Document
Y
4
G74/6
C49/2
pt. 1

gress
sion } COMMITTEE PRINT

DOCUMENTS
APR 1 1974
THE LIBRARY
KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY

CONFIDENCE AND CONCERN:
CITIZENS VIEW AMERICAN GOVERNMENT

A SURVEY OF PUBLIC ATTITUDES

BY THE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON
INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT
OPERATIONS
UNITED STATES SENATE

PART 1

KSU LIBRARIES
A11900 926181

DECEMBER 3, 1973

Printed for the use of the Committee on Government Operations

AUTHENTICATED
U.S. GOVERNMENT
INFORMATION
GPO

KANSAS STATE
UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY
MANHATTAN

93d Congress
1st Session

COMMITTEE PRINT

CONFIDENCE AND CONCERN:
CITIZENS VIEW AMERICAN GOVERNMENT

A SURVEY OF PUBLIC ATTITUDES

BY THE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON
INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT
OPERATIONS

UNITED STATES SENATE

PART 1

DECEMBER 3, 1973

Printed for the use of the Committee on Government Operations

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON : 1973

29-555 O

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402 - Price $3.05

COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS

SAM J. ERVIN, JR., North Carolina, *Chairman*

JOHN L. McCLELLAN, Arkansas
HENRY M. JACKSON, Washington
EDMUND S. MUSKIE, Maine
ABRAHAM RIBICOFF, Connecticut
LEE METCALF, Montana
JAMES B. ALLEN, Alabama
LAWTON CHILES, Florida
SAM NUNN, Georgia
WALTER D. HUDDLESTON, Kentucky

CHARLES H. PERCY, Illinois
JACOB K. JAVITS, New York
EDWARD J. GURNEY, Florida
WILLIAM B. SAXBE, Ohio
WILLIAM V. ROTH, JR., Delaware
BILL BROCK, Tennessee

ROBERT BLAND SMITH, Jr., *Chief Counsel and Staff Director*
ELI E. NOBLEMAN, *Counsel*
W. P. GOODWIN, Jr., *Counsel*
NICHOLAS J. BIZONY, *Counsel*
JANET GAY HOLLIDAY, *Assistant Chief Clerk*
J. ROBERT VASTINE, *Minority Counsel*
BRIAN CONBOY, *Special Counsel for the Minority*
W. THOMAS FOXWELL, *Staff Editor*

SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS

EDMUND S. MUSKIE, Maine, *Chairman*

SAM J. ERVIN, JR., North Carolina
LEE METCALF, Montana
JOHN L. McCLELLAN, Arkansas
LAWTON CHILES, Florida

EDWARD J. GURNEY, Florida
WILLIAM V. ROTH, JR., Delaware
BILL BROCK, Tennessee

ALVIN FROM, *Staff Director*
GEORGE L. BEAL, *Minority Counsel*
ALFRED FRIENDLY, Jr., *Counsel*
JANE S. FENDERSON, *Counsel*
JAMES E. HALL, *Counsel*
DAVID E. JOHNSON, *Counsel*
LEE ENFIELD, *Counsel*
LUCINDA T. DENNIS, *Chief Clerk*

Document
Y
4
C 74/6
C 49/2
pt. 1
Docs.

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

U.S. SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS,
Washington, D.C., November 19, 1973.

Hon. SAM J. ERVIN, Jr.,
Chairman, Committee on Government Operations, U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: On August 2, 1973, the Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Relations contracted with a respected public opinion firm, Louis Harris and Associates, Inc., to undertake "a study to measure public perception of the responsiveness of government at the Federal, State and local levels and to explore ways to increase the responsiveness and efficiency of government at all levels."

Since its creation more than a decade ago, this Subcommittee has examined ways that government at all levels can become more responsive to its citizenry. During the past ten years, we have seen the Federal Government assume many new responsibilities and, at the same time, we have witnessed an unprecedented growth in State and local governments.

Last year the Congress enacted general revenue sharing legislation, a major step toward providing State and local governments with the resources they need to undertake important responsibilities of government.

In his domestic program called "The New Federalism" which he sent to Congress this year, the President has further challenged the Congress to re-examine and re-evaluate the roles that Federal, State and local governments do and should play in our democratic system.

To meet that challenge, we believed it appropriate to go to the American people and to the public officials they have elected on the State and local levels to get their views about how government at all levels is working and can work.

In September of this year, Louis Harris and Associates, Inc., personally interviewed a scientific cross-section of 1596 Americans. In September and October, the Subcommittee staff personally interviewed 68 State officials, including Governors, Lieutenant Governors and legislative leaders of both parties in a scientifically selected sample of all States. At the same time, the Subcommittee staff conducted a mail survey of 206 local officials in 96 scientifically selected sampling points across the country.

The results of those three surveys have now been compiled and analyzed, and we are pleased to submit the results in this report, "Confidence and Concern: Citizens View American Government."

The document we are submitting includes a foreword, a detailed analysis prepared by Louis Harris and Associates, Inc., with assistance from the Subcommittee staff, and a compilation of all relevant data gathered from the surveys.

As noted at the beginning of the analysis prepared by Louis Harris and Associates, Inc., the statements and conclusions in that analysis reflect the views of Louis Harris and Associates, Inc., and not necessarily those of either the

Committee on Government Operations or the Committee on Rules and Administration, which, according to Senate rules, were parties to the contract. It should further be understood that, in this study, as in any study involving the accumulation of a considerable amount of raw data, facts can be interpreted in many ways. The interpretation of data in this report does not preclude other justifiable conclusions being drawn from the same data.

The purpose of this study was to determine what role in our society the public and State and local officials perceive for government at the Federal, State and local levels, why they see government playing that role, and how they feel that role should be changed in the future. We believe the results of this survey will be of invaluable use to the Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Relations in its continuing effort to examine ways in which government at the Federal, State and local levels can work better. We, therefore, respectfully request that the survey be made a Committee Print.

Sincerely,

EDMUND S. MUSKIE,
Chairman.

EDWARD J. GURNEY,
Ranking Minority Member.

FOREWORD

(By Senators Edmund S. Muskie and Edward J. Gurney)

Reading a Nation's mood and mind is a formidable task, and the pitfalls are many. But this survey, including the views of a scientific cross-section of Americans interviewed by Louis Harris and Associates, Inc., as well as the opinions of a less precise sample of State and local government officials questioned by the Subcommittee staff, attempts to elicit perspectives and prescriptions that are more than temporary.

Nonetheless, the fact that this survey was conducted in September of 1973, at a time when public reaction to the "Watergate Affair" was at a high, and perhaps transient level, should be given full consideration when interpreting this study.

Because the Harris organization has asked similar questions over the years, it is possible to establish trends of public opinion in a few, key instances. But many of our questions have never been put directly to Americans before, and it is inevitable that their awareness of current events colors some of their replies.

Nevertheless, key findings—both encouraging and, to professional public servants, depressing—do emerge from the lengthy report presented to us. These findings are first presented in summary fashion and then, as descriptions and suggestions for remedial action, discussed at greater length.

Two broad conclusions of the report can be simplified as follows:

(1) The American people's loss of confidence in their government has reached severe—even majority—proportions today, but, at the same time, the American people overwhelmingly believe that government at all levels can be made to work effectively and well.

- The people to a far greater extent than their leaders, regard government secrecy as a prime obstacle to responsiveness. But both agree that openness and honesty in officials are prerequisites to successful contact between the leaders and the led.
- The people—to a degree far greater than leaders understand—appear prepared to participate in the decisions that shape their society. Both officials and public see in organized citizens' groups an increasingly successful and respected method of channeling individual energies into effective collective action.
- Ninety percent of Americans—and a like percentage of State and local officials—are convinced that government can work effectively and well. Both share a faith in the ability of government, specifically the unpopular Federal establishment, to subordinate special influence to the general welfare and to bring in first-rate people whose first priorities will be "helping the country" and "caring about the people."

(2) A symptom of the distance between government and the governed is the distance between the opinions of the public and their leaders.

- Officials are convinced that the "quality of life" in America has improved measurably over the last decade and credit government actions with the positive change. The people disagree and blame the Federal Government for having a negative impact on developments.
- The public shows little respect for the attributes of men and women who run government at all levels; officials disagree.
- And while holding almost all institutions in uniformly low regard, the two groups differ sharply over the respect they attach to journalism. Officials put television news and the press—the main sources of public information about government and politics—far down the list of institutions whose leadership they admire. The public, however, shows the same two institutions a marked increase in confidence over the levels recorded in 1972 and restores them to a position of trust surpassing that given in 1966.
- Where a majority of Americans feel something has gone "deeply wrong" with their society, close to two-thirds of the elected and appointed office-holders surveyed prefer the view that America "always has one crisis or another."
- And when asked to make a hypothetical choice between putting government in the hands of the best and most expert leaders and giving them free rein or insisting that official actions be subject to continual, close, public monitoring. Americans strongly prefer the latter alternatives. Officials ask, in contrast, for maximum freedom of action.

These basic, and extremely condensed, conclusions are discussed in greater detail below and are documented by the report which follows.

Description of Government and Leadership

THE CRISIS OF CONFIDENCE

The survey measures, in many ways and in exhaustive detail, the attitudes the people and the leaders have toward government at every level, and reveals several findings.

(1) Certainly the most striking verdict rendered in September by the American people—and disputed by their leaders—is a negative one. A majority of Americans display a degree of alienation and discontent not felt since two popular leaders, the Reverend Martin Luther King and Senator Robert F. Kennedy, were assassinated in the early and late Spring of 1968.

For the first time since June 1968, the circumscribed minority of citizens who thought something was "deeply wrong" with their country had become a national majority, embracing men and women from coast to coast and including most of the middle-range of working Americans. Only the most affluent, the best-educated, the youngest—*and the State and local office-holders surveyed*—preferred the view that the Nation "always has one crisis or another."

And for the first time in the 10 years of opinion sampling by the Harris Survey, the growing trend of public opinion toward disenchantment with government swept more than half of all Americans with it. Measured by agreement

with four negative statements about social justice and the responsiveness of government, 55% of the people displayed profound cynicism and alienation toward their political leadership. The discontent was not limited to the traditionally discontented: the elderly, Southerners, skilled laborers and residents of rural communities all shared similar strong feelings of powerlessness and distress.

(2) This "crisis of confidence" spans the range of society's institutions, leaving only doctors and trash collectors in command of majority respect. But it is focused sharply on the institutions of government, and most tellingly on the Federal establishment, with the executive branch and the White House earning the trust of fewer than one American in five.

(3) With just two exceptions, the amount of confidence Americans display in every institution tested has decreased since 1966. Those two exceptions are the press—slightly up from its 1966 rating—and television news which enjoys the confidence of 41% of the people today compared to the 25% it enjoyed seven years ago. All other institutions from medicine to organized religion, from the Supreme Court to the Congress, from major companies to the military, more or less lost ground with the public. And the sharpest steadiest fall from grace was that of the executive branch. Significantly, State and local government services and institutions, like education, sanitation, law enforcement, and highway construction and maintenance, on which the Harris organization has no confidence trend lines, rate relatively high.

(4) The most striking disparity between the public and the State and local leaders in their confidence ratings is in their respect for the press and television news. While 41% of the public express "a great deal of confidence" in TV news, no more than 17% of the officials reflect such trust. In the case of the press, 30% of the public holds that medium in high regard, compared with just 19% of the leaders.

(5) The public and the leaders have widely divergent views about whether or not the quality of life has improved in the past 10 years. A plurality (45%) of the people said that the "quality of life" in America had deteriorated over the last decade, while 35% thought it had improved, and 15% saw no change. More to the point of a governmental survey, a majority of Americans viewed State and local government as having had little recent impact on the quality of their lives, but nearly two out of five (37%) blamed the Federal Government for making life worse "in the past few years."

In sharp contrast, the officials overwhelmingly believe that the quality of American life has improved materially and morally over the last ten years. Moreover, from almost two-thirds to over three-fourths of them view the actions of local, State and Federal Government as contributing substantially to this positive achievement.

(6) When asked whether they had more or less confidence in each level of government than they had five years ago, a majority of the public records its view of both State and local government as unchanged over the last five years, although, in both cases approximately twice as many people feel less confidence than before as feel more confidence.

State officials sharply disagree with the public estimate and credit their level of government with a substantial rise in confidence. Local officials also disagree with the public and believe local government has earned increased respect.

There is no disagreement, however, between the public and their State and local leaders about confidence in the Federal Government. All agree that faith in the Federal Government's leadership has decreased dramatically.

(7) In the past 18 months America's preoccupations have changed enormously. Taxes and the Indochina fighting are now far down the list of national concerns, with economic problems, and particularly inflation, more strongly in first place than before. But the second source of alarm, mentioned by the public eight times more often in 1973 than in 1972, is integrity in government, listed by 43% of the people as one of "the two or three biggest problems facing the country" now, and mentioned by only five percent last year.

When the question is asked another way—by posing specific problems and asking which ones are "real" and personal worries for "most people," rather than insignificant matters or ones they can "take in stride"—the initial reading is reinforced. To 77% of Americans, "the high price of meat and other food" constitutes a real problem, but the people also see "corrupt politicians" (70%) and "lack of trust and confidence in government" (67%) as grave and immediate issues.

The leaders put "loss of confidence" in government first on their list of the "real, personal problems" and "integrity in government" at the top of the roll of national issues of concern, with economic worries in a close second place on both measurements. But where the public clearly associates official corruption with its discontent, officeholders themselves view that matter as a transitory phenomenon raised briefly to a peak of concern by undue press attention to the misbehavior of a few, prominent individuals.

(8) Given a chance to express themselves and their concern directly to the top executive officials in their community, their State and their country, Americans overwhelmingly choose Watergate as the issue they would raise in the White House, but pick taxes and school funds as the first gripes to hand their Governors, and street repair, traffic congestion and police performance as the major problems to lay before their Mayors.

CONSENSUS—The Optimistic Outlook

Despite their discontents, their sense of their own impotence and their low regard for government and its contribution to their lives, roughly nine Americans in ten believe local, State and Federal Government can be well run. Leaders, in similar numbers, share this optimism and the public's overwhelming faith that government can attract the "best people," that "special interests" can be made secondary to the general welfare, and that public servants can be found committed both "to helping the country" and to caring "about the people."

Even specific problems—inflation and corruption, for example—can be made to yield to inspired and energetic leadership, both leaders and led agree. Further, the people approve of an active role for government.

When offered the extreme case of Jefferson's classic formulation—"That government is best which governs least"—a majority of Americans and a near majority of their leaders disagreed. Nearly nine Americans in ten believe the Federal Government has "a deep responsibility for seeing to it that the poor are taken care of, that no one goes hungry, and that every person achieves a minimum standard of living." In fact, two-thirds of the public would agree that "It's about time we had a strong Federal Government again to get this country moving again."

This apparent acceptance of an active role for government is somewhat tempered, however, by the consistent unwillingness of the American people to surrender individual liberties and independence in return for "the public good", and by a majority's acceptance of the statement that the Federal Government should "have power taken away."

While a majority of the officials surveyed disagreed with the public on the need for "a strong Federal Government to get this country moving again," the leaders concur in the public view that the three levels of government should be sharing resources and responsibilities more broadly. Office-holders, more emphatically than their constituents, favor entrusting Federal revenues and authority for much governmental action to State and local levels. They only disagree with their electorate in viewing governmental secrecy—a major public concern—as a minor problem.

CONTACT

Americans, by and large, lack the knowledge—the information which is synonymous with power—to involve themselves effectively and steadily with the workings of government. Majorities of the public describe themselves as poorly informed about events in Washington, in their State capitals, their county courthouses and their city halls. As a result, while they know what to do and whom to see about a clogged sewer or a congested traffic artery, they lack *and they want* the knowledge to take part in deciding the outcome of the broad policy debates that give fundamental shape to their lives.

(1) Depending primarily on televised and daily newspaper coverage of politics and government policy, Americans, by their own admission are not up-to-date on the activities of government at any level, and feel only moderately more conversant with the affairs of their community than with those of the country at large. Public officials showed themselves aware of this basic problem.

(2) Most people know their Governor and his political affiliation, but a smaller majority can correctly identify one of their U.S. Senators. Only a minority know both Senators and their party ties, as well as the Congressman in their district. The ability to identify these key figures declines as income and education levels drop.

(3) Television news and newspaper reporting are the dominant sources from which Americans get their incomplete information about government and politics. And while nearly three-fourths of the people say they have received useful, informative mailings from a Congressman or a Senator or both, only six percent depend on such information or other special news sources "a great deal" to shape their impressions of current events.

(4) Public officials are trying hard to reach their constituents—through personal contacts, open office doors, speeches and newsletters. But, says the report, "it is evident that these channels of communication have not been adequate and likely that other avenues remain to be explored."

INVOLVEMENT

The existing pattern of citizen participation in government is primarily, but not exclusively, limited to periodic visits to the voting booth. Other than talking over the issues of the day with friends and neighbors, people are devoting little of their free time to personal engagement with policy-making at any level.

But Americans are anxious to make themselves more available to their community, and, through a vast range of group activities, they are already organized to express their ideas and work their will on government. Moreover, themselves committed to the traditional political tools of the protest vote and the angry letter, they are willing to channel their energies into organized action, and they are impressed by the impact which organized groups of concerned citizens have on the political process.

(1) Other than with their vote or their signatures on a petition, most Americans are keeping their distance from political activity. Time- and energy-consuming forms of participation engage decreasing minorities of the public, from the one-third who have contributed money to a political campaign down to the one-tenth who have aired their views in a public demonstration.

(2) Americans, however, are active in groups for non-political purposes, and three-quarters of the people belong to one or more of a wide range of religious, social, professional, civic, sports or cultural organizations. And of the "joiners," nearly half have served as officers of such collective activities.

(3) Despite the relatively low degree of actual political involvement, nearly every American would use his vote and his friendships to effect orderly change. Eight out of ten would write to Capitol Hill. And almost as many—seeing a situation they disliked—would "work through a group they belong to." Only 17% of the people admit they would "do nothing" in the face of a political challenge. And a majority feel certain that they could personally work to remedy specific political corruption in a variety of ways.

(4) A near-majority (49%) of Americans—and better than two-thirds of the leaders—subscribe to the statement that "groups of citizens and organizations are having more effect in getting government to get things done, compared with five years ago." The leading groups, in terms of impact on events and on the public mind, are local community organizations, civil rights groups, the consumer movement and the environmental lobbyists, an assessment leaders generally share.

(5) The "active citizens" in America are a minority. Generally, they are advanced in years, in affluence, in education and in social position. But the potential for participation runs deep in our society, and nearly half (46%) of the Americans identifiable as "skilled labor"—one of the least active categories—say they would actively use their group affiliates to press for changes they thought were needed.

Conclusion.—Obviously Americans are upset, even alarmed, about the way their government and its leaders now appear to be behaving. But, even conceding themselves to be imperfect participants in the democratic process, they are eager to participate, to work for change, to be made influential individuals in a collective effort to diffuse power and engage the people in its exercise. Above all, they are confident that the democratic "system" can reform and can produce leadership worthy of the people's confidence.

Prescriptions for Responsive Government

Viewing the Federal Government as exercising a major impact on their personal lives, but reposing greater confidence in the efficiency and integrity of State and local leadership, Americans—and the officials who serve them—concur generally on the following recommendations:

(1) The power of the Federal establishment should be reduced, while the autonomous authority of State and local government should be augmented;

(2) A central range of social concerns—guarantees of opportunity and dignity to the least fortunate citizens—remain, within the context of shared responsibility, a predominantly Federal concern.

On one fundamental prescription, however, the governed and those who govern diverge. The people insist that their trust can best be restored by consistent monitoring of government to insure straightforward leadership of un-

questioned integrity. Officials, less conscious of a failure to communicate their own high standards of conduct, put their first priorities on giving high-quality leadership the authority and freedom to act for the public good.

IMPACT OF GOVERNMENT

When Americans turn their attention to the effects of government on their perscnal lives, they acknowledge that they have little direct contact with the Federal, State and local establishment, but a burdensome awareness of the taxes they pay to it and a mixed view of the services rendered in return.

(1) A convincing majority of Americans (63%) view the Federal Government as influencing their personal lives "a great deal," but fewer than two out of five ascribe the same degree of impact to their State and local policymakers. Yet at all levels, the official activity which awakes the highest recognition is tax collecting, and the response to it is one of resentment.

(2) No more than one American in four has ever gone to his local government to seek a service or right a wrong, and at the State and Federal levels contact is limited to one citizen in ten. However, those who have contacted officials with their inquiries, their appeals and their complaints report a degree of satisfaction far above what leaders estimate.

(3) While the public and the office-holders clearly perceive the effectiveness with which different levels of government can address distinct problems, they also agree that social welfare activities and political house-cleaning are the shared provinces of all levels.

(4) To make cooperation work, both citizens and officials concur in advocating a reduction of Federal power and a consequent increase in State and local authority. But the people—in flat contrast to the leaders—strongly support the concept of dynamic Federal guidance for American one that may consist more in the inspirational force of direction from Washington than in actual Federal control of specific programs.

EXPECTATIONS

Americans say they want and deeply believe they can have a government whose leaders are honest and open; whose performance is continually reviewed by an informed citizenry, the press and special-interest groups; and whose intrusion into their private behavior is firmly restricted. Above all, the report concludes, the public will respond to a government which is, itself, responsive to them within the traditional framework of existing political institutions and values.

(1) On the whole, Americans are skeptical about the performance of elected and professional public servants. Recognizing, to a lesser degree than the leaders, the intelligence and dedication of many of the men and women in government, they nevertheless fault their elected leaders for failing to fulfill campaign promises and for concentrating too much on selfish pursuits. They praise career officials as hard workers, but fault them for excessive caution and lack of imagination.

(2) The first quality the people and the leaders stress in describing the ideal official is honesty, an attribute both think is in markedly short supply now. And at the Federal level, both groups surveyed show an overwhelming assurance that America can have leadership to match its aspirations and its problems.

(3) To achieve these goals, Americans seek no radical departures from the past. But given a key choice of two options—a free hand for good leaders or a continual scrutiny of official conduct—the people (not the officials) choose the checks and balances of a democratic tradition.

(4) Leaders, putting more stress on their own capabilities to push reform and regain respect, ask for specific measures to reduce significant obstacles to high performance. As a mechanical matter, they emphasize reducing two "substantial," complementary impediments to success: intergovernmental red tape and the fragmentation of government authority. One of their complaints, however—that their constitutents are apathetic—appears neither susceptible to legislative reform nor, according to the other findings of the survey, recognized as valid by their constituents.

(5) Finally, while perceiving clearly which levels of government are most competent and most to be trusted in the performance of specific public tasks, the people and their leaders agree that the problems of the environment, of drug abuse, of the poor and of racial minorities, require the concerted efforts of local, State and Federal authorities. To this central understanding of issues that cross geographic and political lines of demarcation, Americans add their insistence that individual corruption be attacked by all levels of government.

Conclusion.—The report found that Americans now draw clear limits on the liberties—financial and personal—they are willing to see restricted by government-imposed sacrifices. But if independence marks the American spirit still, the people also display a concern for community that can only be mobilized by leadership that welcomes citizen participation and trusts the people with the truth.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Letter of Transmittal	III
Foreword	V
Introduction:	
Purpose	3
Methodology	7
Public Survey	9
Leaders' Survey	18
Chapter I—The Crisis of Confidence:	
Summary	24
The Crisis of Confidence	28
Officials Disclaim the Crisis	35
Confidence in Local, State and Federal Government	42
What Significant Problems Face America?	48
Leaders for a Day: If People Met Power	53
The Quality of Life	61
The Public Perspective—Outlook of Optimism	64
Conclusion	69
Chapter II—Public Involvement in Government:	
Summary	70
The State of Public Knowledge	72
Where people get knowledge	77
The State of Citizen Involvement	83
The Potential for Public Response	87
Citizen initiative	91
Who are the active citizens	98
Chapter III—The Role of Government:	
Summary	102
The Federal Level	104
The State Level	106
The Local Level	108
Personal Contact with Government	109
Officials Assess Contact with Government	116
The Federal Structure: Shared and Separate Tasks	122
Making Shared Responsibilities Work	128
Chapter IV—The Government Americans Seek:	
Summary	132
Officials: Images and Expectations	134
Federal Leadership	140
The Road to Reform	144
A Mark of Independence	150
Summing Up	153
Appendix I: The Questionnaire	155

Appendix II: Tables to Chapter I:

Page

Trend of is there something deeply wrong in America today ---- 212
Is there something deeply wrong in America today ---- 213
Reasons behind the feelings there is something wrong in America today, or there is always one crisis or another ---- 214
Agreement with statements of alienation ---- 216
Confidence in local government, compared to 5 years ago ---- 217
Reasons behind confidence in local government compared to 5 years ago ---- 218
Confidence in State government, compared to 5 years ago ---- 219
Reasons behind confidence in State government compared to 5 years ago ---- 220
Confidence in Federal Government, compared to 5 years ago ---- 221
Reasons behind confidence in Federal Government compared to 5 years ago ---- 222
The main reasons for the decline in public confidence ---- 223
What ought to be done to restore the public's confidence in government ---- 224
Biggest problems facing the country that people would like to see something done about ---- 225
Solutions for problems facing the country ---- 226
What people would tell their top local official if they had the chance ---- 228
What people would tell their Governor if they had the chance ---- 229
What people would tell the President if they had the chance ---- 230
Feelings about quality of life in this country compared to 10 years ago ---- 231
Reasons behind feelings about quality of life in this country compared to 10 years ago ---- 232
Effect of government on the quality of life in the past few years ---- 233
Can local/State/Federal Governments be run well ---- 234
Leaders who feel government can be run well at all levels ---- 235
People who agree with statements about levels of government in this country ---- 236

Appendix III: Tables to Chapter II:

How people rate themselves on how up to date they are on what is going on in the Federal Government in Washington ---- 238
How people rate themselves on how up to date they are on what is going on in State government in their State Capital ---- 239
How people rate themselves on how up to date they are on what is going on in their local government ---- 240
How people rate themselves on how up to date they are on what is happening in politics ---- 241
People who say they know who their Governor is ---- 242
People who correctly identified name and party of their Governor ---- 243
People who say they know who their U.S. Senator is ---- 244
People who correctly identified name and party of their U.S. Senator ---- 245
People who say they know who their other U.S. Senator is ---- 246
People who correctly identified name and party of their other U.S. Senator ---- 247
People who say they know who their Congressman is ---- 248
People who correctly identified name and party of their Congressman ---- 249
What is the composition of the Congress ---- 250
Whether people have received a mailing or letter from their Congressman or Senator ---- 251
How people feel about the letters or mailings from their Congressman or U.S. Senator ---- 252
The ways leaders keep in touch with the people they serve and represent ---- 253
The kinds of activities that leaders do on a regular basis ---- 254
Leaders who find the following activities very helpful in getting the job done ---- 255
Political actions people have taken ---- 256

Appendix III: Tables to Chapter II—Continued

Page

Organizations which people belong to ---- 257
Whether people are or have ever been an officer of an organization ---- 258
The kinds of actions people might possibly take to change things they didn't like about government ---- 259
Is there something people can do about an unjust or corrupt public official ---- 260
Why people feel they can or cannot do something about an unjust or corrupt public official ---- 261
Groups of citizens and organizations are having more effect in getting Government to get things done, compared to 5 years ago ---- 262
The reasons groups of citizens and organizations are having more effect in getting Government to get things done, compared to 5 years ago ---- 263
Groups of citizens and organizations which are most active in peoples' recent experience ---- 264
People who feel that protest marches led by Martin Luther King in the 1960's speeded up civil rights legislation ---- 265
Effect of citizen's group pressures on industry efforts to curb pollution ---- 266
People/leaders who feel that "support your local police campaigns" have not had much effect over local government crime control ---- 267
People's attitudes about parent protest against forced busing of school children ---- 268
People's feelings toward effect of anti-war demonstrations on U.S. involvement in Vietnam ---- 269

Appendix IV: Tables to Chapter III:

Degree to which government affects people's lives personally ---- 271
Degree to which government affects people's lives personally (includes leaders) ---- 272
Main ways Federal Government affects people's lives personally ---- 273
Main ways State government affects people's lives personally ---- 274
Main ways State government affects people's lives personally (includes leaders) ---- 275
Main ways that local government affects people's lives personally ---- 276
Main ways that local government affects people's lives personally (includes leaders) ---- 277
People who have gone to their local government to get them to do something ---- 278
Leaders who feel that a lot of people have gone to their local government to get it to do something for them ---- 278
Reasons why people have gone to local government ---- 279
The reasons people have gone to their local government (includes leaders) ---- 280
Whether people found local government helpful ---- 281
Leaders who feel people were satisfied with their experience with local government ---- 282
The reasons leaders feel people were satisfied or dissatisfied about their experience with local government ---- 283
Leaders who feel people have gone to their State government to get them to do something ---- 284
Reasons why people have gone to State government ---- 285
The reasons leaders feel people have gone to State government ---- 286
Whether people found State government helpful ---- 287
People who were satisfied with their experience with State government ---- 288
The reasons leaders feel people were satisfied or dissatisfied with their State government ---- 289
Leaders who feel people have gone to the Federal Government to get it to do something ---- 290
The reasons leaders feel people have gone to the Federal Government ---- 291
Whether people found the Federal Government helpful ---- 292

Appendix IV: Tables to Chapter III—Continued

Page

People who were satisfied with their experience with the Federal Government-- 293
The reasons leaders feel people came away from their experience with the Federal Government highly satisfied, somewhat satisfied, or not at all satisfied--- 294
The kinds of things which substantially impede government officials from doing their job---------- 296
Other kinds of things which substantially impede Government officials from doing their job---------- 297
Who trust most to handle key problems---------- 298
How strong should local/State/Federal Government be---------- 299
Views of officials on changes in the strength of government at all levels---------- 300
How Government leaders would make local government stronger---------- 301
How Government leaders would make State government stronger---------- 302
How people would make the Federal Government stronger---------- 303

Appendix V: Tables to Chapter IV:

Qualities which describe Federal, State, and local officials and what those qualities should be---------- 306
Leaders and the public appraise the qualities of public officials at the Federal, State, and local levels---------- 307
The qualities which best describe most elected State officials---------- 308
The qualities which best describe most elected local officials---------- 309
The qualities which best describe most people who work in a career Government job ---------- 310
The qualities which best describe the kind of people who should work in the Government ---------- 311
What people feel would have to be done to make the Government a more exciting place to work---------- 312
How can Government be made to work better---------- 313
The ways leaders feel Government would work better---------- 314
Why leaders feel that the right people or tight checks make the Government work better ---------- 315

Appendix VI: Other Tables:

Whether voted in 1972 Presidential election---------- 317
Whether voted in 1970 congressional election---------- 318
Whether voted in last local election---------- 319
Political identification---------- 320
Leaders who hold elective or appointed office---------- 321
How long leaders have served in public life---------- 322
People who agree/disagree with statements about Government in general------- 323
Government leaders who feel that average person's son or daughter would receive better treatment than the son or daughter of a prominent public official-- 324
The reasons leaders feel the treatment their child would receive would be better, be worse or the same as the child of the average citizen---------- 325
Whom people would turn to for help if faced with specific personal problems---- 326

Appendix VII: Proposal and Contract---------- 327

NOTE

The research and study forming the basis of this report was conducted pursuant to a contract with the U.S. Senate Committee on Government Operations. Pursuant to Senate rules, the contract was approved by the Committee on Rules and Administration. The statements and conclusions contained herein are those of Louis Harris and Associates, and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Committee on Government Operations or the Committee on Rules and Administration.

29-555 O - 74 -- 2

INTRODUCTION

PURPOSE OF THE SURVEY

In August of 1973, the U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Relations commissioned Louis Harris and Associates to measure people's perceptions and expectations of the workings of government at all levels. Under authority of Section 5 of Senate Resolution 46, approved February 26, 1973, as amended by Senate Resolution 134, approved June 30, 1973, the Committee on Government Operations instructed Louis Harris and Associates to conduct:

> A study to measure public perception of the responsiveness of government at the Federal, State and local levels and to explore ways to increase the responsiveness and efficiency of government at all levels.

The survey developed data in several areas:

A. Public Knowledge of Government: People were asked a series of knowledge questions, including the names of their United States Senators, Congressman, and Governor. The survey also sought to measure how much people understand some of the basic conceptual cornerstones of the system of checks and balances and the exclusive yet interdependent roles of the legislative,

executive and judicial branches. How the public perceives the role of State and local government, and their interaction with the Federal Government, was another major area of inquiry.

B. Public Participation and Involvement: The survey sought to document the extent of people's voting in Presidential, Federal off-year, State and local elections, including local and State bond issue referenda. It also attempted to find out to what public affairs organizations the respondents belong; whether they hold any office in these or other organizations; their participation in political campaigns -- including working for candidates, contributing money, and attending political meetings -- and the extent to which they write letters to elected and non-elected public officials, as well as to their local newspapers. These latter questions were included because they may well represent a curious phenomenon in the American scene today. Both members of Congress and newspaper editors report a sharp rise in the number of letters they receive from the public. The study sought to discover whether, even in the face of widespread disenchantment with government, the public nonetheless is displaying a new desire to help solve the problems of the country. To document the extent of their participation was a vital part of the survey.

C. Perception of Government: The survey asked a series of questions probing the way people characterize government and government officials at all levels. These questions sought to measure positive perceptions of government in terms of the following: trust and confidence; fairness in the way the public is treated; integrity, competence, initiative and innovation of government officials; and government's ability to attract able people. Negative qualities such as lack of trustworthiness; favoritism in dispensing services; mediocrity and incompetence; and government work as a sinecure or a play-safe place to work in a stultified bureaucracy, were also measured. All questions compared Federal, State and local government.

D. Contact and Experience with Government: The survey attempted to find out the various ways in which the public has, and perceives it has, contact with government at the Federal, State and local levels. These contacts could range from paying taxes to asking for assistance from a U.S. Senator or Representative, or State or local representative; seeking help from a government office; or meeting and talking with a public official. The survey also sought to measure the felt

impact of governmental, military, and economic policies, as well as benefits derived from governmental services ranging from Social Security and Medicare to housing assistance, veterans benefits, and other areas. In all cases people were asked whether they found the experiences they had with government positive or negative.

E. Trends in Confidence: The survey probed to determine the levels of hope or despair which people feel about government. It particularly explored perceptions such as believing one's opinions really count vs. a sense of powerlessness ("what I think doesn't count much with those in power"). It also sought to measure the extent of cynicism about government and public officials ("once in power, most politicians will forget their promises and feather their own nest"). Previous trend lines used by the Harris organization in these areas were updated.

F. Capabilities of the Government: The survey documented what people think government at all levels is capable and not capable of performing. Since all expectations are relative, the survey attempted to measure carefully and accurately just what people think the government can do. These inquiries were both general

and specific, dealing with a broad area of questions ranging from maintaining law and order, to averting war and a recession, to helping the old and the poor.

Tied closely to these perceived capabilities of government was the survey's attempt to determine just how much people are looking to Federal, State or local governments to provide solutions to problems. A related effort was made to determine the extent to which people believe that citizen groups can and should join government in efforts to keep prices down and to monitor areas such as the quality of products and services, environmental control, and general standards of public conduct.

G. Public Expectations and Solutions: The survey asked the people to describe the major problems of our society as they see them, as well as what they think government ought to do about them.

METHODOLOGY

The survey employed three basic types of questions: closed-end, multiple-choice questions, where the respondent was asked to choose between options; open-ended questions, where people could express themselves in their own words; and projective questions, where people's views were drawn out to the full extent to which they would

agree or disagree with a proposition. The projective questions generally stated a positive and then a negative concept in sequence in order not to load the series.

The cross-section of the American public was sampled between September 13-22, 1973.

HOW THE SURVEY OF THE PUBLIC WAS CONDUCTED

Sample Design and Interviewing: The national sample used in the study was drawn from a cross-section of the American public. A cross-section of the public in this case amounted to a random selection of 1596 respondents in 200 different key locations throughout the country. Each interviewer contacted 8 households in his/her particular map segment.

All interviews were conducted in person, in the homes of the respondents. At each household the respondent was chosen by means of a random selection pattern, geared to the number of adults of each sex who live in the household. Interviews lasted approximately 1 3/4 hours in length. When the completed interviews were received in New York, a subsample of 20% of the respondents was re-contacted to verify that the interviews had actually been done.* Questionnaires were then edited and responses to open-ended (unstructured) questions coded

---

* The actual validation process works as follows:

Interviewers sent the name, address and telephone number (if available) of respondents directly to the validation service from the field. In New York, Louis Harris and Associates makes up a list of five questions from the study which are given to the validation service. Approximately 20% of each interviewer's respondents, randomly chosen, are contacted by the validation service (generally by telephone, but by mail if necessary) and asked the questions. If there is any doubt about the authenticity of the interviewer's work, all of his interviews are carefully checked.

in the New York office. The full questionnaire was then key punched, verified and put on magnetic tape. Then, using the firm's computer and software program, the data were tabulated. In essence, this particular Harris sampling procedure was designed to produce a national cross-section which accurately reflects the actual population of the country 18 years of age and over living in private households. Indeed, theoretically, each household in the Nation had an equal chance of being drawn. This means that the results of this survey can be projected as being representative of the country's civilian population 18 years old and older.

It should be understood, however, that this national sample was a sample of the civilian population of the continental United States. Alaska and Hawaii were not represented, nor were those in prisons, hospitals, or religious and educational institutions. The sample was based on updated census information on the population of each State in the country, and on the population living in standard metropolitan statistical areas (SMSA's) and in more rural areas throughout the country.

Stratification within the sample insured it would reflect, within 1%, the actual proportions of those living

in the country in different regions, and in metropolitan and non-metropolitan areas. Within each stratum the selection of the ultimate sampling unit (a cluster of adjacent households) was achieved through a series of steps, a process which is technically called multi-stage cluster sampling. First States, then counties, and then minor civil divisions (cities, towns, townships) were selected proportional to census estimates of their respective household populations.

Maps of the selected civil divisions were drawn in the Harris New York office and were partitioned by segments containing approximately the same number of households. Interviewers in the field, armed with detailed area maps, then interviewed members of households in at least one of the segments in each civil division of the sample.

QUESTIONNAIRE DEVELOPMENT

The actual questionnaire used was developed in close consultation with the Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Relations staff members. The final questionnaire was approved by both the Chairman and Ranking Minority

Member of the Subcommittee. Before it was considered ready for use, a pretest of 15 interviews was completed.

The pretest was designed not to develop preliminary substantive data but rather to insure that the questions were clearly worded and would be easily understood by the spectrum of possible respondents, that the flow of the questionnaire was not overlong.

Throughout the report the results are analyzed both in total and by a number of key sub-groups. The following two tables define these subgroups and show the number of individuals in each sub-group and the weighted proportion of the total sample it represents.

The first table represents the first twenty banner points and key demographic break-outs for this study:

DIMENSIONS OF ANALYSIS

	Number in Sample*	Unweighted Percentage	Weighted Percentage
	#	%	%
Total	**1596**	**100**	**100**
East**	444	28	28
Midwest	442	28	27
South	437	27	28
West	273	17	17
Size of Place			
Cities: central cities in urbanized areas (generally 50,000 or more)	500	32	32
Suburbs: urbanized areas outside central cities	436	27	27
Towns: other urban areas generally of 2,500 to 49,999	228	14	15
Rural: anything not included above	432	27	26
Age			
18 to 29	461	29	28
30 to 49	546	34	35
50 and over	587	37	37
Religion ***			
White Protestant	885	55	54
White Catholic	361	23	22
Jewish	49	3	3
Type of Work			
Professional	259	16	16
Executive	196	12	12
Skilled labor	451	28	28
White collar	134	8	8
Sex ****			
Male	797	50	50
Female	799	50	50

All footnotes on next page

* Subgroup totals do not always add to 1596 because of some non-response.

** East includes the following States: Connecticut, Delaware, District of Columbia, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont, and West Virginia.

Midwest includes the following States: Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, Ohio, South Dakota and Wisconsin.

South includes the following States: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.

West includes the following States: Arizona, California, Colorado, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Oregon, Utah, Washington, Wyoming.

*** Only Protestants and Catholics who are white were used, in order to prevent race from becoming a factor or controlling influence.

**** The sex distribution of the sample corresponds closely to census figures, but the sample has somewhat too many males (50% in the sample, 47% in the census) and too few female (50% in the sample, 53% in the census). But the variations from the true proportions are again slight and not likely to affect the survey results.

The next table represents the remaining key break-outs used for this study:

DIMENSIONS OF ANALYSIS (Continued)

	Number in Sample #	Unweighted Percentage %	Weighted Percentage %
Total	1596	100	100
Education			
8th grade or less	238	15	15
Some high school, high school grad	768	48	49
Some college, college grad	582	36	36
Income (total household income for 1972)			
Under $5,000	298	19	19
$5,000 to $9,999	454	28	28
$10,000 to $14,999	401	25	25
$15,000 and over	387	24	24
Race			
White	1404	88	86
Black	121	8	10
Union member (self or in household)	466	29	29
Republican	362	23	22
Democrat	693	43	44
Independent	432	27	27
Voted in 1972	1182	74	73
Did not vote in 1972	413	26	27
Positive feeling toward government*			
Local	446	28	28
State	428	27	27
Federal	372	23	23
Active citizenship**	588	37	37

All footnotes on next page

* To measure positive feeling toward government at each level, question 9c of the questionnaire was used; the question read as follows:

"As far as you personally are concerned, do you feel that (local/state/federal) government has improved the quality of life in the past few years, made it worse, or not changed it much either way?"

Those who answered "improved" were classified as positive toward local, state and/or federal government.

	Improved %	Made it Worse %	Not Changed it Much %	Not Sure %
Local government	28	11	54	7
State government	27	14	52	7
Federal government	23	37	34	6

The results to this question proved interesting since the percentage of the "improved" responses decreased with an increase in the level of government. Using this question as a banner point was highly useful.

** To measure active citizenship and to have some device for differentiating between indifferent people and people who are concerned enough about the country and their community to take an active civic role, question 20c of the questionnaire was asked of all who belong to any organizations (determined in question 20b). Question 20c read as follows:

"Are you or have you ever been an officer of any organization you have belonged to?"

Those who answered in the affirmative were classified as active citizens; this group was 37% of the total respondents.

An example of how the responses of this group correlate with other measures of citizenship can be found in the following table:

	Total Cross-section Who Voted		Active Citizens Who Voted	
	Voted %	Did Not Vote %	Voted %	Did Not Vote %
Election for President in 1972	73	27	88	12
Election for Congress in 1970	57	39	74	23
Last election for local official	57	42	72	28

In 1972 for President, in reality no more than 63% of those 18 years of age and over voted. The survey overestimated the turn-out by 9 percentage points. The reasons are two-fold: 1) Approximately 4% of the people overstate their voting participation; 2) Another 5% can be accounted for by the fact that the sampling methods used do not survey those who live as permanent transients and those who are institutionalized, who do not vote in elections.

As can be seen, active citizens -- people who have been officers of organizations -- are much more prone to be concerned about public affairs and to vote. Active citizens are 15 to 17 percentage points over the cross-section even in state and local elections. It therefore may be fair to conclude that people who have held an office in an organization are more likely to participate actively in the public process and to be more concerned about public office-holders than people who have never been an officer in an organization.

29-555 O - 74 -- 3

THE SURVEY OF STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS

In order to measure the differences between views held by the public and by those serving in government, 68 state officials and 206 local officials were surveyed separately.

The government leaders' survey was intended to develop data in the following areas:

-- How leaders view the functioning of government at the federal, state and local levels.

-- The level of confidence that leaders have for the three levels of government as well as their confidence in other institutions in our society.

-- The manner and extent to which leaders believe the three levels of government affect people's lives personally and contribute to people's overall sense of well being.

-- The perceived degree of alienation and cynicism on the part of the leaders toward government.

-- How government at each level does or does not contribute to improving the quality of life in this country.

-- How much leaders respond to individual citizens and active citizens groups to help identify and deal with problems confronting society.

-- What do leaders rank as the major problems facing the country.

-- How can government at all levels improve its responsiveness to the public and be more effective in dealing with society's problems.

The specific pattern of the leaders' responses to questions in these general areas is given in the report side-by-side with the public's responses to similar or identical questions.

HOW THE PUBLIC OFFICIALS SURVEY WAS CONDUCTED

Sample Design and Interviewing. The national sample of state leaders used in this study was drawn from a sample of 15 key states. The following states represented a sample, geographically distributed, of the 50 states: Arizona, California, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Louisiana, Maine, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Nebraska, New Jersey, New York, Oregon, Texas and Wisconsin. In each of these states top elected executive and legislative officials such as the Governor, Lieutenant Governor, and the majority and minority state House and Senate leaders were interviewed.

The national sample of local leaders was drawn from a representative 96-point sample of communities

(and of counties) based on the population distribution in the United States. However, two minor alternations were made in using the 96-point sample:

Where a community was listed as unincorporated (u) or as a district or division, the next highest level of government (up to and including the county) in which the community was included was sometimes selected.

Throughout the 96 points of the sample, we surveyed elected and appointed county officials, city officials, town and village executives such as mayors, city council representatives, chiefs of police, superintendents of schools, and city managers.

The interviewing for the leaders' study was conducted by the staff of the Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Relations. The state leaders were polled by the Subcommittee's staff members who administered the questionnaire in person. The local officials received their questionnaires through the mail from Washington and filled them out themselves. All the questionnaires were then returned to the Harris New York office for tabulation and analysis.

Questionnaire Development. The questionnaire used to poll the government leaders was developed in

close consultation with the staff of the Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Relations. The questions put to both State and local officials were the same. The only difference between the questionnaires -- as was noted earlier -- was that the state leaders' questionnaire was administered in person, whereas the local leaders' questionnaire was mailed. The mailed questionnaires were sent out September 10, and the last response was received October 31. Personal interviews were conducted between September 24 and October 29.

ANALYTIC DIMENSIONS OF THE PUBLIC OFFICIAL SURVEY

Throughout the report the results are analyzed both in total and by a number of key subgroups. The table below defines these 15 banner points and shows the number of individuals in each subgroup:

DIMENSIONS OF ANALYSIS

	Number in Sample* %
Total	274
East**	65***
Midwest	76
South	72
West	60
Total State Officials	68
Executive	19
Legislative	49
Total Local Officials	206
County	54
City	96
Town/village/other	56
Political Party Affiliation	
Republican	88
Democrat	134
Independent	41

---

* Subgroup totals do not always add to 274 because of some non-response.

** East includes the following states: Connecticut, Delaware, District of Columbia, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont, and West Virginia.

Midwest includes the following states: Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, Ohio, South Dakota and Wisconsin.

South includes the following states: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.

West includes the following states: Arizona, California, Colorado, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Oregon, Utah, Washington and Wyoming.

*** While the number of responses from Eastern public officials, relative to the overall sample, is below the comparable response level from the public in the same region, the disparity is not considered significant and does not distort the basic results.

Also one local official, returning his completed questionnaire, obliterated all evidence of his region of residence. As a result, the regional subgroup sample adds up to only 273, instead of 274.

58% of the leaders in this survey were elected to their offices, while 42% were appointed. All the state officials obtained their positions through election, compared to 44% of the local officials who were elected and 56% who were appointed. 27% of the leaders have served in public life for over 20 years; 35% have served from 10 to 20 years, and 38% have served less than 10 years.

I.

THE CRISIS OF CONFIDENCE

SUMMARY

The American people's loss of confidence in their government has reached severe -- even majority -- proportions today, but, at the same time, the American people and their leaders overwhelmingly believe that government at all levels can work effectively and well.

Surveyed in the fall of 1973, during weeks of acute political tension, 55 percent of the adult public described itself as alienated and disenchanted, feeling profoundly impotent to influence the actions of their leaders.

The survey measured, in many ways and in exhaustive detail, the confidence the people and their state and local leaders have in government at the Federal, State and local levels, and developed several conclusions, among which were the following:

1. Public confidence in most government institutions -- and indeed in most of the Nation's leading institutions -- has declined drastically over the past six years. In the past year, however, respect for the media has risen markedly, while loss of trust in the executive branch of the Federal Government has dropped it to the bottom of the institutions tested in this survey.

Among government institutions, local government services and institutions fared better than those of the state or Federal Governments.

2. State and local leaders disagree with the public's view of a deepening crisis of confidence, with the public's contention that "something is deeply wrong with America." A majority of officials, in contrast, see crisis as inherent to our democratic system.

3. Well over 8 in 10 Americans are convinced that government can work effectively and well. The prescription of the people themselves is for government to abandon policies of secrecy and to open up a dialogue of shared responsibility, between the Federal Government and state government, between the Federal Government and local government, and, most of all, between all levels of government and the people themselves.

4. A majority of the public records its view of both State and local government as unchanged over the last five years, although, in both cases approximately twice as many people feel less confidence than before as feel more confidence. State officials sharply disagree with the public estimate and credit their level of government

with a substantial rise in confidence. Local officials also disagree with the public and believe local government has earned increased respect. There is no disagreement between the public and their state and local leaders about confidence in the Federal Government, however. All agree confidence in the Federal Government has decreased dramatically.

5. In the past 18 months America's preoccupations have changed enormously. From a high level of concern for the Vietnam War in May 1972, public attention has shifted to alarm at corruption in government. That issue now ranks second only to the traditional worry over economic problems and inflation.

6. Given a chance to express themselves and their concern directly to the top executive officials in their community, their state and their country, Americans overwhelmingly choose Watergate as the issue they would raise in the White House, but pick taxes and school funds as the first gripes to hand their governors, and street repair, traffic congestion and police performance as the major problems to lay before their mayors.

7. The public and the leaders have widely divergent views about whether or not the quality of life has improved in the past 10 years. While the overwhelming majority of both state and local leaders feel that the quality of life is better today than a decade ago and that government at all levels has contributed to that improvement, the public disagrees with the basic notion, feeling by a substantial margin that quality of life in America has decreased in the past 10 years.

In sum, the American people display much less confidence in their government than do their state and local leaders. But both the people and the leaders see a potential for effective, well run government.

THE CRISIS OF CONFIDENCE

In the fall of 1973, for the first time since the 1968 assassinations of Martin Luther King and Robert Kennedy, a majority of the American people (by 53-37%) felt "there is something deeply wrong in America" today, that these are no ordinary times of crisis.*

The new, profound concern for the country permeates all segments of the public. No group has been unmoved.

Majorities of lower middle-income (55%) and upper middle-income (52%) Americans, of skilled laborers (54%) and white-collar workers (55%), of rural citizens (58%), residents of small towns (52%) and city dwellers (55%) and of grade-school (67%) and high-school (56%) graduates reflect this grave unease. Additionally, more people in the South (55%) than in the East (49%) feel "there is something deeply wrong" and those 50 years of age and over (62%) feel more alarm than those under 30 (44%). And while 57% of Democrats nationwide are deeply concerned, 50% of all Republicans share these sentiments.

---

* Tables to support data referred to in this chapter appear in Appendix II in order of their appearance in the text.

Much of this shift in attitude originates in disillusionment about government. For example, when asked to explain their concern, one quarter of those sampled - the largest-segment volunteered the belief that "government leaders are corrupt and immoral". As a tobacco farmer in eastern North Carolina put it, "The whole moral character of the country is going downhill or we wouldn't have had a Watergate crisis. People in the top of government are power hungry and they will do almost anything to get and keep their power. They want nothing but raw power. And that's just downright corrupting."

Another 14% cited "inflation and the high cost of living" as reasons for their disaffection, while 10% mentioned "Watergate" specifically, and 8% said "the country is going through too many problems all at the same time."

For the first time in over a decade of opinion sampling, a new majority of disaffected Americans has been found in this country. On a scale of alienation, powerlessness, and cynicism used by the Harris firm since 1966, an average of 55% on a four-question scale expressed disenchantment, compared with no more than 29% who felt the same way back in 1966. The following

table sums up the dramatic shifts which have taken place:

TREND IN ALIENATION AND POWERLESSNESS FELT BY THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

Agree with Statement	1973 %	1972* %	1971 %	1968 %	1966 %	Change 1966-1973
The rich get richer and the poor get poorer	76	68	62	54	45	+31
What you think doesn't count much anymore	61	53	44	42	37	+24
People running the country don't really care what happens to you	55	50	41	36	26	+29
Feel left out of things going on around you	29	25	20	12	9	+20
Average feeling alienated and powerless	55	49	42	36	29	+26

While blacks have been most alienated (an average 68% nationwide), many other groups now express their discontents: residents of big cities (62%), people 50 and over (54%), residents of the South (54%),

---

*N.B. These figures came from a survey conducted in May 1972 and do not reflect the one sharp drop in the overall "average feeling alienated and powerless" measurement that was recorded in a poll taken just before the November, 1972 elections. That poll gave an overall alienation level of 41, but this departure from the steady upward trend of the 1966-73 measurements was of extremely brief duration.

skilled labor (59%), and rural residents (59%). In the past year, the most sizable shifts upward were recorded among rural people (up from 45 to 59%) and among people who live in the West (up from 45 to 59%).

Nor were the four usual statements which made up the scale of alienation the only signs of public disenchantment:

-- The proposition that "most people with power try to take advantage of people like yourself" was accepted by 33% of the adult public in 1971, rose to 38% by mid-1972, but climbed to 55% by the fall of 1973.

-- The claim that "the tax laws are written to help the rich, not the average man" was believed by 74% of the public in 1972 and by precisely the same 74% in 1973.

In addition, new sources of alienation and concern were recorded in responses to new questions designed for this study:

-- Three in every four people, 75%, felt that "wire-tapping and spying under the excuse of national security is a serious threat to people's privacy."

-- Almost as many, 74%, believed that "special interests get more from the government than the people do."

-- A majority of 60% agreed with the proposition that "most elective officials are in politics for all they personally can get out of it for themselves."

-- A substantial 59% felt "the federal government in Washington has been trying to dictate too much what people locally can and cannot do."

-- Almost half the public, 49%, agreed with the statement that "local government is so disorganized, it's hard to know where to go for help."

CONFIDENCE IN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE INSTITUTIONS

To determine how much of this underlying disaffection is related to discontent with government -- as contrasted with other traditional aspects of society -- the survey sought to measure levels of confidence in the institutions of government and compare them to levels of trust and respect for the leadership of private activities and institutions.

The following table sets out the general decline since 1966 in respect for leadership of key governmental and non-governmental institutions:

LEVELS OF CONFIDENCE IN PEOPLE RUNNING KEY INSTITUTIONS

	1973 %	1972 %	1966 %
Great Deal of Confidence:			
Medicine	57	48	72
Higher educational institutions	44	33	61
Television news	41	17	25
Military	40	35	62
Organized religion	36	30	41
U.S. Supreme Court	33	28	51
U.S. Senate	30	21	42
Press	30	18	29
Major companies	29	27	55
U.S. House of Representatives	29	21	42
Organized labor	20	15	22
Executive branch of federal government	19	27	41

In only two cases has the standing of any of the key institutions improved since 1966: television news, which has risen in acceptance from 25% to 41% who expressed "a great deal of confidence in the people running it", and the press, up marginally from 29 to 30%. In every other case, confidence in these key institutions has fallen off rather sharply in the past 7 years.

However, for most institutions, the low point apparently was reached in 1972. This year gains in confidence have been registered for a number of institutional leaders: medicine has risen from a low of 48% to 57%; those in charge of running higher education, given the relative calm on college campuses, have gone up from a low of 33 to 44%; with the end of the Vietnam conflict, the military has risen in prestige from 35 to 40%; religion is up from 30 to 36%; the heads of major companies have gone up slightly in respect from 27 to 29%; and the heads of organized labor from 15 to 20%, in the past year.

Within the federal government establishment, the trend has been mixed. The U.S. Supreme Court has come back from its 1972 low of 28% to 33%, but still scores well below the 51% who expressed a "great deal of

confidence" in 1966. The U.S. Senate has risen from 21 to 30% just in the past year, but is still below the 42% mark recorded in 1966. The House of Representatives has gone up from 21 to 29%, but again is under its high water mark of 42% of 7 years ago.

The one area of government -- and, indeed, the only one of all major institutions -- which did not show any rise in confidence was the "executive branch of the federal government", which fell from 41% in 1966, to 27% in 1972, and in 1973 had sunk to a new low of 19% who expressed a "great deal of confidence" in it.

OFFICIALS DISCLAIM THE CRISIS

State and local government officials tend to sharply disagree with the public's sense of unusual crisis. By 63-34%, state leaders deny there is "something deeply wrong" in the country. Local government officials are less certain, although by 48-45%, they, too, tend to dispute the claim that "something is deeply wrong."

Accustomed themselves to urgency, the leaders tend to regard crisis as endemic to democracy, traditional in American history. Asked to explain their

reasoning, a significant number of the public officials called crises "inherent" or said that "we always have a crisis." One county official with more than 20 years of service in a major California city views crises as permanent and diagnoses: "The American public is better educated, more aware and interested in the major issues ... Important issues are quickly and accurately reported ... (and) this process identifies many problems and negative factors..."

The perception of aroused public awareness, however, contrasts with the assessment of those officials who felt "something was deeply wrong" and who listed "the apathy of the public" as a major contributing factor, along with the immorality of politicians and a loss of respect for authority.

The charge of public apathy runs quite deep among state and local leaders. When asked to name those elements which impede their doing a better job, the second highest impediment on the state leaders' list and the third on the local leaders' list was "an apathetic public", cited by 43% of the state officials and 41% of their local counterparts.

COMPARATIVE TRUST IN INSTITUTIONS

The leaders and the public also have somewhat different perceptions of the degree of confidence they have in key institutions in the country:

GREAT DEAL OF CONFIDENCE IN PEOPLE IN CHARGE OF RUNNING VARIOUS INSTITUTIONS

Q. 5(p)
Q. 5(l)

	Public Total %	Leaders Total %
Medicine	57	41
Local trash collection	52	50
Higher educational institutions	44	30
Local police department	44	54
Television news	41	17
Military	40	30
Local public schools	39	46
Organized religion	36	29
Local united fund	35	45
State highway systems	34	40
U.S. Supreme Court	33	44
U.S. Senate	30	31
Press	30	19
Major companies	29	35

U.S. House of Representatives	29	26
Local government	28	50
State government	24	27
Law firms	24	20
Organized labor	20	9
Local tax assessment	19	37
Executive branch of federal government	19	17
White House	18	21

The leaders and the public tend to agree in their relatively positive assessment of these institutions: local trash collection, medicine, and local police department. They also share these low estimates: law firms, the White House, and the executive branch of the federal government. The officials also agree with the public in their estimate of the Houses of Congress. The leaders tend to show considerably higher esteem for local public schools, the local united fund, state highway systems, the U.S. Supreme Court, major companies, and local tax assessment, and, above all, for local government leaders.

Viewing local government services as a separate category - one for which no comparative trends are available - it is significant that both the leaders

and their constituents share a relatively high regard for the work done in education, sanitation and law enforcement, and for state highway construction and maintenance. The one local government function that earns the leaders' confidence but the public's disdain is tax assessment.

The leaders have less respect for a number of institutions than the general public: higher educational institutions, the military, organized religion, and organized labor. However, most striking is the wide disparity between the confidence levels of state and local leadership in television news and the press and those held by the public. A rather high 41% of the public expresses a "great deal" of confidence in TV news, but no more than 17% of the leaders share this feeling. In the case of the press, 30% of the public holds that medium in high regard, compared with no more than 19% of the leaders.

Observation: Although there are certain points of agreement between the American people and their state and local government leaders, their differences are substantial and significant. Clearly, the leaders tend far less to see the country in a state of unusual crisis, at least in part because they feel that governmental services and many other key institutions are doing a more effective job than the public is prepared to believe.

It is also apparent that the leaders feel public apathy is an important element in the lack of respect for government, while even this early evidence points to a public which is both aroused and unapathetic and deeply concerned. The leaders also point to the media as the source of the problem of confidence, implying that the media have created a climate of disenchantment with government. The public by contrast, has grown to respect the media more than ever, believing the media have uncovered much wrong-doing in government.

It is no overstatement to observe that the state and local governmental leadership and the American people in the fall of 1973 were living in two quite different worlds of perception of what was right and wrong in the country.

While disenchantment among the public runs deep, nonetheless basic respect for the institutions, including those in government, which make up the main stream of American life still exists. In this report, there are many signs that the people center their discontent on the particular leadership at the helm of the nation's key institutions, rather than disillusionment with the institutions and the system itself. An example, discussed in section II, is the fact that people believe their vote and their work to organize civic protest are their best weapons against corruption.

PROJECTIONS OF CONFIDENCE

The following table indicates that both the public and the leaders would be pleased with a son or daughter who went to work in a whole host of key occupations, including government and politics:

Q.24b(p)
Q.19b(l) INSTITUTIONS PEOPLE AND LEADERS WOULD BE PLEASED IF THEIR SON OR DAUGHTER WORKED FOR*

	Total Public %	Total Leaders %
As a doctor	95	93
As a lawyer	92	89
For a newspaper or TV station	88	75
In a big company	85	74
Full time for an active citizens group trying to improve the quality of life	83	71
In state government	81	83
In local government	79	86
In federal government	79	79
Running for political office	67	74
In the military	64	50
For a political organization	58	56
As a union official	54	41

*N.B. The significance of this tabulation is somewhat diminished by the tendency of many respondents to indicate that <u>any</u> career choice that pleased their children would please them as well.

Observation: Two interesting findings emerge here: 1.) While not as sanguine as public officials about a son or daughter working for state or local government or running for political office, nonetheless sizable majorities of the public would be pleased if an offspring of theirs worked there or at the Federal level, an indication that the institutions are not undesirable per se; 2.) By the same token, the public officials are not so down on the media that 75% would not actually be pleased to have a son or daughter working for a newspaper or television station.

CONFIDENCE IN LOCAL, STATE, AND FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

The public and public officials in the survey are at real odds in their estimate about what has happened to public confidence in local, state, and federal government.

The following table sums up the magnitude of these differences but makes it clear that, while overall confidence is sharply down, it is the federal level which earns the least.

CONFIDENCE IN LOCAL, STATE, AND FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TODAY COMPARED TO 5 YEARS AGO *

Q 6(a)(c)(e)(p) Q 6(a)(c)(e)(l)	More Confidence %	Less Confidence %	About the Same %	Not Sure %
Local Government				
Total Public	13	30	50	7
State Officials	25	6	69	-
Local Officials	48	18	34	-

* The respondents were asked whether they had more or less confidence in each level of government than they had five years ago.

	More Confidence %	Less Confidence %	About the Same %	Not Sure %
State Government				
Total Public	14	26	53	7
State officials	61	10	29	-
Local officials	20	36	43	1
Federal Government				
Total Public	11	57	28	4
State officials	9	61	30	-
Local officials	7	62	28	3

A majority of the public tends to feel that both state and local government have remained static in their esteem, although in both cases approximately twice as many feel less confidence in these levels of government as feel more confidence. State officials sharply disagree with the public estimate and credit their type of government with a substantial rise in confidence. Local officials also disagree with the public and believe local government has earned more confidence.

CONFIDENCE IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT

The reasons for these differences emerged when all those interviewed were asked to say why they felt confidence had risen, diminished, or stayed the same. The public tends to see local leaders as promising action they never deliver, and ten percent of the people view local government as being "inefficient and inept" in the way it is run. As a 47-year-old

worker in Cleveland put it: "Sure, around election time, the politicians promise us a city like we've never seen. But after the election, all the promises are empty,and we go into four more years of decay." A doctor in Winnetka, Illinois said: "You can bet on one thing: local government will attract people who are not well trained, are political hangers-on, and are more interested in collecting their pay than in doing a job for local government."

Local government leaders disagree. They tend to feel that their level of government has become more responsive in recent years and that the excellence of performance has sharply risen. As the Mayor of a medium-sized southwestern city said, "In the past five years, for the first time we have had real professionals on the pay-roll to do the job. They know modern budgeting, capital outlay management, and long range planning. Elected officials know they will be held accountable, not for what they promise, but what they do." This kind of recognition simply was not forthcoming from the public in any numbers approximating the general commendation leaders feel they deserve.

CONFIDENCE IN STATE GOVERNMENT

At the state level, the public tends to be critical of "politicians out for themselves" and complains that "we have Watergates of our own right here in this state." As a housewife in a large eastern state put it: "The Governor here seems more intent on reaching a higher place in political life than in helping the poeple. He just wants to feather his own nest, and couldn't care less about what kind of nests we live in." A resident of Boston added: "The older I get the more I know, and the more I know, the more I know that state government is made up of politicians who are on the take and willing to make a deal for themselves any time at the expense of the public."

Again, state officials vehemently disagree. They believe they have recruited a much higher caliber of officials in the past five years and that the public has kept them on their toes much more than before. As the Governor of a Deep South state said: "State government is where the better talent is gravitating to these days. In my own experience, we are finding young people better trained and more motivated than ever before who will not go to work for the federal

government, but will come to work for state government. It is almost as though many talented people want to rediscover government at the state level these days." Again, if this governor is correct, then the American people by and large simply have not heard about it.

CONFIDENCE IN THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

In one respect, the public and public officials do agree: confidence in the federal government has dropped. And they tend to agree on the basic reasons for this decline: Watergate, inflation, and lack of openness and candor from governmental leaders. Officials also list federal remoteness and inefficiency as contributing factors, while the people cite a general distrust of the executive branch as well.

As a secretary in Grand Rapids, Michigan put it: "Every day when I wake up I feel something new in the way of trouble is coming out of Washington. Another rise in the cost of living, the government selling food and then we have shortages, another terrible scandal with Watergate. It's all too discouraging for words." In Ashland, Kentucky, a store owner said: "People now want some changes made, but nothing good comes out.

The laws are all written for the rich and the people who know the right people." The Lieutenant Governor of a border state added: "What a mess. We have had extortionist campaign collections and a Congress that is more political than statesmanlike and an executive branch that's covert, secretive, and dishonest."

Leaders, when asked at the beginning of each questionnaire to list the "main reasons" for the loss of confidence in public officials, overwhelmingly volunteered "corruption, use of office and public funds for personal gain" (49% of the mentions) and "Watergate" (28%). Even though their responses to other, later queries revealed a tendency to play down these considerations, in their first answer the leaders showed their clear bias toward blaming the federal government for many of the nation's ills.

Observation: The American people tend to feel that much work is needed to restore confidence in government at all levels. One of the marks of state and local leadership is the conviction that the crisis in responsiveness in government is essentially a federal problem. They tend to believe that federal actions have cast a cloud over politics and politicians generally, but they also tend to believe that their own levels of government are exceptions to the rule.

The public would suggest in turn that state and local officials have much to correct close to home before putting the bulk of blame on the federal government. But there is also no doubt that the public shares the state and local leaders' concern that the federal

establishment has fallen precipitously from grace. And, together, both would agree that restoration of confidence in the federal government would be a major and significant step forward in enhancing confidence in government at all levels.

WHAT SIGNIFICANT PROBLEMS FACE AMERICA?

In the last eighteen months, America's preoccupations have changed dramatically. From a high level of concern with the Vietnam War in May, 1972, public attention has shifted to alarm at corruption in government. That issue now ranks second only to the traditional worry over economic problems and inflation.

A comparison of responses volunteered this fall to those in May, 1972 to the question: "What do you feel are the two or three biggest problems facing the country you would like to see something done about?" produces the following tabulation:

ISSUES OF CONCERN

	1973 %	1972 %	Change
Economy/inflation	72	57	+15
Integrity in government	43	5	+38
Crime	17	16	+ 1
Drugs	14	19	- 5
Welfare reform	13	15	- 2
Pollution/ecology	11	13	- 2
Taxes	11	40	-29
Energy shortage	10	-	+10
Education	9	7	+ 2
Alienation/social breakdown	8	1	+ 7
Race/discrimination	7	21	-14
Older people	7	10	- 3
War in Indochina	4	29	-25
Health care	3	5	- 2
Housing	2	3	- 1

In general, the responses of state and local officials paralleled those of the public in reading national concerns, if not their causes. Leaders gave integrity in government first place in their mentions (58%), followed closely by inflation (55%), and then the energy shortage (21%), crime (19%), pollution (15%), welfare reform (11%), and taxes (10%).

29-555 O - 74 -- 5

A confirmation of this measurement came from asking the public and the leaders which of a series of concerns represented a "real problem" for "most people." The following table measures the responses to that line of questioning.

SITUATIONS THAT ARE REAL PROBLEMS

Q 10. Q 9 (L)	Public Total %	Leaders Total %
The high price of meat and other food	77	70
Corrupt politicians	70	48
Lack of trust and confidence in government	67	73
Inability of government to solve problems	61	37
Getting people to trust each other	59	47
Making ends meet	56	55
Too many national crises all the time	56	40
The lack of response by government to problems facing people like yourself	54	43
Breathing polluted air	44	51
The government telling people what they have to do	44	X
Too much attention being paid to people who protest and demonstrate	43	45
Too many pressures in day-to-day living	40	36
Too much overcrowding and noise	38	44
Local government, police and fire protection, trash collection and keeping the streets clean	21	22

X = Not asked

The leaders and the public agree on what the real problems are for most Americans: the high price of meat and other food, the lack of trust and confidence in government (mainly federal, however, in the eyes of state and local officials), people's troubles in making ends meet, breathing polluted air, the pressures of day-to-day living, and too much overcrowding and noise. Officials also agree with the public that local government, police and fire protection, trash collection and keeping the streets clean do not present major personal problems for the majority of Americans.

But there are also real gaps between the public and the leadership. While 70% of the public feels that "corrupt politicians" are a real problem for most citizens, no more than 48% of the local and state public officials share this view. Compared with 61% of the public which feels that the "inability of government to solve problems" is a high priority matter, no more than 37% of government leadership feels that way. A majority of 58% of the public believes a real problem is "getting people to trust each other", but only a plurality of 47% of the

leaders share that view. A majority of 56% of the people feel "there are too many national crisis all the time", but no more than 40% of the leaders feel that way. A majority of 54% of the public sees as a serious matter "the lack of response by government to problems facing the people", while a minority of 43% of the leaders feel the same way.

Observation: Basically, the difference between the public and the leaders is that the latter see America's problems in less chronic terms than the public. The leaders recognize that there is a lack of trust and confidence in government, but they do not think that is because of failure of government to deliver on promises to the public, nor do they share the feeling that most politicians today are corrupt.

The leaders tend to believe that today's lack of public trust is almost wholly due to the Watergate disclosuresand the charges of corruption against a relatively few highly placed public officials at the federal levels. They believe that this situation can be rectified by passing laws which provide a more stringent code of ethics for men in public life, by electing public officials more responsive to public needs, finding leaders with more integrity, reforming campaign financing laws, educating the public to the real issues facing the country, and getting the news media to report more fairly. In other words, the state and local leaders feel that if the federal

government responds to the specific wrongs which have been disclosed in the Watergate investigation, then much of the current malaise could be cleared up rapidly.

The public also wants a prompt and drastic response to the Watergate disclosures, but feels that government at all levels has a credibility problem, must adopt methods of far more openness and an end to secrecy, and, above all, must learn to deliver on promises much more fully. And the people are not quite as sanguine as the leaders that men of integrity can be readily found to serve in high public office, although neither the public nor the leadership has lost faith that government can be conducted with efficiency and effectiveness.

LEADERS FOR A DAY: IF PEOPLE MET POWER

Given a chance to express themselves and their concern directly to the top executive officials in their community, their state and their country, Americans overwhelmingly would choose Watergate as the issue they would raise in the White House, but picked taxes and school funds as the first gripes to hand their

governors, and street repair, traffic congestion and police performance as the major problems to lay before their mayors. As measurements of confidence in the different levels of government, these responses are somewhat deficient. They only dramatize the immediate, personal credibility problems of the President, without giving clear guidance to the public's view of the responsiveness of the whole federal establishment.

A little more than halfway through each interview, people were asked "If you could sit down and talk to the President (the governor of your state, the top local official around here), what two or three things would you like to tell him?" Their responses, if only a measurement of confidence in the case of the President, provide a forthright look at Americans' daily concerns with their government and impressions of their leaders.

In the case of their top local official, at the head of the diffuse list of orders they would give him was street and road repair along with clearing up traffic problems. As a farmer in Wisconsin put it:

"These county roads are running down, and he ought to get them paved more often, especially before the winter comes so they don't wash out on us." In a major Eastern city, a lathe operator said: "If the Mayor would pay less attention to going on TV and did something to untangle the traffic mess we have in this town, then maybe we could get this city moving again."

Right up with streets and traffic was the matter of better law enforcement and police protection at the local level. As a housewife in Macon, Georgia, said: "I do wish the police would crack down on the hot-rodders around here and give us all more protection." In Milwaukee, a salesman added: "The local police could do a much better job of patrolling the streets where crime takes place, instead of hanging around the station house."

The public would also like to praise some of their top local officials. As a businessman in Yonkers, New York put it: "I'd like to tell him he's done a good job, the first time in my memory when a mayor has done a real job." But others would also like to see constituent needs better met, particularly in school problems. As the mother of three grade children said

in Modesto, California: "Somehow, we always have to take the initiative in getting things done for education. I'd like to know why he won't speak out and lead on some of these pressing school problems."

Taxes are another absorbing issue the public would like to talk to their local authorities about. As a white collar worker in Fort Wayne, Indiana put it: "All I know is that the Mayor keeps asking for more and more taxes and I don't see much coming back for my money. I'd like to ask him where it all goes." Tax inequities, especially on real estate, are another sore issue. As a homeowner in Des Moines, Iowa, said: "I'd like to know how the tax assessment works and why we seem to pay more than other people with better houses and more land."

The issue of honesty and corruption also cropped up at the local level, although not as much as in the case of state and federal governments. A taxpayer in a large midwestern city said: "I'd remind him about how councilmen in this city can buy their way into office and ask him to check this and cut it out once and for all. I'd like to see his answer to that one."

At the state level, the nation's governors would be confronted with a somewhat different roster of comments and queries. At the top of the list of things people would like to talk to their Governors about is taxes. As important as "high taxes" are, the variety of state taxes worries people even more. As a department clerk in Delaware put it: "I'd ask the Governor why there is always another kind of tax on everything you buy and for everything you do. It's just one tax after another. Too much for me to take."

But a substantial number would also like to praise their Governor. As a young lawyer in a southern state put it: "I'd like to give him some encouragement, tell him he's doing 'A-OK' on the job and that's why we reelected him and would do it again. You know, there aren't many in office you can say that to these days."

On the other hand, almost as many citizens would like to urge their own governor to be more active, to get more done. As a New England store owner put it: "I'd tell him to get more life into

himself, not to be so dull, have more spirit, take the leadership bit in his teeth more. He's too passive for my tastes."

The two specific problem areas the public would present to their Governor above any others are education and roads. On education, a housewife in Tulare, California, put it this way: "We're always patting ourselves on the back in California about our quality education. But I'd like to ask the Governor to stop taking the praise and take a hard look at just where all the quality has disappeared to in our public schools." On highways, people tended to have specific complaints about the state of particular roads. One small-town resident outside of Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, said: "We've had a lot of our roads gutted from the floods back a spell. I'd like to ask the Governor when he's going to get it all cleaned up and repaired and back in good order."

Governors would also have to handle some complaints about the welfare system. As an engineer in Arizona said: "I feel more and more of my taxes are going for welfare payments every year and it's like a spigot that can't be turned off. Isn't there some

way to get those people off the rolls and get them to earn an honest living."

If people had the chance to sit down and talk with the President of the United States, the central thrust of their message would be considerably different from those they would give their top local and state officials. Most people would have more than one thing they would like to get off their chests in talking to the President.

Easily at the top of the list, with a 74% voluntary response, were messages from the people concerning honesty and integrity in office at the federal level. At the top of the list was "tell the truth about Watergate", followed by "be honest," "resign," "don't be crooked,""listen to the people more," "release all the Watergate tapes," "stop wrecking government", "get better advisors," "I wouldn't talk to him," "don't be so secretive," "stop using government money for personal use," "cooperate more with Congress," "become more moral and religious," and "restore individual freedom in the country."

After the firing of Special Prosecutor Archibald Cox, the Harris Survey rechecked this question among 1008 respondents in a nationwide

telephone recheck survey and found no substantive change in the magnitude of the number of the people who would want to raise with President Nixon questions concerning Watergate and integrity. In fact, the total number of responses indicating a desire to raise questions of this type with the President came to precisely the same 74% as in the first survey.

A second area people would like to talk to the President about concerned economic matters, volunteered by an aggregate 51%. People would like to express their worry over inflation, urge the President not to raise taxes, and would like to see more security for the elderly. A third major area centers on foreign policy, volunteered by 21%: keep the country out of war, handle Russia and China warily but also keep the door open to making peace with them. Also several would like to praise the President for his role in ending U. S. involvement in the war in Vietnam.

Two other areas of importance also emerged in the hypothetical conversation people would like to have with President Nixon. Some 20% volunteered comments in the social area: the need to help the poor more, turning more to our problems here at home,

helping solve the energy shortage on an equitable basis, and help in cleaning up the environment. Finally, with a 14% response, the people said they would talk with the President about personal matters, concerning his own record and life: tell him how much they admire his courage, that he should stick in there and do his job, that he ought to stay in Washington more, ask him why he wants to be President, and talk about his wife and daughters. Most of these personal comments were largely favorable to Mr. Nixon.

THE QUALITY OF LIFE

As a final measure of levels of confidence, the survey put two broad questions to leaders and officials, asking them to assess the "quality of life" in America now in comparison to ten years ago and to indicate the positive or negative impact of all levels of government on that quality.

Once again, sharp differences between the public and the leadership emerged. By 45-35%, the public tends to believe that the quality of life in the country has deteriorated. However, by a thumping 84-6%, state leaders believe the quality of life has improved and

local leaders share this optimism by 55-24%. The leaders believe that the standard of living in the country has increased, that people have much more free time to enjoy themselves, and that housing has improved. The public, citing worries that range from money to morality, disputes the leaders' cheerful outlook.

The public, for example, is much more disturbed than the officials about what inflation has done to them. As a young medical engineer in Del Ray, Florida, put it: "I feel I have a permanent hand in my pocket, picking my money out every couple of hours. That isn't comfortable." A retired man in Sarasota added: "I thought I had worked all my life to retire comfortably. Now inflation is out of control, and I feel poor all the time."

Still another public complaint about the quality of life is that crime has not been checked. As a 44-year-old processing worker in Texarkana, Texas, put it: "We get a lot of talk about law and order and nobody seems to do much or care much if we actually have it. That makes the quality of life worse, as far as I'm concerned." Others talked about drug abuse,

Watergate, loss of confidence in government, erosion of moral standards, shortages of food and gasoline, unrest, and high taxes.

In believing that the quality of life has improved, state and local leaders were inclined to give government at all levels credit for the improvement. State leaders, for example, believe by 78-1% that state government has made a real contribution toward improving the quality of life. Local leaders, by 62-5%, believe local government has helped improve the quality of life. In addition, by 61-9%, state leaders think the Federal Government has helped contribute to the improvement of the quality of life in the country, and local leaders agree with them by 43-25%. The public disagrees by 37-23%, with 34% seeing no change from the Federal input into a better life in the United States.

A PUBLIC PERSPECTIVE -- OUTLOOK OF OPTIMISM

Given the weight of evidence pointing to a severe crisis of public confidence in government -- particularly at the Federal level -- it is proper to ask if the social compact between Americans and their leaders is not coming dramatically apart. In fact, this may be a situation where it is hard to see the trees for the forest.

In the forest of the disenchanted, there are actually sturdy trees of faith and traditional trust. Americans who evidence doubt about the quality of both life and political leadership nonetheless believe strongly that government can work and should continue an active, innovative role in society.

One illustration -- of many -- that Americans remain optimistic even about performance at the Federal level came from the responses to a question that asked people whether they thought it "possible to have" a series of ideals realized by the Federal Government.

By majorities of 80% to 88%, Americans expressed their belief that the "best people" could be brought into government, that a concern for general welfare could dominate "special interests", and that public officials can be found dedicated both "to helping the country" and to caring "about the people." Leaders shared this optimism by margins from 76% to 98%. Similarly, the public and the officials joined in believing that federal leaders can solve the problems of inflation, by margins of 79% and 71%, respectively. And, with margins of 65% for the people and 69% for the officials, both groups endorsed the possibility of succeeding in nearly eradicating federal-level corruption, and, by 68% and 66% respectively, they thought government could be made "the most exciting place to work."

Further, in response to other questions, Americans by substantial margins recognize and **accept** the role of government in influencing the life of the country. By 56-32%, the public rejects the proposition that "the best government is the government that governs least," a view, ironically, which state and local leaders disdain by only a 48-41% margin.

29-555 O - 74 -- 6

A massive 89% of the public believes that "the federal government has a deep responsibility for seeing to it that the poor are taken care of, that no one goes hungry, and that every person achieves a minimum standard of living." The leaders tend to agree with the public on this score, although by a lesser 62%.

At the same time, 76% of the public does not feel that the federal responsibility is so great that "it should run life in the country." Rather, the public wants to see federal responsibility assumed, but in a framework of shared pluralism. A substantial 74% of the public feels that since each state in the country "has different people with different needs" states should lead in starting government programs, 72% feel that local government being "closer to the needs of the people" should handle most services, and 66% believe "the trouble with government is that elected officials have lost control over bureaucrats." Therefore, 73% conclude that "the federal government has become so big and bureaucratic that it should give more money to the states and local communities."

Fundamentally, people want an opening up of the federal government so that it not only assumes its full responsibilities, but that it also shares these responsibilities with both the state and local governments, and, most of all, with the people themselves. By a substantial 71-9% the public feels that "lots of problems connected with government could be solved if there weren't so much secrecy."

The state and local officials surveyed tended to feel somewhat less than the public that each state was different with different people and different needs, although a slim majority of 54% went along with the claim. But these non-federal officials felt more strongly than the public that "local government is closer to the people" and that the federal government "should give more money to the states and local communities," a creditable statement with a high 80%.

The public officials' thinking tended to stop at this point of advocating increased financial assistance to states and localities. The leaders, for example, deny by 45-41% that secrecy in government is a serious problem.

Nor do the leaders share an important conclusion reached by the public: by 67-24%, a sizable majority of the people believe "it's about time we had a strong federal government again to get this country moving again." By 52-27%, the leaders disagree with this mandate for action.

Observation: These differences between the public and public officials are important. The people essentially want a government which is not "top-down" but instead one which is sharing of its problems and solutions. They would like to see the federal government solicit the help of states and localities in tackling problems and administering programs. They would like to see the people consulted more and want to be "welcomed" into the process of governing themselves. But they also want to see strong, honest leadership to which they can respond, and they are not fearful of a "strong" federal government.*

State and local leaders, by contrast, neither sense nor advocate this public mood for opening up government at all levels, with real leadership shown by the federal government. Instead, in their answers, they opt for revenue sharing between the federal level and their own but seem rather nonchalant about purging the federal establishment of what the public sees as an aura of secrecy and at the same time letting energetic leadership at the federal level assert itself.

In a basic way, then, the public expresses more ultimate faith in the role of the federal government than do state and local officials. The people want direction, inspiration, and firm resolve from Washington, albeit with the public asked to participate

---

* It should be recognized that "strong" may well be interpreted to reflect trustworthiness and sense of purpose, rather than added legal and programmatic authority.

in fuller measure. These results just reported indicate a far from apathetic or unsophisticated public. And they also describe a people who have not lost faith that government can be made to work, even at the federal level where so much disenchantment exists today.

CONCLUSION

Despite all of the frustrations and a feeling that the country is not entirely in sound hands, the American people have little doubt that government, as structured by the founding fathers, can be well run. At the lowest level, 90% of the public and all of the leaders believe local government can be run well. As far as state government is concerned, 90% of the public and 94% of the leaders are convinced it can be run well. And at the federal level, despite all the current doubts, 86% of the public and 87% of the leaders think it can be run well.

Observation: These last results, coupled with the earlier willingness of the public and the leaders to see a son or daughter go to work in politics or government at any level, point to the fact that the American people have not lost faith in the system. Rather, they want that system to work well, certainly much better than they think it has recently.

II.

PUBLIC INVOLVEMENT IN GOVERNMENT

SUMMARY

Because public participation is vital to a thriving democratic system, the survey undertook to find out the state of the public's knowledge about the workings of government, the amount of citizen participation in political activity, and the potential for the public to increase that participation. Here is what the survey revealed about the public's involvement in government:

1. By their own admission, a majority of the American people are not well informed about what is going on in government or politics at either the Federal, the State, or local level.

2. To learn what is going on in government, most Americans depend more on television news than any other medium of communication. Newspapers follow a close second.

3. By any measure, on any ongoing basis, less than a majority of the public is involved with government. However, despite the relatively low degree

of knowledge about the political and governmental process and the only marginal involvement of the majority in that process, an overwhelming majority of the people display a potential for becoming active participants in the democratic system, if they can be properly stimulated and made to believe that their views and actions would have an impact. Of particular note is the fact that stepped-up citizen involvement with the government would be channeled through the system. In short, to make the system work, Americans would use the system itself.

4. Both the public and State and local leaders agree that "groups of citizens and organizations are having more effect in getting government to get things done compared to five years ago." Thus, citizen organizations have become significant avenues for the people to reach through the system, into their government.

PUBLIC INVOLVEMENT IN GOVERNMENT

THE STATE OF PUBLIC KNOWLEDGE

Certainly few would contest the proposition that a democracy can only work well if its people are well-informed about the functioning of government. Yet, a substantial majority of the American people, by their own admission, profess not to be well-informed about government.

When asked to rate themselves on "being up-to-date" about what is going on in the federal government in Washington," by 60-40%, the people give themselves negative marks. No more than 4 in every 10 feel they are current with developments in the nation's capitol. Among those with the least education, no more than 24% feel adequately informed, while among skilled labor this rises only to 31%. Majorities in only three groups feel confident that they know what is going on at the federal level: the college educated, who feel that way by 56-44%, those with incomes of $15,000 and over, 54-46%, and those active citizens in the community, who feel knowledgeable by 52-48%.*

---

* Tables to support data referred to in this chapter appear in Appendix III in order of their appearance in the text.

In the case of state government, the public says it is even more in the dark. By 72-27%, a sizable majority give themselves low marks on how "up-to-date" they are about what is happening in their state government. No more than 33% of the college educated and only 38% of the professionals feel well-informed about state government. Midwesterners feel better informed than people in other regions of the country.

Professed knowledge is at its highest level in the case of local government, where 43% of the public nationwide feels fundamentally conversant with what is going on, although a larger 57% does not. On local government matters, a significant pattern emerges by size of community. In the big cities, no more than 33% feel they know what is going on, compared to 44% of their suburban neighbors. But in small towns, a much higher 49% feel informed, and in rural areas an even 50% feel "up-to-date" on local government. Among people with incomes of $15,000 and over, executives and managers, and those active in the community, majorities in all three groups feel informed at the local level.

On keeping up with politics, no more than 37% give themselves high marks on possessing such ongoing knowledge. This rises to 48% among college educated people and to 51% of the professional group, but sinks to only 25% of the people whose education never went beyond the eighth grade and who vote less than any other group.

The public officials surveyed correctly estimate by 61-39% that the public is not well informed about federal government activities. However, in assessing knowledge of state government, public officials were overly generous to the public. A substantial 42% of the leaders felt the people were well-informed about state government, compared with the much lower 27% of the people who actually felt that way. And, in the case of local government, the leaders missed by the widest margin: 67% thought people were well-informed, compared with no more than 43% of the people themselves who felt that way.

Observation: Despite the amount of commentary which has been generated in recent years about public dependence on the media and what the media has done to public thinking in the country, it is perfectly apparent that most Americans do not feel they have been well informed about any level of government or about politics in general. Implicitly, the public is suggesting that a better job could be done of informing them about their government.

Public officials assume that any government close to home is also under close scrutiny by the public. While people feel better informed about local government, they are not nearly as well up on what is happening at any level of government as the leaders would make them out to be. Certainly, public officials must share with the media the responsibility for not having a better informed constituency.

In order to obtain another measure of public information about government and public officials, the study put the national cross-section through a series of tests, designed to find out the extent to which people know who their state's Governor, two U.S. Senators, and the Congressman from their district are, as well as the party affiliation of these officials.

Governors are easily the best known political figures in the country, except for the President of the United States. A sizeable 91% of the entire public claimed to know who the Governor of their state is. When asked to name him, a high 89% of the entire public including 81% of the blacks, 80% of the low-income, and 76% of the grade-school **educated,** could correctly name the Governor, and 77% could correctly identify his party.

A much lower 64% said they believe they know the name of at least one U.S. Senator from their state. However, when pressed for his name, only 59% proved to be correct about it, and 53% could correctly state his

party identification. Among the college-educated, 74% could name at least one U.S. Senator from their state, and 69% knew his party. Only 45% of the grade-school-educated could name one of their Senators. Among those with incomes of $15,000 and over, 74% could correctly identify a U.S. Senator, something only 46% of all blacks and of all low-income citizens could do. 69% of the affluent knew their Senator's party. Among those most active in their community, 72% were right in specifically naming one U.S. Senator and 67% had the right party to go with it.

In the case of the second U.S. Senator from their state, no more than 42% of the entire adult public even claimed to have known his identity. When asked for his name, only 39% of the American people could name the second U.S. Senator from their own state correctly and only 36% could correctly identify his party.

Congressmen fared hardly better. Although 53% of the entire public felt it knew the identity of the Congressman from their District, in fact no more than 46% could give it accurately, and only 41% could name the correct party of the Representative. Even among the people who have had some college education, only 55% could name their Congressman and 49% the party he

belongs to. Among the most active citizens in the country, the record is slightly more impressive: 61% could name their own Congressman, and 56% could identify his party correctly. However, only 17% of the blacks and 35% of those whose schooling stopped at the 8th grade could name their Congressman.

Another test centered on the make-up of Congress. A majority of 62% correctly stated that it is made up of the House of Representatives and the U.S. Senate. Only 44% of the least educated and 39% of the blacks gave correct answers. Moreover, 6% of the total public expressed the view that Congress was just the House; 4%, just the Senate; and a rather high 20% thought Congress consisted of the House, the Senate, and the U.S. Supreme Court. Another 8% simply had no idea about the make-up of Congress

Observation: While the purpose of this study was not to conduct a comprehensive test of the public's knowledge of government, nonetheless these results indicate substantial gaps in the public's knowledge of both the structure of government and also of many of the key individuals elected to high office.

WHERE PEOPLE GET KNOWLEDGE

From the results so far in this analysis, it is evident that the public has only spotty information at

best on which to base its conclusions about government, and at the same time feels not well informed about what is happening at all levels of government and politics. However, this evidence should not be taken to mean that the people are lethargic and unconcerned.

To the contrary,a sizable majority of citizens indicate that if sufficiently motivated they would like to respond to government and to the political process. This constituency is capable of responsiveness and capable of acting -- if galvanized to action.

The activating spark, the figures indicate, will almost have to be an electronic one. The following table indicates what people answered when asked what sources they depend on to find out what is going on in government and politics:

Q.25a(p)

INFORMATION SOURCES THAT PEOPLE DEPEND ON "A GREAT DEAL" TO FIND OUT WHAT IS GOING ON IN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

	Total %	8th Grade %	High School %	College %	White %	Black %	Active Citizenship %
Television news	65	73	68	58	65	70	61
Newspapers	52	48	49	56	52	52	58
Radio news	39	45	39	37	38	53	39
News magazines	25	13	20	37	26	21	32
Talking to friends	21	23	20	21	20	28	23
Special reports & publications	13	9	13	15	13	11	19
Local church	9	18	9	4	8	17	11
Lectures, formal talks	7	7	5	10	7	10	10
Lectures & mailings from elected officials	6	9	6	6	7	3	9
Business publications	6	6	5	4	7	6	11
Union publications	5	4	6	4	5	4	6
Private newsletters	4	6	3	6	5	3	7
Local political grapevine	4	4	4	4	4	4	6
Political party publications	3	6	3	3	3	1	6

Among all the people, television news is depended on more than any other medium. Newspapers follow a close second, however. Among the college educated and those most active in the community, newspapers come within two and three points of closing the gap. Then come radio news and news magazines (heavy among the affluent), talking to friends, and special reports and publications, including Congressional newsletters.

Observation:

Given this pattern of media dependence, the challenge clearly is to the media with the strongest powers of penetration to bring more information to an electorate which now feels it does not have the facts.

MESSAGES FROM THE "HILL"

Close to three out of every four people report that they have received a letter or a mailing from their Congressman, while 59% say they have received a similar communication from their U.S. Senator. The only major subsegment of the public which cannot recall having heard from their Congressman or U.S. Senator is the black community.

When asked for their evaluation and reaction to these communications from federal legislators, people for the most part, give positive responses. A majority of 57% report that they contained "useful information",

while another 56% say they are "interesting to read". Just under half, 47%, report they "tell you how he is voting". However, two negative responses to Congressional mailings emerged: 46% believe their sum and essence is "he is just trying to get your vote" and 27% feel they are "a waste of time and money". Most praiseworthy of these mailings and newsletters are people from the Midwest and West, college educated people, and those most active in community leadership. Most suspicious of them are people in the East and West and blacks.

Observation:

Basically, such communications receive rather widespread recognition from the public and the response on the whole is positive, even if tempered by heavy doses of skepticism.

THE VIEW FROM THE TOP

When asked how they keep in touch with the people they represent, state and local leaders volunteered personal contact and conversations (42%), public and community meetings (42%), answering mail (36%), using press releases (36%), answering all telephone calls (29%), keeping regular office hours (21%), publishing newsletters (14%), and making speeches (11%).

29-555 O - 74 -- 7

When asked to list the means of communication they used regularly, 88% reported making speeches and other appearances, 70% reported having regular office hours to see people, 66% said they attended meetings and funerals and social occasions, and 38% sent out a newsletter. When asked to evaluate these activities, 77% said that having regular office hours was valuable, 68% found speeches helpful, 51% praised newsletters, and 34% rated social appearances as effective.

Observation:

One problem of communications is that public officials are only following patterns successfully practiced by others before them. While they spend countless hours on meeting and greeting people, hearing out their problems, having an "open door" policy, working on newsletters and other communications, it is evident that these channels of communications have not been adequate and likely that other avenues remain to be explored.

A critical solution to the crisis of government, as documented in this survey, is the opening of effective, two-way channels of communication between the people and their leaders. Obviously, the public and local and state leaders have serious differences in their estimates about the country today. But the need to communicate, both directly and through the media, should not be underestimated. One first step might well be a mutual truce between public officials and the media, with each side attempting to understand the other's priorities and suspicions.

THE STATE OF CITIZEN INVOLVEMENT

Of 17 kinds of political activity which people were asked about, in no more than five had 50% or more of the public been involved. Although 62% of the public turned out in the last presidential election, a higher 69% report that at least once in their lives they had signed a petition, 56% had "actively defended the action of a public official in private discussion", 56% had "voted in a school bond issue", and 50% had attended a speech or rally for a political candidate".

From these more or less impressive levels of activity, however, there is a sharp drop to what might be viewed as "moderate" participation: In their lifetimes, 33% have "written a letter to their Congressman", 33% have "contributed financially to a political campaign", 27% have "participated in a school board discussion or debate", 25% have "written a letter to their U.S. Senator", 22% have "visited or talked in person with their own Congressman", and 19% have writte a letter to a local government official".

Finally, bringing up the rear are 7 activities which registered participation by no more than one in 7 people: 14% have "campaigned or worked actively for a candidate for Congress", 14% "visited a state legislator in the state capitol", 14% "campaigned or worked actively for a candidate for President", 13% "visited or talked in person with their U.S. Senator", 11% "picketed or took part in a street demonstration", 11% "campaigned or worked actively for a candidate for the U.S. Senate", and 2% "took part in a demonstration where violence occurred".

When these activities are analyzed by age groups, those in the under-30 group are generally far less participatory than their elders. However, there are some exceptions to this rule: young people are more likely to have visited a state legislator in the state capitol, are far more likely to have picketed or taken part in a street demonstration and also to have taken part in a demonstration where violence occurred. The most active age group by far is the 30-49 age group, except for the activities of visiting or talking with a U.S. Senator or working in a campaign for a Senator, where in both cases the 50-and-over age group is most likely to have been involved.

Observation:

Apart from the voting process itself, it is interesting and significant that the activities most frequently engaged in by the citizens of the country involve signing a petition, one brought to the people for their reaction; actively defending a public official in a private discussion, something within normal patterns of everyday life; voting on a school bond issue, which does involve getting out to do something; and attending a political rally, which also requires going out, even if only somewhere relatively near to home. The inescapable point is that activities which require setting aside a substantial amount of time or going beyond normal patterns of activity do not engage a majority of the public.

The fact that 33% claim to have written their Congressman, and an equal number say they have contributed to a political campaign does indicate a substantial minority in the country who are more than superficially involved in the political process.

Nevertheless, the hard fact is that by any measure, on any ongoing basis, less than a majority of the people are involved. Conversely, a majority of the public is essentially passive, although as will be seen,within that majority are highly interested observers of the political process.

JOINING: CAUSES AND COMMUNITIES

The majority which takes no more than a perfunctory role in political life nonetheless includes many organizational activists whose interests are as diverse as the country.

With the exception of religious organizations, to which 55% of the public belong, no other single type of organizational activity involves more than one

in four people: 26% belong to a social group, 23% to a school organization, 21% to a charitable group, 16% to a labor union, 14% to a professional organization, 14% to a civic group, 14% to a fraternal order, 12% to a veterans organization, 12% to a political club, 11% to a sports group, 10% to a business organization, 9% to a cultural or arts group, 7% to a fan or boosters club, and 3% to an ethnic group. Collectively, however, all these activities elicit the interest and some of the energies of more than three out of every four Americans.

BEYOND BELONGING

Despite the diffusion of their organizational interests, more than one American in three (37%) and nearly half (48%) of those who have joined organizations say they have been officers of some organization in their lifetime. This rises, among the joiners, to 55% in the Midwest and to 52% in the South, to 53% among people 50 years of age and over, 63% among professional people, 60% among business executives, 60% among the college educated, 60% among people whose incomes are $15,000 and over, and an even 50% of whites.

Observation:

This last result indicates that well over a third of the populace has had some organizational experience,

involving the assumption of responsibilities for running a group. Yet the groups themselves tend to be more diffuse than concentrated, tend to represent in most cases a minority of the public, and tend to be less abundant than perhaps had been imagined in a political process where the pressure of well-organized groups of citizens is supposed to be one of the most powerful and controlling elements. Instead, it would appear that the power of pressure groups is largely concentrated in segmented minorities of the public, marked by voices loud enough to be heard and presences substantial enough to be visible.

THE POTENTIAL FOR PUBLIC RESPONSE GETTING INVOLVED

Given the relatively low degree of knowledge about the political and governmental process and the apparently marginal involvement of a majority in the country's organizational life, a central question of this study concerns the thesis that American democracy faces an inert and apathetic public constituency.

The survey addressed itself directly to that question. People were asked what they might do to "change things they didn't like about government." Even though responses to multiple avenues of action do not guarantee ultimate engagement, the results show an enormous potential public response:

94% say they would "vote against a public official",

91%, "talk to friends and neighbors",

84%, "write their Congressman",

81%, write their U. S. Senator",

79%, "work through a group they belong to",

76%, "contact local law enforcement officials",

75%, contact someone in local politics",

72%, "join a local citizens group",

66%, "join a political party and work to make changes",

65%, "write a letter to the newspaper",

62%, "send money to support a local citizens group to demand action",

61%,"talk to a newspaper reporter or editor", and

55%, "vote against the public official's party at the next election.

The only suggested courses not chosen by a majority were taking part in a demonstration, cited by 27%, and taking agressive action "even if someone gets hurt," also acceptable by a relatively high 27%.

Significantly, no more than 17% of the public say they would "do nothing" if they wanted to change things that they did not like about some phase of government.

Observation: The most likely response of people when they want to change something about government is once again to turn to the ballot box or their friends. Next, the public would write to a Congressman or U. S. Senator. After that, people would work through some organization they belong to , contact a local law enforcement official, contact someone in local politics, or join a local citizens group. Significantly, all of these are locally-based channels for expression. Next, people would join a political party to work to make changes, write a letter to a newspaper, or talk to a newspaper reporter or editor. Turning to the media for a hearing is viewed as a viable alternative for citizen action.

Taking part in a demonstration is an activity which appeals far more to young people, to those with incomes of $15,000 and over, and to blacks than to any other groups. In the case of taking aggressive action, "even if someone gets hurt", however, fewer young people would choose this course than would people in the 30-49 year age group. Also, the most affluent group, those earning $15,000 and over, and more blacks than whites would back this activity.

Perhaps more significant than any specific action people say they would take to change things they didn't like about government is the massive number who say they would do something. This is ample testimony to the fact that the people themselves are far from apathetic in intent. In fact, if only a fraction undertook the acts they say they would, America would face probably the greatest flood of citizen activity in history.

CITIZENS vs. CORRUPTION

A specific case of citizen action was tested in the survey: what to do about an unjust or corrupt public official. By 58-34%, a majority say they feel there is something they personally can do about

this problem. To deal with a corrupt or unjust public official, respondents said that they would "go to the polls and vote for someone else", 23%, "get a group together and protest", 14%, "voice my opinion", 11%, "write letters to Congressmen and Senators", 9%, "bring it to the attention of higher authorities", 8%, "write letters to the news media", 6%, "take an official to court and sue him", 4%; "actively work against his reelection", 3%, "sign a petition", 3%, "ask for a referendum", 2%, "impeach him", 2%, and, "write to the corrupt official", 1%.

Observation: Again, the use of the vote is instinctively the top recourse cited, followed by going to fellow citizens to organize a protest group, then followed by speaking out. Less common but still rather high up is the act of writing to a Congressman or U. S. Senator and bringing the matter to the attention of higher authorities. This latter course indicates that the public still feels that appeals to sitting public officials about injustices can bring results, not to the exclusion,, of course, of expelling the unjust or corrupt official from power in the next election.

Basically, once again, these results on a specific problem of an unjust or corrupt public official indicate a more militant rather than more passive constituency. Certainly, it is fair to conclude that the American people will not take lightly to nor will be cynical about malfeasance in office.

More broadly, however, both measurements of citizen commitment available to the political process show that energies once unleashed would be directed toward existing governmental structures and through traditional governmental procedures. To make the "system" work, Americans would use the "system" itself.

CITIZEN INITIATIVE

The idea of working within the system takes on an added dimension from the public perception of the system's responsiveness to group pressures. Always willing to experiment in their approach to problems, Americans are coming to regard citizen-interest groups as effective problem-solvers.

Although as reported above, no more than a minority of the American people are active in any single type of voluntary organization,other than through a church affiliation, there is a growing sense that what groups of citizens can do is important and even critical to the functioning of the country. When asked directly, 49% of the people express the view that "groups of citizens and organizations are having more effect in getting government to get things done,

compared with 5 years ago". Only 8% think such citizen efforts are less important, and 32% feel things haven't changed much. The college educated, people in the East and West, and those who vote are inclined to lay most store by such citizen initiatives.

When asked why these citizen activities are having more impact, the main reasons cited by the public are that "people are more involved today", "groups of people can get more done than one person", "government is listening to people more today", "people are more organized and persist more", "people are more knowledgeable", and "the media has given groups such as that good coverage".

A 42-year-old black factory worker in Buffalo reported that a community lobbying effort had improved police protection in his neighborhood: "I remember five years ago we tried to get a foot patrolman on this block. Nothing happened then, but now the police are coming by. They're cooperating." A 22-year-old white law-school student in a well-to-do Milwaukee suburb spoke of broader concerns: "Environmental groups, like the Sierra Club, have argued their cases all the way to the Supreme Court, and they have won. Now local citizens' lobbies are using the

courts even to fight tax assessments that are unfair."

Those who feel such groups are less effective reason that "government does what it wants", "we're not getting things done", and "government doesn't care". Basically, the people with little faith in a citizen movement are also highly cynical about the motives of government to respond. Yet those who feel real confidence in the impact of citizen groups do not credit government with responsiveness so much as they say the people themselves are demanding to be heard.

When asked which groups of citizens have been most active, people volunteered "local community groups" (12%), "civil rights groups" (8%), "business groups" (8%), "Ralph Nader's consumer protection groups" (7%), "church groups" (6%), "environmental protection groups" (6%), "educational groups" (5%), "fraternal orders" (4%), and "veterans groups" (4%). Obviously, people believe a wide assortment of diverse types of groups have been active.

In order to obtain a better assessment of the relative effectiveness of citizen efforts, respondents were asked about five specific such efforts which captured public attention during the past decade. Easily at the top of the list, in terms of effectiveness, according to the public, were the "protest marches led by Martin Luther King in the 1960's". In the judgment of 67% of the public, these protest activities "speeded up" civil rights legislation, and thus were highly effective.

The public also feels that the "citizen group pressures to make industry stop polluting the air and water" had the net effect of "speeding up industry efforts to curb pollution". A substantial 49% feel industry clean-ups of endangered environments were accelerated by such ecological group efforts, compared with only 4% who feel they were slowed down, while 37% feel they did not have much effect.

The public also believes that campaigns such as those that asked Americans to "support your local police" helped moderately to produce more effective crime control". Only 4% feel they "slowed down" law enforcement, while 30% feel the drives to back local

police helped tighten crime control. However, a majority of 53% felt these campaigns had "not much effect".

In the case of anti-war demonstrators, 22% of the public feels they "shortened U.S. involvement in the war", but an almost equal 20% believe they made "the war last longer", while 49% feel the demonstrations had no real impact one way or the other. Young people under 30, the college educated, and blacks attribute more success to anti-Vietnam demonstrations than do other groups. People in the South view them as having made the war last longer.

Finally, in the case of parent protests against the "forced busing of school children, by 59-25%, the American people are convinced such demonstrations have not been effective. Both blacks and whites share this judgment.

Observation: Although in specific instances the public feels that citizen protests and organized movements have not been effective in achieving their goals, nonetheless, on an overall basis, the notion that the citizenry should coalesce to initiate change has begun to take hold in the country.

The underlying conviction that accompanies such citizen efforts is that if the federal government

does not respond, then the people themselves will organize to demand response. While this attitude holds out the possibilities of confrontation between government and the people, such citizen activity also holds out the promise of the people asking their government more than ever to become responsive and to engage in a dialogue over those areas they feel are crucial to improving the quality of life in the country.

OFFICIALS RESPOND TO ORGANIZED CITIZEN EFFORTS

Almost half the American people, 49%, feel that "groups of citizens and organizations are having more effect in getting government to get things done". A much higher 68% of all state and local leaders share this view. The big difference can be attributed to the realization of the leaders that "government is listening to people more today", "the people are more organized and persist more", and "people are more knowledgeable today", observations felt more by public officials than by the public itself.

To an official of a suburban Maryland county with more than a decade of elected public service, the situation is explained straight from a textbook of politics: "Legislative bodies on all levels operate on the 'squeaking hinge theory.' The greater the noise, the greater the amount of oil." The police chief of one of the largest American cities took a short-term historical view: "The civil rights revo-

lution conditioned government to listen. It made their ears larger."

When asked which citizen groups had been most active in their recent experience, state and local leaders reported activity on the part of civil rights groups, business groups, environmental protection organizations, educational groups, women's rights organizations, to a much greater degree than the public was aware.

In their evaluation of specific major citizen efforts over the past decade, the leaders feel even more strongly than the general public about the effectiveness of the civil rights protest marches led by Martin Luther King. They tend to share the estimate of the public that the "support your local police" campaigns have been only moderately effective in strengthening local crime controls. More than the public, the state and local officials feel that the anti-Vietnam War demonstrations had a negative effect in making the war last longer. As for the protests against school busing, the leaders feel they have been more effective than the public does, though a plurality of the leaders feels they have not been effective on the whole.

29-555 O - 74 -- 8

Observation: The openness of local and state leaders to the representations of citizen organizations is a sure indication that the channels for conducting a dialogue between government and such involved citizens are far from closed. To the contrary, public officials themselves appear to be attuned to such activity by citizen groups and poised to give the best organized of them an expanded role in setting government policies.

WHO ARE THE ACTIVE CITIZENS

Nearly two in every five adult Americans is active in his community, using the measure of office-holding in some citizens' organization. But the numbers vary by key groups in the population.

For example, regionally, there are more active and involved citizens in the Midwest and South than on the east or west coasts. Older people, 50 and over, are more active than those under 30. Professional and executive types tend to be far more active than skilled labor or white collar people. Women outscore men in community activity. It is no surprise that the college educated are the most active as are those with the highest incomes of $15,000 or over. And whites are much more active than non-whites.

These socially active people, indeed, are far more busy in work which touches all levels of government. They are likely to have twice as much contact with a local official, a U. S. Senator, a Congressman, or a state legislator as the public as a whole. They are roughly 50% more likely to have contributed money to

a political campaign and to have worked in a campaign, whether local, state or federal. They are also far more likely to have written letters to a Congressman or U. S. Senator or to their local government. In short, they are the activist, unofficial community leaders in the country, and, as such, they form that important middle layer for communication and transmission of ideas and reactions between the mass of the people and the relative few who are elected or appointed to represent the people.

As has been analyzed earlier, the potential for citizen participation in America in 1973 is large, indeed. The remaining question is how likely are some of the less involved segments of the public to be aroused and brought into a new kind of citizen participation?

It is worth looking at the evidence about one key group, that 28% of the adult population whose bread-winner is classified as "skilled labor." Many of these people are union families, others the families of foremen and others who hold lower supervisory jobs. As a group, skilled labor is one third less active

than the average citizen. Other than attending union meetings or participating in work-related functions, along with some social groups, they are not usually found on the community firing line.

Yet when asked what they might do if they wanted to charge something in government, substantial members of the skilled labor group indicated they could be a potent, though as yet untapped source of participation in citizen activity. For example, 79% said they would come out to vote against a candidate they thought had done something wrong, 56% would try to discuss controversial issues with neighbors or friends, 51% would write a Congressman about an issue, 49% would write a U. S. Senator, 46% would actively go to work with a group they belong to in order to press their own point of view, and 42% would go to local law enforcement officials if they thought a crime was being committed by someone in politics.

Observation: Obviously, these results reflect what the skilled labor population say they would like to do, and not necessarily what they would do if the occasion arose. The point, however, is unescapable: the potential that the skilled labor group alone represents, in terms of participatory citizen activity, is great indeed. Given the proper environment in which to participate, given a welcome by leadership and a pledge that what he has to say really does count (66% today believe that what they think does not count)

and given an issue of real concern, the skilled laborer in America could well be galvanized into an activist citizen status.

However, as will shortly be seen, the most common contact between government and not only the skilled labor population but almost all groups in American society has been extremely limited, primarily concerned with licensing and regulatory problems, such as passports, immigration, zoning variances, and a whole host of other highly specific and personalized problems.

For the most part, a majority of the American people simply have not participated in the formulation of public polices at any level of government, with the single exception of going to the polls to vote. Even so, when 61% of the people nationwide feel that "What I think doesn't count much any more" and 55% feel that "people running the country don't care what happens to me", then the evidence that people are frustrated and impatient with government cannot safely be ignored.

III.

THE ROLE OF GOVERNMENT

SUMMARY

The survey attempted to learn from the public and from state and local leaders what they perceived as the roles of the federal, state and local governments and how they assessed the impact of each level of government. Among other things, the survey found:

1. There is little doubt that the public believes that the actions of the federal government make the greatest personal impact on people's lives. And, it is equally clear that whether talking about the federal government, state government, or local government, people view taxes as either the major or, at least, a major manifestation of how government affects the lives of people personally.

2. Other than in paying their taxes and filing the necessary forms to receive licenses, social security, and other direct government benefits, the American people have had remarkably little contact with their government at any level. And public officials, at both the state and local levels, were remarkably accurate in assessing the number of people who have

gone to the various levels of government for help.

3. State and local leaders believe that "intergovernmental red tape", "fragmentation of government authority" "an apathetic public", and "an inadequate tax base" are the principle obstacles they face in doing their job.

4. The public and their leaders have precise and generally parallel views of which level of government authority can best respond to a broad span of concerns ranging down from world peace to garbage collection and up from highway accidents to inflation. But while the operational range brings out clear understandings of the separate functions of each policy-making level, there is also a remarkable consensus that two categories of problems -- political corruption and social welfare -- deserve and can benefit from the attention of <u>all</u> government agencies. And both the public and their leaders underscore their belief in shared governmental responsibilities with an overwhelming endorsement of two policy propositions:

(1) State and local governments should be strengthened; and

(2) The federal government should have power taken away from it.

THE ROLE OF GOVERNMENT

THE FEDERAL LEVEL

One of the reasons for the current state of disenchantment with government in this country undoubtedly can be traced back to the expectations people have for government at various levels and the extent to which they feel government is fulfilling these functions.

There is little doubt that the actions of the federal government are regarded as making the greatest impact on people's lives:*

DEGREE TO WHICH GOVERNMENT AFFECTS PEOPLE'S LIVES PERSONALLY

Q-4a(P)

	Federal %	State %	Local %
A great deal	63	39	38
Only somewhat	21	38	33
Hardly at all	13	19	26
Not sure	3	4	3

Yet when people were asked the main ways the federal government affected their lives personally,

easily the most frequent answer dealt with taxes. A housewife in Galveston, Texas, put it this way, "Taxes are too high, and the federal government taxes are the highest. Then they throw in busing on top of it all. I don't know what to think or whom to blame, but I sure don't like it at all." An hourly rate worker in Detroit said this: "It's bad enough with inflation, but when they increase your withholding taxes, why that's the limit. To me the federal government is taxes, period." A businessman in Stamford, Connecticut said: "I used to feel that maybe I was buying something with my tax money, you know, some tanks or planes or things I thought were important. But now, I don't think we get anything for our tax money, and it just plain hurts." *

An even 50% of the public said that the federal government affected their lives personally through taxes. Inflation finished a distant second at 18%. A housewife in Denver said: "Only the federal government can keep prices in line. Why every week when I do my grocery shopping, I look at food prices and say to myself, 'Why in the world doesn't the government do

*Tables to support data referred to in this chapter appear in the Appendix IV in order of their appearance in the text.

more to protect me from these high prices?'" Relatively high on the list as well, with 6% of the mentions, came replies that "the federal administration is not trustworthy." This type of response, of course, reflects Watergate and the crisis of confidence over integrity.

A number of federal government activities cited dealt directly with specific benefits people derive from government at the federal level such as benefits to the elderly and aid to education. Other federal activities were mentioned disapprovingly, such as abuses of welfare and social security payments and opposition to foreign aid. But even in the aggregate, these specifics end up far behind the central impact of taxation.

THE STATE LEVEL

When asked which state government actions affect them personally, 46% volunteered that the main way that state government, like the federal government, touches their personal lives is in their tax payments. At the state level, however, people complain about the variety of different taxes that are levied. As a drug-store manager in Cincinnati put it: "Between a sales

tax, road taxes, personal taxes, and I could name a lot more, state government to me is just a question of what new taxes am I going to pay next."

Two key areas of benefit to the taxpayer, however, emerged from people's recitation on the ways state government shapes their lives: education, and highway construction and maintenance, both mentioned by 15% of the respondents. By and large, people are highly appreciative of these functions of state government. An assembly-line worker in Racine, Wisconsin said: "The state does a good job of keeping up the roads. That's their main job, and since I use them a lot, I like how it affects me." A housewife in Bangor, Maine added: "The state is the main support for the schools. They run the schools in terms of money. But at least you know where your tax money is going." The range of other state services people associate with personally goes from drivers licenses and state police to recreation sites and pollution control; includes abortion, the courts, transportation, and state hospitals. None of these latter, however, draws more than 4% of the people's attention.

THE LOCAL LEVEL

Local taxes are not as strongly perceived as the main personal impact of local government, as are state and federal taxes. Nonetheless, taxes are still in first place, volunteered by 32% of the public. As a housewife in Decatur, Georgia said, "We pay our taxes, and so they owe us something for it. Like cleaning the streets and stopping crime. Well, since I don't think such a good job is being done about either, I'm not happy about my taxes either."

However, in contrast with the range of federal government activities particularly, a whole host of specific local services are understood in a highly personalized way by the public: police protection, volunteered by 17%, schools and education by 15%, streets and traffic by 11%, ordinances by 10%, zoning and building codes by 9%, sanitation and waste disposal by 7%, water and sewage services by 5%, fire protection by 4%, recreational facilities by 2%, and pollution control by 2%.

In the aggregate at the local level, the specific community services received by the public describe the

personal impact of government far more than do taxes, and far more than at the state or federal levels.

Observation: The fact that taxes are viewed as either the major or, at least, a major manifestation of how government affects the lives of people personally bespeaks a basic problem which faces government today and perhaps always. The public is more aware of and concerned with its own input into government in the form of the taxes which are levied, rather than with either the over-all good that the entire nation derives from the broad policies pursued by government, on the one hand, or any specific benefits reaching the individual family, on the other. With a large number of Americans, government means tax payments going out and only tangential returns on their investment coming back.

PERSONAL CONTACT WITH GOVERNMENT

CONTACT AT THE LOCAL LEVEL

Other than in paying their taxes and filing the necessary form to receive licenses, Social Security, and other essential direct government benefits, the American people have had remarkably little contact with their government at any level. The following table points up this fact:

NUMBER OF PEOPLE WHO HAVE GONE TO FEDERAL, STATE, OR LOCAL GOVERNMENTS FOR SOME HELP

	Local %	State %	Federal %
Gone for help	24	13	11
Not happened	76	87	89

While just under one in four people have had contact with their local government, the number shrinks to one in nine in the case of the federal government. At the local level, people in small towns tend to use their government almost twice as much as big city dwellers. Professional people go to their local government well over twice as often as skilled laborers. The college-educated have contact with local government three times as much as the rest of the population. Whites use local government three times more often than blacks.

Observation: The pattern clearly is a selective one, with the more affluent, professional groups dominating the contacts with local government, just as they dominate the "active citizens" group, in general. Conversely, this means that people who might need governmental assistance most are the least inclined or able to use it.

The leading concerns which bring people to local government involve such areas as traffic and parking regulations, zoning matters, street repairs, garbage collection problems, financial matters, problems with school teachers, tax assessments, preventing roads from being built in certain areas, or preventing a tavern from opening. Clearly, the problems citizens take to local government revolve around either obtaining better

local service or in preventing incursions on either their neighborhoods or their community.

Of those who went to their local government, by 64-34%, a majority say they found local government officials helpful. However, when asked how satisfied they were with their experience, no more than 39% of those who had a problem could say categorically that they were "satisfied" with the way it was handled. An additional 26% were "only somewhat satisfied", and 35% were downright "not satisfied."

On a zoning case, a homeowner in Nutley, New Jersey who was satisfied said: "The zoning board took the time to listen and to explain things to me, so we understood, even if we didn't get all we asked for." A mother in Peoria, Illinois said of seeking a remedial reading program for her child: "We were highly satisfied with the experience of the school people. They went out of their way to treat my daughter kindly and well."

At best, however, experience with local government emerges as something of a mixed bag, with certainly less than unrestrained enthusiasm from that one quarter of the public who have had direct contact with their local government.

When probed to explain why they were not entirely satisfied, those "only somewhat satisfied" frequently reported that they "got only part" of what they wanted, or they got what they wanted only "after much complaining." Those not satisfied felt that way mainly because they were flatly turned down, or officials "didn't listen", or there was "too much red tape."

An advertising executive in Montclair, New Jersey expressed a common verdict: "I felt confused about house valuation. I still do, and no one in this town understands it either." In Atlanta, the wife of a salesman reported: "I tried and tried to get 'no parking' signs removed from one side of the street. And nobody would even listen." In Florida, the mother of three elementary school children said: "I tried to get the school board to put in some integration ideas as an alternative to busing and got nothing but a stone-deaf ear."

CONTACT AT THE STATE LEVEL

In the case of state government, the affluent used their government at this level twice as often as the unaffluent, with smalltown people again leading the way. No blacks surveyed had gone to state government at all. The main purpose of approaching state government was to deal with some financial matter, although

sometimes people asked about educational needs, road or highway repair, sanitation problems, funds for building schools, stopping highway construction, or about an auto accident. To a degree, these contact missions tend to parallel the perceived functions of state government.

When asked if the people they saw were helpful, by 66-29% most say they were. Union members tend to find state government people less helpful than others, however. Again, when asked if they found their experience satisfactory, no more than 39% of all those who had made contact say it was "highly satisfactory", 26% "only somewhat", and 34% report themselves "not satisfied at all". The reasons for feeling this way paralleled the descriptions of people's experience with local government.

In Mobile, Alabama, a middle-aged mother reported: "My son was in the service and had a bad leg. I went to the state for help, and they gave me service we liked. He got better duty." A school teacher in upper New York State reported: "I went to the conservation people in behalf of a local fishing group we have here because I heard they would help on pollution control in the lake we fish in. We got nowhere and the lake is polluting."

29-555 O - 74 -- 9

CONTACT AT THE FEDERAL LEVEL

Only 11% report having gone to the federal government for help. Even among people active in the community, no more than 18% have ever approached the federal government. The kind of assistance generally sought involved problems of citizenship, health disability, Social Security payments, passport, and other service areas. Others have sought federal aid and grants for education and research. Nearly a quarter of the people who made contact did so by writing to "express my opinions". Others have dealt with the federal establishment on military matters, mostly the draft. Others have been in contact over federal income tax payments. One in eleven say their contact was "to protest the war".

The vast majority of requests made at the federal level were channeled through elected officials, Senators and Congressmen, and a substantial 73% of their constituents say they found their point of contact in the federal government "helpful". And a fairly impressive 46% report their total experience with the federal government "highly satisfying", with 29% saying "only somewhat satisfying", and 24% "not satisfying at all". These levels are higher than

those for local or state government. Basically, at the federal level more people who went for help reported back that "their aim was accomplished" than was the case with state or local government.

Observation: The single, commanding finding about the personal contact of the American people with government must surely be the absence of such contact. The following are the percentages of adult Americans who have had a "highly satisfying experience" with their government at each level: local government, 9%; state government, 5%; and the federal government, 5%. (These numbers are obtained by multiplying the people who contacted each level of government personally by the percentage who reported "high satisfaction" with their experience.)

Obviously, some of the personal requests of members of the public undoubtedly were not justified, and government representatives would have been remiss to yield to some of the demands. Because a citizen goes to his government does not automatically insure the justice of his cause.

But these results point up the paucity of the personal impact that the entire service function of government has had on the American people. One of the main points of contact people would look to if a son were treated unfairly in the armed services, if their income tax was unfairly questioned, or if a federal investigator asked about their political beliefs would be their own Congressman or U. S. Senator. Few people look to government administrators as avenues of approach or appeals to the federal level. Therefore, it can be said that Congress probably bears a major share of the burden for handling such constituent demands upon the federal government.

If the numbers reported above are indicative, and there is good reason to believe they are, then the sum total of all of the efforts of elected legislative officials and the entire federal bureaucracy has had, at best, a negligible impact in reaching the American people in personal terms.

By the same token, these results must be taken to indicate that, particularly at the federal level, government is being judged almost exclusively not on the personal services the federal establishment provides the public, but rather by the conduct of the government on the broad policy matters which the people feel are critical.

OFFICIALS ASSESS CONTACT WITH GOVERNMENT

In the case of local government, officials are remarkably accurate in estimating the number of people who have gone to that level of government for help. Thirty percent of the officials estimate that "a lot of people" have contacted local government, but 65% hold that "only some" or "only a few" have done so. In fact, 24% of the public reported having gone to local government.

Local authorities surprisingly - perhaps too modestly - underestimate the degree of satisfaction the public experienced in their contact with local government. While only 39% of the public expressed satisfaction, a much lower 13% of local officials feel that people were fully satisfied. Many local leaders simply feel that people inevitably want services from their local government which are impossible to render.

On public use of state services once again the estimate of public officials is remarkably accurate, with 83% reporting that "only some" or "only a few" people come to state government to get something done, compared with 13% of the public who reported actually

having done that. But again, the leaders grossly underestimate public satisfaction: 39% of the public reported being "highly satisfied" while only 6% of all officials think they were. Again, excessive public expectation is the main reason leaders think their work leaves an unsatisfied constituency.

As for the federal level, only seven percent of state and local officials estimate that "a lot of people" have availed themselves of its services, and only 11% of the public actually have. Again, only 5% of the officials feel that the public was highly satisfied, although a substantial 46% reported that they were.

Observation: Obviously, state and local officials show a gun-shy attitude about the public when estimating the degree of satisfaction people have experienced from contacting government at all levels. Perhaps, too, however, these officials' attitudes reflect a diligence and resolve not to take the public for granted. All in all, it would appear that local and state officials are not deluding themselves on the extent to which the public turns to government, although they do underestimate their own and the federal government's good works in the service area.

LEADERS GAUGE THE OBSTACLES TO HIGH PERFORMANCE

To understand the significant gap between the way experienced members of the public rate government performance and the way officials underestimate actual public satisfaction, it helps to know the gripes officials express about their own operations. Leaders were asked to tick off a list of impediments which "substantially" blocked them from doing their job to their own satisfaction. The results are revealing, not only as descriptions of significant problems public officials face, but also as implied remedies for those problems.

Later on, this report discusses a basic yearning of the leaders for relative freedom of action to get their jobs done properly -- a contrast to a clear public preference for continual monitoring of official conduct by other officials, by citizens and by the press. In this section, however, the focus is on specific obstacles the leaders see themselves facing, and the biggest hurdle that emerges can be over-simplified as friction between levels of government, with diffuse governmental responsibility, excessive regulation and failures of coordination combining to impede action and frustrate efficient

performance.

At the top of the questionnaire's suggested list of impediments, the leaders chose both "intergovernmental red tape" by 51% and "fragmentation of government authority" by 46% as "substantial" impediments. These shorthand, jargon phrases take on a clearer dimension from the responses officials volunteered to describe major hurdles they face. The leaders, with 23% volunteering such attitudes, said that their work was hampered by "restrictive regulations imposed by higher levels of government," financial let-downs such as "impoundments of funds" by the federal government, and the enactment of laws and rules which override local preferences "without knowledge of local problems." These same themes appeared again in 15% of the responses which complained of "bureaucracy, red tape, inertia and massive paperwork," and in 13% of the volunteered explanations which brought out "division, suspicion, and lack of communication between parties and levels of government."

An elderly Ohio Republican with nearly four decades of service as a professional government auditor

complained: "We are at the mercy of the Legislature as far as laws that are passed and salary funds allotted to staff our offices as well. A small-town California police chief blamed government officials for "their failure to make themselves knowledgeable about complex government operations and rules, so they set doubtful priorities and underfund basic services." And a Democratic mayor of a medium-sized Western city who cited "red tape" and "fragmentation of authority" as substantial obstacles analyzed them as "institutionalization of bureaucratic organizations so that the highest value becomes preservation of the institution rather than achievement of the goals for which it was formed."

The third obstacle most cited by officials -- an apathetic public -- may be more imagined than real. Limited in their knowledge of and contact with government, the people describe themselves as aroused and anxious to participate.

The following table, broken down to show the separate responses of state and local leaders, sets out the "substantial" impediments officials saw themselves facing.

THINGS WHICH SUBSTANTIALLY IMPEDE STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT LEADERS FROM DOING THEIR JOB

Q 2a(L)	State Leaders %	Local Leaders %
Intergovernmental red tape	40	55
Fragmentation of government authority	47	45
An apathetic public	40	41
An inadequate tax base	22	38
Too many special interests	22	32
An inadequate staff	32	24
Being unable to recruit people	24	26
An underpaid staff	21	21
Too much harrassment by the media	10	21

Observation: High on the list of problems facing state and local leaders are areas which the public rarely hears about, let alone can be expected to understand, such as intergovernmental red tape and fragmentation of government authority. These border, of course, on the questions of home rule and how to work out a genuine sharing of program responsibilities. The overlap problems and the inadequate clarifications of authority obviously plague both state and local officials, because behind such problems lie the keys to needed financial resources.

The problem of an inadequate tax base, felt most strongly by local government officials, cries out for both revenue sharing and a serious review of ways to make localities solvent in a time of shifting urban populations and mounting costs. Again, the central issue is how to share both revenues and responsibilities.

Taken together, these leaders have provided a snapshot of the difficult times they are living through, in the era in which the promise of shared revenues and responsibilities appears bright, but the reality obviously is far from being consummated, and, indeed, in many cases, has not even begun to be felt.

THE FEDERAL STRUCTURE: SHARED AND SEPARATE TASKS

DUTIES OF THE FEDERAL, STATE AND LOCAL LEVELS

The public and their leaders have precise and generally parallel views of which level of government authority can best respond to a broad span of concerns ranging down from world peace to garbage collection and up from highway accidents to inflation. But while the operational range brings out clear understandings of the separate functions of each policy-making level, there is also a remarkable consensus that two categories of problems -- political corruption and social welfare -- deserve and can benefit from the attention of all government agencies.

This view of shared responsibility emerges strongly from the public and from officials on the question of which level of government can deal best with ending political corruption: federal, state and local government, in that order, all get significant mention, although roughly twice as many leaders as citizens put the corruption problem into the domain of state and local authority. On a central range of

social concerns, however, the shared responsibility concept runs roughly equally across the board from people and leadership, with all basically agreeing that drug abuse, air and water pollution, welfare operations, racial demonstrations and racial integration in education, and the provision of low-cost and middle-income housing are jobs for all levels of government to tackle together.

The tabulation on the following page documents this conclusion. The issue areas marked by an asterisk (*) are those where both officials and the public endorse the concept of shared governmental responsibility.

SEPARATION OF FUNCTIONS

When given a list of 26 functions and asked which level or levels of government could handle each problem best, the people chose the federal government as the proper level to handle 14, state government 5, and local government 7 areas. The federal government led all other levels of government by substantial margins on: achieving peace in the world, inflation, income taxes, making taxes fair to everyone, handling consumer protests against high prices, providing low

Q.12(P)
Q.12(L)

LEVEL OF GOVERNMENT WHICH CAN BEST HANDLE SPECIFIC PROBLEMS

	Public					Leaders				
	Federal Government	State Government	Local Government	None (vol.)	Not Sure	Federal Government	State Government	Local Government	None (vol.)	Not Sure
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Achieving peace in world	93	4	4	2	2	x	x	x	x	x
Inflation	89	8	4	1	4	x	x	x	x	x
Income taxes	86	24	6	1	2	87	49	16	*	3
Making taxes fair to everyone	77	33	20	1	5	72	62	48	2	3
Consumer protests against high prices	64	20	16	3	9	71	18	13	11	5
*Providing low cost housing	57	35	14	2	5	62	30	32	2	4
*Getting rid of corrupt politicians	55	32	30	9	14	59	53	54	9	8
*Drug abuse	55	43	38	1	3	49	58	66	*	2
*Controlling air and water pollution	54	41	24	1	5	61	62	30	-	-
Gun control	53	28	17	7	6	58	30	25	12	3
Providing adequate health services	52	38	18	3	6	x	x	x	x	x
*Racial integration in education	39	36	32	3	8	41	42	56	4	2
*Taking care of people on welfare	39	48	26	3	4	51	56	35	1	1
Racial integration in housing	38	35	31	4	8	x	x	x	x	x
*Racial demonstrations	37	34	36	3	10	29	28	71	2	4
*Middle income housing	35	45	20	4	9	48	34	31	12	6
Improving colleges	29	67	8	2	7	x	x	x	x	x
Building better highways	22	85	6	*	2	50	86	15	1	*
Improving public schools	14	50	51	1	3	21	69	58	-	*
Big rock concerts	9	32	53	4	11	5	31	78	3	5
Zoning for housing	8	25	68	1	6	x	x	x	x	x
Traffic congestion	5	37	69	1	3	15	46	85	*	*
Accidents on highways	4	82	18	1	1	11	77	46	-	1
Providing police protection	3	15	91	*	1	7	23	94	-	1
Uncollected garbage	*	3	95	1	1	x	x	x	x	x
Keeping the streets clean	*	5	95	*	*	x	x	x	x	x
Crime in the streets	x	x	x	x	x	35	43	87	-	1

cost housing, getting rid of corrupt politicians, gun control, and providing adquate health services. In these areas, the federal responsibility was viewed as being shared but still most important: drug abuse, controlling air and water pollution, racial integration in education, racial integration in housing, and handling racial demonstrations.

The people view state government as the dominant force in building better highways, improving colleges, handling highway accidents, and give it the lead in shared responsibility for taking care of people on welfare and providing middle income housing. Local government is seen as dominantly responsible and best capable of handling traffic congestion, providing police protection, collecting garbage, keeping streets clean, and zoning for housing. Local government is also viewed as the top level of government in improving the public schools, although this function is essentially shared with the states.

Fundamentally, local government is looked upon as the provider of police, sanitation, transportation control and educational services, with state government sharing on education, but dominant in higher education, highways and welfare assistance.

The federal role is perceived as being much broader and yet less personal than either the state or local government functions. The federal establishment is looked to for world peace - keeping, setting national economic policy, improving the quality of life, and setting a moral tone for the country to follow. Of course, this last role is the one people want, not necessarily the one they think is being met today.

The question of roles was further clarified when people were asked whom they trusted most to handle nine key problems. The federal government again emerged as clearly dominant in the area of war and peace and in controlling the cost of living. People were also willing to trust the federal government primarily with the quality of life, although the people gave it no more than 35% full trust, rather preferring to share this function with local and state government and active citizens groups. Help for the elderly was also viewed as a matter which split trust between the federal, state and local governments, as was health care for the family. Once again, local government emerged with a

dominant perceived role in handling crime and in improving trash collection. Local government also was given most trust in handling the drug problem, although this was shared with the federal government. Air pollution was divided between local government and active citizens groups in terms of trust to get the job done.

Observation: The significant finding in these last results about which level of government should handle specific problems and which can be trusted most to handle key trouble areas is that the federal government figures prominently and even dominatly in public expectations in the broadest policy areas. Yet, as seen in Section I of this report, the executive branch of government and the White House finish at the bottom in terms of public trust and confidence. Despite the fall from grace of the federal establishment, the American people have not reached the conclusion that their most significant problems and expectations can no longer be addressed by the federal government. They still feel that the proper instrument for handling problems ranging from war and peace, the economy, and the quality of life is the federal government.

By and large, there is substantial agreement between the state and local leaders and the public on the division of responsibilities for the three levels of government. While wide differences may exist in other areas, this is not one.

MAKING SHARED RESPONSIBILITIES WORK

The public underscores its belief in shared governmental responsibilities with an overwhelming endorsement of two policy propositions:

(1) State and local governments should be strengthened; and

(2) The federal government should have power taken away from it.

Public support (61%) for reinforcing the structure and authority of local government almost precisely matches the percentage (59%) by which it advocates strengthening state government. In contrast, only 32% of the public feel the federal government needs added power, while 42% recommend diminishing its clout.

(This verdict has to be read alongside the earlier finding that two-thirds (67%) of the people agree with the statement: "It's about time we had a strong federal government to get this country moving again." To reconcile this apparent disparity, it is necessary to interpret "strong" as a reflection of trustworthiness and sense of purpose, rather than a matter of added legal authority over policies and programs.)

State and local leaders echo and expand on the public's support for strengthening their levels of government. A decisive 77% of the leaders want to bolster local government power, while only three percent advocate reducing it. The leaders are less emphatic about adding to state government authority, but a majority (57%) endorse new strength for it, while 20% would prefer diminishing its scope and activity. And 61% of the leaders believe Federal power should be weakened with only 18% preferring to see it increased.

WAYS TO STRENGTHEN STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT

When asked specifically how local government could be made stronger, the leaders emphasize greater local autonomy, including strengthening home rule and diminishing interference from state and Federal officials. They also opt for more revenue sharing for both state and local governments. Some also ask for broader taxation authority, along with more freedom to reorganize and streamline state and local operations.

The mayor of a Florida city said he would strengthen local government by "allowing true 'home rule' for each community to decide its own destiny."

29-555 O - 74 -- 10

And a county councilman from suburban Baltimore said the way to strengthen local government was to "place more funds for schools, roads, water and sewer facilities, etc., in the hands of local officials to administer."

When asked how state government could be strengthened, officials give heavy emphasis to more authority and responsibility for running programs and less federal intervention. However, they would like to have more federal money.

Said a budget and program planner in an urban county in the State of Washington: "The state governments should be revitalized through assigning many of the federal program areas to them. Then they should be made more effective through improved financing and through effective federal audits of performance to ensure that these programs of national c oncern are administered in ways to ensure meeting national goals."

Suggestions for the federal government consisted mainly of urging less investment in state and local affairs and cutting waste in the federal bureaucracy.

That same county planner in Washington State put it this way: "The federal government should be made more effective through better Congressional audits of the agencies of the Executive Branch. Moreover, the federal government should withdraw from programs they administer within state and local areas through transference of these duties to state and local governments where they more properly can be delivered."

IV

THE GOVERNMENT AMERICANS SEEK

SUMMARY

Having measured popular and expert confidence in government and other institutions, knowledge of and contact with government, and perceptions of how government works and can be shaped to work better, the survey sought to recheck its finding with four lines of inquiry developed at or near the end of each interview questionnaire. From these explorations certain general outlines emerge:

1. Americans expect more integrity and energy of the men and women in government than the public thinks elected and career officials are now delivering, and Americans are only moderately optimistic that these important standards of political leadership can be realized.

2. Officials are significantly more respectful of their colleagues at all levels of government than the public is and more optimistic about the potential of leadership for matching ideal standards.

3. As in the responses to every other question dealing with similar perceptions, the federal government

comes off generally least well in the esteem of the public and of officialdom, and local government earns the highest of the generally low marks.

4. Another measure of the distance between popular and official views is the gulf between the large plurality of Americans who prefer to keep government under the closest scrutiny and the bare majority of officials who ask for a free hand for top-flight government leaders.

5. The one test on which the people and the leaders come most forcefully together is the issue of government intrusion into private behavior, with both groups rejecting a list purposefully constructed to pose unpopular -- but not unthinkable -- policy departures. By similar, decisive majorities the governed and those in government turn thumbs down on most proposals for new official interference with private choice, even when the interference might serve a high public good.

The following, concluding pages of this report present these findings in greater detail along with a brief outline of some of the conclusions the survey data support.

THE GOVERNMENT AMERICANS SEEK

OFFICIALS: IMAGES AND EXPECTATIONS

When Americans were asked to draw composite portraits of elected officials at the Federal, state and local levels and of career government workers, the political Identikit pictures that emerge are blurred by responses that tended to be contradictory. Public officials draw somewhat sharper likenesses of the men and women with whom they have closer personal contact, but, more significantly, officials tend to emphasize characteristics the public either does not see or implicitly disputes.

The query posed in all questionnaires invited respondents to choose from a list of 22 words and phrases the "three or four" which "best describe most" elected Federal, state and local officials and career government job holders. Last in this series, those surveyed were asked to pick from the same list those traits which "you feel best describe the kind of people who should work in government."

THE FEDERAL LEVEL

No single identifying feature of elected Federal officials, out of 22 offered, strikes a chord of

recognition with a majority of the public. Two Americans in five (42%) give "make promises that are never kept" top ranking on the list of possible attributes followed, as negative traits, by "out for themselves" with 29%, "only want power" with 22%, "corrupt" with 21% and "bureaucratic" and "play it safe" with 17% and 16%, respectively. Positive features begin with "intelligent, bright" cited by 27%, "want to help people" by 25%, "dedicated to hard work" by 22%, and "public spirited" by 21%.*

In contrast to their constituents, leaders accentuated the positive, and a majority (51%) said elected Federal officials "want to help people." The other complimentary views were "public spirited" (44%), "dedicated to hard work" (34%), "intelligent, bright" (31%) and "honest" (30%). On the negative side, leadership mentions of officials who "make promises that are never kept" amounted to 26%, actually below the 32% response to "play it safe" and just a bit above the 23% for "out for themselves."

THE STATE LEVEL

For elected state officials, Americans generally accept the same positive and negative traits -- in

---

*Tables to support data referred to in this chapter appear in Appendix V in order of their appearance in the text.

roughly the same order, and again with no dominant attributes -- as they use in describing the Federal counterparts. And again the gap between the public and the official view is a pertinent feature of the effort at portrait-painting.

On the minus side 32% of the officials and 16% of the public worry that state officers "play it safe," while only two percent of the officials and nine percent of the public mention "corrupt" behavior. In the accolade bestowal 47% of the officials but only 28% of the public cite state leaders who "want to help people", and "public spirited" state figures get a 40-27% citation from the leaders and the led, respectively.

THE LOCAL LEVEL

Local officials, a dominant group in the leadership survey, speak up strongly in their own behalf, and if their generally positive assessment of their own image is not so heartily endorsed by the public, at least the negative traits get sparse mention in a generally favorable likeness.

The good side -- the desire to help people and public spiritedness -- gets considerably more prominence

from the public, with 36% and 34% endorsement, than the unflattering verdict that local officials are "out for themselves" (24%) or "make promises that are never kept" (23%). Officials themselves, with 63% and 59% mentioning the top two plus factors, pat their own backs as vigorously as they reject, with only 14% and 13%, the two publicly suggested defects. And the worst that officials can criticize themselves for is the tendency to "play if safe," mentioned by 25% of the knowledgeable leaders and 15% of their constituents.

CAREER OFFICIALS

The much-maligned bureaucrat is, not surprisingly, most critiziced for lack of imagination with 23% of the public and 60% of the leaders scoring him for "doing things by the book," "playing it safe" (21% and 48%), and "just serving time" (21% and 21%). But career officials can take heart from findings that their overall image is positive, with 25% of the people and 22% of the officials admiring their dedication to hard work, their desire to help people (23% and 21%) and their honesty (16% and 34%).

The tabulation on the following page compiles the ten most frequently cited positive and negative

characteristics of elected and professional government figures to compare in one table the images and the differing views of the public and of officials.

LEADING ATTRIBUTES OF ELECTED AND CAREER GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS

Q.21a,b,c,d (P)
Q.17,a,b,c,d (L)

	Federal Officials		State Officials		Local Officials		Career Officials	
	Public %	Leaders %	Public %	Leaders %	Public %	Leaders %	Public %	Leaders %
Negative								
Make promises never kept	42	26	28	21	23	13	6	3
Out for themselves	29	23	26	25	24	14	18	13
Only want power	22	15	20	15	17	8	10	4
Corrupt	17	4	9	2	9	2	4	-
Play it safe	15	32	16	32	15	25	21	48
Positive								
Intelligent, bright	27	31	20	23	13	15	21	16
Want to help people	25	51	28	47	36	63	23	21
Dedicated to hard work	22	34	24	31	24	40	25	22
Public spirited	21	44	27	40	34	59	18	16
Honest	13	30	13	34	18	46	16	34

THE IDEAL PUBLIC SERVANT

After telling it like it is -- a behavior few associate with actual politicians or bureaucrats -- the people and their leaders described how it should be. And their hopes coincide.

With a few differences in emphasis, they speak out strongly for the highest standards for the "kind of people who <u>should</u> work in government". And above all they demand honesty, with two-thirds (66%) of the public and more than three-fourths (77%) of the officials pleading for an attribute that they set near the bottom of the list of features of the real governmental world.

Dedication to hard work (56% of the people's mentions and 64% of the leaders') comes next, followed by the desire to help people (51% and 65%), intelligence (41% and 58%), courage (35% and 59%), concern for freedom (28% and 31%) and public spirit (27% and 48%). Telling it like it is -- an attribute favored by 23% of the public and 32% of officials -- was the tenth most mentioned desired quality, with efficiency (24% and 36%) in ninth place.

One measurable difference between official and popular views of the ideal men and women for public service is that the leaders are very precise and sure of what they want. But the only trait they stress that the public relatively ignores is creativity and imagination, a feature one official in two, but only

one citizen in eight thinks valuable. There speak the voices of experience.

FEDERAL LEADERSHIP

From the broad effort to gauge actual and ideal performance of public servants, the survey focused more sharply on views of the Federal establishment in a question that rechecked levels of confidence and of hope measured in previous queries. The new findings dovetailed with those recorded in section I, when Americans and their leaders were asked, of a series of possible descriptions of Federal leaders, which they thought were actual and which were potential.

The measurement of the distance between satisfaction and expectations is a crucial way in which Americans judge their own content or discontent and either a warning sign or a reassurance about the public mood. The greater the gap between what people perceive and what they want, the deeper is the loss of confidence and the harder it is for government to restore trust through the gradual, orderly processes of democratic reform.

For eight assumptions, the same two questions were posed. "Do you feel we now have a federal government in which (e.g.) 'leaders are genuinely working for peace' or not?" and "Do you think it is possible to have a federal government in which (the same situation exists) or not?" The results of this probe are presented in the following table along with figures showing the gap between the view the people and the leaders hold of the present and the hopes they hold for the future.

ATTRIBUTES THE PUBLIC AND LEADERS FEEL THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT HAS AND LACKS TODAY AND THE POSSIBLITY OF HAVING THEM

Q.24a,b (P)
Q.20,a,b (L)

	Gap		Public						Leaders					
	Pub-lic	Lead-ers	Have %	Not Have %	Not Sure %	Pos-sible to Have %	Not Pos-sible %	Not Sure %	Have %	Not Have %	Not Sure %	Pos-sible to Have %	Not Pos-sible %	Not Sure %
Leaders genuinely working for peace	-32	-15	58	31	11	90	4	6	77	6	17	92	2	6
Public officials really care about the people	-54	-35	34	53	13	88	6	6	54	26	20	89	5	6
Most public officials dedicated to helping the country	-50	-33	36	54	10	86	7	7	56	29	15	89	5	6
The good of the country is placed above special interests	-61	-61	24	63	13	85	7	8	20	59	21	81	17	12
Government is the most exciting place to work	-50	-36	18	61	21	68	17	15	30	47	23	66	16	18
The best people are attracted to serve in public life	-63	-65	17	69	14	80	13	7	11	73	16	76	13	11
Leaders come up with solutions to inflation that work	-69	-68	10	79	11	79	9	12	3	81	16	71	10	19
Corruption and payoffs almost never take place	-52	-43	13	79	8	65	25	10	27	53	20	69	21	10

In terms of the gaps between what the leaders and the public feel the federal government now has and what it is possible to have, the two groups are in close agreement on the absence of leaders who have come up with solutions to inflation; on the failure to attract the best men to public service; and on the lack of leadership which puts the good of the country above special interests. Both groups strongly agree, however, that it is possible to reach these and the other five suggested goals.

There are, however, five areas in which the leaders tend to feel the country is better off than the public:

1. Although both groups feel that the country has leaders who are genuinely working for peace, the state and local leaders are more convinced we have such leadership than the public;

2. On having public officials who really care about the people, a majority of leaders feel we already have that, while no more than one in three of the public agree, although both groups feel it is possible to have such men in office;

3. On most public officials being dedicated to helping the country, most leaders feel that such is the case today, but most of the public disagree;

4. Government as the most exciting place to work is thought not to be the case today by 61-18% among the public, but this view is shared by a lesser 47-30% of the leaders; and

5. Having a state of affairs in which corruption and payoffs almost never take place is thought by a thumping 79-13% among the public not to be the case, but state and local officials agree with that judgment only by a closer 53-27%.

Observation: In describing the reality and the ideal of public service as well as the actual and the potential of federal leadership, Americans and their officials are quite evidently at odds over the enduring nature of what they see. The Watergate watershed has created a deep public cynicism about all those now involved in public life, most particularly at the federal level, while government officials show a stronger assurance that the phenomenon is temporary and controllable.

Instead of overemphasizing this difference of political judgment, it is important to see the strong expectations both groups have for high standards of government ethics and performance and their general, if notidentical views on the failure to act according to those standards now. The significant gap is not between the perceptions of reality of the leaders and the led, but the shared sense both express of a society falling far short of excellence.

The images of the officials who make the system work and move toward its highest goals is, as noted above, mixed. People see much in Washington now that they believe to be power-seeking, self-seeking and downright corrupt. But they also know that included in the federal mix are intelligent, astute men and women dedicated to their duties and to the public good. Perhaps the most telling public criticism -- strongest at the Federal level, but leading the list of negatives

about elected state officials as well -- is that leaders never fulfill their promises. This is almost a bottom-line estimate of government performance, especially in Washington. It reveals a strong sense that the absorption of public officials with the pursuit of their own and of special interests results in a neglect of the public welfare.

Local officials, like the governments they serve, come off best in both popular and expert judgment. Career government employees win sympathy both for being devoted and for being trapped in a system which puts a premium on their caution, not their dedication.

But with no confidence that bureaucrats can carry the main brunt of directing government and with satisfaction in local performance defined, basically, by satisfaction with local services of limited impact, America looks to the top of the governmental structure for inspiration and finds it missing. In that unhappy verdict is summed up the broad loss of confidence, the pervasive sense of discontent and the most serious reasons for concern about the future course of American democracy.

THE ROAD TO REFORM

If what America seeks is the opposite of what it thinks it now has, the crucial question is whether Americans want a drastic change in the way their political process works to realize their ambitions. The answer is "No."

To a considerable extent, given the opportunity to make a sophisticated choice about how to run society, Americans opt not for a man on horseback, but for an increased diffusion of power -- both inside the structure

of government and through greater public scrutiny of its workings and leadership. The mandate is for participation, not direction, no matter how benevolent or expert. And the message, obviously not yet heard by the leaders surveyed, is that people want to be included and informed, not managed and ignored.

FAITH IN THE SYSTEM: THE TRADE OFF BETWEEN CHECKS AND BALANCES

Both the leaders and the public were asked a key question on whether they thought government would "work better by putting the right men in control of government and letting them run things with the help of the best experts they can find, or by setting up tight checks by elected legislators, the courts, and citizen groups to watch closely over what government is doing?"

The following table shows the results, with the public heading in one direction, and the leaders in another:

TWO CHOICES FOR BETTER GOVERNMENT

Q.24a (P)
Q.21a (L)

	Put Right People In and Trust Them %	Set Up Tight Checks %	Not Sure %
Total Public	40	48	12
East	36	50	14
Midwest	40	51	9
South	47	39	14
West	36	51	13
Republican	47	41	12
Democrat	38	51	11
Independent	39	48	13
Active citizenship	46	46	8
Total Leaders	50	39	11
East	48	39	13
Midwest	43	45	12
South	51	39	10
West	59	31	10
Republican	55	35	10
Democrat	48	40	12
Independent	48	39	13

While the public opts by 48-40% for setting up tight checks, the leaders feel by 50-39% that the right men should be chosen and then should be given the fullest possible discretion and the least possible interference. The minority within the public and the majority of the leaders who favor leaving government to the "right men in office" say that "if we elected good, honest leaders, we don't need checks" and "we must trust people." Leaders also added two important reasons which did not carry much weight with the public: "most officials are more knowledgeable about governmental problems than the average citizen" and "checking is inefficient."

One New England executive who sided with the idea of giving good men a free hand, said: "When you have a business, you have to have someone who is capable and intelligent to run it for you. You can't have too many people telling him what to do. A good executive won't overspend. He will pay for what he has to have, not finance unnecessary things."

Observation: Basically, what makes the marginal difference in tipping the leader group to the side of leaving government "to the right man" is a sense that too much public monitoring can paralyze the effort of competent public officials to act with flexibility and intelligence, on the one hand, and that the so-called checks really don't work very well anyway. Taken together, these pivotal reasons are reverse sides of the

same coin: that leaders will always be more capable than their critics and that the critics will not really be able to check their actions anyhow. Put this way, given the public mood against secrecy and the powerful desire on the part of the public to share in governmental decision-making, leaders will have a hard time taking such a case to the American people in today's climate.

The plurality of the public and the minority of the leaders who opt for "setting up tight checks on government" believe that "checks and balances are essential to our kind of system," "such a system insures the people's voice being heard," "we must guard against minority rule," "people in power are greedy, and we must protect against them," "power corrupts", "we need checks against human error," "we need to prevent future Watergates," "we must guard against government secrecy,", and "citizens groups are needed to balance government power."

Clearly, the balance is tipped among the public in favor of "tighter reins" by the strong resentment people now feel against absolute power in the hands of any government. But, by the same token, the people also want a government which will function.

"Actually," said a Midwestern governor, "both options are needed, but without vigilant citizens, even good leaders can lose sight of reality." A suburban

housewife on the San Francisco peninsula voiced the same thought: "Anyone, no matter how honest, might tend to mislead people, if he knows no checks are being made on him."

Observation: The mandate from the people, with which the leaders are at odds, is that governments at all levels ought to be required to operate far more out in the open and be willing to face up to a review of decisions and programs from a wide constituency. The inefficiency argument against such a process does not hold water with the public. At this juncture of American history, the people are opting strongly for a restoration of open, democratic government, where the people are trusted and consulted, but where the leadership leads, and, above all else, displays integrity that the people can believe in.

As the scars from Watergate shrink, it is entirely possible that the tight reins the public asks for now will slacken. But to move today away from ready accountability would meet with stiff public resistance.

A MARK OF INDEPENDENCE

Finally, although the American people would like to see the federal government continue to perform a whole host of functions, they and their leaders draw clear and unmistakable limits around the range of incursions they are willing to let government make in their own lives. The survey at its conclusion, offered ten policy options that would restrict public behavior. The responses are shown in the following table.

THE TYPES OF GOVERNMENT ACTION PEOPLE WOULD OPPOSE

Q.26 (P)
Q.24 (L)

	Public %	Leaders %
If police said they needed to come into your home without a search warrant to control drug abuse	73	84
If government said price of bread had to go up 5 cents in order to send wheat to Russia and China to keep peace	73	64
If government said people had to keep their gun at a local police station	68	76
If police made spot checks at traffic lights to see if people have safety belts on	64	67
If government required every residence to be inspected for leaks that wasted heat or fuel	60	70
If government required auto owners to bring in their cars every 3 months for inspection	55	61
If government said every family had to pay $50 a year in taxes to clean up air pollution	52	39
If government asked all demonstrations to be called off so government leaders could get their work done	48	77
If government raised taxes for each family to $50 a year to make streets safe	46	44
If government imposed a stiff fine for littering	10	6

Down the line of unpleasant choices, the public and the officials would object to an illegal drug search of their homes, to paying 5 cents a loaf more for bread to help the cause of detente, to storing their own gun at a local police station to be checked out when they want to use it, to having the police check for use of seat-belts at stop light intersections, to requiring inspection of homes for leaks and losses of energy during the shortage, to requiring car owners to bring their cars in every three months for an inspection to conserve fuel, and to taxing every family $50 to clean up pollution or control crime. On only one count, imposing a stiff fine for littering, would only a small minority of Americans still object.

Observation: It is evident that the American people are in a mood of resisting government fiats of nearly any kind. It will take a leadership which is both well trusted and is entirely convincing to bring the people to accept restrictions such as those tested in the survey. As such, the results are ample testimony to the rugged independence of the American public.

In a sense, of course, the American people at the time of the survey had not been asked to make the kinds of sacrifices outlined. Since the survey was taken, however, the energy shortage became more acute, and the President has asked for substantial restrictions in consumer behavior. The answers to this set of questions should not be taken as a definitive indication of what the people would do in a situation they understood to be one of crisis.

SUMMING UP

The crisis the people addressed themselves to in this study is broad and deep. It involves the basic elements of trust and confidence in government. A precondition for responsiveness is a disposition on the part of the people to believe in their own influence on government. On this count, there is virtually no evidence that the American people are spoiling to change the basic structure of their free and voluntary society. To the contrary, if anything, the people opt for an even more pluralistic and responsibility-sharing system, involving more dialogue and more contact between leaders and led, as well as more division of the labor of governing among the federal, state, and local levels.

Perhaps even more important, the people also want to see themselves and the citizens groups they feel could represent them have a much more important place in the governmental process. The public feels deeply that it can and would participate much more than now in a more open and inviting process.

Fundamentally, the American people in this survey are trying to articulate two profoundly-held sentiments:

1. That government secrecy no longer can be excused as an operational necessity, since it can

exclude the participation of the people in their own government, and, indeed, can be used as a screen for subverting their freedom; and

2. That the key to any kind of successful future leadership must be iron-bound integrity. This matter of honesty and straight-dealing is one that has the public deeply alarmed. It cannot be underestimated. The American people simply will not rest easy until it feels that integrity in government at all levels is secured.

Once these preconditions of openness and integrity have been fulfilled, then the time may well come when the people can be approached to make the sacrifices necessary to solve the common problems of the country. But if the preconditions to open government are not met, then frustration, alienation, and polarization is likely to proceed apace. And the distrust of the governed for those who govern is a dangerous development indeed.

APPENDIX I

THE QUESTIONNAIRES

LOUIS HARRIS AND ASSOCIATES, INC.
1270 Avenue of the Americas, N.Y.N.Y. 10020

Study No. 2343-- September 1973

PUBLIC

FOR OFFICE USE ONLY -- DO NOT FILL IN:

Questionnaire No._____5-6-7-8-

Sample Point No._____10-11-12-13-14-

Interviewer's name (PLEASE PRINT):_____

City/Town:_____ County:_____ State:_____ Zip:_____

I'm from Louis Harris and Associates, the national public opinion research firm. We've been asking your neighbors some questions about the government and now would like to ask you some. First, let me see whom I'm supposed to interview here.

HOW TO DETERMINE WHOM YOU ARE TO INTERVIEW IN THIS HOUSEHOLD:

1. If only one woman or man lives here, interview that person, provided your quota for that sex has not been completed.

2. If more than one woman or man lives here, list below all the women OR all the men -- NOT BOTH -- according to age, the oldest first. Then, starting at the bottom of the list, move upward until you come to the first "X" next to which you have entered a name (or described by position). The person next to this "X" is the only person you can interview.

IMPORTANT: List only the women or men -- NOT BOTH -- who are at home.

How many women/men 18 years or over live here?

_____
(write in)

Who is the oldest woman/man who lives here and is at home now? And the next oldest? (STARTING WITH THE OLDEST, LIST (BY AGE) EITHER ALL OF THE WOMEN OR ALL OF THE MEN -- NOT BOTH -- NOW AT HOME)

EITHER WOMEN OR MEN

	Identify by name or position in the household (Women -- wife, mother, daughter, boarder, etc.) (Men -- husband, father, son, boarder, etc.)	AGE
1. X	_____	_____
2. X	_____	_____
3. X	_____	_____

Respondent's name (PLEASE PRINT):_____

Address:_____ City/Town:_____

State:_____ Zip:_____ Telephone No.:_____ Area Code:_____

(QUESTIONS START ON PAGE 2)

1a. Did you vote in the last election for President when Nixon and McGovern ran, or didn't you get around to voting?

Voted.....(15(_____-1
Didn't vote....._____-2
Can't recall....._____-3

1b. Did you vote in the election for Congress here in this district back in 1970, or didn't you get around to voting?

Voted.....(16(_____-1
Didn't vote....._____-2
Can't recall....._____-3

1c. The last time local elections were held around here (for Mayor, County Commissioner, school board, etc.), did you vote or didn't you get around to voting?

Voted.....(17(_____-1
Didn't vote....._____-2
Can't recall....._____-3

1d. Regardless of how you may have voted in the past, what do you usually consider yourself -- a Republican, a Democrat, independent or what?

Republician.....(18(_____-1
Democrat....._____-2
Independent....._____-3
Other (specify)
_____..._____-4
Not sure....._____-5

2a. Do you feel we always have one crisis or another in America, or do you feel there is something deeply wrong in America today?

Always have a crisis.....(19(_____-1
Something deeply wrong....._____-2
Not sure....._____-3

2b. Why do you feel this way? Any other reason?

(20(_____
(21(_____

3a. What do you feel are the two or three biggest problems facing the country you would like to see something done about? Anything else? (RECORD BELOW)

3b. (FOR EACH PROBLEM IN 3a) What do you think ought to be done about it? Anything else? (RECORD BELOW)

3a. PROBLEM	3b. SOLUTION
#1	#1
#2	#2
#3	#3

(22(_____
(23(_____
(24(_____
(25(_____
(26(_____
(27(_____
(28(_____
(29(_____
(30(_____
(31(_____
(32(_____
(33(_____

4a. In general, how much do you feel (READ LIST) affects your life personally -- a great deal, only somewhat, or hardly at all? (RECORD BELOW FOR EACH ITEM ON LIST)

	Great deal	Only some-what	Hardly at all	Not Sure
1. Local government.....(34(	____-1	____-2	____-3	____-4
2. State government.....(35(	____-1	____-2	____-3	____-4
3. Federal government.....(36(	____-1	____-2	____-3	____-4

4b. What are the two or three main ways you feel that local government affects your life personally? Any others?

(37(_____
(38(_____

4c. What are the two or three main ways you feel that state government affects your life personally? Any others?

(39(_____
(40(_____

4d. What are the two or three main ways you feel that the federal government affects your life personally? Any others?

(41(_____
(42(_____

5. As far as the people in charge of running (READ LIST) are concerned, would you say you have a great deal of confidence, only some confidence, or hardly any confidence at all in them? (RECORD BELOW FOR EACH ITEM ON LIST)

	Great deal of confidence	Only some confidence	Hardly any confidence	Not sure
a. Major companies.....	(43(____-1	____-2	____-3	____-4
b. Organized religion.....	(44(____-1	____-2	____-3	____-4
c. Higher educational institutions (colleges, universities, etc.).....	(45(____-1	____-2	____-3	____-4
d. The U.S. Senate.....	(46(____-1	____-2	____-3	____-4
e. Organized labor.....	(47(____-1	____-2	____-3	____-4
f. The press.....	(48(____-1	____-2	____-3	____-4
g. The U.S. House of Representatives.....	(49(____-1	____-2	____-3	____-4
h. Medicine.....	(50(____-1	____-2	____-3	____-4
i. Television news.....	(51(____-1	____-2	____-3	____-4
j. Local tax assessment.....	(52(____-1	____-2	____-3	____-4
k. The U.S. Supreme Court.....	(53(____-1	____-2	____-3	____-4
l. Local government.....	(54(____-1	____-2	____-3	____-4
m. State highway systems.....	(55(____-1	____-2	____-3	____-4
n. Local public schools.....	(56(____-1	____-2	____-3	____-4
o. State government.....	(57(____-1	____-2	____-3	____-4
p. Local police department.....	(58(____-1	____-2	____-3	____-4
q. The executive branch of the Federal government.....	(59(____-1	____-2	____-3	____-4
r. Local United Fund (Community Chest, etc.).....	(60(____-1	____-2	____-3	____-4
s. Local trash collection.....	(61(____-1	____-2	____-3	____-4
t. The military.....	(62(____-1	____-2	____-3	____-4
u. The White House.....	(63(____-1	____-2	____-3	____-4
v. The law firms.....	(64(____-1	____-2	____-3	____-4

-6- CARD 1 2343

6a. Compared to 5 years ago, do you feel you have more confidence, less confidence, or about the same amount of confidence in local government as you did then?

More confidence.....(65(____-1
Less confidence.....____-2
About the same.....____-3
Not sure.....____-4

6b. Why do you feel that way? Any other reasons?

(66(_____
(67(_____

6c. Compared to 5 years ago, do you feel you have more confidence, less confidence, or about the same amount of confidence in state government as you did then?

More confidence.....(68(_____-1
Less confidence.....____-2
About the same.....____-3
Not sure.....____-4

6d. Why do you feel that way? Any other reasons?

(69(_____
(70(_____

6e. Compared to 5 years ago, do you feel you have more confidence, less confidence, or about the same amount of confidence in the federal government as you did then?

More confidence.....(71(_____-1
Less confidence.....____-2
About the same.....____-3
Not sure.....____-4

6f. Why do you feel that way? Any other reasons?

(72(_____
(73(_____

29-555 O - 74 -- 12

-7- CARD 1 - 2 2343

7a. Now let me read you some statements some people have made about the way different levels of government should operate in this country. For each, tell me if you tend to agree or disagree? (READ STATEMENTS, RECORDING BELOW FOR EACH)

	Agree	Disagree	Not sure
1. The best government is the government that governs the least.....(74	____-1	_____-2	_____-3
2. The federal government has a deep responsibility for seeing to it that the poor are taken care of, that no one goes hungry, and that every person achieves a minimum standard of living.....(75	____-1	_____-2	_____-3
3. Local government is closer to the people, so as many of the services of government as possible should be given to local governments to handle.....(76	____-1	_____-2	_____-3
4. The federal government represents all the people of the country so it should handle the most important matters, such as how to control inflation, avoid depressions, and how to achieve peace in the world.....(77	____-1	_____-2	_____-3
5. Each state in the country has different people with different needs, so it is mainly the states that should decide what government programs ought to be started and continued.....(78	____-1	_____-2	_____-3
6. It's about time we had a strong federal government again to get this country moving again.....(79	____-1	_____-2	_____-3
7. The federal government has become so big and bureaucratic, it should give more of its tax money to the states and local communities to do what they think it is best to do.....(10	____-1	_____-2	_____-3
8. The federal government should not run the life of the country, but should regulate major companies, industries, and institutions to be sure they don't take advantage of the public.....(11	____-1	_____-2	_____-3
9. The trouble with government is that the elected officials have lost control over the bureaucrats, who really run things.....(12	____-1	_____-2	_____-3
10. A lot of the problems connected with government could be solved if there weren't so much secrecy on the part of government officials.....(13	____-1	_____-2	_____-3

7b. Do you think (READ LIST) should be made much stronger, only somewhat stronger, somewhat less strong, or should have power taken away from it? (RECORD BELOW FOR EACH ITEM ON LIST)

	Made much stronger	Only somewhat stronger	Somewhat less strong	Have power taken away	Kept as is (vol.)	Not Sure
1. Local government..... (14	___-1	___-2	___-3	___-4	___-5	___-6
2. State government..... (15	___-1	___-2	___-3	___-4	___-5	___-6
3. Federal government..... (16	___-1	___-2	___-3	___-4	___-5	___-6

8. Now I want to read to you some things some people have told us they have felt from time to time. Do you tend to feel or not feel (READ LIST)? (RECORD BELOW FOR EACH ITEM ON LIST)

	Do feel	Do not feel	Not sure
a. The people running the country don't really care what happens to you..... (17	___-1	___-2	___-3
b. The rich get richer and the poor get poorer..... (18	___-1	___-2	___-3
c. Most elective officials are in politics for all they personally can get out of it for themselves..... (19	___-1	___-2	___-3
d. What you think doesn't count very much anymore... (20	___-1	___-2	___-3
e. Important things that happen in the world don't affect your life..... (21	___-1	___-2	___-3
f. Left out of things going on around you..... (22	___-1	___-2	___-3
g. Most people with power try to take advantage of people like yourself..... (23	___-1	___-2	___-3
h. The tax laws are written to help the rich, not the average man..... (24	___-1	___-2	___-3
i. Special interests get more from the government than the people do..... (25	___-1	___-2	___-3
j. Wire-tapping and spying under the excuse of national security is a serious threat to people's privacy..... (26	___-1	___-2	___-3
k. Local government is so disorganized, it's hard to know where to go to get help..... (27	___-1	___-2	___-3
L. The federal government in Washington has been trying to dictate too much what people locally can and cannot do..... (28	___-1	___-2	___-3

9a. All in all, compared to 10 years ago, do you feel the quality of life in this country has improved, grown worse, or stayed about the same?

Improved	(29(	-1
Grown worse		-2
Stayed about the same		-3
Not sure		-4

9b. Why do you feel that way? Any other reasons?

(30(
(31(

9c. As far as you personally are concerned, do you feel that (READ LIST) has improved the quality of life in the past few years, made it worse, or not changed it much either way? (RECORD BELOW FOR EACH ITEM ON LIST)

	Improved	Made it worse	Not changed it much	Not sure
1. Local government	(32(-1	-2	-3	-4
2. State government	(33(-1	-2	-3	-4
3. Federal government	(34(-1	-2	-3	-4

10. Let me ask you about some things some people have said about the quality of life in America today that they are having trouble with. Is (READ LIST) a real problem for you personally, something you can take in stride, or not a problem for you personally? (RECORD BELOW FOR EACH ITEM ON LIST)

	Real problem	Can take in stride	Not a problem	Not Sure
a. Breathing polluted air.....	(35(____-1	_____-2	_____-3	_____-4
b. The high price of meat and other food.....	(36(____-1	_____-2	_____-3	_____-4
c. The government telling people what they have to do all the time.....	(37(____-1	_____-2	_____-3	_____-4
d. Too many national crises all the time.....	(38(____-1	_____-2	_____-3	_____-4
e. The lack of response by government to problems facing people such as yourself.....	(39(____-1	_____-2	_____-3	_____-4
f. Too many pressures in day-to-day living.....	(40(____-1	_____-2	_____-3	_____-4
g. Too much overcrowding and noise.....	(41(____-1	_____-2	_____-3	_____-4
h. The inability of government to solve problems.....	(42(____-1	_____-2	_____-3	_____-4
i. Making ends meet.....	(43(____-1	_____-2	_____-3	_____-4
j. Corrupt politicians.....	(44(____-1	_____-2	_____-3	_____-4
k. Local government police and fire protection, trash collection, and keeping the streets clean.....	(45(____-1	_____-2	_____-3	_____-4
l. Getting people to trust each other.....	(46(____-1	_____-2	_____-3	_____-4
m. Lack of trust and confidence in government.....	(47(____-1	_____-2	_____-3	_____-4
n. Too much attention being paid to people who protest and demonstrate.....	(48(____-1	_____-2	_____-3	_____-4

11a. If on your federal income tax return you asked for a refund and were turned down unfairly, which of these people or organizations would you turn to for help? (HAND RESPONDENT CARD "A") (MULTIPLE RECORD BELOW)

11b. If you or someone in your family were suspected by the police of a crime that you or your family member had no involvement in, who on the list would you turn to for help? (MULTIPLE RECORD BELOW)

11c. If an investigator from the federal government came around to your house to ask about your personal political beliefs or political activities, in a way you thought was not justified, who on the list would you turn to for help? (MULTIPLE RECORD BELOW)

11d. If you heard plans were being made to put up a gas station on your block or right near where you live, who on the list would you go to to keep that from happening? (MULTIPLE RECORD BELOW)

11e. If you had a son in the army who told you he was being treated unfairly, who on the list would you turn to for help? (MULTIPLE RECORD BELOW)

11f. If your street were dirty and not being cleaned properly, who on the list would you turn to for help? (MULTIPLE RECORD BELOW)

11g. If airplanes took a new route that made a lot of noise over where you live, who on the list would you go to to make the planes change their route? (MULTIPLE RECORD BELOW)

11h. If you were convinced your local government was holding back information that could affect the amount of taxes you pay, who on the list would you turn to for help? (MULTIPLE RECORD BELOW)

	The President	Your Governor	Your U.S. Senator	Your Congressman	State Legislator	Top Local Official's Office	An Influential Friend Or Acquaintance	Member of Clergy	A Lawyer	A Local Group Of active Citizens	Other (WRITE IN)	None (vol.)	Not Sure
11a. Income tax return turn-down.....	(49(-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6	-7	-8	-9	-0	-X	-Y	(50(-1
11b. Involvement in crime.....	(51(-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6	-7	-8	-9	-0	-X	-Y	(52(-1
11c. Asking about political beliefs...	(53(-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6	-7	-8	-9	-0	-X	-Y	(54(-1
11d. Putting up a gas station.....	(55(-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6	-7	-8	-9	-0	-X	-Y	(56(-1
11e. Son in army treated unfairly.....	(57(-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6	-7	-8	-9	-0	-X	-Y	(58(-1
11f. Street too dirty.....	(59(-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6	-7	-8	-9	-0	-X	-Y	(60(-1
11g. Airplanes taking new route.....	(61(-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6	-7	-8	-9	-0	-X	-Y	(62(-1
11h. Holding back information.....	(63(-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6	-7	-8	-9	-0	-X	-Y	(64(-1

-12- CARD 2 2343

12a. Suppose you felt you wanted to see something done about (READ LIST), who would you trust most to do something about it (HAND RESPONDENT CARD "B") -- the federal government, state government, local government, an active citizens group, or a civic organization? (RECORD BELOW FOR EACH ITEM ON LIST)

	Federal Gov't	State Gov't	Local Gov't	Active Citizens Group	Civic Organi-zation	Other (write in)	None (vol.)	Not Sure
1. Air pollution in your community.....(65(	____-1	____-2	____-3	____-4	____-5	_____-6	____-7	____-8
2. Crime in the area where you live.....(66(	____-1	____-2	____-3	____-4	____-5	_____-6	____-7	____-8
3. The high cost of living.(67(	____-1	____-2	____-3	____-4	____-5	_____-6	____-7	____-8
4. Drug pushers.....(68(	____-1	____-2	____-3	____-4	____-5	_____-6	____-7	____-8
5. Health care for your family.....(69(	____-1	____-2	____-3	____-4	____-5	_____-6	____-7	____-8
6. Avoiding U.S. involvement in war.....(70(	____-1	____-2	____-3	____-4	____-5	_____-6	____-7	____-8
7. Improving trash collection.....(71(	____-1	____-2	____-3	____-4	____-5	_____-6	____-7	____-8
8. Help for the elderly....(72(	____-1	____-2	____-3	____-4	____-5	_____-6	____-7	____-8
9. Improving the quality of life.....(73(	____-1	____-2	____-3	____-4	____-5	_____-6	____-7	____-8

12b. Suppose that your son or daughter were arrested by the local police. Do you feel that your child would receive better treatment, worse treatment, or about the same treatment as the son or daughter of a prominent public official arrested for the same offense?

Better treatment.....(74(_____-1
Worse treatment....._____-2
About the same....._____-3
Not sure....._____-4

12c. Why do you feel that way? Any other reasons?

(75(_____
(76(_____

-13- CARD 2 - 3 2343

13a. Compared to 5 years ago, do you feel groups of citizens and organizations are having more effect in getting government to get things done, less effect, or do you feel it hasn't changed much?

More effect.....(77(_____-1
Less effect....._____-2
Not changed much....._____-3
Not sure....._____-4

13b. Why do you feel this way? Any other reasons?

(78(_____
(79(_____

13c. What groups of citizens and organizations are most active in your recent experience?

(10(_____
(11(_____

14a. Do you happen to know who is the Congressman from this District, or not?

Know.....(12(____-1 (ASK 14b)
Don't know.....____-2} (SKIP TO 14c)
Not sure.....____-3}

14b. (IF "KNOW" IN 14a) What's his name and party?

Name:_____ 13(_____

Party:_____ (14(_____

14c. (ASK EVERYONE) Do you happen to know who is a U.S. Senator from this state, or not?

Know.....(15(_____-1 (ASK 14d)
Don't know.....____-2} (SKIP TO 14e)
Not sure.....____-3}

14d. (IF "KNOW" IN 14c) What's his name and party?

Name:_____ (16(_____

Party:_____ (17(_____

14e. (ASK EVERYONE) Do you happen to know the name of the other U.S. Senator from this state, or not?

Know.....(18(_____-1 (ASK 14f)
Don't know.....____-2} (SKIP TO 14g)
Not sure.....____-3}

14f. (IF "KNOW" IN 14e) What's his name and party?

Name:_____ (19(_____

Party:_____ (20(_____

14g. (ASK EVERYONE) Do you happen to know the name of the Governor of this state or not?

Know.....(21(_____-1 (ASK 14h)
Don't know.....____-2} (SKIP TO 14i)
Not sure.....____-3}

14h. (IF "KNOW" IN 14g) What's his name and party?

Name:_____ (22(_____

Party:_____ (23(_____

14i. (ASK EVERYONE) Now I want to read you a list of problems. For each, tell me what level or levels of government you feel can best handle that problem -- local government, state government, or federal government? (READ LIST AND RECORD BELOW FOR EACH ITEM -- MULTIPLE RECORDING IF NECESSARY)

		Local gov't	State gov't	Federal gov't	None (vol.)	Not Sure
1. Uncollected garbage	(24(	____-1	____-2	____-3	____-4	____-5
2. Accidents on highways	(25(	____-1	____-2	____-3	____-4	____-5
3. Inflation	(26(	____-1	____-2	____-3	____-4	____-5
4. Achieving peace in the world	(27(	____-1	____-2	____-3	____-4	____-5
5. Providing low cost housing	(28(	____-1	____-2	____-3	____-4	____-5

(CONTINUED ON PAGE 15)

14i. (CONTINUED)

	Local gov't	State gov't	Federal gov't	None (vol.)	Not Sure
6. Controlling air and water pollution.....(29(	____-1	____-2	____-3	____-4	____-5
7. Keeping the streets clean.....(30(	____-1	____-2	____-3	____-4	____-5
8. Providing police protection.....(31(	____-1	____-2	____-3	____-4	____-5
9. Getting rid of corrupt politicians.....(32(	____-1	____-2	____-3	____-4	____-5
10. Consumer protests against high prices....(33(	____-1	____-2	____-3	____-4	____-5
11. Zoning for housing.....(34(	____-1	____-2	____-3	____-4	____-5
12. Improving public schools.....(35(	____-1	____-2	____-3	____-4	____-5
13. Building better highways.....(36(	____-1	____-2	____-3	____-4	____-5
14. Middle income housing.....(37(	____-1	____-2	____-3	____-4	____-5
15. Drug abuse.....(38(	____-1	____-2	____-3	____-4	____-5
16. Radical demonstrations.....(39(	____-1	____-2	____-3	____-4	____-5
17. Big rock concerts.....(40(	____-1	____-2	____-3	____-4	____-5
18. Making taxes fair to everyone.....(41(	____-1	____-2	____-3	____-4	____-5
19. Providing adequate health services you can afford.....(42(	____-1	____-2	____-3	____-4	____-5
20. Gun control.....(43(	____-1	____-2	____-3	____-4	____-5
21. Income taxes.....(44(	____-1	____-2	____-3	____-4	____-5
22. Traffic congestion.....(45(	____-1	____-2	____-3	____-4	____-5
23. Racial integration in education.....(46(	____-1	____-2	____-3	____-4	____-5
24. Improving colleges.....(47(	____-1	____-2	____-3	____-4	____-5
25. Racial integration in housing.....(48(	____-1	____-2	____-3	____-4	____-5
26. Taking care of people on welfare.....(49(	____-1	____-2	____-3	____-4	____-5

14j. When you think of "the Congress", do you think of just the U.S. House of Representatives, or just the U.S. Senate, or do you think of both the House and the Senate, or do you think of the House, The U.S. Senate, and the U.S. Supreme Court?

Just U.S. House of Representatives.....(50(_____-1
Just U.S. Senate....._____-2
Both House and Senate....._____-3
House, U.S. Senate, and U.S. Supreme Court....._____-4
Not sure....._____-5

-16- CARD 3 2343

15. Now I would like to read you some things some people have told us about government. For each, tell me if you tend to agree or disagree? (READ LIST AND RECORD BELOW FOR EACH ITEM)

	Agree	Disagree	Not Sure
a. If a person doesn't care how an election comes out, he shouldn't vote in it.....(51	____-1	____-2	____-3
b. An important part of an elected Congressman's job should be to help the people in his District in dealing with government agencies.....(52	____-1	____-2	____-3
c. Congress should serve as a check over the President and his executive agencies.....(53	____-1	____-2	____-3
d. A U.S. Senator should usually vote in the interest of the entire nation, even if it might hurt his state....(54	____-1	____-2	____-3
e. Voting is the only way people like myself can have a say about how the government runs things.....(55	____-1	____-2	____-3
f. Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person can't really understand what's going on.....(56	____-1	____-2	____-3
g. Congress should always cooperate with the President and not oppose his proposals.....(57	____-1	____-2	____-3
h. A U.S. Senator ought to think like the people of his state so he can react to proposed legislation the way they would.....(58	____-1	____-2	____-3
i. Local government is too disorganized to be effective..(59	____-1	____-2	____-3
j. In most cases, on important matters, high government officials should decide what ought to be done, because they are the ones who really know what's going on.....(60	____-1	____-2	____-3

16a. As a citizen, do you feel there is something you can do about an unjust or corrupt public official, or don't you feel this way?

Can do something.....(61(____-1
Don't feel this way.....____-2
Not sure.....____-3

16b. Why do you feel this way? Any other reasons?

(62(____
(63(____

-17- CARD 3 2343

16c. Now let me read you some actions some people have taken about changing things they didn't like about government -- things like corruption in government, unjust laws, or failure to get public services. For each action taken, tell me if you would certainly do that, possibly do it, possibly not do it, or certainly not do it. (READ LIST AND RECORD BELOW FOR EACH ITEM)

	Certainly do That	Possibly do it	Possibly Not do it	Certainly Would Not	Not Sure
1. Write a letter to the newspaper.....(64	____-1	____-2	____-3	____-4	____-5
2. Join a political party group and work to make the changes.....(65	____-1	____-2	____-3	____-4	____-5
3. Talk to a newspaper reporter or editor.(66	____-1	____-2	____-3	____-4	____-5
4. Take part in a demonstration.....(67	____-1	____-2	____-3	____-4	____-5
5. Vote against a public official.....(68	____-1	____-2	____-3	____-4	____-5
6. Vote against that public official's party at the next election.....(69	____-1	____-2	____-3	____-4	____-5
7. Join a local citizens group to take action.....(70	____-1	____-2	____-3	____-4	____-5
8. Send money to support a local citizens group to demand action.....(71	____-1	____-2	____-3	____-4	____-5
9. Write to your Congressman.....(72	____-1	____-2	____-3	____-4	____-5
10. Write to your U.S. Senator.....(73	____-1	____-2	____-3	____-4	____-5
11. Contact local law enforcement officials.....(74	____-1	____-2	____-3	____-4	____-5
12. Work through a group you belong to, such as a church, professional, social or union group.....(75	____-1	____-2	____-3	____-4	____-5
13. Contact someone in local politics.....(76	____-1	____-2	____-3	____-4	____-5
14. Talk to friends and neighbors about it.(77	____-1	____-2	____-3	____-4	____-5
15. Take aggressive action even if somebody gets hurt.....(78	____-1	____-2	____-3	____-4	____-5
16. Do nothing.....(79	____-1	____-2	____-3	____-4	____-5

INTERVIEWER: TURN QUESTIONNAIRE OVER AND CONTINUE.

-18- CARD 4 2343

17a. Leaving aside paying taxes and filling out forms for licenses or Social Security, have you ever gone to your local government to get them to do something, or has that not happened to you?

Have gone to local government.....(10(_____-1 (ASK 17b)
Never happened....._____-2 } (SKIP TO 18a)
Not sure....._____-3 }

17b. (IF "HAVE GONE TO LOCAL GOV'T" IN 17a) The last time you went to your local government, what was the purpose of your efforts? Anything else?

(11(_____
(12(_____

17c. Did you find the people you went to at your local government helpful or not helpful?

Helpful.....(13(_____-1
Not helpful....._____-2
Not sure....._____-3

17d. Did you come away from that experience with local government highly satisfied, only somewhat satisfied, or not satisfied at all?

Highly satisfied.....(14(_____-1
Only somewhat satisfied....._____-2
Not satisfied at all....._____-3
Not sure....._____-4

17e. Why did you feel that way? Any other reasons?

(15(_____
(16(_____

-19- CARD 4 2343

18a. (ASK EVERYONE) Leaving aside paying taxes and filling out forms for licenses for Social Security, have you ever gone to your state government to get them to do something, or has that not happened to you?

Have gone to state government.....	(17(_____-1	(ASK 18b)
Not happened.....	_____-2	(SKIP TO 19a)
Not sure.....	_____-3	(SKIP TO 19a)

18b. (IF "HAVE GONE TO STATE GOV'T" IN 18a) The last time you went to your state government, what was the purpose of your efforts? Anything else?

(18(_____
(19(_____

18c. Did you find the people you went to at your state government helpful or not helpful?

Helpful.....	(20(_____-1
Not helpful.....	_____-2
Not sure.....	_____-3

18d. Did you come away from that experience with state government highly satisfied, only somewhat satisfied, or not satisfied at all?

Highly satisfied.....	(21(_____-1
Only somewhat satisfied.....	_____-2
Not satisfied at all.....	_____-3
Not sure.....	_____-4

18e. Why did you feel that way? Any other reasons?

(22(_____
(23(_____

-20- CARD 4 2343

19a. (ASK EVERYONE) Again, leaving aside paying taxes and filling out forms for licenses or Social Security, have you ever gone to the federal government to get them to do something, or has that not happened to you?

Have gone to federal government.....	(24(_____ -1	(ASK 19b)
Not happened.....	_____ -2	(SKIP TO 20a)
Not sure.....	_____ -3	

19b. (IF "HAVE GONE TO FEDERAL GOV'T" IN 19a) The last time you went to the federal government, what was the purpose of your efforts? Anything else?

(25(_____
(26(_____

19c. Did you find the people you went to at the federal government helpful or not helpful?

Helpful.....	(27(_____	-1
Not helpful.....	_____	-2
Not sure.....	_____	-3

19d. Did you come away from that experience with the federal government highly satisfied, only somewhat satisfied, or not satisfied at all?

Highly satisfied.....	(28(_____	-1
Only somewhat satisfied.....	_____	-2
Not satisfied at all.....	_____	-3
Not sure	_____	-4

19e. Why did you feel that way? Any other reasons?

(29(_____
(30(_____

-21- CARD 4 2343

20a. (ASK EVERYONE) Now I would like you to tell me if you have ever done any of the following things. (READ LIST AND RECORD BELOW FOR EACH ITEM)

	Have done	Not done	Not sure
1. Attended a speech or rally for a political candidate.....	(31(_____-1	_____-2	_____-3
2. Written a letter to your Congressman.....	(32(_____-1	_____-2	_____-3
3. Written a letter to your U.S. Senator.....	(33(_____-1	_____-2	_____-3
4. Contributed financially to a political campaign.....	(34(_____-1	_____-2	_____-3
5. Signed a petition.....	(35(_____-1	_____-2	_____-3
6. Picketed or taken part in a street demonstration.....	(36(_____-1	_____-2	_____-3
7. Visited or talked in person with your Congressman.....	(37(_____-1	_____-2	_____-3
8. Visited or talked in person with your U.S. Senator.....	(38(_____-1	_____-2	_____-3
9. Campaigned or worked actively for the election of a candidate for Congress.....	(39(_____-1	_____-2	_____-3
10. Campaigned or worked actively for the election of a candidate for the U.S. Senate.....	(40(_____-1	_____-2	_____-3
11. Campaigned or worked actively for the election of a candidate for President.....	(41(_____-1	_____-2	_____-3
12. Took part in a demonstration where violence occurred.....	(42(_____-1	_____-2	_____-3
13. Visited a state legislator in the State Capitol.....	(43(_____-1	_____-2	_____-3
14. Wrote a letter to a local government official.....	(44(_____-1	_____-2	_____-3
15. Participated in a school board discussion or debate.....	(45(_____-1	_____-2	_____-3
16. Voted in a school bond issue.....	(46(_____-1	_____-2	_____-3
17. Actively defended the action of an elected official in a private conversation.....	(47(_____-1	_____-2	_____-3

-22- CARD 4 2343

20b. Do you belong to a (READ LIST) organization or not? (RECORD BELOW FOR EACH ITEM ON LIST)

	Belong	Don't belong	Not sure
1. Business	(48(____-1	_____-2	_____-3
2. Professional	(49(____-1	_____-2	_____-3
3. Social	(50(____-1	_____-2	_____-3
4. Labor union	(51(____-1	_____-2	_____-3
5. Charitable	(52(____-1	_____-2	_____-3
6. Religious	(53(____-1	_____-2	_____-3
7. Political	(54(____-1	_____-2	_____-3
8. Veterans	(55(____-1	_____-2	_____-3
9. Fraternal	(56(____-1	_____-2	_____-3
10. Ethnic	(57(____-1	_____-2	_____-3
11. School	(58(____-1	_____-2	_____-3
12, Sports	(59(____-1	_____-2	_____-3
13. Arts or cultural	(60(____-1	_____-2	_____-3
14. Fan or boosters club	(61(____-1	_____-2	_____-3
15. Civic	(62(____-1	_____-2	_____-3

20c. (IF "BELONG" TO ANY ORGANIZATION IN 20b) Are you or have you ever been an officer of any organization you have belonged to?

Are (been) an officer	(63(_____	-1
Not been an officer	_____	-2
Not sure	_____	-3

29-555 O - 74 -- 13

-23- CARD 4 2343

21a. (ASK EVERYONE) Now here is a card with some words and phrases on it. (HAND RESPONDENT CARD "C") Tell me which three or four on this list best describe most people who are elected to federal office. Just call of the numbers. (MULTIPLE RECORD BELOW)

21b. Now on the same list which three or four best describe most people who work in a career government job? Just give me the numbers please. (MULTIPLE RECORD BELOW)

21c. Now, which three or four on that list best describe most elected state officials? Again, just the numbers. (MULTIPLE RECORD BELOW)

21d. Now, which three or four on that list best describe most elected local officials? Just give me the numbers. (MULTIPLE RECORD BELOW)

21e. Now, from that same list, which three or four do you feel best describe the kind of people who should work in the government? Give me just the numbers please. (MULTIPLE RECORD BELOW)

	21a. Elected Federal Officials	21b. Career Government Jobs	21c. Elected State Officials	21d. Elected Local Officials	21e. Should Work in Government
1. Courageous	(64(-1	(66(-1	(68(-1	(70(-1	(72(-1
2. Bureaucratic	-2	-2	-2	-2	-2
3. Idealistic	-3	-3	-3	-3	-3
4. Out for themselves	-4	-4	-4	-4	-4
5. Dedicated to hard work	-5	-5	-5	-5	-5
6. Play it safe	-6	-6	-6	-6	-6
7. Honest	-7	-7	-7	-7	-7
8. Just serving time	-8	-8	-8	-8	-8
9. Intelligent, bright	-9	-9	-9	-9	-9
10. Make red tape	-0	-0	-0	-0	-0
11. Want to help people	-x	-x	-x	-x	-x
12. Corrupt	-y	-y	-y	-y	-y
13. Care about freedom	(65(-1	(67(-1	(69(-1	(71(-1	(73(-1
14. Only want power	-2	-2	-2	-2	-2
15. Public spirited	-3	-3	-3	-3	-3
16. Dull	-4	-4	-4	-4	-4
17. Efficient	-5	-5	-5	-5	-5
18. Couldn't care less	-6	-6	-6	-6	-6
19. Creative, imaginative	-7	-7	-7	-7	-7
20. Do things by the book	-8	-8	-8	-8	-8
21. Tells it like it is	-9	-9	-9	-9	-9
22. Make promises that are never kept	-0	-0	-0	-0	-0
None	-x	-x	-x	-x	-x
Not sure	-y	-y	-y	-y	-y

22a. Have you ever received a mailing or letter from your Congressman, or not? (RECORD BELOW)

22b. Have you ever received a mailing or letter from your U.S. Senator, or not? (RECORD BELOW)

	22a. Congressman	22b. U.S. Senator
Received mailing or letter	(74(-1	(75(-1
Not received	-2	-2
Can't recall	-3	-3

22c. Do you feel that letters or mailings from your Congressman or U.S. Senator (READ LIST) or not? (RECORD BELOW FOR EACH ITEM ON LIST)

		Do	Do Not	Not Sure
1.	Are interesting to read	(76(-1	-2	-3
2.	Tell you how he is voting	(77(-1	-2	-3
3.	Tell you useful information	(78(-1	-2	-3
4.	Are a waste of time and money	(79(-1	-2	-3
5.	Are just trying to get your vote	(10(-1	-2	-3

23a. If you could sit down and talk to the President, what two or three things would you like to tell him? Anything else?

(11(_____
(12(_____

23b. If you could sit down and talk to the governor of your state, what two or three things would you like to tell him? Anything else?

(13(_____
(14(_____

23c. If you could sit down and talk to your top local official around here, what two or three things would you like to tell him? Anything else?

(15(_____
(16(_____

23d. What two or three things do you think would have to be done to make the government a more exciting place to work? Anything else?

(17(_____
(18(_____

24a. Considering all the problems a big country like this faces today, do you feel (READ LIST) can be run well or not? (RECORD BELOW FOR EACH ITEM ON LIST)

		Can be run well	Can't be done	Not sure
1. Your local government	(19(	-1	-2	-3
2. Your state government	(20(	-1	-2	-3
3. Your federal government	(21(	-1	-2	-3

24b. All in all, would you be pleased if a son or daughter of yours went to work, as a career, (READ LIST) or not? (RECORD BELOW FOR EACH ITEM ON LIST)

		Pleased	Not Pleased	Not sure
1. In a big company	(22(	-1	-2	-3
2. Full time for a citizens group trying to improve the quality of life	(23(	-1	-2	-3
3. In local government	(24(	-1	-2	-3
4. In state government	(25(	-1	-2	-3
5. In the federal government	(26(	-1	-2	-3
6. In the military	(27(	-1	-2	-3
7. For a political organization	(28(	-1	-2	-3
8. For a newspaper or TV station	(29(	-1	-2	-3
9. As a doctor	(30(	-1	-2	-3
10. As a lawyer	(31(	-1	-2	-3
11. As a union official	(32(	-1	-2	-3
12. Running for political office	(33(	-1	-2	-3

24c. Do you feel we now have a federal government in which (READ LIST), or not? (RECORD BELOW FOR EACH ITEM ON LIST)

24d. Do you think it is possible to have a federal government in which (READ LIST) or not? (RECORD BELOW FOR EACH ITEM ON LIST)

	24c.			24d.		
	Now Have	Don't Have	Not sure	Possible	Not Possible	Not Sure
1. Most public officials are dedicated to helping the country rather than being out for themselves.....	(34(____-1	____-2	____-3	(42(____-1	____-2	____-3
2. Corruption and pay-offs almost never take place.....	(35(____-1	____-2	____-3	(43(____-1	____-2	____-3
3. The best people are attracted to serve in public life.....	(36(____-1	____-2	____-3	(44(____-1	____-2	____-3
4. Government is the most exciting place to work.....	(37(____-1	____-2	____-3	(45(____-1	____-2	____-3
5. The good of the country is placed above special interests.....	(38(____-1	____-2	____-3	(46(____-1	____-2	____-3
6. Public officials really care what happens to the people.....	(39(____-1	____-2	____-3	(47(____-1	____-2	____-3
7. Leaders are genuinely working for peace.....	(40(____-1	____-2	____-3	(48(____-1	____-2	____-3
8. Leaders come up with solutions to inflation that work.....	(41(____-1	____-2	____-3	(49(____-1	____-2	____-3

24e. In general, if you had to choose, which do you think is better to follow in order to make the government work better -- to put the right men in control of the government and let them run things with the help of the best experts they can find, or to set up tight checks by elected legislators, the courts, and citizen groups to watch closely over what the government is doing?

Put right people in and trust them.....(50(____-1
Set up tight checks.....____-2
Not sure.....____-3

24f. Why do you feel this way? Any other reasons?

(51(_____
(52(_____

-27- CARD 5 2343

25a. How much do you depend on (READ LIST) to find out what is going on in government and politics -- a great deal, only some, or hardly at all? (RECORD BELOW FOR EACH ITEM ON LIST)

	Great deal	Only some	Hardly at all	Not Sure
1. Newspapers	(53(___-1	____-2	____-3	____-4
2. Radio news	(54(___-1	____-2	____-3	____-4
3. Television news	(55(___-1	____-2	____-3	____-4
4. News magazines	(56(___-1	____-2	____-3	____-4
5. Talking to friends (and people at work)	(57(___-1	____-2	____-3	____-4
6. Local political grapevine	(58(___-1	____-2	____-3	____-4
7. Letters and mailings from elected officials	(59(___-1	____-2	____-3	____-4
8. Political party publications	(60(___-1	____-2	____-3	____-4
9. Private newsletters	(61(___-1	____-2	____-3	____-4
10. Local church	(62(___-1	____-2	____-3	____-4
11. Special reports, special publications	(63(___-1	____-2	____-3	____-4
12. Union publications	(64(___-1	____-2	____-3	____-4
13. Business publications	(65(___-1	____-2	____-3	____-4
14. Lectures, formal talks	(66(___-1	____-2	____-3	____-4

25b. How would you rate yourself on how up to date you are on (READ LIST) -- excellent, pretty good, only fair, or poor? (RECORD BELOW FOR EACH ITEM ON LIST)

	Excel-lent	Pretty good	Only fair	Poor	Not sure
1. What is going on in the federal government in Washington	(67(____-1	____-2	____-3	____-4	____-5
2. What is going on in state government in your state capitol	(68(____-1	____-2	____-3	____-4	____-5
3. What is going on in your local government	(69(____-1	____-2	____-3	____-4	____-5
4. What is happening in politics	(70(____-1	____-2	____-3	____-4	____-5

-28- CARD 5 - 6 2343

26. Now I want to ask you about some situations involving government. For each, tell me if you personally object to the government doing that,or would you just accept it as something that had to be done for the good of the country or the community? (READ LIST AND RECORD BELOW FOR EACH ITEM)

		Would object to	Would accept	Not Sure
a.	If the government allowed people to own a gun, but said it had to be kept at a local police station and signed in and out, with a pass given each time it was used	(71(-1	-2	-3
b.	If the government said every family had to pay $50 a year more in taxes to clean up air and water pollution	(72(-1	-2	-3
c.	If the government imposed and enforced a stiff fine for littering public places with trash	(73(-1	-2	-3
d.	If the police made spot checks at traffic lights to see if people had their safety belts on in cars and imposed stiff fines if they didn't have them on	(74(-1	-2	-3
e.	If the government required all auto owners to bring in their car every three months for an inspection to be sure it wasn't burning too much gasoline during the gas shortage	(75(-1	-2	-3
f.	If the government raised taxes for each family $50 a year to make sure the streets were safe to walk on at night	(76(-1	-2	-3
g.	If the government said the price of bread had to go up 5 cents in order to send wheat to China and Russia as a way to keep peace in the world	(77(-1	-2	-3
h.	If the government asked that all demonstrations against the government be called off so that government leaders could get the work of government done	(78(-1	-2	-3
i.	If the government required that every residence had to be inspected once a year for cracks and leaks that wasted heat or fuel	(79(-1	-2	-3
j.	If police said it needed the right to come into your home without a search warrant to control drug abuse	(10(-1	-2	-3

27a. Do you feel that U.S. involvement in the war in Vietnam lasted longer because of the anti-war demonstrations, was shortened by the demonstations, or do you feel the demonstrations did not have much affect one way or the other?

Lasted longer.....(11(_____-1
Was shortened....._____-2
Not affected one way or the other....._____-3
Not sure....._____-4

27b. Do you feel the protest marches led by Martin Luther King in the 1960's speeded up civil rights legislation, slowed it down, or didn't make much difference one way or the other?

Speeded up.....(12(_____-1
Slowed down....._____-2
Not made much difference....._____-3
Not sure....._____-4

27c. Do you feel the "support your local police" campaigns have made local government put in more effective crime control measures, have slowed down law enforcement, or not had much effect on controlling crime?

Made more effective crime control.....(13(_____-1
Slowed down law enforcement....._____-2
Not had much effect....._____-3
Not sure....._____-4

27d. Do you feel that the protests against forced busing of school children to achieve a racial balance in the schools have been effective or not?

Been effective.....(14(_____-1
Not effective....._____-2
Not sure....._____-3

27e. Do you feel that citizen group pressures to make industry stop polluting the air and water have speeded up industry efforts to curb pollution, have slowed down such industry efforts, or not had much effect one way or the other?

Speeded up.....(15(_____-1
Slowed down....._____-2
Not much effect....._____-3
Not sure....._____-4

CARD 6

-30- 2343

FACTUAL (ASK EVERYONE):

Now I have just a few more factual questions for statistical purposes only.

F1a. Are you or is any member of your family a veteran of the armed forces? (MULTIPLE RECORD IF NECESSARY)

Respondent veteran.....	(16(-1	(ASK F1b)
Other family member veteran.....	-2	
No veteran in family.....	-3	(SKIP TO F1c)
Not sure.....	-4	

F1b. (IF "RESPONDENT VETERAN" OR "OTHER FAMILY MEMBER VETERAN" IN F1a) When did you (family member) serve? (MULTIPLE RECORD IF NECESSARY)

1914-1918 (WORLD WAR I).....	(17(	-1
1919-1940.....		-2
1941-1945 (WORLD WAR II).....		-3
1946-1949.....		-4
1950-1953 (KOREAN WAR).....		-5
1954-1962.....		-6
1963-present (VIETNAM WAR).....		-7
Not sure.....		-8

F1c. (ASK EVERYONE) Do you know anyone or not who works for (READ LIST)? (RECORD BELOW FOR EACH ITEM ON LIST)

		Know	Don't know	Not Sure
1. Local government.....	(18(	-1	-2	-3
2. State government.....	(19(	-1	-2	-3
3. Federal government....	(20(	-1	-2	-3

F1d. (IF "KNOW" FOR ANY ITEM IN F1c) Do you have higher respect for most people you know who work for the government, lower respect, or no more or less respect than for most other people?

Higher respect.....	(21(	-1
Lower respect.....		-2
No more, no less.....		-3
Not sure.....		-4

F1e. (ASK EVERYONE) Do you own or rent the apartment/house where you live?

Own.....	(22(	-1
Rent.....		-2
Not sure.....		-3

(ASK EVERYONE)
'le.What is your position in this household?

Male head	(23(	-1
Female head (no male head)		-2
Wife		-3
Son		-4
Daughter		-5
Other (specify)		-6

F2a. Is the head of the household an hourly wage worker, salaried, or self-employed in his main job?

Hourly wage worker	(24(	-1
Salaried		-2
Self-employed		-3
Retired		-4
Unemployed		-5

(ASK F2b)

None of the above:

Student	-6
Military service	-7
Housewife	-8
Other (specify)	-9

(SKIP TO F3)

F2b. (ASK IF EMPLOYED, UNEMPLOYED OR RETIRED IN F2a -- OTHERS SKIP TO F3) What type of work does (did, if retired) the head of the household do? (PROBE FULLY, FINDING OUT WHAT THE JOB IS CALLED, DUTIES INVOLVED, ETC., IN ORDER TO CATEGORIZE CORRECTLY BELOW)

Professional, engineer	(25(	-1
Manager, official, proprietor		-2
Clerical worker		-3
Sales worker		-4
Skilled craftsman, foreman		-5
Operative, unskilled laborer (except farm)		-6
Service worker		-7
Farmer, farm manager, farm laborer		-8
Work for local gov't (specify)		-9
Work for state gov't (specify)		-0
Work for federal gov't (specify)		-X
Other (specify)		-Y

F3. (ASK EVERYONE) Are you single, married, widowed, divorced or separated?

Single	(26(	-1
Married		-2
Widowed		-3
Divorced		-4
Separated		-5

F4. In what age group are you? (READ LIST)

18 to 20	(27(	-1
21 to 24		-2
25 to 29		-3
30 to 34		-4
35 to 39		-5
40 to 49		-6
50 to 64		-7
65 and over		-8
Refused*		-9

* IF RESPONDENT REFUSES, ESTIMATE HIS/HER AGE, AND RECORD FOR "REFUSED" AS WELL AS THE AGE GROUP YOU ESTIMATE.

F5. (HAND RESPONDENT CARD "D") Would you please look at this card and tell me which letter represents the highest grade of school that you actually completed?

C. No formal schooling (0 years)	(28(	-1
D. First through seventh grade (1-7 years of school completed)		-2
E. 8th grade (8 years of school completed)		-3
F. Some high school (9-11 years of school completed)		-4
G. High school graduate (12 years of school completed)		-5
H. Some college (1-3 years of college completed)		-6
I. Two year college graduate (completed 2 years community college,etc.)		-7
J. Four year college graduate (completed 4 years of college)		-8
K. Post graduate (4 year college graduate and completed at least 1 year of graduate school)		-9

F6. Are you a member of a labor union, or is any other member of this household a member of a labor union?

Self is member	(29(	-1
Other is member		-2
No union member in household		-3
Not sure		-4

-32- CARD 6 2343

F7. For statistical purposes only, we need to know your total household income for 1972. Will you please look at this card (HAND RESPONDENT CARD "E") and tell me which letter best represents all the money the members of this household either earned or received, such as welfare, pensions, stocks, bonds, real estate and other investments, income from a business, before taxes in 1972?

A. Under $3,000.....(30(-1
B. $3,000 to $4,999..... -2
C. $5,000 to $6,999..... -3
D. $7,000 to $9,999..... -4
E. $10,000 to $14,999..... -5
F. $15,000 to $19,999..... -6
G. $20,000 to $24,999..... -7
H. $25,000 and over..... -8
I. Not sure/refused..... -9

INTERVIEWER: IF "NOT SURE" OR "REFUSED", RECORD FOR "NOT SURE/REFUSED", AND RECORD FOR THE AMOUNT YOU ARE ESTIMATING.

F8. What is your religion?

Protestant.....(31(-1
Catholic..... -2
Jewish..... -3
Other (write in)
_____ -4
None..... -5
Not sure..... -6

F9. What country or countries were your grandparents born in? (MULTIPLE RECORD IF BORN IN MORE THAN ONE COUNTRY)

America

U.S.A.....(32(-1
Canada..... -2
Puerto Rico..... -3
Other Caribbean..... -4
Other Latin and South America..... -5

Europe

Ireland..... -6
England, Scotland, Wales..... -7
Scandinavia..... -8
Germany..... -9
France..... -0
Italy..... -X
Spain or Portugal..... -Y
Other Western Europe (specify)
_____(33(-1
Austria or Hungary..... -2
Poland..... -3
Russia..... -4
Other Eastern Europe (specify)
_____ -5
Asia..... -6
Africa..... -7

Other (specify): _____ -8
Not sure..... -9

RECORD THE FOLLOWING -- DO NOT ASK:

F10. Ethnic Group or Racial Background:

White.....(34(-1
Black..... -2
Oriental..... -3
Spanish-American (Puerto Rican, Mexican-American)..... -4
Other (specify) _____ -5
Not sure..... -6

F11. Respondent is:

Male.....(35(-1

Female..... -2

F12. Length of interview ("X" ONLY ONE):

15 minutes or less.....(36(-1
16 minutes to 30 minutes..... -2
31 min. to 45 min..... -3
46 min. to 1 hour..... -4
1 hr. 1 min. to 1 hr. 15 min..... -5
1 hr. 16 min. to 1 hr. 30 min..... -6
1 hr. 31 min. to 1 hr. 45 min..... -7
1 hr. 46 min. to 2 hours..... -8
2 hrs. 1 min. to 2 hrs. 15 min..... -9
2 hrs. 16 min. to 2 hrs. 30 min..... -0
2 hrs. 31 min. to 2 hrs. 45 min..... -X
More than 2 hours 45 minutes..... -Y

Respondent's name (PLEASE PRINT):_____

Respondent's address:_____

City/Town:_____ State:_____ Zip:_____

Telephone No._____ Area code:_____

THIS IS A BONA FIDE INTERVIEW AND HAS BEEN OBTAINED ACCORDING TO MY AGREEMENT WITH LOUIS HARRIS AND ASSOCIATES, INC.

Interviewer's name (PLEASE PRINT):_____

Date of interview:_____ Time (o'clock) of interview:_____

This interview validated by:_____ Date validated:_____

U.S. SENATE SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS
STUDY OF STATE AND LOCAL OFFICIALS

September 1973

Study No. 2343-P

FOR OFFICE USE ONLY -- DO NOT FILL IN:

Questionnaire No. _____
5- 6- 7- 8-

We are conducting a survey of the responsiveness of the American people to government at all levels, and would like to ask your views on this subject. You can be absolutely sure that your answers will be kept completely confidential and in no way will your views be revealed.

In filling out this questionnaire, please mark an "X" next to the category which comes closest to your choice in each question. Where we ask for an answer in your own words, please write in your answers in the blank space allotted for that purpose. The questionnaire number in the upper right-hand corner above is simply a way for us to know who has replied and who has not.

1a. Many polls have indicated that confidence in public officials at all levels of government has been declining. In your judgment, what are the two or three main reasons for this decline in public confidence? (PLEASE WRITE IN BELOW)

(10-_____
(11-_____

1b. What two or three things do you think ought to be done to restore the public's confidence in government to higher levels? (PLEASE WRITE IN BELOW)

(12-_____
(13-_____

2a. In your own job, do you feel you are impeded substantially, only some, or hardly at all by the following things. (MARK "X" IN APPROPRIATE CATEGORY FOR EACH ITEM ON LIST)

Impeded by:	Substantially	Only Some	Hardly at All	Not Sure
a. Intergovernmental red tape.....	(14(_____-1	_____-2	_____-3	_____-4
b. Fragmentation of government authority...	(15(_____-1	_____-2	_____-3	_____-4
c. Inadequate tax base.....	(16(_____-1	_____-2	_____-3	_____-4
d. Underpaid staff.....	(17(_____-1	_____-2	_____-3	_____-4
e. Inadequate staff.....	(18(_____-1	_____-2	_____-3	_____-4
f. Can't recruit people we really need.....	(19(_____-1	_____-2	_____-3	_____-4
g. Too many special interest group pressures.....	(20(_____-1	_____-2	_____-3	_____-4
h. Too much harassment by the media.....	(21(_____-1	_____-2	_____-3	_____-4
i. Apathetic public.....	(22(_____-1	_____-2	_____-3	_____-4

2b. Are there any other things which you feel impede your own job substantially? (PLEASE WRITE IN BELOW)

(23 _____
(24 _____

2c. Do you feel there is something deeply wrong in America today, or do you feel we always have one crisis or another? (PLEASE "X" YOUR CHOICE)

(25(Something deeply wrong..... _____-1
Always have a crisis..... _____-2
Not sure..... _____-3

2d. Why do you feel this way? (WRITE IN BELOW)

(26-
(27-

3a. What do you feel are the two or three biggest problems facing the country you would like to see something done about? Anything else? (WRITE IN BELOW)

3b. (FOR EACH PROBLEM IN 3a) What do you think ought to be done about it? Anything else? (WRITE IN BELOW)

3a. Problem	3b. Solution
#1	#1
#2	#2
#3	#3

(28-
(29-
(30-
(31-
(32-
(33-
(34-
(35-
(36-
(37-
(38-
(39-

4a. In general, how much do you feel these various levels of government affect the personal life of most people -- a great deal, only somewhat, or hardly at all? (PUT AN "X" IN THE APPROPRIATE CATEGORY FOR EACH FORM OF GOVERNMENT)

	Great Deal	Only Somewhat	Hardly at All	Not Sure
1. Local government.....(40	(_____-1	_____-2	_____-3	_____-4
2. State government.....(41	(_____-1	_____-2	_____-3	_____-4
3. Federal government.....(42	(_____-1	_____-2	_____-3	_____-4

4b. What are the two or three main ways you feel that local government impacts on the life of most people personally? (WRITE IN BELOW)

(43-_____
(44-_____

4c. What are the two or three main ways you feel that state government impacts on the life of most people personally? (WRITE IN BELOW)

(45-_____
(46-_____

4d. What are the two or three main ways you feel that the federal government impacts on the life of most people personally? (WRITE IN BELOW)

(47-_____
(48-_____

5. As far as the people in charge of running each of these areas are concerned, would you say you have a great deal of confidence, only some confidence, or hardly any confidence at all in them? (MARK AN "X" IN APPROPRIATE CATEGORY FOR EACH ITEM ON LIST)

	Great Deal of Confidence	Only Some Confidence	Hardly Any Confidence	Not Sure
a. Major companies.....(49(	_____-1	_____-2	_____-3	_____-4
b. Organized religion.....(50(	_____-1	_____-2	_____-3	_____-4
c. Higher educational institutions (college).....(51(	_____-1	_____-2	_____-3	_____-4
d. The U.S. Senate.....(52(	_____-1	_____-2	_____-3	_____-4
e. Organized labor.....(53(	_____-1	_____-2	_____-3	_____-4
f. The press.....(54(	_____-1	_____-2	_____-3	_____-4
g. The U.S. House of Representatives.....(55(	_____-1	_____-2	_____-3	_____-4
h. Medicine.....(56(	_____-1	_____-2	_____-3	_____-4
i. Television news.....(57(	_____-1	_____-2	_____-3	_____-4
j. Local tax assessment.....(58(	_____-1	_____-2	_____-3	_____-4
k. Local government.....(59(	_____-1	_____-2	_____-3	_____-4
L. Local public schools.....(60(	_____-1	_____-2	_____-3	_____-4
m. The U.S. Supreme Court.....(61(	_____-1	_____-2	_____-3	_____-4
n. Local police department .....(62(	_____-1	_____-2	_____-3	_____-4
o. State highway systems .....(63(	_____-1	_____-2	_____-3	_____-4
p. State government.....(64(	_____-1	_____-2	_____-3	_____-4
q. Local community fund (Community Chest).....(65(	_____-1	_____-2	_____-3	_____-4
r. The executive branch of the federal government ....(66(	_____-1	_____-2	_____-3	_____-4
s. Local trash collection agency .....(67(	_____-1	_____-2	_____-3	_____-4
t. The military .....(68(	_____-1	_____-2	_____-3	_____-4
u. The White House.....(69(	_____-1	_____-2	_____-3	_____-4
v. Law firms .....(70(	_____-1	_____-2	_____-3	_____-4

6a. Compared to five years ago, do you feel you have more confidence, less confidence, or about the same amount of confidence in local government as you did then? ("X" APPROPRIATE ANSWER BELOW)

(71
More confidence ..... (_____ -1
Less confidence ..... _____ -2
About the same ..... _____ -3
Not sure ..... _____ -4

6b. Why do you feel that way? (WRITE IN BELOW)

(72-_____
(73-_____

6c. Compared to five years ago, do you feel you have more confidence, less confidence, or about the same amount of confidence in state government as you did then? ("X" YOUR CHOICE BELOW)

(74
More confidence ..... (_____ -1
Less confidence ..... _____ -2
About the same ..... _____ -3
Not sure ..... _____ -4

6d. Why do you feel that way? (WRITE IN BELOW)

(75-_____
(76-_____

6e. Compared to five years ago, do you feel you have more confidence, less confidence, or about the same amount of confidence in the federal government as you did then? ("X" YOUR CHOICE BELOW)

(77
More confidence ..... (_____ -1
Less confidence ..... _____ -2
About the same ..... _____ -3
Not sure ..... _____ -4

6f. Why do you feel that way? (WRITE IN BELOW)

(78-_____
(79-_____

7a. Here are some statements some people have made about the way different levels of government should operate in this country. For each, mark an "X" for whether you tend to agree or disagree. ("X" YOUR ANSWER FOR EACH BELOW)

		Agree	Disagree	Not Sure
1.	The best government is the government that governs the least	(10 (_____-1	_____-2	_____-3
2.	The federal government has a deep responsibility for seeing to it that the poor are taken care of, that no one goes hungry, and that every person achieves a minimum standard of living.....	(11 (_____-1	_____-2	_____-3
3.	Local government is closer to the people, so as many of the services of government as possible should be given to local government to handle.....	(12 (_____-1	_____-2	_____-3
4.	The federal government represents all the people of the country so it should handle the most important matters, such as how to control inflation, avoid depressions, and how to achieve peace in the world.....	(13 (_____-1	_____-2	_____-3
5.	Each state in the country has different people with different needs, so it is mainly the states that should decide what government programs ought to be started and continued.....	(14 (_____-1	_____-2	_____-3
6.	It's about time we had a strong federal government again to get this country moving again.....	(15 (_____-1	_____-2	_____-3
7.	The federal government has become so big and bureaucratic, it should give more of its tax money to the states and local communities to do what they think it is best to do	(16 (_____-1	_____-2	_____-3
8.	The federal government should not run the life of the country, but should regulate major companies, industries, and institutions to be sure they don't take advantage of the public	(17 (_____-1	_____-2	_____-3
9.	The trouble with government is that the elected officials have lost control over the bureaucrats, who really run things	(18 (_____-1	_____-2	_____-3
10.	A lot of the problems connected with government could be solved if there weren't so much secrecy on the part of government officials.....	(19 (_____-1	_____-2	_____-3

7b. Do you think each of the following levels of government should be made much stronger, only somewhat stronger, somewhat less strong, or should have power taken away from it? ("X" YOUR ANSWER FOR EACH BELOW)

	Made Much Stronger	Only Somewhat Stronger	Somewhat Less Strong	Have Power Taken Away	Kept As Is	Not Sure
1. Local government	(20(-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6
2. State government	(21(-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6
3. Federal government	(22(-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6

7c. (IF LOCAL GOVERNMENT SHOULD BE MADE "MUCH" OR "SOMEWHAT" STRONGER IN 7b) How would you make local government stronger? (WRITE IN BELOW)

(23-
(24-

7d. (IF STATE GOVERNMENT SHOULD BE MADE "MUCH" OR "SOMEWHAT" STRONGER IN 7b) How would you make state government stronger? (WRITE IN BELOW)

(25-
(26-

7e. (IF FEDERAL GOVERNMENT SHOULD BE MADE "MUCH" OR "SOMEWHAT" STRONGER IN 7b) How would you make the federal government stronger? (WRITE IN BELOW)

(27-
(28-

8a. All in all, compared to 10 years ago, do you feel the quality of life in this country has improved, grown worse, or stayed about the same? ("X" YOUR CHOICE BELOW)

Improved .....(29(-1
Grown worse ..... -2
Stayed about the same ..... -3
Not sure ..... -4

8b. Why do you feel that way? (WRITE IN BELOW)

(30-_____
(31-_____

8c. As far as you personally are concerned, do you feel that each of these levels of government has improved the quality of life in the past few years, made it worse, or not changed it much either way? ("X" YOUR ANSWER FOR EACH LEVEL OF GOVERNMENT BELOW)

	Improved It	Made It Worse	Not Changed It Much	Not Sure
1. Local government.....	(32(_____-1	_____-2	_____-3	_____-4
2. State government.....	(33(_____-1	_____-2	_____-3	_____-4
3. Federal government.....	(34(_____-1	_____-2	_____-3	_____-4

9. Here are some things some people have said about the quality of life in America today that they are having trouble with. Do you think, in general, most people feel each of these is a real problem for them, something they can take in stride, or not a problem for them? (MARK AN "X" IN APPROPRIATE CATEGORY FOR EACH ITEM ON LIST)

	Real Problem	Can Take in Stride	Not a Problem	Not Sure
a. Breathing polluted air.....	(35(_____-1	_____-2	_____-3	_____-4
b. The high price of meat and other food.....	(36(_____-1	_____-2	_____-3	_____-4
c. Too many national crises all the time.....	(37(_____-1	_____-2	_____-3	_____-4
d. The lack of response by government to their personal problems.....	(38(_____-1	_____-2	_____-3	_____-4
e. Too many pressures in day-to-day living.....	(39(_____-1	_____-2	_____-3	_____-4
f. Too much overcrowding and noise.....	(40(_____-1	_____-2	_____-3	_____-4
g. The inability of local and state government to solve problems.....	(41(_____-1	_____-2	_____-3	_____-4
h. Making ends meet.....	(42(_____-1	_____-2	_____-3	_____-4
i. Corrupt politicians.....	(43(_____-1	_____-2	_____-3	_____-4
j. Local government police and fire protection, trash collection, and keeping the streets clean.....	(44(_____-1	_____-2	_____-3	_____-4
k. Getting people to trust each other.....	(45(_____-1	_____-2	_____-3	_____-4
L. Lack of trust and confidence in government.....	(46(_____-1	_____-2	_____-3	_____-4
m. Too much attention paid to people who protest and demonstrate.....	(47(_____-1	_____-2	_____-3	_____-4

10a. Suppose that an average citizen's son or daughter were arrested by the local police. Do you feel that his child would receive better treatment, worse treatment, or about the same treatment as the son or daughter of a prominent public official arrested for the same offense? ("X" YOUR CHOICE BELOW)

Better treatment.....(48(_____-1
Worse treatment....._____-2
About the same....._____-3
Not sure....._____-4

10b. Why do you feel that way? (WRITE IN BELOW)

(49-_____
(50-_____

11a. Compared to five years ago, do you feel groups of citizens can have more effect in getting government to get things done, less effect, or do you feel it hasn't changed much? ("X" YOUR CHOICE BELOW)

More effect.....(51(_____-1
Less effect....._____-2
Not changed much....._____-3
Not sure ....._____-4

11b. Why do you feel that way? (WRITE IN BELOW)

(52-_____
(53-_____

11c. What kinds of groups of citizens are most active in your recent experience? (WRITE IN BELOW)

(54-_____
(55-_____

12. The following is a list of problems. For each, tell us what level or levels of government you feel can best handle that problem -- local government, state government, or the federal government. (IN THIS QUESTION, IF YOU FEEL IT IS APPROPRIATE, MARK AN "X" UNDER MORE THAN ONE CATEGORY)

	Local Government	State Government	Federal Government	None	Not Sure
a. Accidents on highways ..... (56(	_____-1	_____-2	_____-3	_____-4	_____-5
b. Providing low income housing ... (57(	_____-1	_____-2	_____-3	_____-4	_____-5
c. Controlling air and water pollution ..... (58(	_____-1	_____-2	_____-3	_____-4	_____-5
d. Providing police protection .... (59(	_____-1	_____-2	_____-3	_____-4	_____-5
e. Getting rid of corrupt politicians ..... (60(	_____-1	_____-2	_____-3	_____-4	_____-5
f. Consumer protests against high prices ..... (61(	_____-1	_____-2	_____-3	_____-4	_____-5
g. Improving public schools ..... (62(	_____-1	_____-2	_____-3	_____-4	_____-5
h. Building better highways ..... (63(	_____-1	_____-2	_____-3	_____-4	_____-5
i. Middle income housing ..... (64(	_____-1	_____-2	_____-3	_____-4	_____-5
j. Drug abuse ..... (65(	_____-1	_____-2	_____-3	_____-4	_____-5
k. Racial demonstrations ..... (66(	_____-1	_____-2	_____-3	_____-4	_____-5
L. Big rock concerts ..... (67(	_____-1	_____-2	_____-3	_____-4	_____-5
m. Making taxes fair for everyone ..... (68(	_____-1	_____-2	_____-3	_____-4	_____-5
n. Crime in the streets ..... (69(	_____-1	_____-2	_____-3	_____-4	_____-5
o. Gun controls ..... (70(	_____-1	_____-2	_____-3	_____-4	_____-5
p. Income taxes ..... (71(	_____-1	_____-2	_____-3	_____-4	_____-5
q. Traffic congestion ..... (72(	_____-1	_____-2	_____-3	_____-4	_____-5
r. Racial integration in education ..... (73(	_____-1	_____-2	_____-3	_____-4	_____-5
s. Taking care of people on welfare ..... (74(	_____-1	_____-2	_____-3	_____-4	_____-5

13. Here is a list of some things people have told us about government. For each statement below, do you feel most people around here would tend to agree or disagree with it. (MARK AN "X" FOR YOUR CHOICE IN EACH CASE BELOW)

		Agree	Disagree	Not Sure
a.	If a person doesn't care how an election comes out, he shouldn't vote in it.....	(75(_____-1	_____-2	_____-3
b.	An important part of an elected Congressman's job should be to help the people in his District in dealing with government agencies.....	(76(_____-1	_____-2	_____-3
c.	Congress should serve as a check over the President and his executive agencies.....	(77(_____-1	_____-2	_____-3
d.	A U.S. Senator should usually vote in the interests of the entire nation, even if it might hurt his state	(78(_____-1	_____-2	_____-3
e.	Voting is the only way average people can have a say about how the government runs things.....	(79(_____-1	_____-2	_____-3
f.	Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person can't really understand what is going on	(80(_____-1	_____-2	_____-3
g.	Congress should always cooperate with the President and not oppose his proposals.....	(10(_____-1	_____-2	_____-3
h.	A U.S. Senator ought to think like the people of his state so he can react to proposed legislation the way they would.....	(11(_____-1	_____-2	_____-3
i.	Local government is too disorganized to be effective.....	(12(_____-1	_____-2	_____-3
j.	In most cases, on important matters, high government officials should decide what ought to be done, because they are the ones who know what is going on.....	(13(_____-1	_____-2	_____-3

14a. Leaving aside people paying their taxes and filling out forms for things such as licenses or Social Security, do you feel that a lot of people around here have gone to their local government to get it to do something for them, only some have done that, or only a few people around here have done that? ("X" YOUR CHOICE BELOW)

A lot.....(14(_____-1
Only some..... _____-2
Only a few..... _____-3
Not sure..... _____-4

14b. What sort of things do people around here go to their local government for? (WRITE IN BELOW)

(15-_____
(16-_____

14c. Do you feel most people come away from their experience with local government highly satisfied, only somewhat satisfied, or not satisfied at all? ("X" YOUR CHOICE BELOW)

Highly satisfied .....(17(_____-1
Only somewhat satisfied ....._____-2
Not satisfied at all ....._____-3
Not sure ....._____-4

14d. Why do you think they feel that way? (WRITE IN BELOW)

(18-_____
(19-_____

15a. Again, leaving aside the taxes they pay and their applications for licenses and benefits, do you feel a lot of people around here have gone to their state government to get it to do something for them, only some have done that, or only a few people around here have done that? ("X" YOUR CHOICE BELOW)

A lot.....(20(_____-1
Only some....._____-2
Only a few ....._____-3
Not sure ....._____-4

15b. What sort of things do people around here go to their state government for? (WRITE IN BELOW)

(21-_____
(22-_____

15c. Do you feel most people come away from their experience with state government highly satisfied, only somewhat satisfied, or not satisfied at all? ("X" YOUR CHOICE BELOW)

Highly satisfied.....(23(_____-1
Only somewhat satisfied ....._____-2
Not satisfied at all ....._____-3
Not sure ....._____-4

15d. Why do you think they feel that way? (WRITE IN BELOW)

(24-_____
(25-_____

16a. Again, leaving aside their paying taxes and filling out forms for applications, licenses, social security, and things such as that, do you feel that a lot of people around here have gone to the federal government to get it to do something for them, only some have done that, or only a few around here have done that? ("X" YOUR CHOICE BELOW)

A lot.....(26(_____-1
Only some....._____-2
Only a few....._____-3
Not sure ....._____-4

16b. What sort of things do people around here go to the federal government for? (WRITE IN BELOW)

(27-_____
(28-_____

16c. Do you feel that most people come away from their experience with the federal government highly satisfied, only somewhat satisfied, or not satisfied at all? ("X" YOUR CHOICE BELOW

Highly satisfied .....(29(_____-1
Only somewhat satisfied....._____-2
Not satisfied at all....._____-3
Not sure....._____-4

16d. Why do you think they feel that way? (WRITE IN BELOW)

(30-____
(31-____

17a. Please "X" below which three or four words or phrases on the list best describe to you most people who are elected to federal office. (MARK "X's" BELOW)

17b. On the same list, which three or four best describe to you most people who work in a career government job? (MARK "X's" BELOW)

17c. Which three or four on that list best describe most elected state officials? (MARK "X's" BELOW)

17d. Which three or four on the list best describe most elected local officials? (MARK "X's" BELOW)

17e. From that same list, which three or four do you feel best describe the kind of people who should work in the government? (MARK "X's" BELOW)

	17a. Elected Federal Officials	17b. Career Government Workers	17c. Elected State Officials	17d. Elected Local Officials	17e. Should Work in Government
1. Courageous	(32(____-1	(34(____-1	(36(____-1	(38(____-1	(40(____-1
2. Bureaucratic	____-2	____-2	____-2	____-2	____-2
3. Idealistic	____-3	____-3	____-3	____-3	____-3
4. Out for themselves	____-4	____-4	____-4	____-4	____-4
5. Dedicated to hard work	____-5	____-5	____-5	____-5	____-5
6. Play it safe	____-6	____-6	____-6	____-6	____-6
7. Honest	____-7	____-7	____-7	____-7	____-7
8. Just serving time	____-8	____-8	____-8	____-8	____-8
9. Intelligent, bright	____-9	____-9	____-9	____-9	____-9
10. Make red tape	____-0	____-0	____-0	____-0	____-0
11. Want to help people	____-x	____-x	____-x	____-x	____-x
12. Corrupt	____-y	____-y	____-y	____-y	____-y
13. Care about freedom	(33(____-1	(35(____-1	(37(____-1	(39(____-1	(41(____-1
14. Only want power	____-2	____-2	____-2	____-2	____-2
15. Public spirited	____-3	____-3	____-3	____-3	____-3
16. Dull	____-4	____-4	____-4	____-4	____-4
17. Efficient	____-5	____-5	____-5	____-5	____-5
18. Couldn't care less	____-6	____-6	____-6	____-6	____-6
19. Creative, imaginative	____-7	____-7	____-7	____-7	____-7
20. Do things by the book	____-8	____-8	____-8	____-8	____-8
21. Tell it like it is	____-9	____-9	____-9	____-9	____-9
22. Make promises that are never kept	____-0	____-0	____-0	____-0	____-0
None/not sure	____-x	____-x	____-x	____-x	____-x

18a. In general, how do you keep in touch with the people you represent or whom you are serving? (WRITE IN BELOW)

(42-
(43-

18b. Do you do any of the following things on a regular basis? (MARK "X" BELOW FOR EACH ITEM ON LIST)

18c. (FOR EACH THING YOU DO IN 18b) Do you find that very helpful in getting your job done, only somewhat helpful, or not very helpful at all? (MARK "X" BELOW FOR EACH ITEM THAT APPLIES, PER 18b)

	18b.		18c.			
	Do It	Don't Do	Very Helpful	Only Somewhat Helpful	Not Helpful at All	Not Sure
1. Have regular office hours for people.....	(44(____-1	____-2	(48(____-1	____-2	____-3	____-4
2. Send people a newsletter..	(45(____-1	____-2	(49(____-1	____-2	____-3	____-4
3. Make speeches and appearances.....	(46(____-1	____-2	(50(____-1	____-2	____-3	____-4
4. Attend weddings, funerals, and social events.....	(47(____-1	____-2	(51(____-1	____-2	____-3	____-4

19a. Considering all the problems a big country like this faces today, do you feel each of the following levels of government can be run well, or not? (MARK "X" FOR EACH LEVEL OF GOVERNMENT ON LIST)

	Can Be Run Well	Can't Be Done	Not Sure
1. Your local government.....	(52(____-1	____-2	____-3
2. Your state government.....	(53(____-1	____-2	____-3
3. Your federal government.....	(54(____-1	____-2	____-3

19b. All in all, would you be pleased or not if a son or daughter of yours went to work, as a career, in the following areas? (MARK "X" FOR YOUR CHOICE IN EACH CASE ON LIST BELOW)

	Pleased	Not Pleased	Not Sure
1. For a big company	(55 (_____-1	_____-2	_____-3
2. Full time for a citizens group trying to improve the quality of life	(56 (_____-1	_____-2	_____-3
3. In local government	(57 (_____-1	_____-2	_____-3
4. In state government	(58 (_____-1	_____-2	_____-3
5. In the federal government	(59 (_____-1	_____-2	_____-3
6. In the military	(60 (_____-1	_____-2	_____-3
7. For a political party	(61 (_____-1	_____-2	_____-3
8. For a newspaper or TV station	(62 (_____-1	_____-2	_____-3
9. As a doctor	(63 (_____-1	_____-2	_____-3
10. As a lawyer	(64 (_____-1	_____-2	_____-3
11. As a union official	(65 (_____-1	_____-2	_____-3
12. Running for political office	(66 (_____-1	_____-2	_____-3

20a. Do you feel we now have a federal government in which each of the following things exist, or not? (MARK "X" IN EACH CATEGORY BELOW)

20b. Do you think it is possible to achieve a federal government in which these things exist, or not? (MARK "X" IN EACH CATEGORY BELOW)

	20a.			20b.		
	Have Now	Don't Have	Not Sure	Possible	Not Possible	Not Sure
1. Most public officials are dedicated to helping the country rather than being out for themselves	(67 (____ -1	____ -2	____ -3	(75 (____ -1	____ -2	____ -3
2. Corruption and payoffs almost never take place	(68 (____ -1	____ -2	____ -3	(76 (____ -1	____ -2	____ -3
3. The best people are attracted to serve in public life	(69 (____ -1	____ -2	____ -3	(77 (____ -1	____ -2	____ -3
4. Government is the most exciting place to work	(70 (____ -1	____ -2	____ -3	(78 (____ -1	____ -2	____ -3
5. The good of the country is placed above special interests.....	(71 (____ -1	____ -2	____ -3	(79 (____ -1	____ -2	____ -3
6. Public officials really care what happens to the people.....	(72 (____ -1	____ -2	____ -3	(80 (____ -1	____ -2	____ -3
7. Leaders are genuinely working for peace.....	(73 (____ -1	____ -2	____ -3	(10 (____ -1	____ -2	____ -3
8. Leaders come up with solutions to inflation that work	(74 (____ -1	____ -2	____ -3	(11 (____ -1	____ -2	____ -3

21a. In general, if you had to choose, which do you think is better to follow in order to make government work better -- to put the right men in control of the government and let them run things with the help of the best experts they can find, or to set up tight checks by elected legislators, the courts, and citizens groups to watch closely over what the government is doing? ("X" YOUR CHOICE BELOW)

Put right people in and trust them ..... (12 (____ -1
Set up tight checks ..... ____ -2
Not sure ..... ____ -3

21b. Why do you feel this way? (WRITE IN BELOW)

(13-_____
(14-_____

22. What two or three things would have to happen to make you feel more confident in government today? (WRITE IN BELOW)

(15-_____
(16-_____

23. How up to date would you rate most people around here on each of the following things? (MARK "X" IN APPROPRIATE CATEGORY FOR EACH ITEM)

	Excellent	Pretty Good	Only Fair	Poor	Not Sure
a. What is going on in the federal government in Washington ..... (17	(_____-1	_____-2	_____-3	_____-4	_____-5
b. What is going on in state government in your state capitol ..... (18	(_____-1	_____-2	_____-3	_____-4	_____-5
c. What is going on in your local government ..... (19	(_____-1	_____-2	_____-3	_____-4	_____-5
d. What is happening in politics ..... (20	(_____-1	_____-2	_____-3	_____-4	_____-5

Below are some situations involving government. For each, tell us if you personally object to the government doing that, or would you just accept it as something that had to be done for the good of the country or the community? (MARK "X" IN APPROPRIATE CATEGORY FOR EACH ITEM ON LIST)

		Would Object to	Would Accept	Not Sure
a.	If the government allowed people to own a gun, but said it had to be kept at a local police station and signed in and out, with a pass given each time it was used	(21(-1	-2	-3
b.	If the government said every family had to pay $50 a year more in taxes to clean up air and water pollution	(22(-1	-2	-3
c.	If the government imposed and really enforced a stiff fine for littering public places with trash	(23(-1	-2	-3
d.	If the police made spot checks at traffic lights to see if people had their safety belts on in cars and imposed stiff fines if they didn't have them on	(24(-1	-2	-3
e.	If the government required that every residence had to be inspected once a year for cracks and leaks that wasted heat or fuel	(25(-1	-2	-3
f.	If the police said it needed the right to come into your house without a search warrant to control drug abuse	(26(-1	-2	-3
g.	If the government required all auto owners to bring in their car every three months for an inspection to be sure it wasn't burning too much gasoline during the gas shortage	(27(-1	-2	-3
h.	If the government raised taxes for each family $50 a year to try to make the streets safe to walk on at night	(28(-1	-2	-3
i.	If the government said the price of bread had to go up 5 cents in order to send wheat to China and Russia as a way to keep peace in the world	(29(-1	-2	-3
j.	If the government asked that all demonstrations against the government be called off because they interfere with getting the work of government done	(30(-1	-2	-3

25a. Do you feel that U.S. involvement in the war in Vietnam lasted longer because of the anti-war demonstrations, was shortened by the demonstrations, or do you feel the demonstrations did not have much effect one way or the other? ("X" YOUR CHOICE BELOW)

Lasted longer.....(31(_____-1
Was shortened....._____-2
Not affected one way or the other..._____-3
Not sure....._____-4

25b. Do you feel the protest marches led by Martin Luther King in the 1960's speeded up civil rights legislation, slowed it down, or didn't make much difference one way or the other? ("X" YOUR CHOICE BELOW)

Speeded up.....(32(_____-1
Slowed down....._____-2
Not made much difference....._____-3
Not sure....._____-4

25c. Do you feel the "support your local police" campaigns have made local government put in more effective crime control measures, have slowed down law enforcement, or not had much effect on controlling crime? ("X" YOUR CHOICE BELOW)

Made more effective crime control.....(33(_____-1
Slowed down law enforcement....._____-2
Not had much effect....._____-3
Not sure....._____-4

25d. Do you feel that the protests against forced busing of school children to achieve racial balance have been effective, or not? ("X" YOUR CHOICE BELOW)

Been effective.....(34(_____-1
Not been effective....._____-2
Not sure ....._____-3

26a. Do you hold elective or appointive office? ("X" YOUR CHOICE BELOW)

Elective.....(35(_____-1
Appointive....._____-2

26b. How long have you served in public life all together? ("X" YOUR CHOICE BELOW)

Under 1 year.....(36(_____-1
1-3 years ....._____-2
4-6 years....._____-3
7-10 years....._____-4
11-15 years ....._____-5
16-20 years....._____-6
Over 20 years ....._____-7

26c. What is your age group? ("X" YOUR CHOICE BELOW)

18-29	(37 (	-1
30-39		-2
40-49		-3
50-59		-4
60-69		-5
70 or over		-6

26d. What is your political party? ("X" YOUR CHOICE BELOW)

Republican	(38 (	-1
Democratic		-2
Independent		-3
Other (write in)		
_____		-4

26e. What is your sex? ("X" YOUR CHOICE BELOW)

Male	(39 (	-1
Female		-2

26f. At what level of government do you work?

Village	(40 (	-1
Town		-2
Borough		-3
County		-4
City		-5
Other (write in)		
_____		-6
Not sure		-7

While you are not required to do so, we would appreciate your signing your name, office and address below. Thank you.

Name _____

Office _____

Street Address _____

City/Town _____

State _____ Zip _____

APPENDIX II

TABLES TO CHAPTER I

TREND OF IS THERE SOMETHING DEEPLY WRONG IN AMERICA TODAY

	Sept. 1973 %	Aug. 1973 %	June 1968* %	Mar. 1968 %
Something deeply wrong	53	48	66	39
Always have a crisis	37	46	26	55
Not sure	10	6	8	6

* Survey taken shortly after the assassination of Senator Robert F. Kennedy.

Q.2a(P)
Q.2c(L)

IS THERE SOMETHING DEEPLY WRONG IN AMERICA TODAY

	Public			Government Leaders		
	Something Deeply Wrong %	Always Have a Crisis %	Not Sure %	Something Deeply Wrong %	Always Have a Crisis %	Not Sure %
Total Leaders	53	37	10	42	52	6
East	49	42	9	44	53	3
Midwest	54	35	11	40	52	8
South	55	34	11	43	53	4
West	58	32	10	40	51	9
Cities	55	37	8			
Suburbs	48	40	12			
Towns	52	39	9			
Rural	58	31	11			
18 to 29 years	44	46	10			
30 to 49 years	51	40	9			
50 years and over	62	27	11			
Professional	47	43	10			
Executive	51	43	6			
Skilled Labor	54	36	10			
Other white collar	55	35	10			
Men	52	38	10			
Women	55	35	10			
8th grade	67	22	11			
High school	56	34	10			
College	43	47	10			
Under $5,000	63	25	12			
$5,000 to $9,999	55	35	10			
$10,000 to $14,999	52	40	8			
$15,000 and over	47	44	9			
White	52	38	10			
Black	65	25	10			
Union member	55	36	9			
Republican	50	41	9	38	60	2
Democrat	57	33	10	45	46	9
Independent	52	39	9	44	51	5
Voted in 1972	52	39	9			
Didn't vote in 1972	31	57	12			
Positive toward local government	47	42	11			
Positive toward state government	47	43	10			
Positive toward federal government	40	46	14			
Active citizenship	54	38	8			
Total State Officials				34	63	3
Executive				37	52	11
Legislative				33	67	-
Total Local Officials				45	48	7
County				45	49	6
City				45	50	5
Town/village				44	45	11

Q.2b(P)
Q.2d(L)

REASONS BEHIND THE FEELINGS THERE IS SOMETHING DEEPLY WRONG IN AMERICA TODAY, OR THERE IS ALWAYS ONE CRISIS OR ANOTHER

	Public Total %	Leaders Total %
Government leaders are corrupt and immoral	25	16
Always have a crisis	22	20
Inflation and high cost of living	14	4
History indicates we will always have a crisis	X	11
Watergate	10	6
Apathy/frustration/general malaise of people	X	9
Country going through too many problems	8	X
Executive/federal branch of government too far removed from people	X	8
Crime/drugs	6	X
Problems are not being solved	X	6
Too much distrust, lack of honesty	6	9
Moral decline of people	5	8
Crisis not any worse than before/people have become more aware	X	9
Lack of respect for social institutions	5	13
Crises inherent in part of a democracy	4	16
Shortages of gas and energy	4	2
Court legal system is too lenient	X	4
Country becoming fascistic	4	X
Groups who want to destroy country, not unify it	X	4
Media blows problems out of proportion	3	9
Too much government red tape/bureaucracy	X	3
Racial prejudice	3	X

(CONTINUED)

Q.2b(P)
Q.2d(L)

REASONS BEHIND THE FEELING THERE IS SOMETHING DEEPLY WRONG IN AMERICA TODAY, OR THERE IS ALWAYS ONE CRISIS OR ANOTHER
(CONTINUED)

	Public Total %	Leaders Total %
Country moving toward socialism	X	2
Taxes	2	X
Educational system archaic/inadequate	X	2
Poverty	2	X
War	X	2
Unemployment	1	2
America always brings on a crisis by intervening in someone else's problem	X	1
Losing credibility abroad	1	2
Other answers	8	6
No crisis	7	2
Don't know	3	*

Q.8(P)

AGREEMENT WITH STATEMENTS OF ALIENATION

	Total	East	Midwest	South	West	18 to 29	30 to 49	50 and Over	8th Grade	High School	College	White	Black
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
The rich get richer and the poor get poorer	76	77	78	71	77	78	75	74	78	80	68	74	84
Wire-tapping and spying under the excuse of national security is a serious threat to people's privacy	75	76	75	70	79	77	71	76	74	75	74	74	78
The tax laws are written to help the rich, not the average man	74	76	77	67	75	74	75	72	78	75	69	74	74
Special interests get more from the government than the people do	74	76	75	67	78	72	78	71	69	75	74	73	75
What you think doesn't count very much anymore	61	56	60	62	67	61	59	62	68	64	54	60	66
Most elective officials are in politics for all they can get out of it for themselves	60	59	60	63	58	59	59	62	70	64	51	58	74
The federal government in Washington has been trying to dictate too much what people locally can and cannot do	59	53	63	66	55	57	60	61	58	64	53	60	52
The people running the country don't really care what happens to you	55	55	55	51	62	59	53	53	59	57	51	53	65
Most people with power try to take advantage of people like yourself	55	57	51	56	55	60	54	52	63	60	44	52	74
Local government is so disorganized, it's hard to know where to go for help	49	49	42	52	52	53	49	45	57	49	44	46	61
You feel left out of things going on around you	29	32	24	31	29	31	28	29	38	32	21	25	58
Important things that happen in the world don't affect your life	22	23	14	29	21	20	18	27	31	22	18	21	30

Q.6a(P)
Q.6a(L)

CONFIDENCE IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT, COMPARED TO 5 YEARS AGO

	More Confidence %	Less Confidence %	About the Same %	Not Sure %
Total	13	30	50	7
Cities	12	37	45	6
Suburbs	16	29	46	9
Towns	15	26	54	5
Rural	12	23	58	7
White Protestant	12	27	55	6
White Catholic	17	30	48	5
White Jewish	5	33	54	8
Men	15	28	51	6
Women	12	31	49	8
8th grade	9	34	52	5
High school	13	32	49	6
College	16	25	50	9
White	13	28	53	6
Black	14	36	36	14
Republican	11	26	57	6
Democrat	14	30	50	6
Independent	16	31	46	7
Positive toward local government	26	18	51	5
Positive toward state government	22	21	51	6
Positive toward federal government	21	21	49	9
Active citizenship	14	25	57	4
Total Leaders	42	15	43	-
East	48	14	38	-
Midwest	38	14	48	-
South	44	13	43	-
West	39	20	41	-
Total State Officials	25	6	69	-
Executive	16	11	73	-
Legislative	29	4	67	-
Total Local Officials	48	18	34	-
County	46	28	26	-
City	46	15	39	-
Town/village	52	15	33	-
Republican	41	16	43	-
Democrat	42	17	41	-
Independent	46	10	44	-

Q.6b(P)
Q.6b (L)

REASONS BEHIND CONFIDENCE IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT COMPARED TO 5 YEARS AGO

	Public Total %	Leaders Total %
More Confidence		
Better educated people	x	9
Doing a good job	5	17
Officers more responsive, listen to people	x	16
Have a better mayor	4	x
I am personally involved	x	13
Watergate brought things out in the open	1	x
Better roads	1	x
Better police	1	x
Progressive government	1	x
All other answers	3	*
Less Confidence		
I am personally involved	x	5
Inefficient, inept	10	x
Watergate, don't trust any politicians	8	7
Too much intervention by federal government	x	1
Rising taxes	2	x
All other answers	7	4
Same		
Nothing changed	29	20
Same administration in power	4	x
Doing best job they can	4	12
Some good, some bad	x	4
All other answers	2	2
Other		
I've changed, become more aware	10	x
Lived somewhere else 5 years ago	4	x
Don't pay attention	4	x
Don't know	4	*

* Less than 0.5%.

Q.6c(P)
Q.6c(L)

CONFIDENCE IN STATE GOVERNMENT, COMPARED TO 5 YEARS AGO

	More Confidence %	Less Confidence %	About the Same %	Not Sure %
Total	14	26	53	7
Cities	13	30	48	9
Suburbs	13	30	49	8
Towns	15	21	61	3
Rural	14	21	60	5
White Protestant	15	23	56	6
White Catholic	14	27	53	6
White Jewish	9	34	46	11
Men	16	27	51	6
Women	11	26	55	8
8th grade	9	24	61	6
High school	11	27	55	7
College	19	26	48	7
White	15	25	54	6
Black	11	34	41	14
Republican	14	23	58	5
Democrat	13	28	51	8
Independent	15	28	50	7
Positive toward local government	18	20	56	6
Positive toward state government	26	16	52	6
Positive toward federal government	18	19	56	7
Active citizenship	16	25	53	6
Total Leaders	30	40	39	1
East	31	28	39	2
Midwest	37	24	39	-
South	28	28	44	-
West	22	42	34	2
Total State Officials	61	10	29	-
Executive	74	5	21	-
Legislative	55	12	33	-
Total Local Officials	20	36	43	1
County	15	44	41	-
City	15	34	50	1
Town/village	33	31	34	2
Republican	33	26	41	-
Democrat	33	30	37	-
Independent	15	37	43	5

Q.6d(P)
Q.6d(L)

REASONS BEHIND CONFIDENCE IN STATE GOVERNMENT
COMPARED TO FIVE YEARS AGO

	Public Total %	Leaders Total %
More Confidence		
Better, qualified people	x	11
New administration	6	x
Doing a better job	6	15
Increased knowledge of state government	x	8
Better highways	2	x
State more prosperous	1	x
All other answers	1	2
Less Confidence		
Not responsive to people, not solving problems	x	12
Politicians out for themselves	10	7
Legislature ineffective	x	8
Watergate -- too much corruption	6	4
Don't like governor, not doing good job	6	2
Rising taxes	6	x
More fouls-ups, services are down	x	4
Administration spends too much	2	x
All other answers	7	4
Same		
Can't see any change	29	15
things are still good	x	6
Doing best they can	7	6
Same administration in power	2	6
Regardless of party in power, it's the same	x	3
Solved some problems, started some	x	3
Other		
I've changed	6	x
Don't pay attention to state government	5	x
Lived somewhere else 5 years ago	3	x
Don't know	8	1

Q.6e(P)
Q.6e(L)

CONFIDENCE IN FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, COMPARED TO 5 YEARS AGO

	More Confidence %	Less Confidence %	About the Same %	Not Sure %
Total	11	57	28	4
East	11	60	26	3
Midwest	8	59	30	3
South	14	50	31	5
West	10	62	21	7
18 to 29 years	14	57	20	9
30 to 49 years	8	61	29	2
50 years and over	10	55	31	4
White Protestant	10	55	31	4
White Catholic	11	61	24	4
White Jewish	-	75	19	6
Men	11	56	29	4
Women	10	58	27	5
8th grade	10	45	41	4
High school	10	60	25	5
College	11	60	25	4
White	10	59	27	4
Black	12	52	27	9
Republican	17	45	35	3
Democrat	8	64	24	4
Independent	9	61	26	4
Positive toward local government	14	50	33	3
Positive toward state government	15	51	30	4
Positive toward federal government	24	40	33	3
Active citizenship	9	60	28	3
Total Leaders	8	61	29	2
East	13	60	25	2
Midwest	5	65	27	3
South	6	64	27	3
West	9	53	36	2
Total State Officials	9	61	30	-
Executive	-	67	33	-
Legislative	12	59	29	-
Total Local Officials	7	62	28	3
County	7	58	31	4
City	4	63	30	3
Town/village	13	63	22	2
Republican	15	43	41	1
Democrat	4	75	18	3
Independent	3	59	35	3

REASONS BEHIND CONFIDENCE IN FEDERAL GOVERMENT COMPARED TO 5 YEARS AGO

	Public								Leaders					State Officials			Local Officials						
	Total	East	Mid-west	South	West	8th Grade	High School	College	Total	East	Mid-west	South	West	Total	Executive	Legislative	Total	County	City	Town/ Village	Republican	Democrat	Independent
More Confidence	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
New federalism, return to local govt.	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	4	7	2	2	4	6	-	8	3	4	4	-	8	1	
Nixon doing best he can	4	4	5	5	3	8	3	4	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Nixon ended war	3	4	1	3	3	3	2	4	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Watergate has opend up things	2	2	2	2	1	*	2	2	X	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
All other answers	5	5	3	8	5	7	6	5	3	5	-	5	2	3	-	4	3	2	1	7	5	3	
Less Confidence																							
Watergate corruption	39	42	40	34	42	26	43	41	39	52	34	32	36	26	22	28	43	39	43	47	27	48	
Can't trust executive branch	13	13	16	8	14	9	12	15	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Too large, remote	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	11	7	14	12	13	9	11	8	12	13	12	11	7	14	
Inflation, high cost of living	9	9	9	8	9	9	9	8	6	3	5	9	11	6	6	6	7	9	4	9	7	8	
Everything's going downhill	6	6	6	5	5	6	6	5	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Lack of cooperation between executive and legislative branches	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	5	2	8	7	4	9	17	6	4	4	3	5	1	7	
We weren't told truth about Vietnam	3	3	4	*	4	1	2	4	4	7	2	2	9	1	-	2	5	4	3	11	3	6	
Not solving problems, too slow	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	9	5	6	9	19	10	11	10	8	11	7	9	7	13	
Don't inform people	3	3	3	4	3	3	3	4	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Taxes keep rising	3	2	4	2	2	2	4	2	1	-	-	2	2	-	-	-	1	-	3	-	1	1	-
Gap between promise and performance	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	4	7	3	3	4	6	11	4	4	9	1	2	5	4	
Government doesn't care about working man, needs of people	3	4	4	2	3	4	4	2	10	5	9	14	15	7	11	6	12	13	13	7	7	13	
Erosion of public confidence in govt.	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	3	5	5	2	-	1	6	-	4	2	4	5	4	3	
Nixon is lying, not responsive, corrupt	2	3	2	1	4	2	2	3	7	7	11	5	4	13	17	12	4	-	7	5	1	12	
Food shortage	2	2	3	1	2	2	3	1	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
No real leadership	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	5	3	8	3	4	10	6	12	2	4	1	2	1	-	
Energy crisis	1	2	2	*	1	1	*	1	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Ellsberg break-in	1	1	*	*	1	1	*	1	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	xx	x	x	x	x	x	x
Wire taps, bugging	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
All other answers	13	10	14	12	17	13	11	16	3	3	5	3	-	1	-	2	4	2	4	5	4	2	
Same Confidence																							
Both Nixon and Johnson do the same	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	3	2	5	3	-	6	6	6	1	-	3	-	4	1	
Same problems exist	13	12	14	14	10	18	11	13	12	13	9	10	13	18	22	16	9	9	11	7	20	6	
Good in some areas, not in others	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	7	8	8	3	9	9	11	8	6	7	5	7	12	3	
All other answers	5	5	5	5	4	7	4	5	2	2	5	-	-	1	6	-	2	2	3	2	1	2	
Other																							
I've changed	5	4	4	5	7	1	5	7	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Don't know	5	6	3	9	3	9	6	3	2	-	5	2	-	-	-	-	2	7	1	-	1	1	

Q.1a(L)

THE MAIN REASONS FOR THE DECLINE IN PUBLIC CONFIDENCE

	Total %
Corruption, use of office, public funds for persons1 gain	49
Watergate	28
Government unresponsive, distant, uncontrollable by people	19
Government misleading, lying to public, false promises	19
Government bureaucracy, red tape	14
Distrust, malaise, moral decline	11
Feeling that problems aren't being resolved	11
Increased news media coverage	10
Inflation, dollar devaluation	8
Taxes, budget too high	7
Political parties trying to tear each other apart	6
Corruption of some officials causes blanket condemnation	6
Public doesn't understand role of government, issues	5
Officials unqualified, poorly trained	4
War-pentagon papers	4
Public apathetic	4
Too much influence by big corporations on government	4
Improper campaign funding, expenditures	3
Rebelliousness, generation gap	3
Public more sophisticated, aware	3
Too much influence by minorities	3
Too much foreign aid, not enough on domestic problems	2
Russian wheat deal	2
Courts too lenient	2
Too much federal control over state, local government	2
Elected officals support socialism	1
Watergate committee implies guilt without proof	1
Too many controls, regulations	1
Unemployment	1
Other answers	15
Don't know	-

Q.1b (L)

WHAT OUGHT TO BE DONE TO RESTORE THE PUBLIC'S CONFIDENCE IN GOVERNMENT

	Total %
Need laws, code of ethics, rules for conduct of officials	29
Elected officials, government needs to respond to constituents, people's needs	27
More honesty, tell truth, keep promises	24
Reform campaign funding, restrict, regulate, disclose amounts	20
Need trustworthy, responsible man in public office	19
Streamline government machinery, do away with red tape	16
Educate people to understand issues, problems of government	13
News media should report more fairly, positively	12
Decentralize government, return responsiblity for state, local needs to state, local government	11
Stop petty partisam politics	7
Need public financing, free media time to reduce campaign spending	6
More federal financial aid to state, local areas	4
Reform criminal justice system	4
Should allocate funds according to real need, not political expediency	3
Try to stop inflation, balance budget	3
Eliminate Congressional Seniority system, reduce power of Congressional Committee Chairman	3
Need change in moral, spiritual attitude	3
Lower, more equitable taxes, close loopholes	3
Shouldn't televise Watergate hearings	2
Reduce power of executive Branch-Congress should resume constitutional responsibliities	2
Take interest in other people	1
Take care of U.S. first, before other countries	1
Any other answers	21
Don't know	1

29-555 O - 74 -- 16

Q.3a(P)
Q.3a(L)

BIGGEST PROBLEMS FACING THE COUNTRY THAT PEOPLE WOULD LIKE TO SEE SOMETHING DONE ABOUT

	Leaders	Public	Region				State			Local				Party		
	Total	Total	East	Mid-west	South	West	Total	Executive	Legislative	Total	County	City	Town/ Village	Republican	Democratic	Independent
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Inflation, high cost of living	55	64	50	54	52	66	68	63	69	51	65	47	45	59	54	53
Politics, government	58	43	47	69	63	55	71	84	65	54	50	60	47	52	63	50
Crime	19	17	35	16	14	7	4	-	6	24	26	20	27	16	15	38
Drugs	6	14	13	-	6	5	3	-	4	7	7	6	10	9	5	-
Welfare, welfare reform	11	13	15	9	16	4	12	11	12	10	11	9	12	12	9	1[illegible]
Federal spending	9	12	5	11	13	7	7	16	4	10	11	13	4	6	13	[illegible]
Taxes	10	11	15	7	9	11	4	11	2	12	11	9	20	10	13	3
Pollution, ecology, overpopulation	15	11	13	14	9	23	16	16	16	14	15	9	22	18	14	9
Energy shortage	21	10	13	20	20	30	28	47	20	18	17	17	20	17	23	18
Schools, education	6	9	5	6	9	5	4	5	4	7	9	7	6	2	6	18
Alienation, social breakdown	4	8	5	1	6	5	1	-	2	5	7	6	4	6	3	6
Older people, elderly	2	7	5	-	2	2	1	-	2	2	4	-	4	1	2	3
Discrimination, inequality	7	7	10	6	3	9	10	5	12	5	4	9	-	4	8	9
Unemployment	2	6	2	3	2	2	4	-	6	1	2	-	2	2	2	3
Transportation	5	X	8	9	3	-	4	-	6	5	9	1	10	5	4	12
Foreign policy	8	4	10	7	8	7	9	11	8	8	9	7	8	9	7	9
Health care	2	3	5	6	2	4	4	16	-	4	9	2	2	1	6	3
Employment, work	X	2	2	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Housing	3	2	6	-	5	-	1	5	-	3	2	3	4	-	5	3

Q.3b(P)
Q.3b(L)

SOLUTIONS FOR PROBLEMS FACING THE COUNTRY

	Public Total %	Leaders Total %
Economic Matters		
Do something about inflation	17	7
Freeze prices	12	9
Freeze wages	x	8
Roll back prices	10	7
No price controls	5	x
Pass new minimum wage law	5	11
Redirect government spending	5	6
Balance the budget	x	6
Cut government spending	5	2
Better distribution of wealth	4	x
Farmers should raise more crops, cattle	4	2
Apply price controls equally	3	x
Close tax loopholes	3	3
Lower taxes in general	3	x
Tax reform	3	6
Restrict union wage demands	x	3
Stronger government controls	3	x
Government should break up monopolies	x	2
Make more money available for the poor	2	x
Increase productivity of labor	x	2
Boycott high priced items	1	x
People should live within their means	1	x
Investigate cause of inflation	1	1
Poor should pay less tax	1	x
Lower property tax	1	x
Cut unnecessary domestic programs	1	4
Politics, Government		
Too much federal control, decentralize	x	13
Too much corruption in politics	11	10
Need moral, decent leaders	x	5
Corrupt officials should be punished	8	x
Elect officials who care about ordinary people	7	12
Watergate	6	7
Revise campaign finance laws	5	3
Too much secrecy in government	5	5
Reduce government bureaucracy, red tape	x	x
Present government hurting people's rights	5	4
Ignorance of people as to how good operates, educate them	x	6
Return to older values	5	4
Need more truthful newspaper reporting	x	4
Better government	3	1
Get big business out of government	3	3
People should participate more	3	2
Political parties should work together	2	2
Too much disunity, national good should be before partisanship	2	x
Take Watergate of TV	2	x
More efficient administration of federal programs	1	x
Legislators should stop voting pay raises for themselves	1	
Stop activist groups from trying to force their will on government	x	1
More patriotism, people should unite for good of country	x	2
Education		
Curriculum should be more relevant	x	1
More vocational programs	x	1
School should be less expensive, more available to poor	x	7
Better teachers, more individual attention	x	1

Q.3b(P)
Q.3b(L)

SOLUTIONS FOR PROBLEMS FACING THE COUNTRY (continued)

	Public Total %	Leaders Total %
Crime, Drugs, Law Enforcement		
Stronger laws, crack down on drug pushers and users, educate	9	12
Stricter law enforcement	5	5
Restore death penalty	4	2
Severe punishment for criminals	4	x
Need better rehabilitation programs	x	2
Less restrictions on police	2	x
Stop drungs coming into country	2	x
Simply enforce existing laws	2	x
Reform court systems	1	6
Solve social problems, gett out roots of crime	x	4
Need better police	x	5
Need more money to fight crime	x	4
Social Problems		
Need to determins national goals and priorities	x	5
Cut down on welfare	5	8
More monev to cities, revenue sharing	x	5
More social security benefits	5	x
Encourage mass transit, railroads	x	5
More help for the sick	3	x
Solve social problems	3	10
National health insurance	2	4
Older people should be taken care of	2	x
Build more housing	2	3
People should care more about each other	x	2
Government information on birth controls	x	2
Pollution		
Pressure on industry to stop pollution	3	x
Pollution, ecology	2	8
Energy Shortage		
Need cooperation between environmentalists and industry	x	4
Stop using luxury items that use too much energy	2	2
Energy shortage is plot to push small guy out of business	2	x
Development of new sources of fuel and other research	2	13
Educate public to seriousness of problem	x	6
Pay less attention to unrealistic demands of environmentalists	x	3
Energy shortage is a crisis	x	2
Discrimination		
End racial discrimination	3	4
No more busing of children	2	x
Unemployment		
Work programs	6	4
More jobs	4	2
Foreign Policy Matters		
Stop exports -- no more grain deals	8	3
Reduce foreign spending	6	5
Stop meddling in affairs of other countries	3	1
Better balance of trade	2	4
Stay out of southeast Asia	2	x
Regulate value of dollar	x	1
Take a hard stand and stick to it	x	1
Don't allow defense budget to be cut	x	2
All others	51	48

Q.23c(P)

WHAT PEOPLE WOULD TELL THEIR TOP LOCAL OFFICIAL IF THEY HAD THE CHANCE

	Total %
Streets, roads fixed and cleaned up; traffic problems	15
More police protection, better law enforcement	15
He's doing a good job	12
Be more supportive to residents' needs	10
Act to do something about specific local problems	10
More attention to school situations	8
Taxes are too high, lower them	7
Try to control pollution in lakes, rivers and streams	5
More honesty, less corruption	5
Improve on garbage collection	4
Let people know what's happening	4
Do something about crime, drug situation	4
Clean up low income projects	3
Improve housing codes and zoning	3
I don't like him, he is doing a poor job	3
Spend tax money better	3
Conservation of local resources	2
Need more parks; improve old ones	2
Improve welfare system	2
Finish the undertaken construction of new buildings	1
Any other answer	11
Nothing	11
Don't know	11

Q.23b(P)

WHAT PEOPLE WOULD TELL THEIR GOVERNOR IF THEY HAD THE CHANCE

	Total %
Too many taxes	16
He's doing a good job	11
Refer to specific problems	11
Need more money for education	10
He should be doing more	10
Inflation	7
Need better roads	7
Stop wasting tax dollars	6
He's unethical	6
Improve welfare system	5
Better care for elderly	4
Crack down on drugs	4
He should get out of office	4
Environment pollution	4
Need better mass transit	3
Help the poor	3
Better health care	2
Keep people more involved	2
Keep industry in state	1
I respect him	1
Nothing	7
All other answers	9
Don't know	13

Q.23a(P) WHAT PEOPLE WOULD TELL THE PRESIDENT IF THEY HAD THE CHANCE

	Sept.'73 Total %	Oct.'73 Total* %
Integrity of Government, Lack of Confidence	74	74
Tell the truth about Watergate	12	14
Be honest	8	10
Resign, get out of office	9	11
Is crooked	7	4
Should listen to people more	7	2
Release tapes	5	5
He's wrecking government	4	9
Get better advisers	4	3
Wouldn't talk to him	3	2
Too secretive	3	-
Uses government money for personal use	3	-
Be more cooperative with Congress	3	1
Immoral, non-religious man	2	-
Restore individual freedom	1	-
Support his stand on tapes	-	1
Should put welfare of nation before personal objectives	-	2
He is mentally ill, self-destructive	-	1
Bring back Cox	-	1
Deeply disappointed in him	-	2
Tell Nixon to pray for help	-	1
Dictator, worst president	-	2
Stop fighting press	-	2
Other	3	1
Economic Matters	51	31
Upset over inflation	24	14
Lower, don't raise taxes	8	2
Food prices too high	7	3
Wages should be better	5	-
Help economic lot of elderly	4	1
Stop favoring big business	2	2
Phase 4 doesn't work	-	1
Less government spending	-	7
Other	1	1
Foreign Policy	21	14
Stop, slow down foreign aid	9	1
Don't get into any more wars	5	3
No deals with communists	3	1
He brought boys home, ended war	2	-
Like his Russian, Chinese policies	1	1
The war in Vietnam	1	-
Stay out, end Mideast war	-	6
Continue to support Israel	-	1
Keep strong military	-	1
Social Policy at Home	21	13
Help the poor	8	1
Need more social programs	6	1
Change his priorities	2	-
Solve energy shortage	2	2
Clean up environment	2	1
Health and medical costs too high	1	-
Crime, law and order, drugs	-	3
Take care of domestic problems first	-	5
Personal	14	16
Admire him, has courage	5	2
Doing good job	3	9
Feel sorry for him, tough job	3	2
Stay in Washington more	1	-
Ask him why he wants to be president	1	-
His wife and daughters	1	-
Hang in there, keep fighting	-	3
Don't know	6	12

* Data from a Harris Survey conducted in October 1973.

Q.9a(P)
Q.8a(L)

FEELINGS ABOUT QUALITY OF LIFE IN THIS COUNTRY COMPARED TO 10 YEARS AGO

	Improved %	Grown Worse %	Stayed About the Same %	Not Sure %
Total	35	45	15	5
East	29	52	14	5
Midwest	34	45	17	4
South	44	38	14	4
West	29	51	14	6
Total Leaders	61	20	16	3
East	55	24	18	3
Midwest	63	11	21	5
South	65	25	8	2
West	84	6	8	2
Total State Officials	84	6	8	2
Executive	84	11	5	-
Legislative	85	4	9	2
Total Local Officials	55	24	18	3
County	53	28	19	-
City	55	27	15	3
Town, village	52	17	24	7
Republican	74	16	7	3
Democrat	59	22	17	2
Independent	44	22	27	7

Q.9b(P)
Q.8b(L)

REASONS BEHIND FEELINGS ABOUT QUALITY OF LIFE IN THIS COUNTRY COMPARED TO 10 YEARS AGO

	Public Total %	Leaders Total %
Better		
Standard of living has improved	18	35
Better off financially	10	13
Better medical care	5	10
More conveniences	4	6
Better jobs	4	7
Better schools, more available	4	16
Improved technology	3	7
More civil rights	3	8
More advantages for all people	3	4
More leisure, free time	2	9
Better roads, transportation	2	2
More people own cars	1	*
Better food, nutrition	1	4
People more concerned with environment	1	7
War ended	1	2
People more united	1	1
Better housing	x	4
More luxuries, less poverty	x	7
More cultural opportunities	x	2
All other answers	5	14
Worse		
Inflation, high cost of living	24	7
Rise in crime	10	4
Drug situation	6	x
Watergate scandals	6	2
Loss of confidence in government	5	4
Increase in immorality	5	11
High food prices	4	1
Wages don't keep pace with inflation]	4	*
High taxes	4	*
Pollution	4	10
People don't enjoy life or other people	4	x
Shortages of food and gas	2	5
Overpopulation	2	5
Too much welfare	2	x
People don't care about each other	x	2
Unemployment	2	x
Unrest	1	x
Hippies, radicals	1	x
Worse schools	1	x
More threats to personal liberty	1	x
Racial problems, urban problems	1	2
Vietnam	1	x
Poorer quality merchandise	1	x
All other answers	10	13
Same		
Things haven't changed much	9	5
All other answers	1	1
Don't know	2	-

Q.9c(P)
Q.8c.(L)

EFFECT OF GOVERNMENT ON THE QUALITY OF LIFE IN THE PAST FEW YEARS

	Public					Leaders					State Officials			Local Officials						
	Total	East	Mid-west	South	West	Total	East	Mid-west	South	West	Total	Executive	Legislative	Total	County	City	Town/ Village	Republican	Democrat	Independent
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Local Government																				
Improved	28	23	29	32	27	60	59	55	64	64	54	58	52	62	57	64	63	65	57	55
Made it worse	11	20	6	8	10	5	6	1	3	10	4	11	2	5	7	5	2	6	5	3
Not changed it much	54	53	57	53	55	33	32	41	32	26	37	21	44	32	35	30	33	27	38	38
Not sure	7	4	8	7	8	3	3	1	-	4	11	2	1	-	1	2	2	1	5	
State Government																				
Improved	27	22	24	35	25	49	46	49	49	53	78	89	73	39	38	39	41	54	50	30
Made it worse	14	20	11	8	21	7	11	-	8	10	1	-	2	9	13	4	13	12	7	-
Not changed it much	52	53	58	50	46	41	40	47	40	36	16	5	21	50	45	55	44	33	39	68
Not sure	7	5	7	7	8	3	3	4	3	-	4	5	4	2	4	1	2	1	4	3
Federal Government																				
Improved	23	20	20	31	21	47	48	43	51	48	61	68	58	43	42	41	46	47	49	40
Made it worse	37	42	39	28	42	21	17	12	25	29	9	11	8	25	26	27	20	19	21	25
Not changed much	34	33	36	35	29	28	33	36	24	19	27	21	29	29	30	28	30	31	27	30
Not sure	6	5	5	6	8	3	2	8	-	3	3	-	4	3	2	4	4	4	3	5

Q.24a(P) CAN LOCAL/STATE/FEDERAL GOVERNMENT BE RUN WELL

	Total	East	Mid-west	South	West	18 to 29	30 to 49	50 and Over	8th Grade	High School	College	White	Black	Republican	Democrat	Independent	Active Citizenship
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Local Government:																	
Can be run well	90	87	93	91	91	88	89	92	87	90	92	91	84	90	92	89	95
Can't be done	5	5	5	4	7	6	6	3	5	5	5	5	9	5	5	5	3
Not sure	5	8	2	5	2	6	5	5	8	5	3	4	7	5	3	6	2
State Government:																	
Can be run well	90	86	93	92	89	89	89	92	87	90	91	91	86	92	92	89	94
Can't be done	5	6	5	3	8	6	6	4	6	5	6	5	8	4	5	5	4
Not sure	5	8	2	5	3	5	5	4	7	5	3	4	6	4	3	6	2
Federal Government:																	
Can be run well	86	82	86	88	88	83	84	89	85	85	86	86	84	87	87	85	89
Can't be done	8	9	10	5	9	11	9	5	6	8	10	8	9	7	8	9	7
Not sure	6	9	4	7	3	6	7	6	9	7	4	6	7	6	5	6	4

Q.24a(P)
Q.19a (L)

LEADERS WHO FEEL GOVERNMENT CAN BE RUN WELL AT ALL LEVELS

	Total Public	East	Mid-west	South	West	Total Leaders	East	Mid-west	South	West	Republican	Democrat	Independent
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Local Government													
Can be run well	90	87	93	91	91	100	100	99	100	100	99	100	100
Can't be done	5	5	5	4	7	*	-	1	-	-	1	*	-
Not sure	5	8	2	6	3	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
State Government													
Can be run well	90	86	93	92	89	94	94	97	92	95	97	93	93
Can't be done	5	6	5	3	8	2	-	3	4	2	1	2	5
Not sure	5	7	2	5	3	3	6	-	4	3	2	5	2
Federal Government													
Can be run well	86	82	86	88	88	87	90	85	83	88	85	89	85
Can't be done	8	9	10	5	9	6	3	5	11	3	3	8	2
Not sure	6	9	5	7	3	7	6	10	6	8	12	3	12

Q.7a(P)

PEOPLE WHO AGREE WITH STATEMENTS ABOUT LEVELS OF GOVERNMENT IN THIS COUNTRY

	Total %
The federal government represents all people of the country so it should handle the important matters, such as how to control inflation, avoid depressions, and how to achieve peace in the world	89
The federal government should not run the life of the country, but should regulate major companies, industries, and institutions to be sure they don't take advantage of the public	76
Each state in the country has different people with different needs, so it is mainly the states that should decide what government programs ought to be started and continued	74
The federal government has become so big and bureaucratic that it should give more of its tax money to the states and local communities to do what they think it is best to do	73
Local government is closer to the people, so as many governmental services as possible should be given to local governments to handle	72
Lots of problems connected with government could be solved if there weren't so much secrecy on the part of government officials	71
Federal government has deep responsibility for seeing to it that the poor are taken care of, that no one goes hungry and that every person achieves a minimun standard of living	68
It's about time we had a strong federal government again to get this country moving again	67
The trouble with government is that the elected officials have lost control over the bureaucrats, who really run things	66
The best government is the government that governs the least	32

APPENDIX III

TABLES TO CHAPTER II

Q.25b(1)(P)
Q.23a (L)

HOW PEOPLE RATE THEMSELVES ON HOW UP TO DATE THEY ARE
ON WHAT IS GOING ON IN THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IN WASHINGTON

	Excellent %	Pretty Good %	Only Fair %	Poor %	Not Sure %	Positive %	Negative %
Total	6	34	42	18	*	40	60
18 to 29 years	4	33	40	23	*	37	63
30 to 49 years	6	37	41	16	-	43	57
50 years and over	6	31	46	17	*	37	63
White Protestant	6	33	43	18	*	39	61
White Catholic	4	35	47	14	-	39	61
Jewish	5	66	27	2	-	71	29
Professional	8	50	36	6	-	58	42
Executive	9	36	41	14	-	45	55
Skilled labor	4	27	49	20	-	31	69
White collar	5	36	45	14	-	41	59
Men	8	37	39	16	*	45	55
Women	3	31	46	20	-	34	66
8th grade	2	22	46	30	-	24	76
High school	4	28	47	21	*	32	68
College	10	46	34	10	-	56	44
White	6	35	42	17	*	41	59
Black	3	33	41	23	-	36	64
Active citizenship	9	43	38	10	-	52	48
Total Leaders	6	33	41	20	*	39	61
East	11	36	40	13	-	47	53
Midwest	5	33	44	18	-	38	62
South	4	34	39	23	-	38	62
West	2	28	41	27	2	30	68
Republican	2	35	44	19	-	37	63
Democrat	9	23	39	20	-	41	59
Independent	2	32	37	27	2	34	64

Q.25b(2)(P)
Q.23b (L)

HOW PEOPLE RATE THEMSELVES ON HOW UP TO DATE THEY ARE
ON WHAT IS GOING ON IN STATE GOVERNMENT IN THEIR STATE CAPITOL

	Excellent %	Pretty Good %	Only Fair %	Poor %	Not Sure %	Positive %	Negative %
Total	3	24	49	24	-	27	73
18 to 29 years	2	16	48	34	*	18	82
30 to 49 years	4	27	48	21	-	31	69
50 years and over	4	28	50	18	-	32	68
White Protestant	4	24	50	22	*	28	72
White Catholic	3	24	52	21	-	27	73
Jewish	3	32	54	11	-	35	65
Professional	6	32	48	14	-	38	62
Executive	4	27	49	20	-	31	69
Skilled labor	2	21	53	24	-	23	77
White collar	2	21	52	25	-	23	77
Men	5	26	47	22	*	31	69
Women	2	22	50	26	-	24	76
8th grade	2	22	47	29	-	24	76
High school	3	22	49	26	*	25	75
College	5	28	49	18	-	33	67
White	3	25	50	22	*	28	72
Black	3	28	38	31	-	31	69
Active citizenship	7	29	49	15	-	36	64
Total Leaders	10	31	40	18	1	41	58
East	13	23	42	20	2	36	42
Midwest	10	36	36	18	-	46	54
South	11	31	43	15	-	42	58
West	5	33	39	20	3	38	59
Republican	5	37	35	23	-	42	58
Democrat	15	27	46	12	-	42	58
Independent	5	27	32	29	7	32	61

Q.25b(3)(P)
Q.23c (L)

HOW PEOPLE RATE THEMSELVES ON HOW UP TO DATE THEY ARE
ON WHAT IS GOING ON IN THEIR LOCAL GOVERNMENT

	Excellent %	Pretty Good %	Only Fair %	Poor %	Not Sure %	Positive %	Negative %
Total	8	35	38	19	*	43	57
East	9	32	39	20	*	41	59
Midwest	8	44	34	14	*	52	48
South	8	33	41	18	-	41	59
West	5	28	40	27	*	33	67
18 to 29 years	4	27	39	30	*	31	69
30 to 49 years	9	38	37	16	*	47	53
50 years and over	9	38	39	14	-	47	53
Professional	11	39	36	14	*	50	50
Executive	11	42	32	15	-	53	47
Skilled labor	7	33	40	20	-	40	60
White collar	7	34	39	19	1	41	58
Men	9	36	37	18	*	45	55
Women	7	33	40	20	*	40	60
8th grade	2	34	39	25	-	36	64
High school	7	32	42	19	*	39	61
College	11	38	33	18	*	49	51
White	8	36	38	18	*	44	56
Black	3	35	36	26	-	38	62
Active citizenship	13	45	32	10	*	58	42
Total Leaders	18	49	26	7	*	67	33
East	28	41	23	8	-	69	31
Midwest	18	46	32	4	-	64	36
South	18	50	24	8	-	68	32
West	10	54	27	7	2	64	34
Republican	15	48	27	10	-	63	27
Democrat	21	52	24	3	-	73	27
Independent	17	37	34	10	2	54	44

Q.25b.(4)(P)
Q.23d (L)

HOW PEOPLE RATE THEMSELVES ON HOW UP TO DATE THEY ARE
ON WHAT IS HAPPENING IN POLITICS

	Excellent %	Pretty Good %	Only Fair %	Poor %	Not Sure %	Positive %	Negative %
Total	6	31	43	19	1	37	62
East	6	30	44	19	1	36	63
Midwest	7	35	42	14	2	42	56
South	5	26	45	23	1	31	68
West	7	32	40	20	1	39	60
18 to 29 years	5	27	44	22	2	32	66
30 to 49 years	6	34	45	15	*	40	60
50 years and over	6	31	41	20	2	37	61
White Protestant	6	30	44	19	1	36	63
White Catholic	5	32	48	14	1	37	62
Jewish	8	49	38	5	-	57	43
Professional	9	42	41	7	1	51	48
Executive	9	31	44	15	1	40	59
Skilled labor	4	29	43	22	2	33	65
White collar	6	29	48	16	1	35	64
Men	8	33	41	17	1	41	58
Women	4	29	45	21	1	33	66
8th grade	3	22	42	32	1	25	74
High school	5	27	45	21	2	32	66
College	9	39	41	11	*	48	52
Under $5,000	3	28	41	26	2	31	67
$5,000 - $9,999	5	28	45	21	1	33	66
$10,000 - $14,999	7	27	46	19	1	34	65
$15,000 and over	9	38	42	11	*	47	53
White	6	31	45	17	1	37	62
Black	3	29	40	27	1	32	67
Active citizenship	9	39	41	11	*	48	52
Total Leaders	5	30	39	23	3	35	62
East	9	28	44	16	3	37	60
Midwest	3	37	32	25	3	40	57
South	7	26	43	23	1	33	66
West	2	27	41	27	3	39	68
Republican	1	33	39	25	2	34	64
Democrat	9	27	47	20	2	36	62
Independent	-	29	35	29	5	31	64

Q.14g(P)

PEOPLE WHO SAY THEY KNOW WHO THEIR GOVERNOR IS

	Know %	Don't Know %	Not Sure %
Total	91	8	1
East	93	6	1
Midwest	92	7	1
South	84	14	2
West	96	3	1
18 to 29 years	86	13	1
30 to 49 years	92	7	1
50 years and over	93	6	1
White Protestant	92	7	1
White Catholic	94	5	1
Jewish	92	8	-
Men	92	7	1
Women	89	10	1
8th grade	80	16	4
High school	91	8	1
College	94	5	1
White	92	7	1
Black	83	15	2
Under $5,000	82	15	3
$5,000 - $9,999	90	8	2
$10,000 - $14,999	93	7	-
$15,000 and over	96	4	*
Union member	93	6	1
Republican	91	7	2
Democrat	91	8	1
Independent	91	8	1
Voted in 1972	94	5	1
Didn't vote in 1972	80	18	2
Active citizenship	94	5	1

Q.14h(P)

PEOPLE WHO CORRECTLY IDENTIFIED NAME AND PARTY OF THEIR GOVERNOR

	Correctly Identified (Base: People who say they know who their Govenor is = 91%)		Correctly Identified (Base: Total)	
	Name %	Party %	Name %	Party %
Total	98	85	89	77
East	97	80	90	75
Midwest	99	88	91	81
South	97	83	81	70
West	99	89	95	85
18 to 29 years	98	79	84	68
30 to 49 years	98	86	90	79
50 years and over	98	87	91	81
White Protestant	98	86	90	79
White Catholic	98	86	90	79
Jewish	100	96	92	88
Men	98	87	90	81
Women	98	82	87	73
8th grade	95	81	76	66
High school	98	83	90	76
College	99	88	93	83
White	98	86	90	80
Black	97	72	81	60
Under $5,000	97	82	80	68
$5,000 - $9,999	97	82	87	74
$10,000 - $14,999	98	85	92	79
$15,000 and over	99	91	95	87
Union member	98	84	91	78
Republican	98	87	89	80
Democrat	98	86	89	79
Independent	98	82	90	75
Voted in 1972	98	88	93	84
Didn't vote in 1972	97	74	78	59
Active citizenship	99	91	93	85

Q.14c (P)

PEOPLE WHO SAY THEY KNOW WHO THEIR U.S. SENATOR IS

	Know %	Don't Know %	Not Sure %
Total	64	33	3
East	56	40	4
Midwest	71	26	3
South	66	32	2
West	63	33	4
18 to 29 years	56	41	3
30 to 49 years	67	30	3
50 years and over	67	29	4
White Protestant	68	29	3
White Catholic	63	33	4
Jewish	71	29	-
Men	69	29	2
Women	59	37	4
8th grade	50	45	5
High school	58	39	3
College	79	19	2
Under $5,000	52	44	4
$5,000 - $9,999	60	37	3
$10,000 - $14,999	66	32	2
$15,000 and over	79	18	3
White	67	30	3
Black	49	47	4
Union member	60	37	3
Republican	67	30	3
Democrat	64	33	3
Independent	68	30	2
Voted in 1972	72	25	3
Didn't vote in 1972	41	54	5
Active citizenship	78	21	1

Q.14d(P)

PEOPLE WHO CORRECTLY IDENTIFIED NAME AND PARTY OF THEIR U.S. SENATOR

	Correctly Identified (Base: People who say they know who their U.S. Senator is = 64%)		Correctly Identified (Base: Total)	
	Name %	Party %	Name %	Party %
Total	93	83	59	53
East	90	79	50	45
Midwest	93	87	66	62
South	95	84	61	55
West	93	79	58	50
18 to 29 years	91	75	50	42
30 to 49 years	93	85	62	56
50 years and over	93	87	63	58
White Protestant	92	83	63	57
White Catholic	90	82	56	51
Jewish	100	92	71	65
Men	93	84	64	58
Women	92	82	54	48
8th grade	92	86	45	42
High school	92	82	53	47
College	93	84	74	66
Under $5,000	90	81	46	42
$5,000 - $9,999	92	81	55	48
$10,000 - $14,999	93	83	61	54
$15,000 and over	93	87	74	69
White	92	83	62	56
Black	97	82	46	36
Republican	92	85	61	57
Democrat	92	82	58	52
Independent	95	84	64	57
Voted in 1972	93	84	68	61
Didn't vote in 1972	88	76	36	31
Active citizenship	93	86	72	67

Q.14e (P)

PEOPLE WHO SAY THEY KNOW WHO THEIR OTHER U.S. SENATOR IS

	Know %	Don't Know %	Not Sure %
Total	42	53	5
East	35	59	6
Midwest	53	43	4
South	42	52	6
West	38	57	5
18 to 29	33	63	4
30 to 49	45	50	5
50 years and over	46	48	6
White Protestant	47	49	4
White Catholic	40	53	7
Jewish	51	47	2
Men	48	48	4
Women	37	57	6
White	45	50	5
Black	25	68	7
Under $5,000	31	62	7
$5,000 - $9,999	37	58	5
$10,000 - $14,999	43	53	4
$15,000 and over	57	38	5
Union member	39	56	5
Republican	43	51	6
Democrat	41	54	5
Independent	47	49	4
Voted in 1972	49	46	5
Didn't vote in 1972	24	72	4
Active citizenship	57	39	4

Q.14f(P)

PEOPLE WHO CORRECTLY IDENTIFIED NAME AND PARTY OF THEIR OTHER U.S. SENATOR

	Correctly Identified (Base: People who say they know who their other U.S. Senator is = 42%)		Correctly Identified (Base: Total)	
	Name %	Party %	Name %	Party %
Total	92	87	39	36
East	92	82	32	29
Midwest	96	93	50	48
South	91	85	38	36
West	87	86	33	33
18 to 29 years	91	84	30	28
30 to 49 years	93	88	42	40
50 years and over	92	87	42	40
White Protestant	93	87	44	41
White Catholic	90	87	35	34
Jewish	95	86	49	45
Men	93	87	44	41
Women	91	86	33	32
8th grade	90	85	28	26
High school	93	87	32	30
College	92	87	52	50
White	92	87	41	39
Black	97	93	24	23
Under $5,000	93	90	29	28
$5,000 - $9,999	92	87	34	32
$10,000 - $14,999	91	84	39	36
$15,000 and over	92	87	53	50
Union member	92	85	39	36
Republican	90	85	39	36
Democrat	94	89	39	37
Independent	90	85	42	40
Voted in 1972	92	87	45	42
Didn't vote in 1972	93	85	22	21
Active citizenship	93	87	53	50

Q.14a(P)

PEOPLE WHO SAY THEY KNOW WHO THEIR CONGRESSMAN IS

	Know %	Don't Know %	Not Sure %
Total	53	42	5
East	49	45	6
Midwest	59	38	3
South	56	39	5
West	44	52	4
18 to 29 years	36	59	5
30 to 49 years	61	34	5
50 years and over	59	37	4
Men	58	38	4
Women	49	46	5
8th grade	43	54	3
High school	51	44	5
College	61	34	5
Under $5,000	44	52	4
$5,000 - $9,999	45	50	5
$10,000 - $14,999	55	41	4
$15,000 and over	69	25	6
White	57	39	4
Black	21	72	7
Union member	54	41	5
Republican	58	39	3
Democrat	53	43	4
Independent	54	41	5
Voted in 1972	62	34	4
Didn't vote in 1972	31	64	5
Active citizenship	67	28	5

Q.14b(P)

PEOPLE WHO CORRECTLY IDENTIFIED NAME AND PARTY OF THEIR CONGRESSMAN

	Correctly Identified (Base: People who say they know who their Congressman is = 53%)		Correctly Identified (Base: Total)	
	Name %	Party %	Name %	Party %
Total	88	77	46	41
East	84	74	41	36
Midwest	87	77	51	46
South	93	83	53	47
West	83	68	37	30
18 to 29 years	84	71	30	25
30 to 49 years	87	75	53	45
50 years and over	90	81	53	48
White Protestant	90	82	55	49
White Catholic	82	70	42	36
Jewish	89	71	49	39
Men	88	77	51	44
Women	87	76	42	37
8th grade	85	74	35	31
High school	86	73	44	37
College	90	82	55	49
Under $5,000	87	78	38	34
$5,000 - $9,999	89	76	40	34
$10,000 - $14,999	88	73	49	40
$15,000 and over	87	80	60	55
White	88	78	50	44
Black	80	56	17	12
Union member	84	71	45	38
Republican	85	79	49	46
Democrat	92	80	49	42
Independent	84	71	45	38
Voted in 1972	89	80	54	49
Didn't vote in 1972	80	62	25	19
Active citizenship	92	84	61	56

Q.14j(P)

WHAT IS THE COMPOSITION OF THE CONGRESS

	Just U.S. House Of Representatives %	Just U.S. Senate %	Both House and Senate %	House, Senate and Supreme Court %	Not Sure %
Total	6	4	62	20	8
8th grade	4	3	44	27	22
High school	6	5	57	24	8
College	7	4	75	12	2
White	6	4	65	20	5
Black	6	7	39	23	25
Active citizenship	4	4	69	20	3

Q.22a,b(P)

WHETHER PEOPLE HAVE RECEIVED A MAILING OR LETTER FROM THEIR CONGRESSMAN OR SENATOR

	Congressman			U.S. Senator		
	Received Mailing Or Letter %	Not Received %	Can't Recall %	Received Mailing Or Letter %	Not Received %	Can't Recall %
Total	74	23	3	59	33	8
Cities	65	30	5	54	37	9
Suburbs	79	19	3	62	31	7
Towns	77	19	4	58	35	7
Rural	77	20	3	63	31	6
18 to 29 years	59	38	3	43	51	6
30 to 49 years	79	17	4	62	31	7
50 years and over	80	16	4	68	23	9
White Protestant	80	17	3	64	29	7
White Catholic	76	22	2	61	33	6
Jewish	86	6	8	77	11	12
8th grade	61	31	8	53	35	12
High school	70	27	3	54	40	6
College	83	14	3	68	25	7
Under $5,000	66	28	6	52	37	11
$5,000 to $9,999	63	33	4	50	42	8
$10,000 to $14,999	77	18	5	62	31	7
$15,000 and over	88	10	2	74	22	4
White	78	19	3	63	30	7
Black	42	49	9	32	57	11
Active citizenship	89	9	2	72	21	7

Q.22d(P)

HOW PEOPLE FEEL ABOUT THE LETTERS OR MAILINGS FROM THEIR CONGRESSMAN OR U.S. SENATOR

	Tell You Useful Information %	Are Interesting To Read %	Tell You How He Is Voting %	Are Just Trying To Get Your Vote %	Are A Waste Of Time And Money %
Total	57	56	47	46	27
East	49	51	43	50	27
Midwest	62	61	51	45	27
South	55	54	44	40	25
West	64	59	55	53	31
8th grade	52	51	39	39	23
High school	55	57	45	47	28
College	60	57	54	48	27
White	60	59	51	46	28
Black	27	31	22	50	25
Active citizenship	67	67	59	45	27

Q.18a (L)

THE WAYS LEADERS KEEP IN TOUCH WITH THE PEOPLE THEY SERVE AND REPRESENT

	Total %
Personal contact, conversations	42
Public, community council meetings	42
Answer all mail, letters, correspondences	36
Through press media releases	36
Telephone, answer all calls	29
Keep office open, have office hours	21
Published reports, news letters	14
Public appearances	9
Tour district, make self visible in home area	9
Meetings with elected officials	8
Listen to people	4
Through schools	4
Meetings with business, groups, leaders	4
Door to door campaigning	2
Through church	2
Any other answer	5
Do not know	-

Q.18b (L)

THE KINDS OF ACTIVITIES THAT LEADERS DO ON A REGULAR BASIS

	Make Speeches and Appearances %	Have Regular Office Hours for People %	Attend Weddings Funerals and Social Events %	Send People a Newsletter %
Total leaders	88	70	66	38
East	88	59	55	42
Midwest	89	68	67	32
South	86	82	73	30
West	92	71	66	50
Total State Officials	92	37	28	31
Executive	100	47	44	19
Legislative	90	33	22	35
Total Local Officials	87	81	79	41
County	93	85	77	34
City	90	82	80	35
Town, village	76	75	78	58
Republican	88	58	58	32
Democrat	89	74	68	36
Independent	85	55	73	67

Q.18c (L)

LEADERS WHO FIND THE FOLLOWING ACTIVITIES VERY HELPFUL IN GETTING THE JOB DONE

	Have Regular Office Hours for People %	Make Speeches and Appearances %	Send People a Newsletter %	Attend Weddings Funerals and Social Events %
Total Leaders	77	68	51	34
East	71	77	70	42
Midwest	71	61	40	35
South	86	70	37	35
West	79	68	52	25
Total State Officials	74	75	58	41
Executive	57	53	-	29
Legislative	81	84	69	50
Total Local Officials	78	66	49	33
County	76	64	38	35
City	79	71	44	31
Town, village	77	59	61	35
Republican	74	66	50	27
Democrat	79	72	55	36
Independent	74	59	46	32

Q.20a (P)

POLITICAL ACTIONS PEOPLE HAVE TAKEN

	Total	18 to 29	30 to 49	50 and Over	White	Black
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Signed a petition	69	66	75	66	73	39
Actively defended the action of an elected official in private discussion	56	55	60	54	60	29
Voted in a school bond issue	56	31	67	65	60	26
Attended a speech or rally for a political candidate	50	46	51	52	53	33
Written a letter to your Congressman	33	31	37	30	36	12
Contributed financially to a political campaign	33	26	35	36	36	15
Participated in a school board discussion or debate	27	21	31	27	28	14
Written a letter to your U.S. Senator	25	17	29	28	28	4
Visited or talked in person with your Congressman	22	15	25	25	24	6
Written a letter to a local government official	19	16	25	16	21	6
Campaigned or worked actively for a candidate for Congress	14	10	15	16	14	9
Visited a state legislator in the state capitol	14	15	13	14	15	8
Campaigned or worked actively for a candidate for President	14	13	16	12	15	7
Visited or talked in person with your U.S. Senator	13	8	13	17	15	5
Picketed or taken part in a street demonstration	11	18	11	6	10	20
Campaigned or worked actively for a candidate for the U.S. Senate	11	8	11	13	12	6
Took part in a demonstration where violence occurred	2	6	2	*	2	2

Q.20b(P)

ORGANIZATIONS WHICH PEOPLE BELONG TO

	Total %
Religious	55
Social	26
School	23
Charitable	21
Labor union	16
Professional	14
Civic	14
Fraternal	14
Veterans	12
Political	12
Sports	11
Business	10
Arts or cultural	9
Fan or boosters club	7
Ethnic	3

Q.20c(P)

WHETHER PEOPLE ARE OR HAVE EVER BEEN AN OFFICER OF AN ORGANIZATION
(Base: Belong to any organization = 78%)

	Are (Been) An Officer %	Not Been An Officer %	Not Sure %
Total	48	52	*
East	35	65	*
Midwest	55	44	1
South	52	48	*
West	49	51	-
18 to 29 years	35	65	*
30 to 49 years	50	50	*
50 years and over	53	46	1
White Protestant	57	43	*
White Catholic	36	64	*
Jewish	55	43	2
Professional	63	37	-
Executive	60	40	-
Skilled labor	37	62	1
White collar	49	51	-
Men	45	55	*
Women	50	49	1
8th grade	30	69	1
High school	42	58	*
College	60	40	*
Under $5,000	42	57	1
$5,000 to $9,999	41	59	-
$10,000 to $14,999	46	54	-
$15,000 and over	60	39	1
White	50	49	1
Black	37	63	-
Active citizenship	100	-	-

Q.16c(P)

THE KINDS OF ACTIONS PEOPLE MIGHT POSSIBLY TAKE TO CHANGE THINGS THEY DIDN'T LIKE ABOUT GOVERNMENT

	Total	18 to 29	30 to 49	50 and Over	Under $5,000	$5,000-$9,999	$10,000-$14,999	$15,000 and Over	White	Black
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Vote against a public official	94	92	96	91	86	94	96	97	95	85
Talk to friends and neighbors	91	90	93	89	85	89	93	96	92	86
Write to your Congressman	84	87	85	80	73	82	87	92	86	65
Write to your U.S. Senator	81	81	83	79	70	78	85	89	84	66
Work through a group you belong to	79	81	83	76	67	79	83	87	81	78
Contact local law enforcement officials	76	72	83	71	67	74	78	83	78	62
Contact someone in local politics	75	75	81	69	64	72	78	82	77	65
Join a local citizens group	72	80	78	61	56	71	75	84	73	71
Join a political party and work to make changes	66	71	68	57	52	62	66	80	66	65
Write a letter to the newspaper	65	78	70	70	50	66	66	77	67	55
Send money to support a local citizens group to demand action	62	63	69	57	47	57	64	80	65	46
Talk to a newspaper reporter or editor	61	69	64	52	51	59	62	72	62	66
Vote against the public official's party at the next election	55	56	55	55	56	54	55	55	54	72
Take part in a demonstration	27	45	28	11	19	26	29	33	24	46
Take aggressive action even if someone gets hurt	27	26	31	23	21	25	27	36	27	36
Do nothing	17	18	17	19	22	18	17	15	18	23

Q.16a(P)

IS THERE SOMETHING PEOPLE CAN DO
ABOUT AN UNJUST OR CORRUPT PUBLIC OFFICIAL

	Can Do Something %	Don't Feel This Way %	Not Sure %
Total	58	34	8
Cities	50	39	11
Suburbs	62	31	7
Towns	66	29	5
Rural	59	34	7
18 to 29 years	55	37	8
30 to 49 years	60	34	6
50 years and over	57	33	10
8th grade	35	51	14
High school	54	37	9
College	72	24	4
Under $5,000	46	42	12
$5,000 to $9,999	56	35	9
$10,000 to $14,999	59	35	6
$15,000 and over	69	27	4
White	60	33	7
Black	40	41	19
Active citizenship	74	23	3

Q.16b(P)

WHY PEOPLE FEEL THEY CAN OR CANNOT DO SOMETHING ABOUT AN UNJUST OR CORRUPT PUBLIC OFFICIAL

	Total %	18 to 29 Years %	30 to 49 Years %	50 Years and Over %	White %	Black %
Can Do Something						
Go to polls and vote for someone else	23	17	21	29	24	15
Get a group together and protest	14	15	18	11	15	11
Voice your opinion	11	10	11	12	12	6
Write letters to Congressmen and Senators	9	11	9	8	9	6
Bring it to attention of higher authorities	8	8	9	7	8	8
Write letters to news media	6	6	6	4	6	2
Something can be done	6	5	7	5	6	4
If you have evidence you can act	5	6	3	5	5	-
Take official to court and sue	4	3	4	4	4	2
Actively work against his reelection	3	4	4	3	4	1
Petition	3	6	3	1	3	1
Referendum	2	2	2	1	2	-
Impeach him	2	2	2	3	3	1
Write to corrupt official	1	1	1	1	1	5
Other answers	5	5	5	4	5	4
Cannot Do Something						
One individual can't do anything	13	15	10	13	12	19
Feel helpless, powerless, frustrated	12	14	11	11	12	8
Wouldn't know what to do, where to begin	6	5	6	7	6	6
An individual doesn't have the money, resources, influence	4	5	3	3	4	5
Public officals protect each other	4	4	5	3	4	4
Need a group to do something	3	3	4	3	3	5
It takes too long to get anything done	1	1	1	-	1	1
Other answers	5	3	5	5	4	7
Don't know	5	6	4	6	4	15

Note: Totals may come to more than 100% because some respondents gave more than one reason.

Q.13a(P)
Q.11a(L)

GROUPS OF CITIZENS AND ORGANIZATIONS ARE HAVING MORE EFFECT IN GETTING GOVERNMENT TO GET THINGS DONE, COMPARED TO 5 YEARS AGO

	More Effect %	Not Changed Much %	Less Effect %	Not Sure %
Total	**49**	**32**	**8**	**11**
East	55	27	7	11
Midwest	50	35	8	7
South	41	34	9	16
West	51	34	7	8
White Protestant	46	37	8	9
White Catholic	58	27	7	8
Jewish	51	25	13	11
Men	51	33	8	8
Women	49	31	7	13
8th grade	38	33	6	23
High school	44	36	8	12
College	62	26	8	4
White	50	33	8	9
Black	43	27	8	22
Voted in 1972	53	31	8	8
Didn't vote in 1972	39	36	7	18
Active citizenship	57	29	9	5
Leaders Total	**68**	**25**	**5**	**2**
East	65	25	5	5
Midwest	69	20	8	3
South	65	29	6	-
West	70	28	2	-

Q.13b(P)
Q.11b(L)

THE REASONS GROUPS OF CITIZENS AND ORGANIZATIONS ARE HAVING MORE EFFECT IN GETTING GOVERNMENT TO GET THINGS DONE COMPARED TO 5 YEARS AGO

	Public Total %	8th grade %	High school %	College %	Leaders Total %	East %	Mid-west %	South %	West %
More Effect:									
People are more involved today	26	21	22	33	17	23	14	16	18
Groups of people can get more done than one person	15	10	15	19	9	13	7	6	10
Government is listening to people more today	10	3	8	15	22	21	30	13	26
People are more organized and persist more	7	5	6	8	14	9	18	16	10
People are more knowledgeable	4	1	3	6	11	9	11	14	10
Media has given groups good coverage	4	3	3	6	5	4	3	6	6
Groups have more experience	1	1	1	*	3	2	6	2	4
They just seem to be more active	1	2	*	1	x	x	x	x	x
Other answers	2	1	2	2	4	7	3	2	4
No Change:									
Things are the same	17	23	19	14	11	9	10	16	10
Groups do more harm than good	1	*	1	1	*	-	1	-	-
Groups aren't organized enough	1	1	1	2	1	5	-	-	-
Government just as responsive now as 5 years ago	x	x	x	x	2	4	3	-	2
Other answers	1	-	2	3	4	4	4	3	2
Do not know	2	27	15	7	1	4	1	-	-
Less:									
Groups don't have much impact, that's not the way to get things done	x	x	x	x	3	2	4	5	-
Government does what it wants	2	1	2	1	x	x	x	x	x
We're not getting things done	6	4	7	5	3	2	4	5	-
Government doesn't care	5	3	6	5	2	2	1	2	2
Other answers	1	1	1	1	2	2	1	2	2

Q.13c(P)
Q11c.(L)

GROUPS OF CITIZENS AND ORGANIZATIONS WHICH ARE MOST ACTIVE IN PEOPLES RECENT EXPERIENCE

	Public Total %	Leaders Total %
Local community groups	12	17
Civil rights groups	8	19
Business groups	8	13
Ralph Nader consumer protection groups	7	6
Church groups	6	6
Environmental protection groups	6	27
Educational groups	5	15
Taxpayers	x	5
Fraternal orders	4	x
Middle class groups	x	2
Veterans groups	4	x
Individuals concerned with improving quality of life	x	4
Senior citizens groups	3	3
Demonstrations against war	3	2
Women's equal rights	3	6
Political groups -- Republicans, Democrats	3	5
Charitable organizations	2	-
Anti-abortionists	x	2
Labor unions	2	6
Common cause	2	5
Self-serving groups	x	1
Radical groups (Birchers, Muslims, KKK)	2	4
College kids	1	4
Service groups	1	8
Social, recreational groups	1	1
Health groups	1	4
None	9	3
Other	9	22
Do not know	28	1

Q.27b(P)
Q.25b(L)

PEOPLE WHO FEEL THAT PROTEST MARCHES LED BY MARTIN LUTHER KING IN THE 1960'S SPEEDED UP CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION

	Speeded Up %	Slowed Down %	Not Made Much Difference %	Not Sure %
Total	67	3	23	7
East	71	3	21	5
Midwest	66	2	27	5
South	60	4	24	12
West	70	3	20	7
18 to 29 years	78	1	13	8
30 to 49 years	69	3	23	5
50 years and over	56	4	31	9
White Protestant	61	3	29	7
White Catholic	69	4	23	4
Jewish	89	-	7	4
Men	70	3	21	6
Women	64	3	25	8
8th grade	52	6	27	15
High school	60	3	29	8
College	81	2	14	3
White	65	3	25	7
Black	79	1	12	8
Republican	55	4	32	9
Democrat	70	3	21	6
Independent	73	3	20	4
Active citizenship	69	3	25	3
Leaders Total	76	3	17	4
East	86	3	6	5
Midwest	74	1	18	7
South	74	1	21	4
West	73	3	22	2
Republican	74	2	17	7
Democrat	80	2	16	2
Independent	69	7	17	7

Q.27e (P)

EFFECT OF CITIZENS GROUP PRESSURES, ON INDUSTRY EFFORTS TO CURB POLLUTION

	Speeded Up Efforts %	Slowed Down %	Not Much Effect %	Not Sure %
Total	49	4	37	10
East	51	3	38	8
Midwest	55	3	34	8
South	47	4	33	16
West	43	5	44	8
Cities	44	4	42	10
Suburbs	55	2	38	5
Towns	53	3	33	11
Rural	49	5	32	14
8th grade	36	5	35	24
High school	48	4	38	10
College	57	3	36	4
White	53	4	35	8
Black	27	4	43	26

Q.27c(P)
Q.25c(L)

PEOPLE/LEADER'S WHO FEEL THAT "SUPPORT YOUR LOCAL POLICE CAMPAIGNS"
HAVE NOT HAD MUCH EFFECT OVER LOCAL GOVERNMENT CRIME CONGROL

	Total Public %	Total Leaders %
Made more effective crime control	30	37
Slowed down law enforcement	4	4
Not had much effect	53	56
Not sure	13	7

Q.27d(P)
Q.25d(L)

PEOPLE'S ATTITUDES ABOUT PARENT PROTEST AGAINST
FORCED BUSING OF SCHOOL CHILDREN

	Been Effective %	Not Effective %	Not Sure %
Total	25	59	16
8th grade	18	55	27
High school	24	60	16
College	29	59	12
White	24	60	16
Black	30	50	20
Active citizenship	27	62	11
Total Leaders	39	44	17
East	53	33	14
Midwest	45	36	14
South	17	65	18
West	43	40	17
Republican	54	29	17
Democrat	34	51	15
Independent	27	49	24

Q.27a(P)
Q.25a(L)

PEOPLE'S FEELINGS TOWARD EFFECT OF ANTI-WAR
DEMONSTRATIONS ON U.S. INVOLVEMENT IN VIETNAM

	Lasted Longer %	Was Shortened %	Not Affected %	Not Sure %
Total	20	22	49	9
East	16	29	49	6
Midwest	21	22	51	6
South	25	12	48	15
West	17	29	48	6
18 to 29 years	12	35	46	7
30 to 49 years	23	22	49	6
50 years and over	23	14	50	13
White Protestant	24	17	52	7
White Catholic	20	24	49	7
Jewish	7	35	53	5
Men	22	26	45	7
Women	17	19	53	11
8th grade	18	12	50	20
High school	20	18	54	8
College	20	34	42	4
White	22	21	50	7
Black	9	30	41	20
Active citizenship	23	25	46	6
Total Leaders	34	28	31	7
East	27	37	25	11
Midwest	30	32	33	5
South	41	18	37	4
West	37	12	30	10
Republicans	48	20	24	8
Democrat	25	33	38	4
Independent	27	32	29	12

APPENDIX IV

TABLES TO CHAPTER III

Q.4a (P)

DEGREE TO WHICH GOVERNMENT AFFECTS PEOPLE'S LIVES PERSONALLY

	Total	8th Grade	High School	College	White	Black	Active Citizenship
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1. Local Government							
Great deal	38	37	39	37	37	39	41
Only somewhat	33	23	33	37	35	28	37
Hardly at all	26	34	25	24	26	26	20
Not sure	3	6	3	2	2	7	2
2. State Government							
Great deal	39	34	41	38	39	34	43
Only somewhat	38	25	36	47	40	31	41
Hardly at all	19	32	20	13	18	28	13
Not sure	4	9	3	2	3	7	3
3. Federal Government							
Great deal	63	50	64	70	64	55	72
Only somewhat	21	21	20	21	21	18	19
Hardly at all	13	21	13	8	12	20	7
Not sure	3	8	3	1	3	7	2

Q.4a(P)
Q.4a(L)

DEGREE TO WHICH GOVERNMENT AFFECTS PEOPLE'S LIVES PERSONALLY

	Public				Leaders					State Officials			Local Officials						
	Total	8th Grade	High School	College	Total	East	Mid-west	South	West	Total	Exe-cu-tive	Legis-la-tive	Total	County	City	Town/ Village	Repub-lican	Demo-crat	Indepen-dent
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1. Local Government																			
Great deal	38	37	39	37	74	74	68	76	79	75	53	84	74	83	73	67	73	75	73
Only somewhat	33	23	33	37	19	20	25	14	17	21	42	12	19	11	19	25	19	18	21
Hardly at all	26	34	25	24	6	6	5	10	3	3	5	2	7	6	8	7	8	6	2
Not sure	3	6	3	2	*	-	1	-	-	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
2. State Government																			
Great deal	39	34	41	38	49	47	47	41	62	63	47	69	44	55	38	44	64	38	49
Only somewhat	38	25	36	47	48	48	49	56	36	35	53	29	52	43	58	50	36	56	51
Hardly at all	19	32	20	13	43	5	3	3	2	-	-	-	4	2	4	6	-	6	-
Not sure	4	9	3	2	*	-	1	-	-	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
3. Federal Government																			
Great deal	63	50	64	70	67	56	63	75	76	62	74	57	69	81	66	63	71	62	76
Only somewhat	21	21	20	21	26	33	28	23	21	31	26	33	24	19	29	20	24	30	17
Hardly at all	13	21	13	8	6	11	8	3	3	6	-	8	6	-	4	17	6	7	7
Not sure	3	8	3	1	*	-	1	-	-	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	-

Q.4d(P)
Q.4d(L)

MAIN WAYS FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AFFECTS PEOPLE'S LIVES PERSONALLY

	Public Total	Cities	Suburbs	Towns	Rural	White	Black	Leaders Total	East	Midwest	South	West
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Taxes	34	31	39	36	31	35	25	53	56	44	50	67
Inflation	18	18	23	13	4	17	22	11	10	10	8	15
Taxes too high	11	12	11	10	9	11	11	x	x	x	x	x
Laws, legislation	10	11	11	9	9	10	12	21	16	24	23	18
Benefits to elderly	7	4	1	3	3	7	7	x	x	x	x	x
War	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	8	11	9	3	9
Government administration not trustworthy	6	6	8	6	5	6	9	2	-	3	3	4
Price freeze	5	5	5	5	6	6	2	5	7	1	11	2
Wage controls	4	4	5	3	3	4	3	3	3	-	5	4
Inefficient use of taxes	4	3	3	3	5	4	2	x	x	x	x	x
International economic policy	4	3	6	2	5	5	1	24	6	26	27	27
Top leaders running country affect everything	4	3	3	4	5	4	1	x	x	x	x	x
Benefits to elderly need improvement	3	4	1	3	3	3	3	x	x	x	x	x
Aid to education	3	3	3	4	4	4	2	4	8	1	5	-
Federal government should give domestic aid priority over foreign aid	3	3	4	1	4	3	2	2	3	3	2	-
Foreign policy	3	3	4	4	3	3	2	13	18	13	6	15
Funding, subsidies	2	2	2	2	1	2	1	19	18	25	19	13
Should create full employment	2	4	1	2	1	2	8	x	x	x	x	x
Husband works for them	2	2	2	1	1	1	3	x	x	x	x	x
Military protection	2	2	3	1	1	2	2	25	23	22	26	29
Everything	2	1	3	2	2	2	-	x	x	x	x	x
Tax inequity	1	1	2	2	2	2	-	x	x	x	x	x
Supreme court	1	1	1	1	1	1	-	x	x	x	x	x
Misuse of welfare, social security	1	1	*	1	1	1	1	x	x	x	x	x
Highways	1	1	1	3	2	2	-	4	3	7	-	4
Integration	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	x	x	x	x	x
Social security, pensions	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	10	10	13	5	9
Federal government too remote	1	3	4	1	4	1	1	x	x	x	x	x
Social services, welfare	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	19	13	19	15	29
Too involved in state, local officials	1	1	1	*	1	1	-	2	2	-	3	4
Regulation of business, industry	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	2	-	3	2	5
Against busing	1	1	2	2	1	1	-	x	x	x	x	x
Energy crisis	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	-	1	2	-
Affects me favorably	1	*	1	-	*	1	-	x	x	x	x	x
Draft	1	1	1	2	1	1	-	x	x	x	x	x
Housing	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	2	7	1	-	-
Environmental policies	1	2	1	2	1	2	-	5	8	3	5	5
None	5	3	3	7	6	4	7	x	x	x	x	x
Any other answer	6	6	7	6	7	6	7	25	23	26	27	20
Do not know	7	10	5	6	6	6	16	*	-	1	-	-

Q.4c(P)

MAIN WAYS STATE GOVERNMENT AFFECTS PEOPLE'S LIVES PERSONALLY

	Total %	Cities %	Suburbs %	Towns %	Rural %	8th Grade %	High School %	College %	White %	Black %	Active Citizenship %
Taxes (income, sales, road, personal)	33	28	40	37	31	18	31	43	35	21	37
Highways, maintenance	15	10	15	15	20	10	15	16	16	5	19
Education, colleges	15	12	17	21	15	8	13	22	17	9	21
Taxes too high	13	13	11	12	15	18	14	9	12	15	12
Laws	12	13	11	13	11	7	11	15	12	7	14
Driver licensing, registration	4	2	5	6	4	2	4	4	4	-	4
Welfare system too expensive	4	3	5	3	4	6	3	4	4	2	3
Natural resources	3	1	4	4	2	1	1	5	3	-	4
Distribution of funds to local government	3	5	2	1	4	2	3	4	3	3	3
State government corrupt	3	3	3	2	3	3	2	3	3	2	4
Prices	3	5	2	*	3	5	3	2	3	4	3
State police	3	9	8	11	10	-	2	4	3	-	4
State hospitals	2	2	2	1	2	2	1	2	2	3	2
Parks	2	2	3	5	1	2	3	3	3	1	3
Husband works for them	2	1	3	2	1	1	2	2	2	1	2
State interferes with local interests	2	3	1	2	2	2	2	3	2	4	3
Governor should leave office	1	1	2	-	1	*	1	1	1	1	1
Less federal control over state	1	*	*	1	1	-	1	*	1	-	1
Abortion	1	*	1	1	*	-	*	1	1	-	1
Courts	1	1	2	*	1	-	1	3	1	-	3
Transportation	1	1	2	-	1	-	*	3	1	-	2
None	9	9	8	11	10	13	9	7	9	10	5
Any other answer	16	15	14	15	15	13	14	19	16	16	18
Do not know	12	18	9	8	8	20	13	7	9	27	8

* Note: Totals come to more than 100% because some respondents gave more than one answer.

Q.4c(P)
Q.4a(L)

MAIN WAYS STATE GOVERNMENT AFFECTS PEOPLE'S LIVES PERSONALLY

	Public Total	Cities	Suburbs	Towns	Rural	Leaders Total	East	Midwest	South	West
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Taxes (income, sales, road, personal)	33	28	40	37	31	39	38	40	38	43
Highways, maintenance	15	10	15	15	20	23	23	26	21	21
Education, colleges	15	12	17	21	15	32	38	25	38	29
Environment, air pollution	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Taxes too high	13	13	11	12	15	11	13	7	7	16
Welfare system	x	x	x	x	x	25	11	31	21	38
Laws	12	13	11	13	11	33	26	41	29	36
Driver licensing, registration	4	2	5	6	4	6	8	7	2	7
Welfare system too expensive	4	3	5	3	4	x	x	x	x	x
Natural resources	3	1	4	4	2	x	x	x	x	x
Distribution of funds to local government	3	5	2	1	4	11	16	10	7	11
State government corrupt	3	3	3	2	3	x	x	x	x	x
Prices	3	5	2	*	3	x	x	x	x	x
State police	3	9	8	11	10	2	3	-	5	2
State hospitals	2	2	2	1	2	13	8	15	21	7
Parks	2	2	3	5	1	5	7	6	-	5
Set standards for local government	x	x	x	x	x	7	11	4	3	7
Husband works for them	2	1	3	2	1	x	x	x	x	x
State interferes with local interests	2	3	1	2	2	6	-	7	9	7
Governor should leave office	1	1	2	-	1	x	x	x	x	x
Planning, land use:	x	x	x	x	x	2	-	-	-	9
Less federal control over state	1	*	*	1	1	1	-	-	2	4
Quality of life	x	x	x	x	x	4	7	3	5	-
Abortion	1	*	1	1	*	x	x	x	x	x
Services	x	x	x	x	x	2	2	2	3	4
Courts	1	1	2	*	1	5	2	9	5	4
Transportation	1	1	2	-	1	9	18	7	7	5
Public can participate	x	x	x	x	x	3	7	3	3	-
None	9	9	8	11	10	x	x	x	x	x
Any other answer	16	15	14	15	15	11	16	10	12	7
Do not know	12	18	9	8	8	*	-	1	-	-

Q.4b(P)

MAIN WAYS THAT LOCAL GOVERNMENT AFFECTS PEOPLE'S LIVES PERSONALLY

	Total	Cities	Suburbs	Towns	Rural	8th Grade	High School	College	White	Black	Active Citizenship
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Taxes (property, school, etc.)	24	22	29	25	23	13	25	28	26	14	28
Police protection	17	21	19	16	13	14	18	18	17	20	18
Schools and education	15	12	18	19	14	5	13	22	16	6	21
Streets, roads, traffic	11	9	9	13	15	9	11	13	12	4	15
Laws, ordinances	10	11	8	14	8	7	9	13	11	4	11
Zoning, building codes	9	6	11	11	10	5	6	14	10	3	12
Taxes too high	8	10	10	3	7	9	9	7	8	8	9
Sanitation, waste disposal	7	6	9	7	6	7	7	7	7	8	10
Water, sewage	5	2	5	8	4	3	3	7	5	2	6
Fire protection	4	4	5	5	3	1	3	7	5	2	6
Prices	4	7	2	1	3	5	4	2	3	4	2
Political corruption	4	4	4	4	4	1	4	5	4	5	5
Regulation of business	2	-	2	4	1	1	1	2	2	-	2
Recreational facilities	2	1	4	3	1	1	2	4	3	-	3
Pollution	2	2	2	3	1	2	1	3	2	1	3
Husband works for local government	2	2	2	1	2	-	1	3	2	2	2
City housing	1	3	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	5	1
None	12	9	13	13	13	17	13	9	11	15	7
Other answers	15	14	11	15	16	9	14	19	15	15	18
Don't know	12	15	8	12	11	23	11	7	9	27	7

* Note: Totals come to more than 100% because some respondents gave more than one answer.

Q.4b(P)
Q.4b(L)

MAIN WAYS THAT LOCAL GOVERNMENT AFFECTS PEOPLE'S LIVES PERSONALLY

	Public Total %	Leaders Total %	East %	Midwest %	South %	West %
Local government close to people	x	19	13	17	32	14
Taxes (property, school, etc.)	24	34	39	37	25	32
Police protection	17	44	52	39	37	52
Schools and education	15	30	39	27	25	29
Streets, roads, traffic, transportation	11	17	11	21	21	16
Laws, ordinances	10	19	11	20	27	16
Zoning, building codes	9	24	16	21	21	41
Affects quality of life	x	18	14	11	25	23
Taxes too high	8	x	x	x	x	x
Health care facilities	x	11	6	13	8	16
Sanitation, waste disposal	7	25	36	20	25	20
Water, sewage	5	12	9	10	14	16
Fire protection	4	19	22	21	11	23
Prices	4	x	x	x	x	x
Political corruption	4	x	x	x	x	x
Regulation of businesses	2	1	-	1	3	-
Recreational facilities	2	7	6	7	3	11
Pollution	2	3	6	-	2	5
Public services	x	12	11	14	10	13
Husband works for local government	2	x	x	x	x	x
Welfare	x	4	6	4	-	5
City housing	1	2	5	1	2	-
Libraries	x	x	x	x	x	x
None	12	1	2	-	2	2
Other answers	15	7	3	9	11	5
Don't know	12	*	-	1	-	-

Q.17a(P)

PEOPLE WHO HAVE GONE TO THEIR LOCAL GOVERNMENT TO GET THEM TO DO SOMETHING

	Have Gone %	Never Happened %	Not Sure %
Total Public	24	75	1
Cities	19	81	*
Suburbs	26	72	2
Towns	35	64	1
Rural	24	76	-
Professional	42	57	1
Executive	31	68	1
Skilled labor	17	83	*
Other white collar	26	73	1
8th grade	13	87	-
High school	13	81	1
College	38	61	1
White	26	73	1
Black	9	91	-
Active citizenship	39	60	1

Q.14a(L)

LEADERS WHO FEEL THAT A LOT OF PEOPLE HAVE GONE TO THEIR LOCAL GOVERNMENT TO GET IT TO DO SOMETHING FOR THEM

	A Lot %	Only Some %	Only A Few %	Not Sure %
Total Leaders	30	41	26	3
East	34	38	23	5
Midwest	29	39	31	1
South	34	46	14	6
West	22	38	38	2
Total State Officials	24	41	35	-
Executive	26	53	21	-
Legislative	23	36	41	-
Total Local Officials	32	41	23	4
County	31	45	22	2
City	39	42	16	3
Town/village	20	34	37	9
Republican	26	40	31	3
Democrat	33	39	25	3
Independent	29	44	22	5

Q.17b(P)

REASONS WHY PEOPLE HAVE GONE TO LOCAL GOVERNMENT
(Base: Have gone to local government)

	Total %	White %	Black %
Traffic, parking signs, regulations	15	15	12
Zoning matters	14	14	-
Having street fixed or paved	11	12	-
Trash and sanitation problems	9	9	-
Financial matters	9	7	29
Complaint with a school teacher	7	7	11
Tax assessment	4	4	-
Stop construction of roads or airport	4	4	-
To prevent a tavern from opening	1	1	-
Other answers	33	32	48
Do not know	1	1	-

* Note: Totals may come to more than 100% because some respondents gave more than one reason.

Q.17b(P)
Q.14b(L)

THE REASONS PEOPLE HAVE GONE TO THEIR LOCAL GOVERNMENT

	Public Total %	Leaders Total %	East %	Mid-west %	South %	West %
Schools, education	x	25	30	24	27	19
Traffic and parking signs and regulations	15	15	15	14	13	20
Welfare, relief	x	18	13	23	12	22
Zoning matters	14	36	24	34	35	50
Sewer, drainage matters	x	13	11	7	25	7
Having street fixed or paved	11	35	24	44	43	26
Housing	x	9	13	7	8	7
Trash and sanitation problems	9	20	17	20	25	17
Ecology, recycling	x	9	2	10	10	13
Financial matters	9	x	x	x	x	x
Complaints, problems, requests	x	8	7	7	13	2
Complaint with a school teacher	7	x	x	x	x	x
Police protection	x	43	46	39	47	47
Tax assessment	4	16	11	17	20	15
Legislation, ordinances	x	7	2	9	7	9
Stop construction of roads or airport	4	x	x	x	x	x
Recreational facilities, parks	x	18	13	21	17	20
To prevent a tavern from opening	1	x	x	x	x	x
Public transportation	x	4	2	4	5	4
Utilities (electric, gas, water), fixing meters	x	10	6	10	18	6
Health care	x	10	9	13	7	11
Fire protection	x	11	7	7	20	11
Animal, dog control	x	4	2	3	3	9
Disturbance of peace, noise, neighbor problems	x	3	2	3	-	6
Everything	x	5	-	7	8	2
Other answer	33	8	9	7	5	11
Do not know	1	*	-	-	2	-

Q.17c (P)

WHETHER PEOPLE FOUND LOCAL GOVERNMENT HELPFUL
(Base: Have gone to local government)

	Total %	White %	Black %	Active Citizenship %
Helpful	64	63	83	66
Not helpful	34	35	17	32
Not sure	2	2	-	2

Q.17d(P)
Q.14c(L)

LEADERS WHO FEEL PEOPLE WERE SATISFIED
WITH THEIR EXPERIENCE WITH LOCAL GOVERNMENT

	Total Public %	Total Leaders %	East %	Midwest %	South %	West %
Satisfied	39	13	14	11	15	10
Only somewhat	26	77	70	73	78	90
Not satisfied at all	35	6	10	9	4	-
Not sure	8	4	6	7	3	-

Q.14d(L)

THE REASONS LEADERS FEEL PEOPLE WERE SATISFIED OR DISSATISFIED ABOUT THEIR EXPERIENCE WITH LOCAL GOVERNMENT

	Total %
Highly Satisfied:	
They did as I asked	36
They were fair and cooperative	9
Other answers	1
Only Somewhat Satisfied:	
Got only part of what I wanted	6
Got what I wanted after much complaining	5
Other answers	4
Not Satisfied At All:	
I was refused or turned down	21
They didn't listen	12
Too much red tape	11
Other answers	6
Do not know	*

	Total Leaders %	East %	Midwest %	South %	West %
Positive					
Elected officials are courteous	7	8	9	11	-
Usually get response	5	6	6	3	6
Good efficient staff	3	4	3	3	2
Their needs are met	3	6	5	-	4
Other answer	1	4	-	-	-
Negative					
Can't satisfy all request completely, government action glared toward majority not individuals	45	44	32	51	58
People expect more than local government can do	15	17	17	8	17
Red tape, bureaucratic	12	8	15	8	15
Local government's authority, limited by statute	11	8	9	18	8
Indifference, discourtesy	7	12	11	2	6
Needs not met -- local government often fails to do what they need	7	6	12	5	6
Local government lacks funds	6	6	8	7	4
I know from personal encounters with them	2	2	3	3	-
Any other answer	5	4	3	5	8
Do not know	3	4	6	-	2

Q.18a(P)
Q.15a(L)

LEADERS WHO FEEL PEOPLE HAVE GONE TO THEIR STATE GOVERNMENT
TO GET THEM TO DO SOMETHING

	Have Gone To State Government %	Not Gone %	Not Sure %
Total Public	**13**	**87**	*****
Cities	8	92	*
Suburbs	15	84	1
Towns	17	82	1
Rural	16	84	*
8th grade	9	91	*
High school	9	91	-
College	21	78	1
Active citizenship	19	91	*

	A Lot %	Only Some %	Only A Few %	Not Sure %
Total Leaders	**10**	**31**	**52**	**7**
East	13	18	58	11
Midwest	9	32	52	7
South	11	45	36	8
West	7	28	63	2

Q.18b(P)

REASONS WHY PEOPLE HAVE GONE TO STATE GOVERNMENT
(Base: Have gone to state government)

	Total	East	Midwest	South	West	8th Grade	High School	College	Active Citizenship
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Financial assistance	23	30	25	12	23	55	23	18	15
About child's educational needs, scholarship	8	8	7	18	-	-	9	9	5
Having road, highway repaired	5	3	2	17	-	11	5	4	8
Sanitation problems	5	14	2	-	-	-	7	4	7
Requesting funds for school	5	4	8	-	9	-	4	7	7
Stop highway construction	3	4	1	3	6	6	2	4	4
About an auto accident	2	2	2	-	6	-	4	2	2
Other answers	49	38	53	50	53	28	46	53	51
Do not know	1	-	-	-	3	-	-	1	1

* Note: Totals may come to more than 100% because some respondents gave more than one reason.

Q.18b(P)
Q.15b(L)

THE REASONS LEADERS FEEL PEOPLE HAVE GONE TO STATE GOVERNMENT

	Total Public	East	Midwest	South	West	Total Leaders	East	Midwest	South	West
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Financial assistance	23	30	25	12	23	24	27	20	18	32
About child's educational needs, scholarship	8	8	7	18	-	27	19	25	39	27
Environmental control	x	x	x	x	x	17	12	13	33	11
Having road or highway repaired	5	3	2	17	-	27	21	23	49	16
Taxes	x	x	x	x	x	16	12	16	20	16
Sanitation problems	5	14	2	-	-	1	-	2	-	5
Water, sewage	x	x	x	x	x	2	4	-	2	5
Requesting funds for school	5	4	8	-	9	x	x	x	x	x
State funds for projects, buildings	x	x	x	x	x	9	6	13	10	9
Stop highway construction	3	4	1	3	6	3	4	2	2	5
Documents, records, information	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
About an auto accident	2	2	2	-	6	1	-	2	2	2
Employment	x	x	x	x	x	16	17	17	10	18
Other answer	49	38	53	50	53	5	-	3	1	1
Do not know	1	-	-	-	3	5	12	3	4	2
Motor vehicles, driver's licenses	x	x	x	x	x	9	8	11	14	5
Requests for intervention with state agencies	x	x	x	x	x	10	8	16	8	9
Law enforcement, crime	x	x	x	x	x	32	31	28	25	43
Legislation -- lobbying of special interest groups	x	x	x	x	x	9	4	11	10	14
Recreation, parks	x	x	x	x	x	5	4	6	2	7
Public transportation	x	x	x	x	x	8	17	2	8	5
Job in government	x	x	x	x	x	15	13	14	22	9
Health services, regulations	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x

Q.18c(P)

WHETHER PEOPLE FOUND STATE GOVERNMENT HELPFUL
(Base: Have gone to state government)

	Helpful %	Not Helpful %	Not Sure %
Total	66	29	5
18 to 29 years	71	25	4
30 to 49 years	64	31	5
50 years and over	63	31	6
Under $5,000	63	34	3
$5,000 to $9,999	78	22	-
$10,000 to $14,999	58	37	5
$15,000 and over	63	28	9
Union member	56	36	8
Active citizenship	62	30	8

Q.18d(P)
Q.15c(L)

PEOPLE WHO WERE SATISFIED WITH THEIR EXPERIENCE WITH STATE GOVERNMENT
(Base: Have gone to state goverrment in Q.18a)

	Highly Satisfied %	Only Somewhat %	Not Satisfied At All %	Not Sure %
Total	39	26	34	1
Cities	37	26	37	-
Suburbs	31	28	38	3
Towns	56	19	25	-
Rural	34	29	35	2
8th grade	49	17	34	-
High school	44	21	32	3
College	32	31	36	1
Active citizenship	34	29	34	3
Total Leaders	6	67	14	13
East	5	62	17	16
Midwest	7	71	9	13
South	6	70	13	11
West	5	68	17	10

Q. 15d(L)

THE REASONS LEADERS FEEL PEOPLE WERE SATISFIED OR DISSATISFIED WITH THEIR STATE GOVERNMENT

	Public Total %	Leaders Total %
Highly Satisfied:		
They did as I asked	30	2
They were helpful	13	4
They acted promptly	4	x
Other answer	1	2
Only Somewhat Satisfied:		
Got only part of what I wanted	10	x
Got what I wanted after much effort	6	7
Other answer	4	x
Not Satisfied At All:		
They didn't do as I asked	33	6
They didn't listen	9	6
Discourteous, uncooperative, unfair	x	6
Many requests cannot be fulfilled	x	18
Petitioners have selfish motives, public not satisife	x	18
State government powers limited by stature	x	14
Weak public officials	x	3
State government too big for individuals	x	10
State government too impersonal	x	8
Have personally received complaints	x	2
Politicians are influenced by special interests	x	9
State government too bureaucratic, rigid for individual to deal with	x	10
Others answers	7	6
Do not know	*	4

Q.19a(P)
Q.16a (L)

LEADERS WHO FEEL PEOPLE HAVE GONE TO THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

TO GET IT TO DO SOMETHING

	Have gone to Federal Government	Not happened	Not sure
	%	%	%
Public Total	11	89	*
Professional	18	81	1
Executive	12	88	-
Skilled labor	9	91	-
Other white collar	7	92	1
8th grade	8	92	-
High school	9	91	*
College	16	84	*
White	12	88	*
Black	9	91	-
Active citizenship	18	82	*

	A lot	Only some	Only a few	Not sure
	%	%	%	%
Leaders Total	7	16	64	13
East	8	13	62	17
Midwest	7	24	57	12
South	11	21	54	14
West	4	2	83	11
State Officials	14	18	63	5
Executive	21	21	47	11
Legislative	11	17	70	2
Local Officials	5	15	64	16
County	2	26	55	17
City	6	12	64	18
Town/village	7	9	71	13
Republican	7	14	66	13
Democrat	5	18	62	15
Independent	13	10	67	10

Q.19b(P)
Q.16b (L)

THE REASONS LEADERS FEEL PEOPLE HAVE GONE TO THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

	Public Total %	Leaders Total %
Aid/help for special groups, i.e. citizenship, disability, social security, passport	57	39
Inflation, prices, controls	x	7
Seek federal aid, grants, loans, for education, research	24	32
Environmental, pollution control matters	x	11
Wrote to express opinion	23	x
Social issues, programs, welfare	x	18
Military matters -- deferment, draft, reclassification, benefits	20	18
Services, programs not provided by state	x	10
Protest war	9	x
FHA loans, housing	x	12
Concerning income tax	8	6
Improve highways	x	7
Tried to secure, adjust employment	5	3
Red tape of agencies	x	3
Desired information, list of schools, colleges,	4	6
Suggested improved procedure for government regulation of agencies	4	3
Agricultural programs	x	3
Treated unfair by government	2	x
Flood control, relief, insurance	x	2
Group action against a dam	1	x
Aid to cities, urban renewal	x	2
Prison reform, improve conditions	1	x
Mass transportation	x	2
Student loan for college	1	x
Involved in lawsuit	1	x

Q.19c(P)

WHETHER PEOPLE FOUND THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT HELPFUL
(Base: Have gone to federal government)

	Helpful %	Not Helpful %	Not Sure %
Total	73	24	3
East	77	18	5
Midwest	65	29	6
South	78	20	2
West	70	30	-
Professional	61	32	7
Executive	77	18	5
Skilled labor	75	23	2
White collar	67	33	-
Men	77	21	2
Women	68	27	5
8th grade	82	18	-
High school	73	24	3
College	70	25	5
White	71	25	4
Black	88	12	-
Republican	79	17	4
Democrat	73	24	3
Independent	69	27	4
Active citizenship	69	27	4

Q.19d(P)
Q.16c(L)

PEOPLE WHO WERE SATISFIED WITH THEIR EXPERIENCE WITH THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT
(Base: Have gone to federal government in Q.19a)

	Highly Satisfied %	Only Somewhat %	Not Satisfied At All %	Not Sure %
Total	46	29	24	1
East	41	37	22	-
Midwest	43	25	27	5
South	47	37	16	-
West	51	13	36	-
White Protestant	37	35	26	2
White Catholic	59	19	22	-
Jewish	46	42	12	-
Professional	27	39	30	4
Executive	53	24	23	-
Skilled labor	57	21	22	-
White collar	30	51	19	-
Men	48	27	23	2
Women	41	32	26	1
8th grade	50	28	18	4
High school	51	24	25	-
College	38	34	26	2
Under $5,000	50	23	27	-
$5,000 to $9,999	53	24	18	5
$10,000 to $14,999	34	32	34	-
$15,000 and over	45	33	21	1
White	43	31	24	2
Black	65	13	22	-
Republican	48	30	22	-
Democrat	49	25	25	1
Independent	39	33	25	3
Positive toward local government	46	41	11	2
Positive toward state government	52	32	16	-
Positive toward federal government	54	29	17	-
Leaders Total	5	58	16	21
East	5	46	18	31
Midwest	4	62	11	23
South	7	65	15	13
West	4	60	19	17
Republican	5	63	10	22
Democrat	6	53	19	22
Independent	3	62	15	20

Q.19e(P).
Q.16d(L)

THE REASONS LEADERS FEEL PEOPLE CAME AWAY FROM THEIR EXPERIENCE WITH THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT HIGHLY SATISFIED, SOMEWHAT SATISIFED, OR NOT AT ALL SATISFIED

	Public Total %	Leaders Total %
Highly Satisfied:		
Accomplished aim	56	9
Got response quickly	22	x
Generally pleased with government actions	13	x
Did all they could, but complaint was not as desired remedied	5	x
Told me about benefits	2	x
Got my job back	2	x
Investigation in progress -- decision pending	1	x
Voted for official next time	1	x
Somewhat Satisfied:		
Helped the situation, but could have done more, or with less difficulty	12	15
Slowness of response	7	x
Gave action as far as they could, did their best	5	x
Response and explanation received, but with different opinion	4	x
Government lacked empathy	3	17
No noticeable result	3	x
Incompetent government people lacked comprehension	2	x
Given courtesy of a hearing -- basic problem -- no money	2	x
Got good response from some, poor from others	2	x
No response	2	x
Government response fully satisfactory	2	x
Form letter	1	x
Government paper work too complex	1	x
Not Satisfied:		
Seeking more than can reasonably be granted, government can do only so much	x	10
No results seen, felt ignored, given runaround	11	37
Given run around	8	8
Got answer -- didn't help situation	3	x
Had to pay fine, fees, taxes -- cost too much to hire a lawyer	3	x
Applied in time -- still not receive timely, satisfactory answer	3	x
Suggestion wasn't accepted	3	x

(continued)

Q.19e(P)
Q.16d(L)

THE REASONS LEADERS FEEL PEOPLE CAME AWAY FROM THEIR EXPERIENCE WITH THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT HIGHLY SATISFIED, SOMEWHAT SATISIFED, OR NOT AT ALL SATISFIED
(continued)

	Public Total %	Leaders Total %
Not Satisfied (continued)		
No response received at all	3	x
Decision pending	2	x
Request for full pension benefits was turned down	1	x
Procedure too involved in dealing with government	1	22
Incompetent government people who lacked comprehension	1	x
Government agency should have regulated the problem for respondent	1	x
Congress raised salary when money wasn't available	1	x
Federal government has withdrawn money from certain programs	x	2
Federal government too distant, far away	x	17
Personal experience	x	3
People are selfish	x	4
Not Sure		
Awaiting a response	2	x
Doesn't remember conclusion	1	x
Partial satisfaction	1	x

Q.2a(L)

THE KINDS OF THINGS WHICH SUBSTANTIALLY IMPEDE GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS FROM DOING THEIR JOB

	Inter-governmental Red Tape %	Fragmentation of Government Authority %	An Inadequate Tax Base %	Too Many Special Interests %	An Inadequate Staff %	Being Unable to Recruit People %	An Underpaid Staff %	Too Much Harrassment By The Media %	An Apothetic Public %
Total Leaders	51	46	34	30	26	25	19	16	34
East	54	41	43	27	23	25	20	13	47
Midwest	46	52	28	20	26	21	26	24	42
South	51	44	34	31	30	37	17	26	40
West	56	43	32	42	23	15			
Total State Officials	40	47	22	22	32	24	21	10	43
Executive	53	74	28	32	26	16	21	5	21
Legislative	35	37	20	18	35	27	20	12	51
Total Local Officials	55	45	38	32	24	26	21	21	41
County	55	57	28	36	20	22	22	28	48
City	56	41	39	32	24	27	18	20	38
Town/village	54	40	46	29	27	26	22	17	40
Republican	51	47	28	31	24	22	14	18	45
Democrat	52	47	35	26	29	26	23	20	41
Independent	46	32	47	38	24	26	22	15	37

Q.2b (L)

OTHER KINDS OF THINGS WHICH SUBSTANTIALLY IMPEDE GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS FROM DOING THEIR JOB

	Total %
Restricted by higher level of government, impounding of funds, passing of laws without knowledge of local problems	23
Not enough time to do a good job, partime position which should be full-time	17
Bureaucracy, red tape, inertia, massice paperwork	15
Lack of money, resources, tax base	13
Division, suspicion, lack of communication between parties, government levels	13
None, no impediments	12
Unqualified, intellectually inept government officials, personnel	10
Politicans, officials are corrupt, politically motivated, work for own gain	9
Lack of public understanding of needs, workings, capibilities of government	8
Special interest groups exert too much influence, pressure over government	7
Public is apathetic, resistant to change, won't get involved in solving problems	6
Need more staff, help	4
People only concerned with single issues which affect them directly	4
Hard to keep up with changes in laws, regulations	3
Lack of accurate, up-to-date information	3
Inadequate, inaccurate reporting to media	3
Court system needs reform, protecting guilty, knowing innocent	3
Basic laws poorly designed, need better ones	3
Lack of public confidence, trust in government	2
Any other answer	7
Don't know	-

WHO TRUST MOST TO HANDLE KEY PROBLEMS

To Do Something About:	Federal Government %	State Government %	Local Government %	Active Citizens Groups %	Civic Organizations %	Other (vol.) %	None (vol.) %	Not Sure %
Avoiding U.S. involvement in war	74	5	2	7	1	1	3	7
The high cost of living	57	12	6	8	2	1	5	9
Improving the quality of life	35	9	13	12	8	6	4	13
Help for the elderly	28	29	20	9	8	1	1	4
Drug pushers	26	14	46	4	3	4	1	2
Health care for your family	18	23	28	5	6	10	3	7
Air pollution in your community	10	14	40	19	11	1	1	4
Crime ir the area where you live	2	6	77	7	3	3	1	1
Improving trash collection	1	2	79	8	4	1	2	3

Q.7b(P)

HOW STRONG SHOULD LOCAL/STATE/FEDERAL GOVERNMENT BE

	Total	East	Midwest	South	West	8th Grade	High School	College
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Local Government								
Made stronger	61	58	59	64	63	61	61	61
Power taken away	8	9	9	7	7	6	9	8
Kept as is	23	24	27	19	24	20	23	26
Not sure	8	9	5	10	6	13	7	5
State Government								
Made stronger	59	54	59	66	57	58	59	59
Power taken away	11	12	10	9	15	9	11	12
Kept as is	22	24	26	16	21	19	21	24
Not sure	8	10	5	9	7	14	9	5
Federal Government								
Made stronger	32	37	26	34	32	40	34	26
Power taken away	42	32	49	41	44	28	39	50
Kept as is	17	20	19	14	16	15	18	19
Not sure	9	11	6	11	8	17	9	5

VIEWS OF OFFICIALS ON CHANGES IN THE STRENGTH
OF GOVERNMENT AT ALL LEVELS

Local Government	Total	State Officials	Local Officials
Should be made much stronger	47	34	51
Should be made only somewhat stronger	30	37	28
Should be made somewhat less strong	2	4	1
Should have power taken away from it	1	-	1
Should be kept as is (vol.)	17	19	16
State Government			
Should be made much stronger	18	38	12
Should be made only somewhat stronger	39	40	39
Should be made somewhat less strong	16	3	21
Should have power taken away from it	4	1	5
Should be kept as is (vol.)	19	16	20
Federal Government			
Should be made much stronger	6	7	5
Should be made only somewhat stronger	12	7	14
Should be made somewhat less strong	42	37	43
Should have power taken away from it	19	24	17
Should be kept as is (vol.)	17	19	16

Q.7c(L)

HOW GOVERNMENT LEADERS WOULD MAKE LOCAL GOVERNMENT STRONGER

	Total %
Home rule, local government should have authority	37
Eliminate, reduce intervention by state and federal governments	23
Revenue sharing, money from federal government to go to local government	22
Get more money for its programs	17
Greater authority, responsibility for implementing programs	14
More tax authority, provide a stronger tax base	12
Reorganize, consolidate, streamline	9
Local government closer to people	8
Better people in office	7
More control, responsibility concerning a particular issue	6
More direct communication, cooperation, less red tape	5
More control, responsibility over education	5
More control, responsibility over land use	4
More control, responsibility over transportation	3
Any other answer	9
Do not know	1

Q.7d(L)

HOW GOVERNMENT LEADERS WOULD MAKE STATE GOVERNMENT STRONGER

	Total %
Eliminate, reduce intervention by state and federal governments	34
Greater authority, responsibility for implementing programs	23
Revenue sharing, money from federal government to go to state government	17
Home rule, local government should have authority	16
More control, responsibility concerning a particular issue	12
More control, responsibility over education	12
Change, improve state legislative	12
Better people in office	11
Get more money for its programs	10
Change state laws, constitution	6
More tax authority, provide a stronger tax base	5
Any other answer	21
Do not know	1

Q.7e(L)

How people would make the federal government stronger. (THIS QUESTION WAS HAND-TABBED)

Stay out of local/state affairs; give money with no strings attached	7
Reduce/streamline red tape; make more effective; bureaucracies/ committees/agencies	5
Balance of executive and legislative branches	3
Federal government should identify national goals, local government carry them out	3
More concern; legislation concerning social problems, e.g., welfare, health, pollution, etc.	3
Need strong, dedicated people in it	2
Limit influence of big business; strengthen antitrust laws	2
Get media off government's back; media should encourage patriotism	2
Politicians should serve no more than one term	1
Fair enforcement of federal laws	1
Supreme Court judges should be elected	1
Federal government should have additional power to deal with crisis; to act on behalf of national security	1
Gain broad national concensus on issues and acting to solve problems	1
Consider problems of "middle class"	1
People don't have to know everything -- government needs privacy	1
Make new laws and change Constitution	1
A more rigorous economic policy	1
More control over dollars and finance	1
Economy	1
Tax reform	1
Urge Congress to consider local problems, then impress its will on the President and bureaucracies to make them go along with Congress	1
Government should be stronger on all levels	1
Financial control of federal government gives it greater opportunity to better lives of people	1

Stop playing footsie with our enemies	1
Strengthen executive authority	1
Take over some state functions that need national equality, e.g., equal opportunity, school funding	2
Definition of strength	1
By assisting states with their problems	1
Depends on the issue	11
Don't know	7

APPENDIX V

TABLES TO CHAPTER IV

29-555 O - 74 -- 21

Q.21 (P)

QUALITIES WHICH DESCRIBE FEDERAL, STATE AND LOCAL OFFICIALS
AND WHAT THOSE QUALITIES SHOULD BE

	Qualities Which Describe Elected Federal Officials	Qualities Which Describe Elected State Officials	Qualities Which Describe Elected Local Officials	Qualities Which Describe Career Government Employees	Qualities Which People Who Work For Government Should Have
	%	%	%	%	%
Make promises which are never kept	42	28	23	6	*
Out for themselves	29	26	24	18	1
Intelligent, bright	27	20	13	21	41
Want to help people	25	28	36	23	51
Dedicated to hard work	22	24	24	25	56
Only want power	22	20	17	10	1
Public spirited	21	27	34	18	27
Corrupt	17	9	9	4	1
Bureaucratic	16	11	6	14	1
Play it safe	15	16	15	21	2
Care about freedom	14	10	8	9	28
Honest	13	13	18	16	66
Courageous	12	8	8	8	35
Make red tape	11	11	7	12	1
Idealistic	10	8	9	9	16
Just serving time	8	10	12	21	1
Efficient	8	10	9	14	24
Couldn't care less	8	9	9	12	1
Do things by the book	7	8	10	23	4
Dull	3	4	5	6	1
Tell it like it is	3	4	5	3	23
Creative, imaginative	2	3	4	4	12
None (vol.)	1	1	1	1	1
Not sure	6	8	8	10	4

Q.21a(P)
Q.17a(L)

LEADERS AND THE PUBLIC APPRAISE THE QUALITIES OF PUBLIC OFFICIALS AT THE FEDERAL, STATE AND LOCAL LEVELS

	Federal Elected Officials		Public Over Leaders
	Total Public	Total Leaders	Gap
	%	%	%
Make promises that are never kept	42	26	+16
Out for themselves	29	23	+6
Intelligent, bright	27	31	-4
Want to help people	25	51	-26
Dedicated to hard work	22	34	-12
Only want power	22	15	+7
Public spirited	21	44	-23
Corrupt	17	4	+13
Bureaucratic	16	20	-4
Play it safe	15	32	-17
Care about freedom	14	23	-9
Honest	13	30	-17
Courageous	12	14	-2
Make red tape	11	9	+2
Idealistic	10	19	-9
Just serving time	8	2	+6
Efficient	8	8	-
Couldn't care less	8	1	+7
Do things by the book	7	11	-4
Dull	3	4	-1
Tell it like it is	3	3	-
Creative, imaginative	2	7	-5
None	1	-	
Not sure	6	2	

Q.21c(P)
Q.17c(L)

THE QUALITIES WHICH BEST DESCRIBE MOST ELECTED STATE OFFICIALS

	Total Public %	Total Leaders %
Make promises that are never kept	28	21
Want to help people	28	47
Public spirited	27	40
Out for themselves	26	25
Dedicated to hard work	24	31
Intelligent and bright	20	23
Only want power	20	15
Play it safe	16	32
Honest	13	34
Bureaucratic	11	14
Make red tape	11	8
Just serving time	10	6
Care about freedom	10	14
Efficient	10	6
Couldn't care less	9	2
Corrupt	9	2
Courageous	8	11
Idealistic	8	16
Do things by the book	8	5
Dull	4	6
Tell it like it is	4	6
Creative and imaginative	3	8
None	1	-
Not sure	8	2

Q.21d(P)
Q.17d(L)

THE QUALITIES WHICH BEST DESCRIBE MOST ELECTED LOCAL OFFICIALS

	Total Public %	Total Leaders %
Want to help people	36	63
Public spirited	34	59
Dedicated to hard work	24	40
Out for themselves	24	14
Make promises that are never kept	23	13
Honest	18	46
Only want power	17	8
Play it safe	15	25
Intelligent, bright	13	15
Just serving time	12	4
Do things by the book	10	8
Corrupt	9	2
Idealistic	9	21
Couldn't care less	9	2
Efficient	9	8
Care about freedom	8	16
Courageous	8	20
Making red tape	7	3
Bureaucratic	6	4
Dull	5	7
Tell it like it is	5	13
Creative, imaginative	4	9
None	1	-
Not sure	8	1

Q.21b(P)
Q.17b(L)

THE QUALITIES WHICH BEST DESCRIBE MOST PEOPLE WHO WORK IN A CAREER GOVERNMENT JOB

	Total Public %	Total Leaders %
Dedicated to hard work	25	22
Want to help people	23	21
Do things by the book	23	60
Play it safe	21	48
Just serving time	21	21
Intelligent, bright	21	16
Public spirited	18	16
Out for themselves	18	13
Honest	16	34
Bureaucratic	14	58
Efficient	14	12
Couldn't care less	12	8
Make red tape	12	25
Only want power	10	4
Care about freedom	9	6
Idealistic	9	8
Courageous	8	5
Make promises that are never kept	6	3
Dull	6	14
Creative, imaginative	4	6
Corrupt	4	-
Tell it like it is	3	2
None	1	-
Not sure	10	2

Q.21e(P)
Q.17e(L)

THE QUALITIES WHICH BEST DESCRIBE THE KIND OF PEOPLE
WHO SHOULD WORK IN THE GOVERNMENT

	Total Public %	Total Leaders %
Honest	66	77
Dedicated to hard work	56	64
Want to help people	51	65
Intelligent, bright	41	58
Courageous	35	59
Care about freedom	28	31
Public spirited	27	48
Efficient	24	36
Tell it like it is	23	32
Idealistic	16	24
Creative, imaginative	12	50
Do things by the book	4	3
Play it safe	2	2
Bureaucratic	1	1
Out for themselves	1	2
Only want power	1	*
Dull	1	-
Couldn't care less	1	-
Just serving time	1	*
Making red tape	1	-
Corrupt	1	1
Make promises that are never kept	*	*
None	1	-
Not sure	4	1

Q.23d(P)

WHAT PEOPLE FEEL WOULD HAVE TO BE DONE
TO MAKE THE GOVERNMENT A MORE EXCITING PLACE TO WORK

	Total %
Eliminate corruption	12
Think it's exciting now with Watergate	10
Eliminate red tape	9
Have more involvement with the public	8
Emphasize hard work	7
Make duties more interesting	6
Government employees should have salary based on merit not favoritism	5
Raise morale by making work more progressive	5
Do away with tenure	5
Pay higher salaries	5
It's dull,can't do much	3
Have younger people	3
Government work no different than other work	2
Take politics out of government	2
More job security	1
Decentralize government	1
Reeducate public on way government is run	1
Reorganize and start over	1
Limit campaign spending	1
Employ more minority groups	1
Stop making unnecessary laws	*
Other answers	6
Do not know	39

* Note: Total comes to more than 100% because some respondents mentioned more than one thing that would have to be done.

Q.24e(P)

HOW CAN GOVERNMENT BE MADE TO WORK BETTER

	Put Right People in Control, With Help of Experts %	Set Up Tight Checks %	Not Sure %
Total	40	48	12
East	36	50	14
Midwest	40	51	9
South	47	39	14
West	36	51	13
White Protestant	41	49	10
White Catholic	42	44	14
Jewish	26	63	11
Men	42	47	11
Women	39	47	14
8th grade	44	37	19
High school	40	49	11
College	39	50	11
Under $5,000	44	42	14
$5,000 to $9,999	36	49	15
$10,000 to $14,999	37	52	11
$15,000 and over	45	45	10
White	40	49	11
Black	41	42	17
Republican	47	41	12
Democrat	38	51	11
Independent	39	48	13
Active citizenship	46	46	8

Q.24e(P)
Q.21a(L)

THE WAYS LEADERS FEEL GOVERNMENT WOULD WORK BETTER

	Public Put Right People In and Trust Them %	Set Up Tight Checks %	Not Sure %
Total Public	40	48	12
East	36	50	14
Midwest	40	51	9
South	47	39	14
West	36	51	13
Republican	47	41	12
Democrat	38	51	11
Independent	39	48	13
Active citizenship	46	46	8
Total Leaders	50	39	11
East	48	39	13
Midwest	43	45	12
South	51	39	10
West	59	31	10
Republican	55	35	10
Democrat	48	40	12
Independent	48	39	13

Q.24b(P)
Q.21b(L)

WHY LEADERS FEEL THAT THE RIGHT PEOPLE OR TIGHT CHECKS MAKE THE GOVERNMENT WORK BETTER

	Total Public %	Total Leaders %
Put Right People In and Trust Them		
If we elect good honest leaders we don't need checks	27	25
Must trust people	7	6
Checking on officials would create confusion	5	5
Officials more knowledgeable than average citizen	3	7
Checking is inefficient	3	18
Most politicans are honest	2	3
Officials have expert opinions	2	4
Checking on officials leads to vigilantism	2	1
System works fine as it is -- checks already built in	2	6
Other answers	1	5
Tight Checks		
Need checks and balances	13	11
Insures the peoples voice being heard	8	9
Guard against minority rule	7	7
People greedy -- need to insure against theis	7	x
Power corrupts	6	6
Need checks to guard against human error	6	5
Don't know what candidate will do once in office	5	6
To prevent future Watergates	5	x
Checks and balances required by constitution	3	8
Present system hasn't been working -- need more checks	3	3
Guard against government secrecy	2	1
Citizen's groups are needed to balance government	2	3
Other answers	1	3
Do not know	7	1

APPENDIX VI

OTHER TABLES

Q.1a (P)

WHETHER VOTED IN 1972 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

	Voted %	Didn't Vote %
Total	73	27
East	74	26
Midwest	78	22
South	72	28
West	67	33
Cities	69	31
Suburbs	76	24
Towns	76	24
Rural	74	26
18 to 29 years	54	46
30 to 49 years	81	19
50 years and over	80	20
White Protestant	76	24
White Catholic	75	25
Jewish	86	14
Men	74	26
Women	72	28
8th grade	65	35
High school	69	31
College	83	17
Under $5,000	59	41
$5,000 to $9,999	69	31
$10,000 to $14,999	78	22
$15,000 and over	87	13
White	75	25
Black	58	42
Union member	72	28
Republican	83	17
Democrat	73	27
Independent	72	28
Positive toward local government	74	26
Positive toward state government	75	25
Positive toward federal government	74	26
Active citizenship	88	12

Q.1b(P)

WHETHER VOTED IN 1970 CONGRESSIONAL ELECTION

	Voted %	Didn't Vote %	Can't Recall %
Total	57	39	4
East	59	37	4
Midwest	62	34	4
South	55	41	4
West	52	46	2
Cities	51	45	4
Suburbs	59	38	3
Towns	60	36	4
Rural	63	33	4
18 to 20 years	23	76	1
30 to 49 years	68	28	4
50 years and over	75	20	5
White Protestant	61	36	3
White Catholic	60	36	4
Jewish	74	20	6
Men	58	39	3
Women	58	38	4
8th grade	60	33	7
High school	55	41	4
College	60	37	3
Under $5,000	54	42	4
$5,000 to $9,999	48	48	4
$10,000 to $14,999	60	37	3
$15,000 and over	70	26	4
White	59	37	4
Black	47	46	7
Positive toward local government	60	36	4
Positive toward state government	57	40	3
Positive toward federal government	59	39	2
Active citizenship	74	23	3

Q.1c(P)

WHETHER VOTED IN LAST LOCAL ELECTION

	Voted %	Didn't Vote %	Can't Recall %
Total	57	42	1
East	60	38	2
Midwest	59	40	1
South	58	41	1
West	46	52	2
Cities	55	43	2
Suburbs	58	41	1
Towns	53	46	1
Rural	60	38	2
18 to 29 years	30	69	1
30 to 49 years	66	33	1
50 years and over	68	30	2
White Protestant	58	41	1
White Catholic	58	40	2
Jewish	63	30	7
Men	58	41	1
Women	56	42	2
8th grade	55	43	2
High school	55	44	1
College	59	39	2
Under $5,000	47	51	2
$5,000 to $9,999	51	47	2
$10,000 to $14,999	61	38	1
$15,000 and over	67	32	1
White	57	41	2
Black	53	47	-
Positive toward local government	60	39	1
Positive toward state government	56	43	1
Positive toward federal government	58	41	1
Active citizenship	72	28	*

Q.1d(P)

POLITICAL IDENTIFICATION

	Republican %	Democrat %	Independent %	Other %	Not Sure %
Total	22	45	27	3	3
18 to 29 years	16	39	38	3	4
30 to 49 years	21	46	27	3	3
50 years and over	27	49	19	2	3
White Protestant	30	38	27	2	3
White Catholic	16	46	32	4	2
Jewish	21	56	20	3	-
8th grade	21	53	15	3	8
High school	20	50	25	2	3
College	26	35	34	3	2
White	25	42	29	2	2
Black	6	72	11	2	9
Voted in 1972	25	44	27	3	1
Active citizenship	27	30	29	2	2

Q.26a(L)

LEADERS WHO HOLD ELECTIVE OR APPOINTED OFFICE

	Elective %	Appointed %
Total Leaders	58	42
East	66	34
Midwest	57	43
South	51	49
West	58	42
Total State Officials	100	-
Executive	100	-
Legislative	100	-
Total Local Officials	44	56
County	65	35
City	36	64
Town/village	38	62
Republican	71	29
Democrat	61	39
Independent	13	87

Q.26b.(L)

HOW LONG LEADERS HAVE SERVED IN PUBLIC LIFE

	Total %
Under 1 year	3
1-3 years	8
4-6 years	13
7-10 years	14
11-15 years	19
16-20 years	16
Over 20 years	27

Q.15(P)

PEOPLE WHO AGREE/DISAGREE WITH STATEMENTS ABOUT GOVERNMENT IN GENERAL

	Agree %	Disagree %	Not Sure %
An important part of a Congressman's job should be to help the people in his District in dealing with government agencies	93	4	3
The Congress should serve as a check over the President and his executive agencies	89	6	5
Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person can't really understand what is going on	86	12	2
A U.S. Senator ought to think like the people of his state so he can react to proposed legislation the way they would	74	17	9
Voting is the only way people like myself can have a say about how the government runs things	73	24	3
A. U.S. Senator should usually vote in the interest of the entire nation, even if it might hurt his state	64	27	9
If a person doesn't care how an election comes out, he shouldn't vote in it	55	41	4
In most cases, on important matters high government officials should decide what ought to be done because they are the ones who really know what's going on	42	47	11
Local government is too disorganized to be effective	35	54	11
Congress should always cooperate with the President and not oppose his proposals	10	84	6

Q.12b(P)
Q.10a(L)

GOVERNMENT LEADERS WHO FEEL THAT AVERAGE PERSON'S SON OR DAUGHTER WOULD RECEIVE BETTER TREATMENT THAN THE SON OR DAUGHTER OF A PROMINENT PUBLIC OFFICIAL

	Worse Treatment %	About the Same %	Better Treatment %	Not Sure %
Total Public	58	33	1	8
East	62	29	1	8
Midwest	50	42	2	6
South	52	35	1	12
West	68	24	1	7
Total Leaders	31	49	12	8
East	35	36	19	10
Midwest	38	46	5	11
South	32	54	8	6
West	17	61	15	7

Q.12c(P)
Q.10b (L)

THE REASONS LEADERS FEEL THE TREATMENT THEIR CHILD WOULD RECEIVE WOULD BE BETTER, BE WORSE OR THE SAME AS THE CHILD OF THE AVERAGE CITIZEN

	Public Total %	Leaders Total %
Worse/Better:		
Prominent officials can buy their child's way out	19	4
Prominent people can use pressure on local police officials	13	4
Prominent people have the connections to get charges dropped	12	5
From things I've heard they would not be treated the same	8	x
I'm an ordinary citizen, they have an edge	7	x
Prominent people are favored by police	6	5
Prominent person's child would get out of jail sooner	5	3
That's the way life is	5	10
Prominent person's child wouldn't get adverse publicity my child would	3	x
Prominent people can get the best lawyers	2	3
It's all politics	1	x
Minority groups get poor treatment	1	x
Other	1	5
Same:		
Seen it happen/through my own experience	x	21
All law enforcement people are fair and give equal treatment	28	25
Everyone should be treated the same	x	7
Public won't tolerate unfair treatment	x	2
Other answer	2	1
Do not know	6	-
Worse:		
Prominent person's child would get adverse publicity	x	4
Not sure		
Depends on situation	x	9

Q.11(P)

WHOM PEOPLE WOULD TURN TO FOR HELP IF FACED WITH SPECIFIC PERSONAL PROBLEMS

Personal Problems	President %	Governor %	U.S. Senator %	Congressman %	State Legislator %	Top Local Official %	Influential Friend %	Member of Clergy %	Lawyer %	Local Group of Active Citizens %	Other (vol.)	None (vol.)	Not Sure
Income tax refund unfairly turned down	*	3	11	22	3	13	3	1	35	2	15	2	8
You or family member suspected by police of a crime not involved in	*	2	1	3	1	17	4	5	74	3	3	*	3
Federal investigation asked about personal political beliefs	1	3	16	26	4	15	4	1	21	7	5	5	10
Plans to put up a gas station nearby	*	1	1	5	3	49	3	*	7	29	4	5	6
Son in army treated unfairly	6	6	27	46	4	5	2	3	7	2	5	2	7
Street too dirty	*	1	*	2	2	75	1	*	*	16	6	1	3
Airplanes taking new route making noise over your house	*	6	8	18	13	30	1	*	3	16	4	5	12
Local government holding back information effect your taxes	1	10	7	15	15	20	2	*	15	12	3	1	12

* Note: Answers come to more than 100% because some respondents named more than one source of help.

APPENDIX VII

PROPOSAL AND CONTRACT

SAM J. ERVIN, JR., N.C., CHAIRMAN

JOHN L. MCCLELLAN, ARK.
HENRY M. JACKSON, WASH.
EDMUND S. MUSKIE, MAINE
ABRAHAM RIBICOFF, CONN.
LEE METCALF, MONT.
JAMES B. ALLEN, ALA.
LAWTON CHILES, FLA.
SAM NUNN, GA.
WALTER D. HUDDLESTON, KY.

CHARLES H. PERCY, ILL.
JACOB K. JAVITS, N.Y.
EDWARD J. GURNEY, FLA.
WILLIAM B. SAXBE, OHIO
WILLIAM V. ROTH, JR., DEL.
BILL BROCK, TENN.

ROBERT BLAND SMITH, JR.
CHIEF COUNSEL AND STAFF DIRECTOR

SUBCOMMITTEE:

EDMUND S. MUSKIE, MAINE, CHAIRMAN

SAM J. ERVIN, JR., N.C.
LEE METCALF, MONT.
JOHN L. MC CLELLAN, ARK.
LAWTON CHILES, FLA.

EDWARD J. GURNEY, FLA.
WILLIAM V. ROTH, JR., DEL.
BILL BROCK, TENN.

ALVIN FROM, STAFF DIRECTOR

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON
GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS
SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS
(PURSUANT TO SEC. 5, S. RES. 46, 93D CONGRESS)
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

FIXED-FEE PRODUCT CONTRACT

Contract Agreement

THIS AGREEMENT made and entered into this 2nd day of August, 1973, by and between the Committee on Government Operations of the United States Senate, hereinafter referred to as the "Committee", for the Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Relations, and Louis Harris and Associates, Inc., hereinafter referred to as the "Contractor".

It is hereby agreed that the Committee, under authority of Section 5 of Senate Resolution 46, approved February 26, 1973, as amended by Senate Resolution 134, approved June 30, 1973, Ninety-Third Congress, retains the Contractor to furnish the Committee the following:

> A study to measure public perception of the responsiveness of government at the Federal, State and local levels and to explore ways to increase the responsiveness and efficiency of government at all levels. The study is fully outlined in the Contractor's proposal to the Committee which is attached as an addendum and added as a part of this contract.

The Committee agrees to pay the said Contractor the sum of $25,000 to be paid upon delivery to the Committee, not later than November 15, 1973, of the completed study in form and content satisfactory to the Committee. It is understood, however, that the Chairman of the Committee reserves the right to terminate this agreement at any time.

The Contractor further agrees and warrants that he: (1) has not employed any person to solicit or obtain this agreement for any commission, percentage, brokerage, or contingent fee; (2) will save the Government harmless

FIXED-FEE PRODUCT CONTRACT
Page two

from any liability arising under the performance of this contract; (3) will release no information obtained in carrying out the provisions of this contract without prior consent of the Committee; (4) will not subcontract or assign elsewhere any of the work or services involved without prior consent of the Committee; (5) will not discriminate in its performance of the Agreement because of race, creed, color, or national origin and shall comply with all laws appertaining to the compensation of labor; (6) will fully complete the above described manuscript no later than November 15, 1973, provided, however, that such date may be extended by mutual agreement of the parties to this Agreement, and with the approval of the Committee on Rules and Administration of the United States Senate.

No Member or Delegate to Congress, or Resident Commissioner, shall be admitted to any share or part of this contract or to any benefit that may arise therefrom.

Committee on Government Operations

Sam J. Ervin, Jr.
Chairman

Charles H. Percy
Ranking Minority Member

Chairman
Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Relations

Edward J. Gurney
Ranking Minority Member
Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Relations

Louis Harris and Associates, Inc.
Contractor

By: Louis Harris

Approved by the Committee
on Rules and Administration
of the United States Senate

Howard W. Cannon
Chairman

A PROPOSED SURVEY OF THE
AMERICAN PEOPLE

FOR THE U.S. SENATE SUBCOMMITTEE
ON INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS

MEMORANDUM

To: U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Relations

From: Louis Harris and Associates, Inc.

Subject: Proposed Survey of Public Opinion

1. One of the singular marks of America in the early part of the 1970's has been the loss of confidence and respect by the public for the major institutions of the country. Compared with the middle of the decade of the 1960's, confidence in business, labor unions, the media, education, and the military, among others, has fallen off apace. Government has not been immune from this drop in respect. Back in 1966, our own surveys showed over 50% of the public had a high regard for the executive, judicial, and legislative branches of the federal government. Now, seven years later, similar high regard hovers between 20% and 30% nationwide.

This lack of perceived response of government to the public's needs has led to a crisis of real magnitude, which in turn has raised a central question of the ability of the federal government to govern. The instinct of the President and some members of Congress in recent years has been to seek to widen the base of revenue sharing so that the funding and administration of the business of government would be shared with the states and localities in a new kind of federalism. Yet initial surveys of public opinion persist in showing that the public expects and wants substantial federal involvement in the direction of most social programs, for example.

It is fair to assume that as of this moment in time, there is no clear perception or understanding of how to reengage government with its ultimate constituency, the people themselves. By going to the people, to find out their knowledge, participation in the democratic process, their perception of government at all levels, their actual positive and negative experiences and points of contact with government, the roots of their disenchantment, their estimate of what government is capable of doing, what they feel government should be doing, their expectations and hoped for solutions -- by seeking out all this perhaps some solid clues can be found to rekindle the spark of confidence of a free people in the government of the United States.

A survey of both the public and state and local governmental leadership, to be conducted by the Subcommittee's staff, could provide the U.S. Senate with some basic facts on which concrete steps could be undertaken to rebuild a working relationship between the federal government and the public.

2. Our organization is prepared to conduct the comprehensive survey of a cross-section of the adult public in America. We are further prepared to advise and to assist the staff on the design, sample selection, and questionnaire construction of the leadership study, and will handle the computer tabulation part of that study.

For the public study, we would recommend a survey of a national cross-section of 1600 households, drawn in a probability manner described in the accompanying memorandum attached to this proposal. Using this method, we can guarantee that each adult 18 years of age or over will have an equal chance of being drawn into the sample. The 1600 sample overall

size is sufficient to enable a break-out of such key demographic and sub-groups as region of the country, size of place, sex, age, income, occupation, race, union membership, education, veterans status, home ownership (freeholder status), length of residency, and other key dimensions the Subcommittee and the staff might request. Under the procedures usually followed by the Harris firm, the questionnaire is developed after discussion with the Subcommittee staff, then the first draft of the questionnaire is written, then is sent to the staff for clearance and review in detail, then is tested for askability and clarity of communications, then is fielded. After coming back from the field interviewing, the questionnaires are sent to our coding department, where all of the near-verbatim answers are codified into patterns of answers for later computerization. At this stage, we would welcome Subcommittee staff coming to our offices to review these codes as they are being built. Extensive use will be made of the actual quotes in the people's language as they expressed themselves. However, under no circumstance will the individual identity of any respondent be revealed, since it is our firm's ethical practice that our surveys are only useful by studying people and sub-groups in the aggregate and to reveal any one respondent's identity and opinions would be an invasion of privacy.

All the results will be put through a computer and tabulations in full will be furnished the Subcommittee. Then the Harris firm will analyze the results, including specific observation sections which will point up some of the implications of the results from the standpoint of public policy. It is our view that we have an obligation to spell out the implications of the data we generate up to the limits of our professional competence. It would

be expected, of course, that from both surveys the Subcommittee would draw its own conclusions.

3. The Substance of the Study

The survey would be designed to survey each respondent for a length of time up to one hour in length. All interviews would be conducted in person in each respondent's home by regular trained interviewers of the Harris firm in 200 sample points across the country.

The survey would cover these suggested areas:

A. Public Knowledge of Government: People would be asked a series of knowledge questions, including having them identify their own United States Senators, Congressmen, and Governor. Such questions must be asked toward the end of the interview in order not to inhibit the expression of opinions. In addition, the survey will seek to find out how much people understand some of the basic conceptual cornerstones of the American system of government, including comprehension of the system of checks and balances and the exclusive yet interdependent roles of the legislative, executive, and judicial branches, as well as how they perceive the role of state and local government.

B. Public Participation and Involvement: People can participate in the system in many ways. We would want to document the extent of their voting in Presidential, federal off-year, state, and local elections, including local and state bond issue referenda. We would also find out what organizations dealing with public affairs they belong to, whether they hold any office in such organizations; their participation in working for candidates, contributing money, attending rallies and political

meetings, and the extent to which they write letters, both to elected and non-elected public officeholders, as well as letters they write to their local newspapers and queries they make to their paper's "Action Line" feature. The reason for these latter questions is that they may well represent a curious phenomenon on the American scene today. Both members of Congress and newspaper editors report a sharp rise in the number of letters they receive from the public. The "Action Line" features are the most widely read in newspapers across the country. These might well be symptoms that in the face of widespread disenchantment with the establishment, the public nonetheless has a more activated desire for helping solve the problems of the country than ever before. To document the extent of their participation is a vital part of the survey.

C. Perception of Government: We would ask a series of questions dealing with the way people characterize government at all levels, in terms of trust and confidence, fairness in the way the public is treated, integrity and trustworthiness, competence in getting its job done, initiative and innovation in method of operation, ability to attract able people, as a place to work, as a place to fulfill and use creative talents, as well as the negatives of all of these, such as lack of trustworthiness, affording selective service, not competent, a sinecure to serve out time to earn a pension, a play-safe place to work in a stultified bureaucracy, a place that attracts mediocrity not the best talents. These dimensions would compare federal, state, and local government.

D. Contact and Experience with Government: Here we would find out the various ways in which the public perceives it has contact with government on the federal, state, and local levels, ranging from paying taxes to watching Watergate hearings on television to asking for service from a U.S. Senator or Congressman or state or local representative, seeking help from a government office, meeting and talking with a public official, felt impact of governmental policy on service or involvement in war, felt impact of governmental economic policies, benefits derived from governmental services ranging from Social Security and medicare to housing assistance, veterans benefits and other areas. To our knowledge, no such profile of contact and experience has ever been drawn before. In all cases, we would find out if people found it a positive or negative experience.

This dimension will be particularly useful in the analysis which can be conducted after the data has been collected. By relating experience and contact with government to attitudes toward government expressed in section C, we will be able to develop types of people in the country who have not lost confidence or faith in government, and will be able to trace back through their experience to try to determine what brought about this sense of a responsive government. The analysis will focus in particularly on these islands of hope, for they might well become the prototypes of how to make the federal government responsive in this period of our history. We will also develop relationships between knowledgeability about government and key areas of interest and levels of satisfaction or disenchantment with government.

E. Trends in Confidence: The survey will probe hard to determine the feelings of hope or despair which people feel about government, especially at the federal level. We will particularly explore feelings such as believing one's opinions really count vs. those who feel "what I think doesn't count much with those in power" (a sense of powerlessness), as well as the extent to which people feel downright cynical ("once in power, most politicians will forget their promises and feather their own nest"). Previous trend lines used by the Harris organization in these areas will be updated. This is an important area to document, for it not only sets bench-marks, but also tells us where the people stand in their feelings about government today.

F. Capabilities of the Government: Here we will document what people think government at all levels is capable of and not capable of performing. All expectations are relative and it is important to carefully and accurately measure just what people think the government can do. These will be both general and specific, dealing with a whole range of questions from maintaining law and order to averting war and a recession to improving the quality of products and services, helping the old and the young and the poor, among others.

Tied closely to these perceived capabilities of government is the matter of just how much people are looking to federal, state, or local solutions to problems. One underlying assumption of revenue sharing is that people want a shift of execution of programs from the federal to the state and local levels. This should be tested thoroughly in a number of specific areas.

Another important dimension is the extent to which people are looking for governmental solutions to problems vs. what the private sector can do. Perhaps even more important is to determine the extent to which people believe that citizen groups from the private sector should join government in efforts to keep prices down, to monitor areas such as the quality of products and services, environmental control, and other areas. We have been singularly struck lately by the number of areas in which the public seems to place more faith and confidence in organized citizen activity than in governmental enforcement. It could well be that the American people are poised on a massive effort to join with government in helping to solve their problems, if government will give them the chance to participate.

Of course, capabilities of government cannot be considered without an exploration of how to pay for government programs. Here, tests would be conducted to determine just how much people want to shift off a local property tax base into other forms of taxation, such as a state and local income tax and sales taxes.

G. Public Expectations and Solutions: We would want the people to lay out the problems as they see them, as well as what they think government ought to do about them. There may be quite a difference between the problems they see out there and what they think government can and should do about each. Hopefully, this section will clearly define just what priorities people want to see on governmental action. Stress here will be laid in open-ended type questions which will allow people to express themselves in their own words.

On question-asking, there are three basic types that can be used: closed-end of choice questions, where the respondent is asked to choose between options; open-ended questions, where people express themselves in their own words; and projective questions, where people's views are drawn out to the full extent to which they will go along with a proposition, usually in an agree-disagree type of series, usually stating a positive and then a negative in sequence in order not to load the series.

4. This study would cost $25,000 and could be delivered in written analysis form, along with all of the computer print-outs of the results, and a roster of near-verbatim remarks eight weeks after authorization. This assumes, of course, no substantial differences in agreement on the substance of the study and in the clearance of the questionnaire instrument.

Conducting this study would be viewed by the Harris organization as a deep privilege and a public service. The full resources of the Harris firm would be devoted to its conduct, including the full participation of Louis Harris in the construction of the questionnaire and the final analysis.

ADDITION TO HARRIS PROPOSAL TO U.S. SENATE SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS

One possible methodological approach is to use the technique of focus group interviews. This is a technique developed over ten years ago in which small groups of five to eight people are invited to a group discussion on the subject to be researched. Under the direction of a professional researcher as leader, group discussions are often conducted in a room with one-way windows for observation from the outside. The sessions are designed to uncover areas of the problem which might otherwise be overlooked, and which then can be probed in depth.

The technique has been used most extensively by advertising agencies, usually in sessions designed to learn how to put new life into old products or to learn how to launch new products. It sometimes can be useful, particularly where no body of prior research exists or where research has been superficially conducted. The technique reached its most widespread use 2 or 3 years ago but has been abandoned today by many of the agencies who formerly used it. Its methodological problems have been threefold:

1) Within the group, usually 2 or 3 people tend to be more articulate, to press their own ideas onto a less structured majority, thus making the focus rather artificial in terms of real life situation;

2) Clients, seeking real answers to real problems, too often have sought to seize on quick and ready answers from such group sessions, sometimes with disastrous consequences;

3) The sessions, to be effective, must of necessity deal with small groups. In marketing products, patterns can emerge quite quickly, and limited group sessions can be useful. However, in dealing with the subject such as how to restore confidence in the federal government, not among a sector of the public but among the whole nation, five or even 10 focus group sessions cannot possibly begin to cover all the divers

types that populate this pluralistic land of ours.

In the case of this study, the Harris firm would recommend against the use of focus group sessions, as long as a firm experienced in public affairs research is selected. The reason is that much is already known about the state of public attitudes toward the federal government and the growing mood of cynicism and alienation that has overtaken the public. One approach would be to include some trend line questions on whether people feel something is deeply wrong with the country and why they feel that way in their own language to determine whether we are dealing with older or newer phenomena in today's disenchantment.

The questionnaire instrument stems directly out of a tight and creative study design. Without well thought out hypotheses, all the good work in the world will not save a study.

The areas to be probed in any survey are very much the joint business of the client and the researcher. The framing of the questions is every bit the job of the professional researcher. A client must always go over any questionnaire and ask any and all questions to determine whether the proper substance is being covered. But the professional must know if the question is askable, and whether it will test the hypotheses which had been formulated. The questionnaire is pretested to find out if it is basically capable of eliciting all dimensions of answers to the central questions being investigated.

In our own case, Mr. Harris will be personally in charge of the study and will be heavily involved with the writing of the questionnaire and in later analysis of the results. The proof of any questionnaire is how it translates the study design into questions which will shed light and provide answers to the problems at hand. The questionnaire is an empirical instrument. Anyone who claims that any one technique will automatically provide magic is talking patent nonsense. Techniques are simply methods used to help solve specific and [illegible]e problems. Each substantive area must have [illegible]niques tempered and [illegible]to best suit the area. A [illegible]tion of

techniques can solve problems and no Harris survey fails to use multiple techniques or multiple approaches to the design of the entire study including the questionnaire.

The three most difficult parts of survey research are study design (as contained in our proposal to you), questionnaire construction, and analysis. We believe our qualifications in all three areas makes the Harris firm unique in the field.