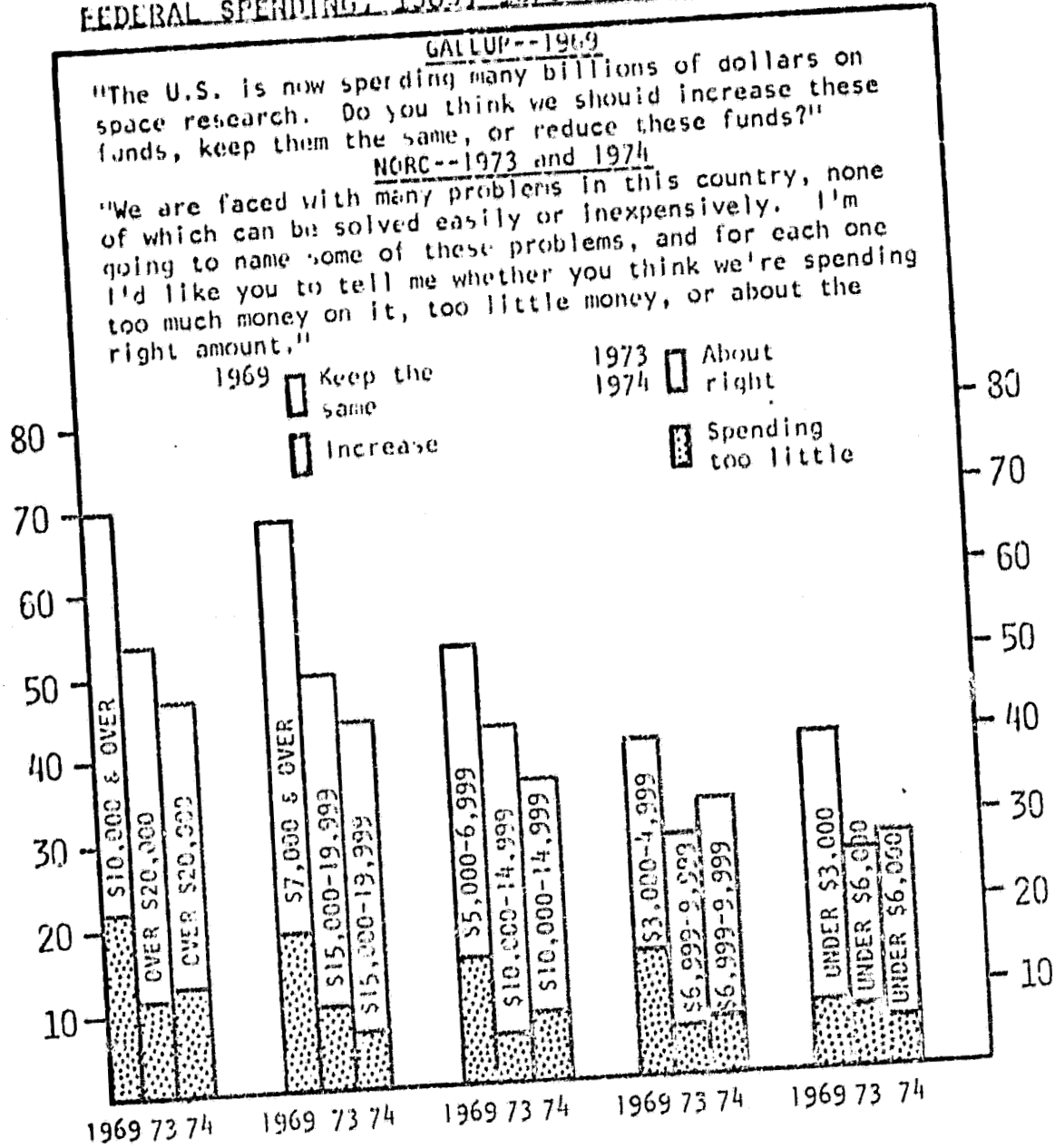
\*Farmers not included because size of sample is too small.

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SUPPORT FOR AND AGAINST THE SPACE PROGRAM:  
FEDERAL SPENDING, 1973 AND 1974--BY OCCUPATION\*

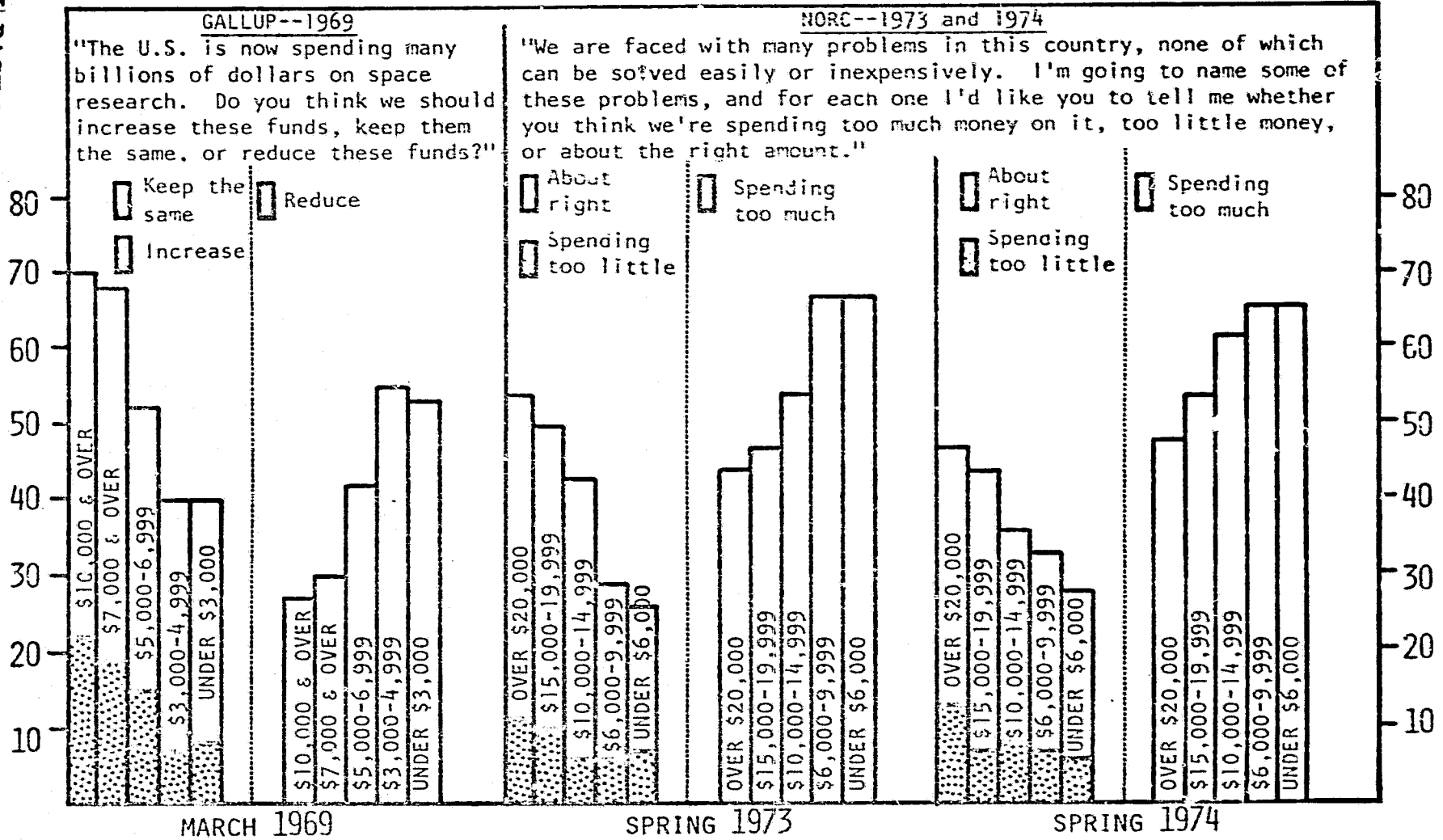


**SUPPORT FOR THE SPACE PROGRAM:  
FEDERAL SPENDING, 1969, 1973 AND 1974--BY INCOME.**



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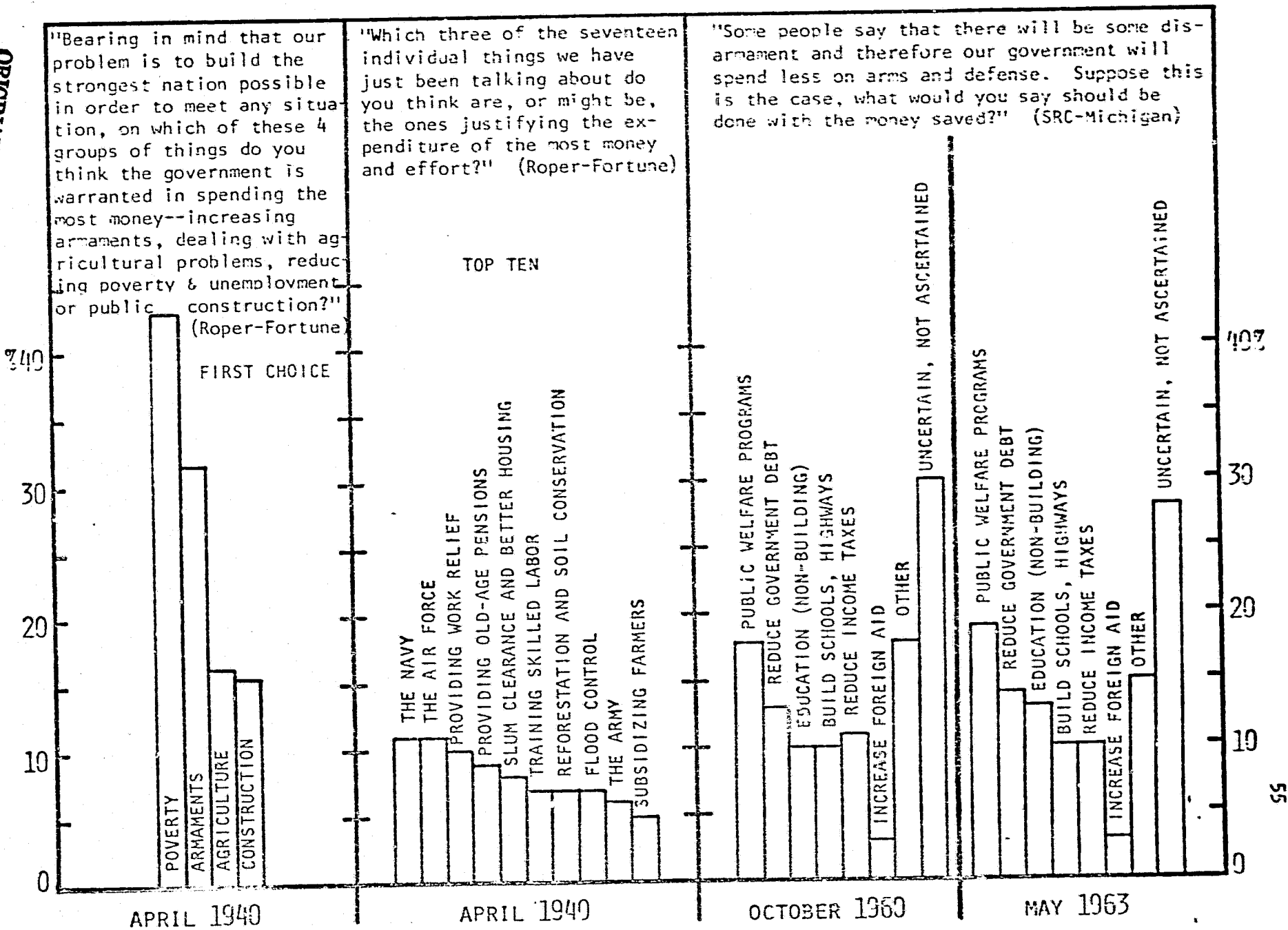
## SUPPORT FOR AND AGAINST THE SPACE PROGRAM: FEDERAL SPENDING, 1969, 1973 AND 1974--BY INCOME





# PROGRAM PRIORITIES

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COST OF THE PAST SPACE PROGRAM  
HARRIS SURVEY--APRIL 1970

"GETTING TO THE MOON COST FOUR BILLION DOLLARS A YEAR FOR NINE YEARS. DO YOU FEEL LANDING A MAN ON THE MOON WAS WORTH SPENDING THAT AMOUNT OF MONEY, OR WASN'T IT WORTH IT?"

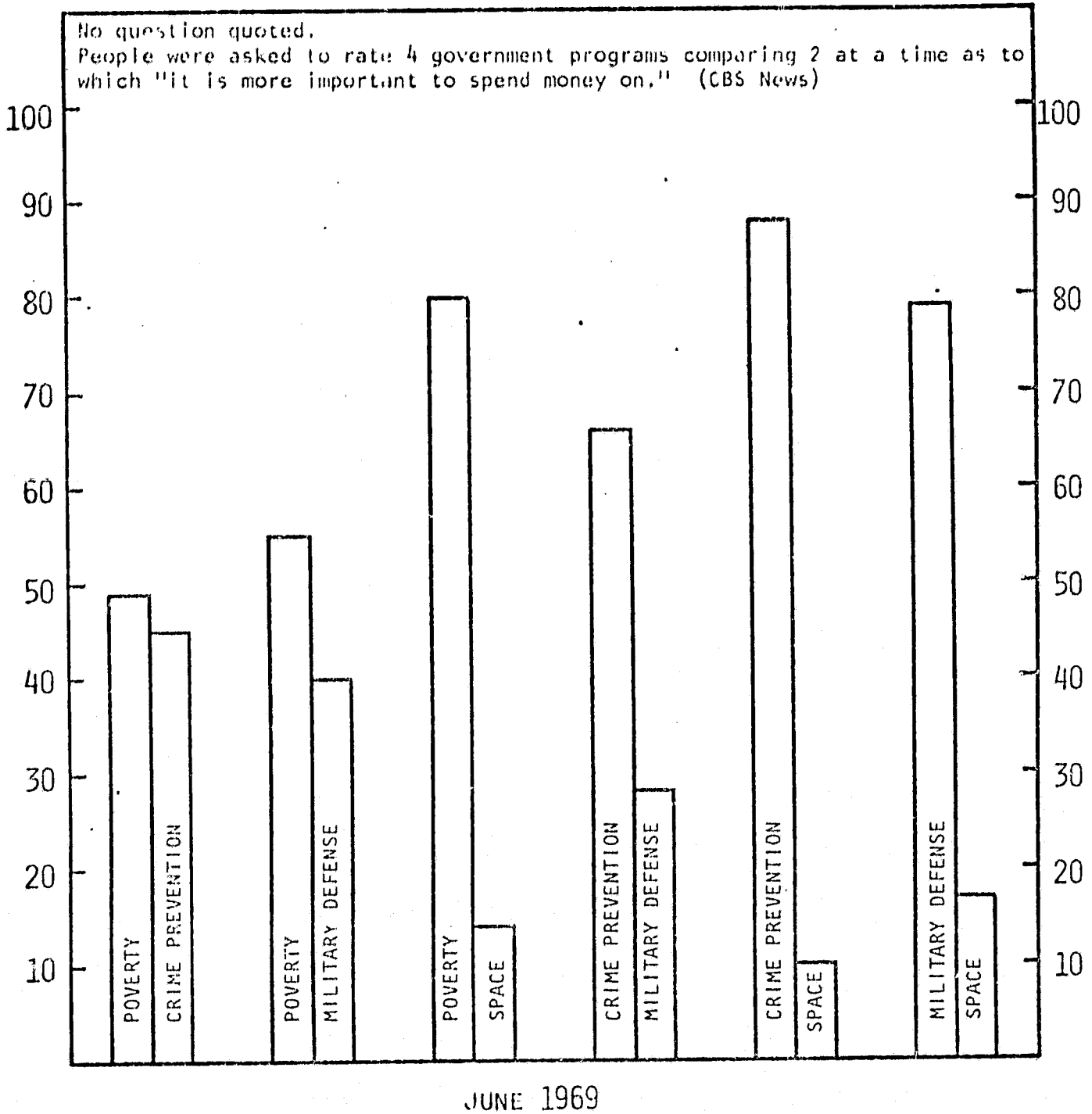
	<u>WORTH IT</u>	<u>NOT WORTH IT</u>	<u>NOT SURE</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
<u>NATIONWIDE</u>	39	56	5
<u>RACE</u>			
WHITE	42	53	5
BLACK	13	78	9
<u>AGE</u>			
UNDER 30	46	50	4
30 TO 49	49	47	4
50 AND OVER	22	71	7
<u>EDUCATION</u>			
COLLEGE	58	39	3
HIGH SCHOOL	35	60	5
8TH GRADE OR LESS	15	75	10
<u>INCOME</u>			
\$10,000 AND OVER	54	43	3
\$ 5,000-\$9,999	37	59	4
UNDER \$5,000	17	73	10
<u>SIZE OF COMMUNITY</u>			
CITIES	33	60	7
SUBURBS	51	46	3
TOWNS	43	55	2
RURAL	32	61	7
<u>PARTY IDENTIFICATION</u>			
REPUBLICAN	42	53	5
DEMOCRAT	35	60	5
INDEPENDENT	44	52	4

COST OF THE FUTURE SPACE PROGRAM  
HARRIS SURVEY--APRIL 1970

"IT COULD COST THE UNITED STATES FOUR BILLION DOLLARS A YEAR FOR THE NEXT TEN YEARS, TO EXPLORE THE MOON AND OTHER PLANETS IN OUTER SPACE. ALL IN ALL, DO YOU FEEL THIS SPACE PROGRAM IS WORTH SPENDING THAT AMOUNT OF MONEY, OR DO YOU THINK IT ISN'T WORTH IT?"

	<u>WORTH IT</u>	<u>NOT WORTH IT</u>	<u>NOT SURE</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
<u>NATIONWIDE</u>	30	64	6
<u>RACE</u>			
WHITE	32	63	5
BLACK	12	81	7
<u>AGE</u>			
[ UNDER 30	37	57	6 ]
[ 30 TO 49	38	58	4 ]
[ 50 AND OVER	15	78	7 ]
<u>EDUCATION</u>			
[ COLLEGE	43	52	5 ]
HIGH SCHOOL	28	67	5
8TH GRADE OR LESS	11	79	10
<u>INCOME</u>			
[ \$10,000 AND OVER	42	54	4 ]
\$ 5,000-\$9,999	28	67	5
UNDER \$5,000	12	78	10
<u>SIZE OF COMMUNITY</u>			
CITIES	25	68	7
[ SUBURBS	39	57	4 ]
TOWNS	33	63	4
RURAL	25	69	6
<u>PARTY IDENTIFICATION</u>			
REPUBLICAN	31	63	6
DEMOCRAT	28	67	5
[ INDEPENDENT	42	54	4 ]

RATING OF FOUR GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS



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OUTSTANDING EVENT OF 1959  
GALLUP POLL--JANUARY 1960

ASKED IN TEN NATIONS: OF ALL THE THINGS THAT HAVE HAPPENED ANYWHERE IN THE WORLD DURING 1959, WHICH IS THE MOST OUTSTANDING?

THE FOLLOWING ARE LISTED IN ORDER OF FREQUENCY OF MENTION:

SPACE ACTIVITY  
FORTHCOMING EXCHANGE OF VISITS BETWEEN PRESIDENT  
EISENHOWER AND PREMIER KHRUSHCHEV.

THERE WERE ONLY TWO NATIONS OF THE TEN PARTICIPATING IN THIS SURVEY WHERE SPACE ACTIVITY AND THE FORTHCOMING EXCHANGE OF VISITS WERE NOT EITHER FIRST OR SECOND CHOICES. SWEDEN'S FIRST CHOICE WAS THE HIGH-LEVEL EXCHANGE OF VISITS AND THEIR SECOND CHOICE WAS INGEMAR JOHANSSON'S VICTORY OVER FLOYD PATTERSON FOR THE HEAVYWEIGHT BOXING CHAMPIONSHIP OF THE WORLD. IN GREAT BRITAIN, THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY'S VICTORY AT THE POLLS IN OCTOBER RECEIVED THE SECOND GREATEST NUMBER OF CHOICES AFTER SPACE ACTIVITY.

THE TEN NATIONS PARTICIPATING IN THIS SURVEY WERE: AUSTRIA, CANADA, FRANCE, GREAT BRITAIN, GREECE, NETHERLANDS, SWEDEN, SWITZERLAND, URUGUAY, AND WEST GERMANY.

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PUBLIC OPINION'S LOCATION OF BLAME FOR SPUTNIK'S TRIUMPH  
(Gallup Polls)

RUSSIAN SPACE PROGRAM  
October 1957

Why do you think Russia was able to launch the earth satellite before the United States did?

The reasons are listed in order of frequency of mention:

Russians worked harder and longer at it; concentrated on it.

Russia has better scientists; got scientists from Germany after World War II.

United States program was badly organized; inter-service rivalry slowed our program down.

Russians made more money available for their satellite program.

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"One thing that I found especially striking was how closely the public's reactions corresponded to the explanatory 'line' which was coming from the White House. Relatively few persons repeated the criticisms which were being printed in newspaper editorials or were being made by members of Congress or by scientists." In talking about Sputnik, most people tended to paraphrase what Eisenhower himself had said. "In no community did I find any tendency on the part of the public to look for leadership to anyone else--to their newspapers or radio commentators, to Congressmen, or to men of science. Nor, with some exceptions, could people be said to be in advance of the President or to be demanding more action than he was."<sup>\*</sup>

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<sup>\*</sup>Samuel Lubell, "Sputnik and American Public Opinion," Columbia University Forum, Winter 1957, pp. 12-21, quoted in Michael, The Public Opinion Quarterly, No. 24, p. 582.

MISSILE GAP  
December 1959

Where, specifically, would you put the blame, if anywhere, for letting the Russians get ahead of us in developing rockets and missiles?

The replies are listed in order of frequency of mention:

Eisenhower administration, the Republicans, our leaders in Washington.

Inter-service rivalry, poor management of rocket program.

Not enough emphasis on training scientists, not enough good scientists in United States.

Congressional cut-back in defense budget, Congress generally.

General complacency, smugness, overconfidence by Americans.

Security leaks, espionage by Russia, United States too trusting in past.

Former administrations--Truman, Roosevelt administrations.

About one person in three (31%) said they would not know where to place the blame at present.

## VI. TEMPORARY PRESIDENTIAL LEVERAGE OVER POLICIES

PRESIDENTIAL POPULARITY AND SUPPORT  
FOR PRESIDENTIAL ACTION  
 (GALLUP POLLS)

EISENHOWER--U.S. TROOPS LAND IN LEBANON, JULY 15, 1958.

"DO YOU APPROVE OR DISAPPROVE OF THE U.S. ACTION OF SENDING TROOPS INTO LEBANON?"\*

	<u>APPROVE</u>	<u>DISAPPROVE</u>	<u>UNDECIDED</u>
NEW YORK, CHICAGO AND SAN FRANCISCO	59%	27%	14%

THE PREVIOUS YEAR, EISENHOWER'S POPULARITY HAD FALLEN OVER 20% FROM THE HIGH AFTER HIS SECOND-TERM INAUGURATION IN JANUARY TO THE END OF THE YEAR AFTER THE RACIAL TURMOIL IN LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS HAD TAKEN PLACE. FROM THE BEGINNING OF 1958 TO JULY, EISENHOWER'S POPULARITY DROPPED STILL ANOTHER 8 PERCENTAGE POINTS. AFTER THE TROOP DISPATCH TO LEBANON, EISENHOWER'S APPROVAL ROSE 6%, BUT DROPPED THAT AMOUNT BY THE END OF THE YEAR AFTER THE CONGRESSIONAL ELECTION, WHICH THE DEMOCRATS WON.

<u>EISENHOWER</u>	<u>APPROVAL (%)</u>
JULY 1958	52
(U.S. TROOPS LAND IN LEBANON)	
AUGUST	58
SEPTEMBER	56
OCTOBER	57
(CONGRESSIONAL ELECTION)	
NOVEMBER	52

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\*GALLUP POLL RELEASE, JULY 23, 1958.

PRESIDENTIAL POPULARITY AND SUPPORT  
FOR PRESIDENTIAL ACTION  
(GALLUP POLLS)

KENNEDY--BAY OF PIGS, APRIL 17, 1961

"DO YOU APPROVE OR DISAPPROVE OF THE WAY KENNEDY IS HANDLING THE SITUATION IN CUBA?!"

	<u>APPROVE</u>	<u>DISAPPROVE</u>	<u>NO OPINION</u>
NATIONAL	61%	15%	24%

YET THE PUBLIC BARELY AGREED THAT THE U.S. SHOULD GET INVOLVED TO THE POINT OF GIVING ECONOMIC AND MILITARY AID TO ANTI-CASTRO FORCES, AND IT STRONGLY DISAPPROVED OF U.S. ARMED INTERVENTION IN CUBA.

"SOME PEOPLE SAY THAT THE U.S. SHOULD AID THE ANTI-CASTRO FORCES WITH MONEY AND WAR MATERIALS. DO YOU AGREE OR DISAGREE?!"

	<u>APPROVE</u>	<u>DISAPPROVE</u>	<u>NO OPINION</u>
NATIONAL	44%	41%	15%

"SOME PEOPLE SAY THAT THE U.S. SHOULD SEND OUR ARMED FORCES INTO CUBA TO HELP OVERTHROW CASTRO. DO YOU AGREE OR DISAGREE?!"

	<u>AGREE</u>	<u>DISAGREE</u>	<u>NO OPINION</u>
NATIONAL	24%	65%	11%

KENNEDY

APPROVAL (%)

LATE MARCH 1961

73

(BAY OF PIGS--APRIL 17)

APRIL  
MAY

83  
76

(KENNEDY AND KHRUSHCHEV MEET IN VIENNA)

JUNE

74

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\*GALLUP POLL RELEASE, MAY 5, 1961.

\*\*GALLUP POLL RELEASES, MAY 7 AND MAY 10, 1961.



PRESIDENTIAL POPULARITY AND SUPPORT  
FOR PRESIDENTIAL ACTION  
 (GALLUP POLLS)

JOHNSON--SANTO DOMINGO CRISIS--APRIL 28, 1965

"HOW DO YOU FEEL ABOUT PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S SENDING TROOPS INTO THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC?"\*

<u>FAVORABLE</u>	<u>UNFAVORABLE</u>	<u>NO OPINION</u>
76%	17%	7%

PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S POPULARITY DROPPED 3 PERCENTAGE POINTS AFTER THE SANTO DOMINGO CRISIS, BUT IT IS DIFFICULT TO KNOW WHETHER THIS WAS CAUSED BY THE CRISIS OR NOT; AFTER ALL, THE PUBLIC WAS STRONGLY IN FAVOR OF HIS ACTION. AS THE CRISIS DID NOT DRAW ON, THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC ISSUE HAD NO LASTING EFFECT ONE WAY OR ANOTHER ON PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S APPROVAL (WHICH INCREASED 6 PERCENTAGE POINTS IN THE NEXT MONTH). IN THE WORLD OF ISSUES IN JUNE 1965, TWO MONTHS AFTER THE INTERVENTION, THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC CRISIS SEEMED TO HAVE HAD LITTLE IMPACT ON THE FEARS AND WORRIES OF THE AMERICAN PUBLIC.

<u>JOHNSON</u>	<u>FAVORABLE (%)</u>
APRIL 1965	67
(SANTO DOMINGO CRISIS--APRIL 28)	
MAY	64
(U.S. TROOP BUILD-UP IN VIETNAM. U.S. TROOPS IN VIETNAM AUTHORIZED TO ENGAGE IN OFFENSIVE OPERATIONS, MAY-JUNE)	
JUNE	70

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\*GALLUP POLL RELEASE, JUNE 2, 1965.

PRESIDENTIAL POPULARITY AND SUPPORT  
FOR PRESIDENTIAL ACTION  
(GALLUP POLLS)

NIXON--CAMBODIAN INTERVENTION, MAY 1, 1970

THE U.S. TROOP INTERVENTION IN CAMBODIA ON MAY 1, 1970 IS OF PARTICULAR INTEREST, AS IT CAME AS AN EXTENSION OF A WAR THAT THE GREAT MAJORITY OF THE PUBLIC ALREADY FELT WE HAD MADE A MISTAKE GETTING INTO. IT ALSO WAS DEEPLY RELATED TO THE DOMESTIC TRAGEDY OF THE SHOOTING AT KENT STATE UNIVERSITY ON MAY 4TH, AND WAS THE TARGET OF NATIONWIDE STUDENT DEMONSTRATIONS AND INTENSE OPPOSITION FROM THE U.S. SENATE. THE PUBLIC'S AWARENESS OF THE CAMBODIAN SITUATION WAS EXTRAORDINARILY HIGH. ITS REACTION TO THE INTERVENTION SEEMED PARADOXICAL.\*

"DO YOU APPROVE OR DISAPPROVE OF THE WAY PRESIDENT NIXON IS HANDLING THE CAMBODIAN SITUATION?"

	MAY 1-4, 1970		
	APPROVE	DISAPPROVE	NO OPINION
NATIONAL	50%	35%	15%

"DO YOU THINK WE SHOULD SEND U.S. TROOPS TO HELP CAMBODIA, OR NOT?"

	MAY 1-4, 1970			
	SHOULD	SHOULD NOT	QUALIFIED	NO OPINION
NATIONAL	25%	59%	7%	9%

APPROVAL OF NIXON'S HANDLING OF HIS JOB AS PRESIDENT ROSE 3 PERCENTAGE POINTS NATIONWIDE AFTER THE BEGINNING OF THE CAMBODIAN INTERVENTION.

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\*GALLUP OPINION INDEX, NO. 60, JUNE 1970, PP. 3-7.

## VII. SOME LINKAGES TO OTHER ISSUE-AREAS

WAR

...AMERICANS HAVE [SHOWN] A STRONG AND PERSISTENT FEAR AND DISLIKE OF WAR AND THEIR WISHES ARE FOR PEACEFUL SOLUTIONS AS LONG AS THEY ARE POSSIBLE. HOWEVER, WHEN THE PRESIDENT HAS TAKEN ACTION, THE INITIAL PUBLIC RESPONSE HAS BEEN SUPPORT FOR THE PRESIDENT. IF, HOWEVER, THE ENGAGEMENT WAS EXTENDED AND CASUALTIES BEGAN TO MOUNT, PUBLIC SUPPORT DROPPED. WARS AS A RULE DO NOT BENEFIT PRESIDENTIAL POPULARITY.

DESIRE NOT TO BECOME INVOLVED IN MILITARY ENGAGEMENTS IS NOT A NEW PHASE OF PUBLIC OPINION. THROUGHOUT THE LAST THREE DECADES, IN EVERY INSTANCE THAT THE QUESTION WAS ASKED, AMERICANS PREFERRED ECONOMIC AND TECHNICAL AID OVER MILITARY INVOLVEMENT OF ANY SORT. THEY MAINTAINED THIS ATTITUDE THROUGHOUT THIS PERIOD OF STRONG INTERNATIONALISM, DURING WHICH TIME THEY FAVORED FOREIGN INVOLVEMENTS, COLLECTIVE SECURITY PACTS, THE STRENGTHENING OF THE U.N. AND THE CONTAINMENT OF COMMUNIST INFLUENCE.\*

SUBSEQUENT DATA ANALYSES... HAVE INDICATED THAT "DIFFERENCES BY SOCIAL STATUS AND AGE... SEEM MORE VISIBLE, WITH THOSE OF HIGHER STATUS AND MIDDLE AGE MOST IN FAVOR OF WAR POLICIES." IN ADDITION, TWO OTHER NATIONAL STUDIES FOUND THAT LOWER-CLASS PERSONS WERE MORE LIKELY THAN MIDDLE- OR UPPER-STATUS RESPONDENTS TO SUPPORT 'MODERATE' OR 'CONCILIATORY' POLICIES IN BOTH THE VIETNAM AND KOREAN CONFLICTS AS WELL AS TO FAVOR A DE-ESCALATION OF THE VIETNAM WAR.\*\*

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\*DORIS YOKELSON, PUBLIC ATTITUDES TOWARD WAR, THE PRESIDENT AND FOREIGN RELATIONS, HI-1643-D, MAY 24, 1972, PP. 58-59.

\*\*HARLAN HAHN, "CORRELATES OF PUBLIC SENTIMENTS ABOUT WAR: LOCAL REFERENDA ON THE VIETNAM ISSUE," THE AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE REVIEW, VOL. LXIV, NO. 4 (DECEMBER 1970), P. 1187.

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U.S. PUBLIC'S WILLINGNESS TO PAY FOR SPACE PROGRAMS--DEPENDENCE ON COLD WAR  
(Gallup Polls)

SPACE EXPLORATION  
May 1961

It has been estimated that it would cost the United States \$40 billion --or an average of about \$225 per person--to send a man to the moon. Would you like to see this amount spent for this purpose, or not?

Yes	33%
No	53
No Opinion	9

SCIENCE AND MISSILE DEVELOPMENT  
March 1960

Suppose that one of this year's presidential candidates said that America is falling behind Russia in such fields as science and missile development, and that to catch up, the American people will have to pay more taxes. Would this statement hurt him or help him in your eyes?

Would help him	50%
Would hurt him	23
No difference, no opin.	22

By Political Affiliation:  
Republicans

Would help him	49%
Would hurt him	27
No difference, no opin.	23

Democrats

Would help him	49%
Would hurt him	30
No difference, no opin.	21

Independents

Would help him	55%
Would hurt him	25
No difference, no opin.	20

SPACE PROGRAM  
July 1969

There has been much discussion about attempting to land a man on the planet Mars. How would you feel about such an attempt--would you favor or oppose the United States setting aside money for such a project?

Favor	39%
Oppose	53
No Opinion	8

By Age:  
21-29 Years

Favor	54%
Oppose	41
No Opinion	5

30-49 Years

Favor	40%
Oppose	53
No Opinion	7

50 Years & Over

Favor	28%
Oppose	60
No Opinion	12

By Education:  
College

Favor	52%
Oppose	45
No Opinion	3

High School

Favor	39%
Oppose	52
No Opinion	3

Grade School

Favor	25%
Oppose	63
No Opinion	12

Negroes are opposed to the Government setting aside money for an eventual Mars landing by the ratio of 3 to 1.

U.S. PUBLIC'S WILLINGNESS TO PAY FOR SPACE PROGRAMS... (cont'd)ENTHUSIASM FOR SPACE EXPLORATION  
WANES IN MINNESOTA

1969

Do you agree or disagree with this statement? Is it important for the United States to push on in space, exploring mars and other planets?

Push on farther	46%
Do not push on farther	50
Undecided	4

1972

Space exploration in the future should be done by nations working together rather than by separate nations. Do you agree or disagree?

	Further exploration important	Countries should work together
Agree	34%	84%
Disagree	64	9
Other answers or no opinion	2	7

(Minnesota Poll, July, 1972. Copyright 1972, Minneapolis Tribune. State adult sample of 600.)

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U.S. PRESTIGE IN SPACE AND ITS EFFECTS ON RELATED AREAS  
(Gallup Polls)

SPACE FLIGHTS  
December 1957

Which country--the United States or Russia--do you think will be first to send a man into outer space?

United States	34%
Russia	44
No Opinion	22

MISSILES AND ROCKETS  
December 1959

Which country--the United States or Russia--do you think is farther ahead in the field of long range missiles and rockets?

United States	33%
Russia	47
No Opinion	20

By Education:  
College

United States	30%
Russia	59
No Opinion	11

High School

United States	32%
Russia	51
No Opinion	17

Grade School

United States	32%
Russia	33
No Opinion	31

SPACE TRAVEL  
December 1960

Which country--the United States or Russia--do you think will be first to send a man into outer space?

Russia	40%
United States	35
No Opinion	25

College Only

Russia	54%
United States	27
No Opinion	19

SPACE RESEARCH  
May 1961

Which country--the United States or Russia--do you think is farther ahead in the field of space research?

Russia	38%
United States	38
No Opinion	24

Which country--the United States or Russia--do you think will be the first to send a man to the moon?

Russia	34%
United States	33
No Opinion*	33

\*Includes some persons who felt that man will never be able to get to the moon.

MILITARY POWER  
February 1959

Some people say that we are dropping behind the Russians in our military power. Others say that we are keeping ahead. From what you have heard or read, how do you feel--do you think we are dropping behind or keeping ahead?

Dropping behind	34%
Keeping ahead	24
Staying even	25
No Opinion	17

By Education:  
College

Dropping behind	38%
Keeping ahead	24
Staying even	22
No Opinion	16

High School

Dropping behind	34%
Keeping ahead	24
Staying even	28
No Opinion	14

Grade School

Dropping behind	31%
Keeping ahead	24
Staying even	23
No Opinion	22

U.S. PRESTIGE IN SPACE AND ITS EFFECTS... (cont'd)ARMAMENTS

May 1961

Which country--the United States or Russia--do you think is farther ahead in the field of long-range missiles and rockets?

United States	54%
Russia	20
No Opinion	26

By Political Affiliations:

## Democrats

United States	57%
Russia	18
No Opinion	25

## Republicans

United States	52%
Russia	21
No Opinion	27

## Independents

United States	48%
Russia	23
No Opinion	29

SPACE RACE

June 1965

Which country--the United States or Russia--do you think is farther ahead in the field of space research?

United States	47%
Russia	24
No Opinion	29

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SPACE PROGRAMS' IMPACT ON PRESTIGE OF U.S. SCIENCE  
(Gallup Polls)

SPACE EXPLORATION  
October 1957

The Russians have just launched an earth satellite. Were you surprised that the Russians were able to do this before the United States?

	Yes	No	No Opin.
New Delhi	63%	34%	3%
Helsinki	61	35	4
Oslo	61	36	3
Washington-Chicago	51	44	5
Copenhagen	50	38	12
Paris	46	32	22
Toronto	48	50	2

Do you feel that the Russian satellite is a serious blow to United States prestige?

	Yes	No	No Opin.
New Delhi	68%	21%	11%
Toronto	66	33	1
Paris	63	24	13
Oslo	60	32	8
Helsinki	56	41	3
Copenhagen	44	39	17
Washington-Chicago	43	46	11

The United States was first to develop the atomic bomb. Russia was first to develop the earth satellite. In your opinion, which country do you think will come out with the next great advancement of this nature-- the United States or Russia?

	U.S.	Russia	Other, Don't Know
Wash.-Chicago	61%	18%	21%
Toronto	50	24	26
Helsinki	48	15	37
Copenhagen	40	28	32
Paris	24	20	56
Oslo	33	46	21
New Delhi	21	65	14

SPACE EXPLORATION (cont'd)  
October 1957

All things considered, do you think the earth satellite is more likely to be used for good purposes or for bad purposes?

	Good	Bad	No Opin.
Wash.-Chicago	61%	16%	23%
Toronto	50	17	33
Helsinki	41	19	40
New Delhi	40	36	24
Copenhagen	31	30	49
Oslo	17	39	44

SCIENCE  
February 1959

Asked in Great Britain: Looking ahead ten years, which country do you think will have the leading position in the field of science?

Russia	43 %
United States	13
Britain	11
Germany	6
Others	*
Don't Know	27

\*Less than 1%

LEADING NATION IN SCIENCE BY 1970  
February 1960

Asked in ten nations: Looking ahead ten years, which countries do you think will have the leading position in the field of science?

	S.U.	U.S.	Others	No Opin.
France	59%	18%	14%	9%
G. Britain	48	17	21	14
India	46	8	7	39
Holland	43	22	9	26
Uruguay	42	27	16	15
Switzerland	40	34	19	7
Norway	38	22	9	31
W. Germany	36	29	14	21
Greece	27	29	27	17
U.S.	16	70	2	12

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SPACE PROGRAMS' IMPACT ON PRESTIGE OF U.S. SCIENCE (cont'd)

LEADING NATION IN SCIENCE AND  
MILITARY STRENGTH BY 1980

January 1970

To gain insight into the current world image of America, the Gallup Poll requested its foreign counterparts to ask the following question: Looking ahead ten years, which country do you think will have the leading position in the field of science:

Views in:	W. Others, Ger- No U.S. S.U. many Opin.			
	U.S.	S.U.	many	Opin.
Israel	80%	4%	7%	9%
Canada	67	11	*	23
Finland	62	14	10	14
India	61	19	4	16
Brazil	59	8	3	30
Japan	55	8	10	27
Greece	53	5	10	32
Colombia	52	11	26	12
G.Britain	51	18	4	27
W.Germany	43	4	8	48
Uruguay	36	7	22	36
Spain	28	9	11	52
12-nation consensus	54	10	10	27

\*Less than 1%

(Note: totals for certain countries add to slightly more than 100%, since some people named more than one country.)

This question was also asked:  
Which country do you think will have the strongest military forces?

Views in:	U.S.	S.U.	China	Others
Israel	61%	15%	9%	15%
Canada	46	16	14	24
Greece	42	3	17	38
Japan	41	23	15	22
Colombia	35	22	20	23
W.Germany	32	25	23	23
Uruguay	32	21	8	39
India	30	20	31	19
Brazil	31	17	9	43
G.Britain	29	37	13	23
Spain	27	16	8	49
Finland	27	43	16	15
12-nation consensus	36	22	15	28

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MAKING AMERICA GREAT\*\*

"HERE IS A LIST OF THINGS SOME PEOPLE THINK MADE AMERICA GREAT. (HAND RESPONDENT CARD) FOR EACH ITEM, DO YOU FEEL THIS WAS A MAJOR CONTRIBUTOR TO MAKING AMERICA GREAT, A MINOR CONTRIBUTOR, OR HARDLY A CONTRIBUTOR AT ALL?" AND "IN THE NEXT 10 YEARS, DO YOU THINK EACH OF THESE ITEMS WILL BE A MAJOR CONTRIBUTOR TO MAKING THE COUNTRY GREAT, A MINOR CONTRIBUTOR, OR HARDLY A CONTRIBUTOR AT ALL?"

1973

	<u>IN</u> <u>PAST</u> <u>%</u>	<u>IN</u> <u>FUTURE</u> <u>%</u>	<u>CHANGE</u>	<u>RANKING</u> <u>OF</u> <u>FUTURE</u>
<u>A MAJOR CONTRIBUTOR</u>				
INDUSTRIAL KNOW-HOW AND SCIENTIFIC PROGRESS	90	87	- 3	1
HARD-WORKING PEOPLE	90	74	-16	9
RICH, NATURAL RESOURCES	88	65	-23	
ALLOWING PEOPLE TO OWN PRIVATE PROPERTY	88	84	- 4	2
LIVING IN SYSTEM OF GUARANTEED INDIV. FREEDOM	85	81	- 4	3
CHANCE TO MOVE FREELY FROM ONE PLACE TO ANOTHER	83	79	- 4	4
MILITARY STRENGTH TO KEEP THE COUNTRY FROM BEING INVADDED	80	73	- 7	10
FREE, UNCONTROLLED NEWS MEDIA	80	77	- 3	6
PEOPLE RESPECTING RIGHTS OF OTHERS	76	73	- 3	10
ALLOWING MASSES TO SHARE HIGH STD. OF LIVING	74	75	+ 1	8
FREE EDUCATION FOR ALL QUALIFIED	74	78	+ 4	5
LIVING IN HEALTHY PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT	73	70	- 3	
ABLE TO GET ALONG WITH OTHER NATIONS	71	76	+ 5	7
EQUAL CHANCE TO ALL RACES	70	77	+ 7	6
INDUSTRY UNDER PRIVATE CONTROL	70	66	- 4	
SUCCESS IN FIGHTING WARS	69	55	-14	
HIGH QUALITY PRODUCTS AND SERVICES	69	66	- 3	
GOV'T. REGULATION OF BUSINESS ABUSES	65	69	+ 4	
OUTSTANDING POLITICAL LEADERS	63	60	- 3	
UNIONS RAISING LIVING STANDARDS	63	49	-14	
PEOPLE OF DIFFERENT RACES, RELIGIONS	62	57	- 5	
A GOV'T. THAT LOOKS AFTER LESS FORTUNATE	52	58	+ 6	
INTERESTING, CREATIVE CULTURAL LIFE	49	53	+ 4	

THIS MAY NOT ONLY REFLECT PREFERENCES FOR THE FUTURE, BUT ALSO MAY BE A REALISTIC APPRAISAL OF WHAT WILL BE AVAILABLE.

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\*\*HARRIS SURVEY, RELEASE OF AUGUST 23, 1973.

AMERICAN-SOVIET RELATIONS  
December 1957

Following are some plans that have been suggested for the purpose of creating better understanding between the United States and Russia. Which, if any, of these plans do you favor: A plan to permit Russian and American leaders to speak directly and without censorship to the people of each other's country?

Favor	60%
Oppose	26
No Opinion	14

A Plan to permit Russia and United States to send students to each other's country?

Favor	60%
Oppose	31
No Opinion	9

A plan to permit Russian and American tourists to travel wherever they please in each other's country?

Favor	47%
Oppose	42
No Opinion	11

Should the United States and Russia work out a business arrangement to buy and sell more goods to each other?

Should	46%
Should not	33
No Opinion	21

On all four counts, a majority of college-trained persons are in favor, ranging from 83% who approve the student exchange to 51% who are in favor of the two countries working out a trade agreement with each other.

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## VIII. ATTITUDES TOWARD SCIENCE

ATTITUDES TOWARD SCIENCE AND SCIENTISTS\*

"LET ME READ YOU SOME STATEMENTS SOME PEOPLE HAVE MADE ABOUT SCIENCE AND SCIENTISTS. FOR EACH, TELL ME IF YOU TEND TO AGREE OR DISAGREE." (READ STATEMENTS)

1972

	<u>AGREE</u> %	<u>DIS- AGREE</u> %	<u>NOT SURE</u> %
<u>POSITIVE</u>			
AMERICA COULD NEVER HAVE ACHIEVED ITS HIGH STANDARD OF LIVING WITHOUT SCIENTIFIC PROGRESS	89	6	5
AS THE WORLD USES UP ITS NATURAL RESOURCES, SCIENCE HAS THE JOB OF COMING UP WITH SUBSTITUTES FOR THOSE THINGS WHICH ARE BEING USED UP.	86	5	9
WITHOUT A STRONG SCIENTIFIC EFFORT, THE U.S. WOULD BECOME A SECOND-RATE POWER.	81	8	11
MODERN LIFE IS MUCH BETTER OFF DUE TO THE WONDERS THAT SCIENTIFIC PROGRESS HAS BROUGHT	81	10	9
<u>NEGATIVE</u>			
OUR SCIENTIFIC PROGRESS HAS GONE FAR BEYOND OUR PROGRESS IN MANAGING OUR HUMAN PROBLEMS AND IT'S TIME WE CONCENTRATED ON THE HUMAN SIDE.	76	13	11
SCIENCE IS MAKING PEOPLE SO DEPENDENT ON GADGETS AND MACHINES, PEOPLE DON'T KNOW WHAT NATURE IS ANY MORE.	72	22	6
SCIENTISTS HAVE THOUGHT TOO MUCH ABOUT WHAT WILL WORK AND NOT ENOUGH ABOUT HOW THEIR DISCOVERIES WILL AFFECT THE LIVES OF PEOPLE.	62	27	11
SCIENCE HAS PUT SO MANY ARTIFICIAL ADDITIVES INTO FOOD PRODUCTS THAT MANY FOODS ARE NOW UNSAFE TO EAT.	54	36	10

"[THE] FEELING OF INADEQUACY ON THE HUMAN SIDE HAS LED SOME CRITICS OF SCIENCE TO CONCLUDE THAT THIS COUNTRY IS RIDING A WAVE OF REACTION AGAINST TECHNOLOGY OF ALL KINDS. THIS SPECIAL SURVEY ON SCIENCE AND SCIENTISTS WOULD BELIEVE THAT CONCLUSION."

"BY A MARGIN OF 78 TO 9 PERCENT, MOST PERSONS STILL HOLD TO THE VIEW THAT 'MOST SCIENTIFIC DISCOVERIES HAVE DONE ME MORE PERSONAL GOOD THAN HARM.'"

\*THE HARRIS SURVEY, RELEASE OF FEBRUARY 17, 1972.