

Authors(s): Sears, David O. and Lau, Richard R.

Title: Personal Impact, Government Performance, and Policy Attitudes: A Preliminary Analysis of the 1979 CPS Pilot Study

Date: August 10, 1979

Dataset(s): 1979 Pilot Study

Abstract

Sears and Lau assess the 1979 Pilot Study policy preference and personal impact questions relating to taxation, inflation, unemployment, and national health insurance. Sears and Lau also compare the seven point question method to the branching format and find that in some areas -- such as questions relating to inflation -- the seven point method performs better, while in other areas -- such as taxation -- the branching method is superior. Finally, the authors test whether survey question order affects the relative importance voters give to perceptions of the personal impact of government policies, when they form their political preferences. Sears and Lau find that increasing the salience of the personal impact of policy issues has little effect on the formation of policy preferences. Question order, however, can make a difference under certain circumstances. For example, the effect of personal financial situation on evaluations of Carter is much greater when a more subtle sequence of questions concerning economic well being is used.

Personal Impact, Governmental Performance, and Policy Attitudes:
A Preliminary Analysis of the 1979 CPS Pilot Study

David O. Sears

Richard R. Lau

University of California,
Los Angeles

August 10, 1979

Personal Impact, Governmental Performance, and Policy Attitudes

Sears and Lau

Table of Contents

Taxation -----	2
Policy attitudes -----	2
Personal impact -----	4
Marginals -----	6
Inflation -----	11
Perceptions of causes and solutions -----	11
Policy preference -----	13
Personal impact -----	15
Marginals -----	17
Unemployment -----	26
Policy preference -----	26
Perceptions of unemployment -----	26
Personal impact -----	29
Marginals -----	32
National health insurance -----	40
Marginals -----	42
Performance -----	44
Redundancy -----	45
Carter accountability -----	46
Marginals -----	49
Politicizing personal impact -----	53
Retrospective voting -----	54
Personal impact -----	55
References -----	58
Recommendations for 1980 -----	59

Domestic Policy Issues and Personal Impact

The first section of this report focuses on domestic policy attitudes from two standpoints: their possible personal impact, and innovation in measurement of policy preferences. The pilot study primarily focused on economic issues, especially (1) taxation, (2) inflation, (3) unemployment and (4) medical insurance. We presume these will be major issues in the 1980 campaign. (5) Energy was not included, but likely will be an important issue, so such recommendations will follow in a later memo. (6) Race relations are likely to be a continuing issue but of lesser salience, and therefore justify some more modest investment, also to be detailed later. Domestic issues we are not recommending for this dual personal impact/policy attitude role include (7) women, (8) government regulation/deregulation, (9) environmental protection, and (10) law and order.

In this section we evaluate both the personal impact items and their companion policy attitudes. The criteria for inclusion of personal impact items ought to be: (1) marginals; does the item identify the main impacted group; (2) lack of redundancy with other items; (3) validity; especially whether or not the item unambiguously measures the individual's situation, as opposed to some politically biased assessment of it. These items can potentially be objective (e.g., being covered by any medical insurance at all) or subjective (e.g., perceived adequacy of insurance coverage). The bias problem is generally more severe with subjective measures, but they may reflect people's feelings better. So a mix is desirable. Finally, (4) many such personal impacts are in real life not positively correlated (e.g., having high income taxes and a declining financial situations), so neither should the indicators be.

One general consideration to bear in mind is that almost all instances of personal impact hit only a minority. Hence it will prove useful to have maximum sample size on such items; e.g., all pre-election waves except perhaps some of the panel waves.

Policy attitude items can be evaluated in terms of their marginals, both for (1) a good distribution of responses and (2) a minimum of missing data; (3) whether or not they relate to other variables they are supposed to; (4) lack of redundancy. To test the correlates of these items, "symbolic politics" regressions were run, as in previous research (e.g., Sears et al, 1979a, 1979b). These include five demographic variables, relevant self-interest indicators, and party identification and liberalism-conservatism. Higher R^2 's were taken as praiseworthy.

Taxation

Policy attitudes.

This is a relatively new policy area, and implicates several policy issues and personal impacts. The clearest policy questions, at the national level, include (1) a general tax cut, (2) reduced government services, especially in health, education, and welfare; (3) the proposed constitutional amendment to force balancing the federal budget; (4) reduced taxes with an explicit service-reduction tradeoff, (5) changes in social security benefits and taxes, as well as (6) generalized support or antagonism toward the tax system in general, and (7) perceptions of waste in government.

(1) General tax cut. None recommended.

(2) Reduced services: 1976 v.3353: "The government should spend less even if it means cutting back on programs like health and education." (Agree, 21%, disagree, 78%).

(3) Constitutional amendment: v.593/4. Good marginals, and interesting contrast between public support and perceived elite opposition. Issue may be outdated by 1980.

(4) Tax-service tradeoff: v.590. Also good marginals, and the same perception. A possible alternative: 1978 item F8: "Federal income taxes should be cut by at least one third even if it means reducing military spending and cutting down on government services such as health and education" (27% agree). We prefer to avoid agree-disagree items.

(5) Social security: Two alternate forms asked. v.396 was the standard 7-point format, while v.310 used a branching format like the old party ID item. The branching item produces substantially more support for increased social security benefits (means of 5.1 and 4.6), primarily by moving many respondents (31% of the sample) off the midpoint into "increase" and some (7%) off it to decrease. The items are fairly closely related (τ -b of .45). The skewness of v.310 is no doubt due to inadvertently leaving taxes off the response alternatives; wherever "benefits" appears, it should read "benefits and taxes." Otherwise its marginals look much better. The disadvantage will be that candidate placements will be complex, but this item may not require many.

(6) Tax system: v.588 and v.589 measure fairness of the system. From the marginals, v.588 is a problem because the middle category collects so many responses. Combining them into one item would not help because the correlation between the two is modest: 46% are on the diagonal, and 32% stay in the middle for both items.

(7) Government waste: 1978 v.346 is the standard trust item -- waste a lot (79%) is the dominant response. This item would be asked anyway.

Table 1 shows some of their correlates. It does not indicate much differentiation, though by this criterion the 7-point-scale version of social security (v.396) looks superior.

Personal impact. Three general items were asked: (1) even if you think everybody pays too much in taxes, compared to other people do you think you pay your fair share, or do you pay more than your fair share? (v.579); (2) a series of four questions asked people if they felt they pay more or less than they should in sales, federal income, social security, and property taxes (v.580-583); (3) another series asked on which of those the respondents were paying more than they had a couple of years earlier (v.584-587).

The marginals give excellent splits: 43% felt they were paying more than their fair share in general; 40% to 60% did on the specific taxes; and 38% to 55% felt they were paying more than they had a couple of years earlier.

The separate items are not completely redundant. Tables 2a and 2b show that the "fair share" general item (v.579) is highly correlated with the feeling of paying too much income tax, but not so much with the others. Increased personal burdens on specific taxes are strongly, but certainly not perfectly, correlated with feeling the burden is too great on those same taxes (Table 2b). The four specific taxes all draw very similar marginals on both the "pay too much" and "paying more now" series, but in neither case do responses to one type of tax correlate strongly with responses to any other: the median inter-correlation (γ) is .19. The largest correlations are between the income and social security taxes (.37 and .72 for the two judgments).

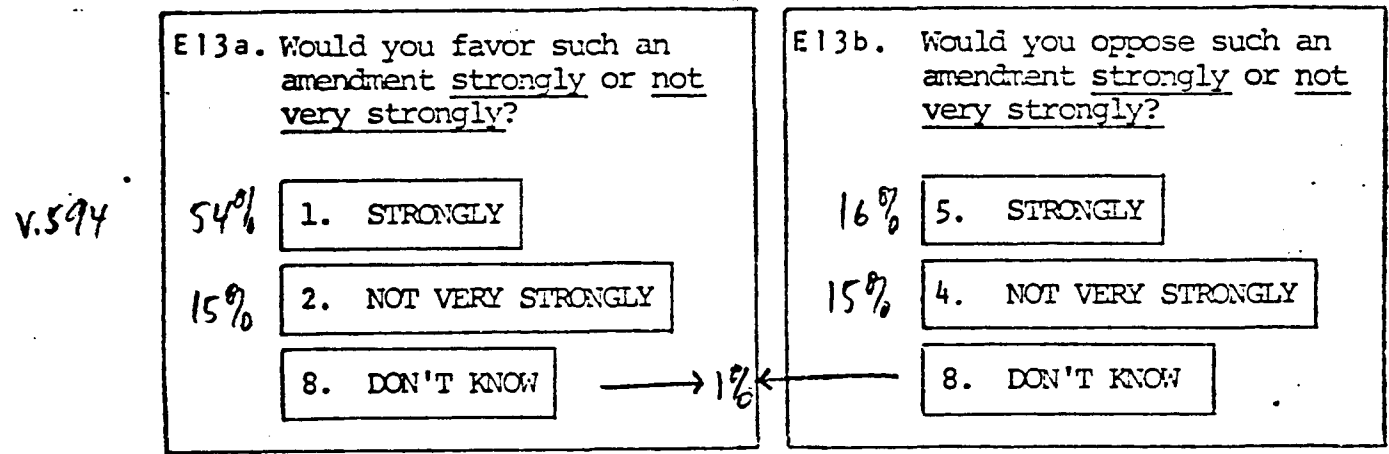
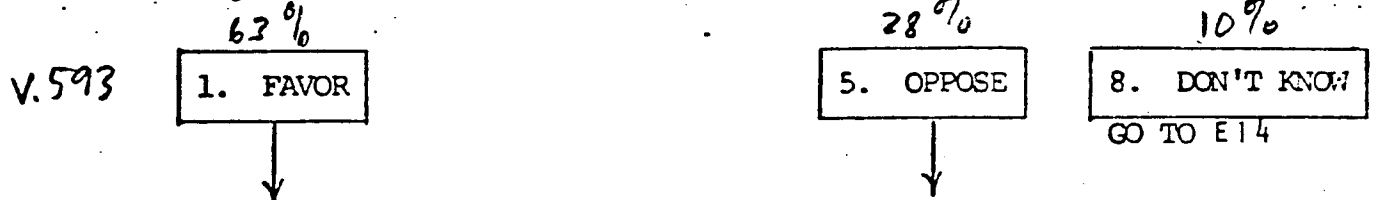
Finally, none of these judgments correlates very highly with the respondent's overall past financial situation (the nine γ s range from -.10 to +.18,

with a median of +.12), so they seem not to reflect mere general grouching.

It is hard to get objective measures of tax burden. Recent increases in the tax burden (v.584-587) are concrete and therefore desirable. And it seems apparent even the subjective general fairness item (v.579) and specific pay-too-much items (v.580-583) do not just reflect general attitudes toward taxes, since correlations with perceived fairness of the tax systems (v.588) range between .13 and .23.

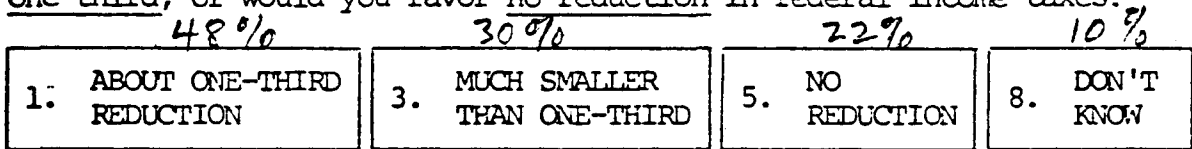
Of all the specific taxes, the federal income tax burden is most closely linked to general attitudes about taxes. We strongly urge, however, that the other specific items be retained, for they are more germane to particular issues which will be addressed (e.g., the social security system, possibly Prop 13-like amendments).

18: E13. Some people have proposed a constitutional amendment to force the federal government to balance its budget. Others say the government would have to cut out important services if it were forced to balance its budget every year. Would you favor or would you oppose a constitutional amendment which would force the government to balance its budget every year?



V.595 Carter: 33% favor, 67% oppose (19% DK)
V.596 Ford: 40% 60% (31%)

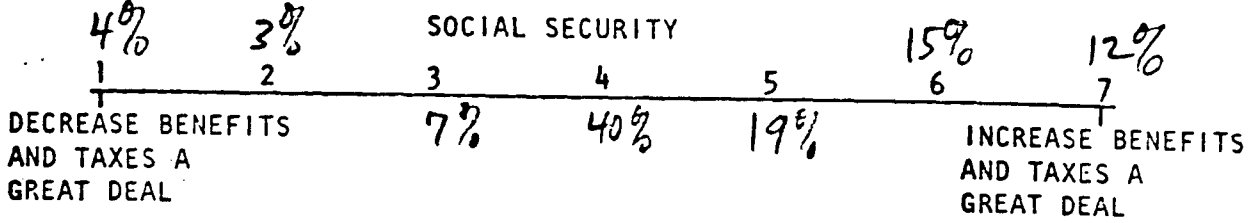
V.590 D7. Some political leaders have proposed a one-third reduction in federal income taxes. Others favor a reduction but of much less than one-third. Still others feel that federal income taxes should not be reduced so that government services can stay at about the present level. How about you? Would you favor a reduction of about one-third in federal income taxes, would you favor a reduction much smaller than one-third, or would you favor no reduction in federal income taxes?



V.591 Carter 13% 54% 33% 21%
V.592 Ford 20 45 36 29

2A. D9. (R.B., P. 12) Some people think Social Security benefits should be increased even though that would mean an increase in taxes. Others feel Social Security benefits should be decreased so we can pay less in taxes.

2B. E11



V.396

D9a. Where would you place yourself on this scale of haven't you thought much about this?



(6%) (8%)

8. DON'T KNOW	0. HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH
---------------	-------------------------

1B: F8.

1A: E4

V.310

Some people think that social security benefits should be increased even though that would mean an increase in taxes. Others feel that social security benefits should be decreased so that we can pay less in taxes. Still others believe that the present level of benefits and taxes is just right. How about you? Do you think that social security benefits should be increased, decreased, or continued at the present level, or haven't you thought much about this?

1. INCREASED
46%

F8a. Do you think Social Security benefits should be increased a little or increased a lot?

29%	17%	
6. A LITTLE	7. A LOT	8. DON'T KNOW

GO TO F9

5. DECREASED
10%

F8b. Do you think Social Security benefits should be decreased a little or decreased a lot?

7%	3%	
2. A LITTLE	1. A LOT	8. DON'T KNOW

GO TO F9

3. CONTINUED AT PRESENT LEVEL
44%

F8c. If the level of Social Security benefits were to be changed, would you be more in favor of an increase or a decrease?

30%	7%	7%
5. INCREASE	3. DECREASE	4. NEITHER

GO TO F9

(11%)
0. HAVEN'T THOUGHT

(5%)
8. DON'T KNOW

D5. (R.B., P. 17) Do you think the tax system in this country is very fair, mostly fair, fair for some--unfair for others, mostly unfair, or very unfair?

V.588

0	16%	59%	18%	7%
1. VERY FAIR	2. MOSTLY FAIR	3. FAIR FOR SOME UNFAIR FOR OTHERS	4. MOSTLY UNFAIR	5. VERY UNFAIR

D6. In the last few years do you think the tax system has gotten more fair or less fair, or has it stayed about the same?

V.589

9%	38%	52%	5%
1. MORE FAIR	2. LESS FAIR	3. ABOUT SAME	8. DON'T KNOW

IA : D2. What about the money you pay in taxes? Even if you think everybody pays too much in taxes, compared to other people do you think you pay your fair share, or do you pay more than your fair share?

V.579

57%	43%	(3%)
1. PAY FAIR SHARE	5. PAY MORE THAN FAIR SHARE	8. DON'T KNOW

IA : D3. (R.B., P.15) Now I would like to get your feelings about the amount you are asked to pay for each of four different taxes. Let's start with sales taxes. Do you feel you are asked to pay much more than you should for sales taxes, somewhat more than you should, about the right amount, or less than you should?

IB. D14.

	1. MUCH MORE	2. SOMEWHAT MORE	3. ABOUT RIGHT	4. LESS THAN SHOULD	7. DON'T PAY AT ALL
V.580 a. SALES TAXES	16	28	56	0	(2)
v. 581 b. federal income tax	32	34	34	0	(9)
V.582 c. social security taxes	24	26	47	3	(19)
V.583 d. property taxes	25	25	48	2	(15)

IA: D4. (R.B., P. 16) And for which of these taxes are you now paying more than you were a couple of years ago?

IB. D15.

- V.584 38 A. SALES TAX V.586 55 C. SOCIAL SECURITY TAXES
- V.585 61 B. FEDERAL INCOME TAX V.587 60 D. PROPERTY TAXES

Table 1

Correlates of Tax Policy Items

	Balanced Budget v594	Tax Cut v590	Social Security 7-point v396	Branch v310
Liberal-conservative	.12	.00	.13	.20*
Party identification	.15*	-.06	.19*	.10
Fair share (579)	.10	.08	.03	.05
Too much: income (581)	.14*	.31*	-	-
soc. sec. (582)	-	-	.43*	.35*
Increased: income (585)	.02	.04	-	-
soc. sec. (586)	-	-	.08*	.16
r^2	.146	.170	.272	.175
n	214	215	193	202

Note: Entries are Pearson correlations. Starred entries had significant (p .05) regression coefficients. The r^2 reflects five demographic variables as well as items shown.

Intercorrelations of Tax Impact Items

v579: in general, do you pay

	<u>too much</u>	<u>fair share</u>	<u>gamma</u>
v580-v583: Pay more than should in specific taxes			
Sales	49%	41%	.21
Income	87%	49%	.69
Social Security	59%	43%	.24
Property	60%	43%	.26

Table entries are the percentage of respondents who say they are paying more than they should of a specific tax (v580-v583), among those who say they are paying too much (or a fair share) of taxes in general.

v579: in general, do you pay

	<u>too much</u>	<u>fair share</u>	<u>gamma</u>
v584-v587: Pay more now than a few years ago			
Sales	40%	34%	.12
Income	79%	53%	.54
Social Security	68%	49%	.38
Property	59%	63%	.07

Table entries are the percentage of respondents who say they are paying more now than they were a few years ago of specific taxes (v584-v587), among those who say they are paying too much (or a fair share) of taxes in general.

v584-v587: paying more now than a few years ago

	<u>More</u>	<u>Not more</u>	<u>gamma</u>
v580-v583: Pay more than should in specific taxes			
Sales	64%	31%	.56
Income	75%	46%	.60
Social Security	58%	30%	.49
Property	60%	24%	.56

Table entries are the percentage of respondents who say they are paying more than they should of a specific tax (v580-v583), among those who say they are paying too much (or a fair share) of taxes in general, than they were a few years ago.

Inflation

The inflation issue was covered in several ways: (1) its personal impact, (2) perceptions of its causes and solutions, (3) approval of the President's actions on inflation, and (4) policy preference for action on inflation as opposed to unemployment. The causal perceptions are included as theoretically crucial links determining responsibility for inflation, and hence determining the political impact of the issue.

Perceptions of causes and solutions.

These are composed of a series of mostly open-ended items, asking about the causes of inflation (v.597), the most important cause (v.600), how government might contribute to inflation (v.601), and then closed-ended ratings of eight causes (v.602-609). The solutions to inflation are addressed with an item asking whether or not anything can be done (v.610), then what should be done (v.611) and by whom (v.614), or why nothing can be done (v.617), all open-ended.

The closed-ended cause items (v.602-609) cover the main points raised spontaneously in the open-ended item (v.597), so the closed-ended items could serve by themselves.

A factor analysis of these latter (Table 3) shows three clear factors, blaming inflation variously on greedy ordinary people, the government, or business. Clearly it is easiest to blame impersonal objects like the government and business, and harder to blame ordinary people (one wonders if those in the government and business show the same externalizing of blame).

The usefulness of these items depends on their heuristic value in analyzing the government's responsibility for economic problems. Table 3 also shows that blame-fixing is generally associated with disapproval of Carter.

It might be expected that blaming inflation on the government would be more closely related to faulting Carter's performance on inflation than would blaming inflation on business on the people, and that is so. These other forms of blame tend to be related to disapproval of Carter's performance in general, interestingly enough, as if he were responsible for the public's bad behavior in general.

Moreover, linking the general economy's performance (v.564) to approval of Carter's economic performance (v.570) appears to be contingent on perceiving the government as responsible for inflation. If ordinary people are viewed as the villains, Carter is spared. This is shown at the right of Table 3. Relationships with approval of Carter in other respects are more complex and do not show this dependency upon blaming the government for inflation (not shown in Table 3). These analyses only scratch the surface of the effort to determine the president's accountability for public and private events. They do hopefully illustrate the vital role of these perceived causes in mediating approval of the president.

It would be helpful to retain v.600 asking which one cause is the most important. Asking how government contributes (v.601) turned out to be too complicated to ask. A simpler alternative might be to simply ask which is most responsible for inflation, the public's spending and wage demands or government spending or energy costs or business profits. But those already tested (v.602-609) seem better.

Regarding solutions to inflation, it seems crucial to know if any solution is thought possible (v.610). The open-ended solutions (v.611) cluster in three groups: reduce government spending, institute wage and price controls, and have the public change to a more modest standard of living. We recommend a closed-ended item offering these three alternatives, with perhaps "or something else" at the end.

Who is responsible for the solution (v.614) is in principle a vital link to the government's responsibility. Perhaps a closed-ended item would serve as well, though asking whether it is mainly up to the President, the Congress, business, labor unions, or the general public.

We also recommend adding an item inadvertently left out of the pilot study: "How serious a national problem do you think inflation is ---- [use wording of v.620 on unemployment]?"

In short, we foresee that the original series of five open-ended and nine closed-ended items on causes and solutions of inflation could be reduced to eleven closed-enders.

Policy preference. The only inflation policy preference item is the inflation-unemployment tradeoff, which shows up in four formats: a complex branching format starting with a question about which problem is more serious (v.272-276), the same branching version started by a question on whether or not the respondent believes in the tradeoff (v.271-276), and seven point scales with (v.293) and without (v.369) cuing to the use of intermediate points.

The cuing variation (v.293 vs. V.369) has little effect on the marginals: in both cases 13% were at the labelled extremes, and the use of the middle three points increased only from 66% to 73%. Perhaps if 7-point scales are used, such cuing might be done on the first set only.

The two branching variations are quite different. Asking first about belief in the tradeoff (v.271) sharply increases the number of people in the middle, from 2% to 17%, and thereby flattens out the distribution noticeably. Probably this is because the middle is legitimized for people not believing

in the tradeoff. Either way, though, the branching item is much more skewed than the 7-point scale, toward the inflation side, because anyone thinking inflation is a more serious problem automatically is forced into saying government policy should favor inflation reduction.

Also, it has a distressing tendency to pile people up into the nearly truistic category of wanting the government to reduce inflation at the expense of a little, but not a lot, of unemployment. The seven-point scale is much more evenly distributed. In this form it yields much less missing data because it does not have a screen ("or haven't you thought much about this?") but it could.

It is therefore possible that the branching format generally yields more meaningful responses, but in this form includes some less meaningful responses because of a lack of a screen. However, it actually draws a somewhat lower R^2 in the symbolic politics equation (.103 to .135), and correlates somewhat less strongly with party identification (.10 to .16). And the two are very similar in test-retest stability; $r=.40$ and $.39$ for self-placement, and the three candidate placements average $.42$ and $.34$, respectively. Hence the seven-point scale draws a better distribution, and yields data of approximately equal quality. It also is much easier to do candidate placements with.

This recommends use of the uncued seven-point scale (v.369) along with the two prior tradeoff items (v.271) -- is there a connection or not? and v.272 -- which is the more serious problem?) If the branching format were to be used, a screen should be considered, and the follow-ons to "both equally" and "neither" redone to continue the intended tradeoff.

Personal impact.

The "objective" measures of inflation impact were follow-ons (v.43, 45) to the standard family and own-income items asking what those incomes were five years ago. The response rate to these items was fairly healthy; only 9% and 16% respectively failed to respond. Of those responding, 14% reported their family's income as slipping (and 20% their own), with another 10% (and 24%) reporting no change. To use these figures more precisely as reflecting inflation impact, one would need to correct them for changes in the CPI. That's increased by 46% (from 143.1 to 209.6) in those five years (March 1974 to March 1979).

In point of fact the median income change reported in the pilot study is an increase of 44.5%, as shown in Table 4. No doubt there are better national data that allow us to assess the validity of these estimates.

Nevertheless, the history of this item shown in Table 5 has two quirks: the 1973 recall is too high and the 1978 report seems too low. However, the pilot study item was changed from previous years: the modifier "living here" was added to "family." Presumably this decreased 1978 estimates relative to 1977. But this leaves unexplained the too high 1973 estimates. They may have been assimilated to today's inflated dollar values, and hence over-estimates. Does the staff know? Does anyone in the Economic Behavior Program?

Three more subjective indicators were used. Most people reported being "hurt" by inflation (v.576), though of these, only 14% report being hurt more than the average person (and 14% less!; v.577), while 62% report their income has fallen behind the cost of living (v.578). These latter two items were mistakenly not asked of respondents claiming not to be hurt by inflation (on v.576).

In short, the objective follow-ons, and the first and third subjective items give parallel and well-distributed marginal distributions. The latter two items are not perfectly redundant; the correlation (gamma) is .45, and of those saying "hurt," 38% have stayed even or moved ahead in income, as shown in Table 5.

An important question in 1980 will be determining the role of the personal impact of inflation in contributing to a more general feeling of financial malaise, and to such political consequences as disapproval of presidential performance. Table 6 shows both objective and subjective measures contribute to "worse" judgments about family finances (gammas = .33 and .45); the sense that one's income is falling behind the cost-of-living does even more strongly (gamma = .60). By contrast, a rise in income tax does not (gamma = .10), perhaps because associated with a rise in family income (.44). Nor is a rise in income tax associated with the feeling of being hurt by inflation (gammas = .04, .16, 106). Further controls, possible with additional cases, can clarify which personal events really have political bite.

So far our analysis finds little effect of these personal impacts of inflation on perceived causes of inflation or on preferences for government action.

1A: D11. From what people tell us, it's clear there's a lot of concern about inflation. We're interested in what people think has brought about rising prices. Would you tell me what kinds of things you feel have caused our current problem with inflation? (IF R IS UNSURE, PROBE FOR WHAT R THINKS; R'S BEST GUESS.)

98. DON'T KNOW = 12%

(IF R MENTIONS MORE THAN ONE CAUSE IN D11)

v.600

D11a. Which of the things you mentioned do you feel is the single most important cause of inflation?

MISS: 52%

(IF R MENTIONS "GOVERNMENT SPENDING" OR "BUDGET DEFICITS" IN D11)

v.601

D11b. You mentioned (government spending/budget deficits) as something that contributes to inflation. In your opinion, how does this bring about rising prices?

MISS: 83%

1A: D13. Do you think something can be done to deal successfully with the problem of rising prices, or do you feel that we'll have to continue living with inflation because not much can be done about it?

68%

24%

7%

v.610

1. SOMETHING CAN BE DONE

2. NOT MUCH CAN BE DONE

8. DON'T KNOW

GO TO D14

TURN TO P. 20, SECTION E

v.611

D13a. What sort of thing do you think could be done (to deal successfully with the problem of rising prices)?

DK = 10%

v.614

D13b. Who do you think should be doing that? (PROBE: IF R MENTIONS "GOVERNMENT": Who in the government do you think should be doing that)?

DK = 13%

v.617

D14. Why do you say that?

IA : D12. (R.B., P.18) Now I'm going to read a list of things some people think have helped cause our inflation. For each thing I read, please tell me whether you feel it is an extremely important, a somewhat important, or a not very important cause of inflation. The first is, "Making it too easy for people to get credit or borrow money". Would you say this is an extremely important, a somewhat important, or a not very important cause of inflation?

V.54

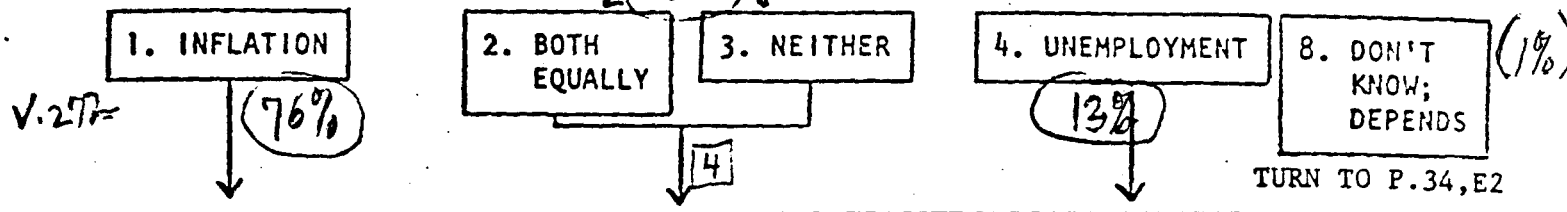
	1. EXTREMELY IMPORTANT	2. SOMEWHAT IMPORTANT	3. NOT VERY IMPORTANT	4. DON'T KNOW
V.602 D12a. MAKING IT TOO EASY FOR PEOPLE TO GET CREDIT OR BORROW MONEY	28%	42%	30%	2%
V.603 D12b. Business raising prices to increase their profits.	60	32	8	1
V.604 D12c. The government in Washington spending more money than it takes in.	74	21	4	2
V.605 D12d. People buying products they really don't need.	26	38	36	1
V.606 D12e. The government in Washington printing money with nothing to back it up.	69	21	8	3
V.607 D12f. The cost of oil and other kinds of energy used to produce food and manufactured goods.	76	22	2	1
V.608 D12g. The government spending money to create jobs in order to hold down unemployment.	22	51	24	3
V.609 D12h. Some people getting larger wage increases than they really deserve.	49	36	15	1

Trade deficits
Rising prices

4
13
98

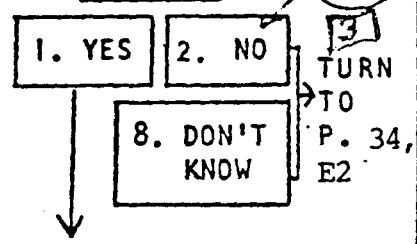
28:

E1. Which is the more serious problem facing the country today, inflation or unemployment?

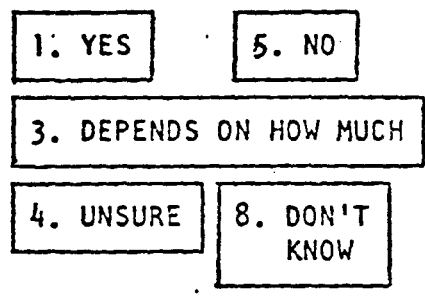


V. 273

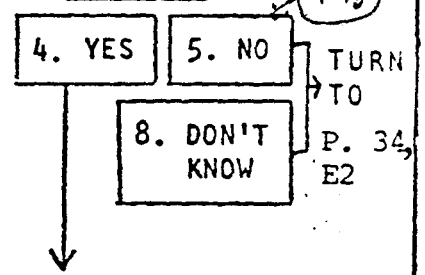
E1 a. Would you favor federal government action to reduce the inflation rate, even if it meant that unemployment would go up a little?



E1 c. Would you favor federal government action to reduce the inflation rate, even if it meant that unemployment would go up?

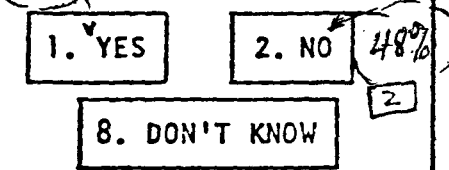


E1 e. Would you favor federal government action to reduce unemployment, even if it meant that the inflation rate would go up a little?

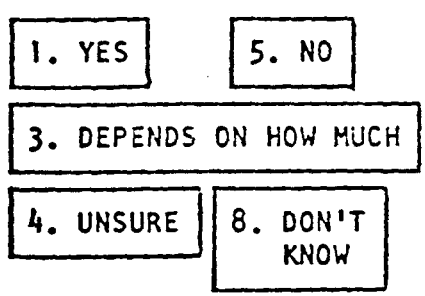


V. 274

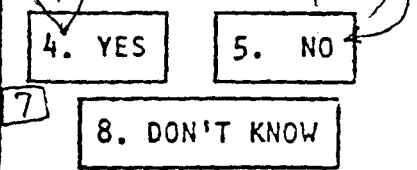
E1 b. And would you favor government action if it meant that unemployment would go up a lot?



E1 d. Would you favor federal government action to reduce unemployment, even if it meant that the inflation rate would go up?



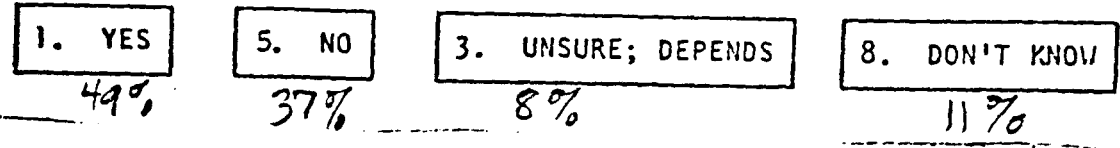
E1 f. And would you favor government action if it meant that the inflation rate would go up a lot?



18: E1. Now, I'd like to talk with you about inflation and unemployment. Some people feel there is a connection between inflation and unemployment. They think if inflation goes down, unemployment will go up or, if you reduce unemployment, inflation will go up.

Do you believe there is this kind of connection between inflation and unemployment or not?

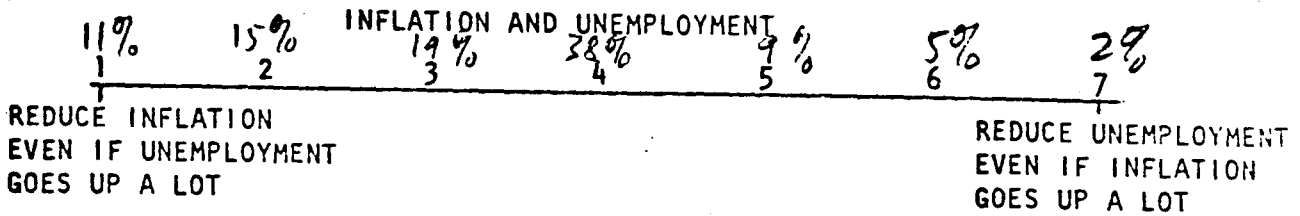
V. 11



2A: D1.

V. 369

Let's talk next about some issues that Americans face these days. (R.B., P. 9) Some people feel the federal government should take action to reduce the inflation rate, even if it means that unemployment would go up a lot. Others feel the government should take action to reduce the rate of unemployment, even if it means that inflation would go up a lot.



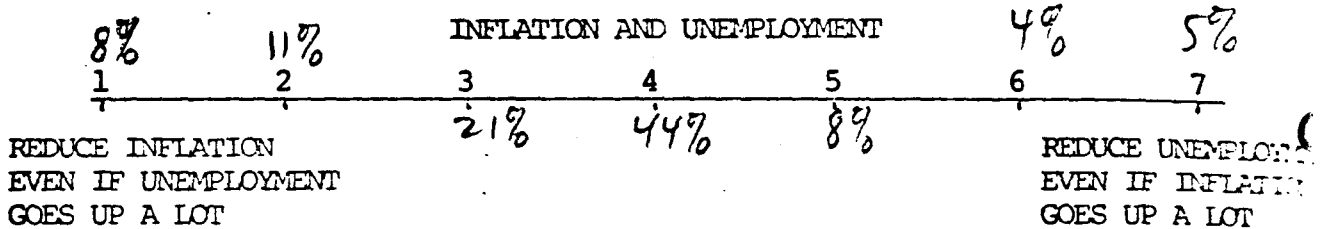
D1a. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?

_____ (5%)
 8. DON'T KNOW
 0. HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH (14%)

1A: E1.

V. 293

(R.B., P. 19) Some people feel the federal government should take action to reduce the inflation rate, even if it means that unemployment would go up a lot. Suppose these people are at one end of the scale at point number 1. Others feel the government should take action to reduce the rate of unemployment, even if it means inflation would go up a lot. Suppose these people are at the other end, at point number 7. And, of course, some other people have opinions somewhere in between, at points 2, 3, 4, 5, or 6.



Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?

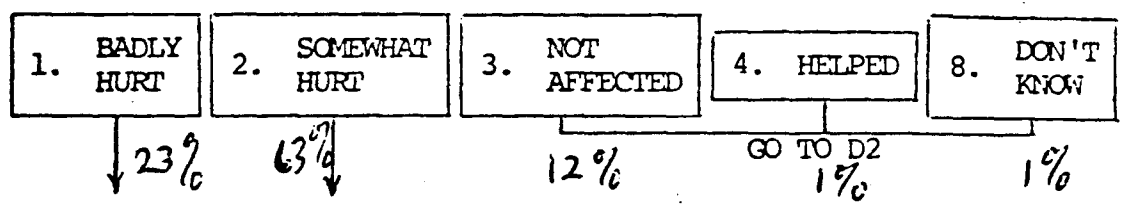
_____ (5%)
 8. DON'T KNOW
 0. HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH (21%)

SUMMARY

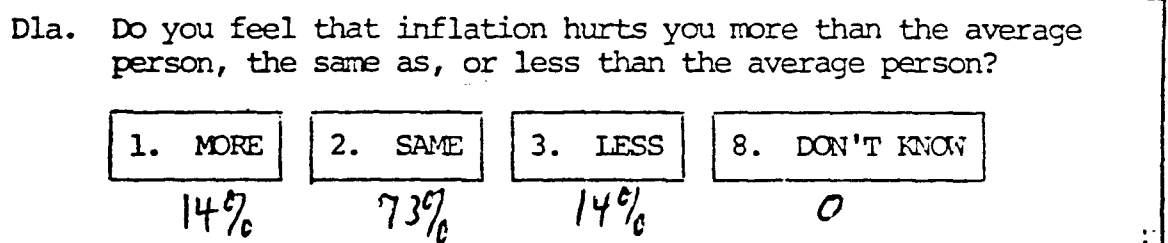
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	% 1-3
v. 292-6	8	56	22	2	4	6	2	86
v. 291-6	12	39	15	17	5	8	3	66
v. 369	11	15	19	38	9	5	2	45
v. 293	8	11	21	44	8	4	5	40

IA: D1. We are interested in how people are affected financially by inflation these days. Would you say that you (and your family) have been badly hurt by inflation, hurt somewhat, not affected very much, or helped financially by inflation?

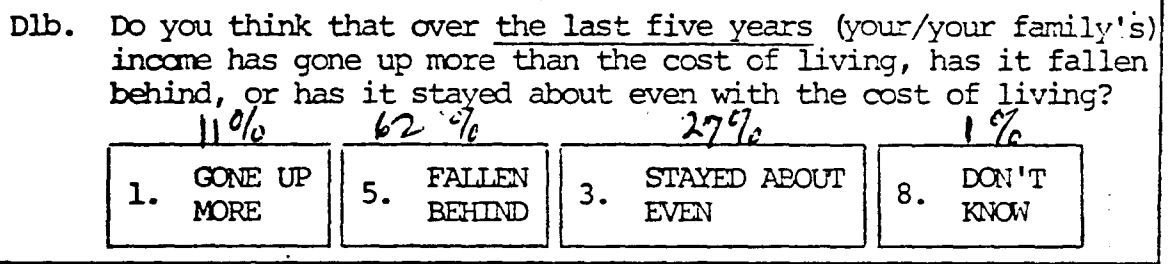
V.576



V.577



V.578



S5. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT

V.41

1. R ONLY FAMILY MEMBER AGE 14 OR OLDER → TURN TO P. 43 ,S7

2. R LIVES WITH OTHER FAMILY MEMBERS AGE 14 OR OLDER.

S6. (R.B., P. 27) To get an accurate picture of people's financial situation and the changes they have experienced, we need to gather information about the present and past income of all the families we interview. Would you please look at this page and tell me the letter of the income group that includes the income in 1978 before taxes of all members of your family living here. This figure should include dividends, interest, salaries, wages, pensions, and all other income before taxes for for the year 1978. (IF UNCERTAIN: What would be your best guess?)

V.42

98. R REFUSED TO ANSWER 8% TIME NOW: _____ GO TO RECONTACT SHEET

A. NONE OR LESS THAN \$2,000	01	N. \$12,000 - \$12,999	12
B. \$2,000 - \$2,999	02	P. \$13,000 - \$13,999	13
C. \$3,000 - \$3,999	03	Q. \$14,000 - \$14,999	14
D. \$4,000 - \$4,999	04	R. \$15,000 - \$16,999	15
E. \$5,000 - \$5,999	05	S. \$17,000 - \$19,999	16

MARGINALS 9

F. \$6,000 - \$6,999	06
G. \$7,000 - \$7,999	07
H. \$8,000 - \$8,999	08
J. \$9,000 - \$9,999	09
K. \$10,000 - \$10,999	10
M. \$11,000 - \$11,999	11

T. \$20,000 - \$22,999	17
U. \$23,000 - \$24,999	18
V. \$25,000 - \$29,999	19
W. \$30,000 - \$34,999	20
X. \$35,000 - \$49,999	21
Y. \$50,000 AND OVER	22

S6a. (R.B., P. 27) Now, please look at this page again and tell me the letter of the income group that includes your family income before taxes about five years ago, say for the year 1973.

V.43

20% MISS: 10%

_____ (LETTER)

98. R DOESN'T REMEMBER/DON'T KNOW

S6b. (R.B., P. 27) We are also interested in the income that you yourself received in 1978, not including any of the income received by (your SPOUSE and) the rest of your family living here. Please look at this page and tell me the income group that includes the income you yourself had in 1978 before taxes.

V.44

4% MISSING: 2%

_____ (LETTER)

98. R REFUSED TO ANSWER

TIME NOW: _____
GO TO RECONTACT SHEET.

S6c. (R.B., P. 27) And what is the income group that includes the income you yourself had before taxes for the year 1973?

V.45

6% MISSING: 2%

_____ (LETTER)

98. R DOESN'T REMEMBER/DON'T KNOW

Causes of Inflation

Causes of Inflation	Factor Loadings			Correlation with Carter Approval ¹			Correlation with Personal Impact ¹ v.576	Correlation of Economy's Performance by Carter Approval on Economy (v.564 x v.570), Among	
	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	General v.568	Economy v.570	Inflation v.572		hi blame	lo blame
People									
Credit too easy (602)	.63	.19	-.07	-.09	-.07	-.07	.02	.17	.54*
Buying too much (605)	.76	-.19	-.10	-.15*	-.01	-.03	.03	.14	.41*
Wage increases (609)	.33	.12	.13	-.17*	.02	-.07	.12	.14	.34*
Government									
Spending (604)	-.05	.68	.17	-.21*	-.10	-.15*	.13	.28*	.09
Printing money (606)	.09	.50	.00	-.07	-.22*	-.19*	.01	.23*	.12
Jobs policy (608)	.09	.37	-.18	-.32*	-.10	-.20*	.05	.22*	.43*
Business									
Excess profits (603)	.08	-.02	.82	.11	.06	.04	.22*	.16	.35*
Oil prices (607)	-.03	.00	.39	-.04	-.13	-.09	.08	.36*	-.07
Eigenvalues	3.44	2.37	2.19	-	-	-	-	-	-
Can anything be done? Yes (610)	-	-	-	-.02	-.07	-.06	.10	-	-

Note 1: entries are tau's. Asterisk indicates $p < .05$.

Table 4

Median Family Income, CPS studies

Year	Dollar Amount	Source
1971	\$ 9211	1972 CPS study
1973	11667	1979 pilot study
1975	11350	1976 CPS study
1977	18600	1978 CPS study
1978	16860	1979 pilot study

Table 5

Interrelations of Inflation Impact

		Hurt by Inflation? (v576)		% Income Fal- len Behind C/O/L? (v578)	% Worse Fam- ily Finances (v558)
		Badly	Somewhat		
1973-1978 Change in Family Income	Up 6 steps or more	16%	70%	43%	31%
	Up 3 to 5 steps	18%	77%	51%	38%
	Up 1 or 2 steps	30%	64%	64%	51%
	Even	26%	61%	61%	46%
	Down	29%	47%	61%	59%
	Gamma	.08	-	.22	.33
		% Hurt More Than Average (v577)		% Fallen Be- hind (v578)	% Worse Per- sonal Finances (v558)
Hurt by Inflation (v576)					
	Not affected, helped	-	-	-	14%
	Somewhat	8%		55%	37%
	Badly	28%		81%	67%
	Gamma	.73		.45	.45

Unemployment

As with inflation, two series of policy items were used. One was a series of policy preferences, and the other a sequence tapping perceived causes and solutions to the unemployment problem.

Policy preferences. The three policy preferences are substantially different in the amount of government action preferred. The most comes from asking whether the government should be doing more or less in regard to a job and good standard of living (v305): 44% wanted more, and 33% less action (it might be noted that the literal translation from the old 7-point scale distorts the issue a little; one could omit "standard of living"). The old seven-point scale version (v387) of the "guaranteed jobs" issue yields much less support, pitting "government see to a job and a good standard of living" (21%) against "government let each person get ahead on his own" (59%). The two are not that highly correlated ($r=.5$), though most (80%) of the off-diagonal cases are in the direction expectable from the marginals. Finally, the inflation/unemployment tradeoff item (v272-6, 293, 369) ranged only from 12% to 17% on the "reduce unemployment" side in its various guises. It correlated only .16 with the "guaranteed jobs" seven-point scale.

These three items are substantially different, therefore, and would serve different functions. They do not perform appreciably differently in terms of their predictors; Table 6 shows rather similar levels of r^2 , though with the "government do more" (v305) best. In short, it is hard to differentiate among them on quality grounds; they differ more in purpose.

Perceptions of unemployment. Three items test for perceived seriousness of the unemployment problem: rated seriousness (v620), percent perceived

unemployed (v621), future seriousness (v622), as well as whether inflation or unemployment is viewed as more serious (v272). Only 13% saw unemployment as more serious than inflation, 27% saw it as "extremely serious," and 53% thought it would get still more serious. The average perception of the unemployment rate was surprisingly accurate; indeed 45% had it at 6% or 7%. (Though with some estimates from 20% to 60% we wonder about various definitions of unemployment; this could be specified as "unemployed and looking for work".) A parallel item on the inflation rate might well work.

This is certainly a comprehensive battery but perhaps could be reduced to v620, a parallel one for inflation, and if the responses are the same, a tie-breaker like v272. This could depend on the outcome of the salience deliberations.

The causes of unemployment are covered in an open-ended item (v623) and four closed-ended options (v627-630). Here the overlap is less than for inflation. In the open-ended item, foreign competition and inflation show up with no clear closed-ended parallel. Automation does too (resembling alternatives B and D -- insufficient training, experience, or wrong education), as does welfare (like C -- not wanting to work).

The factor structure is shown in Table 7. The main first factor (74% of variance) gets strong loadings only from too-few-jobs (v627) and laziness (v629), and seems to revolve around whether there are too few jobs or the unemployed just don't want to work. The second has more modest loadings on too-few-jobs, and inadequate training and education (v627, 628, 630), and focuses on the existence of external barriers.

The external causes seem to correlate with disapproval of Carter's economic performance, and feeling the government should move more on unemployment

than inflation. This too is shown in Table 7. Moreover, all improve the association of perceived economy performance (v564) to Carter's economic performance (v570). Insufficient training/experience/education causes improve Carter's accountability for his unemployment policies specifically (v573), but, surprisingly, insufficient jobs (v627) does not. The unemployed-not-wanting-to-work dramatically improves the correlation of Carter job approval (v568) with the nation's economic health. As with inflation, causes clearly internal to "the people" (and external to the government) seem to impact on Carter's overall job approval and not his economic performance, as if some inspirational function of the President is seen as inadequate to motivate the public.

From this, one could recommend consolidating v628 and 630, which seem redundant, and perhaps adding automation, foreign competition and inflation. (One could also note the similar series in 1976 on why the poor are poor: v3752-3757. In our earlier analyses [Sears et al, 1979b] these items predicted well to economic policy preferences).

Respondents were less optimistic about unemployment having a solution (41% believing not much could be done) (v631). This item also helps pin responsibility for the economy (v564) on Carter's economic performance (570, 573). The main potential solutions were to create jobs, cut out welfare, and do job retraining and education; hardly original solutions (v632). Surprising few said the President should be doing it; much more common were "the government," Congress, and state/local government. Business, unions, and the public were scarcely mentioned (v635). If we wanted to allocate responsibility for a solution, perhaps two closed-ended items would do it: "Who has most responsibility for solving unemployment:

government, business, unions, or the workers themselves?" And if "government," "Who has the most responsibility: the president, Congress, or state and local government agencies?"

Personal impact. Two methods of data collection have been used: (1) the standard employment series on respondent and head of household, and (2) a checklist of six problems with employment, first used in 1976 to test the recession's impact and later in 1978 regarding "the past couple of years." The value of the checklist is that it helps overcome the main problem with the standard series, which is that it ignores most of these employment problems. Whereas only 3% were currently unemployed, many others had serious unemployment problems. For example, in 1978 from 8% to 12% indicated they personally had had one of those problems, and another 4% to 10% said some family member had. A total of 29% were currently unemployed or laid off, or had been unemployed during the past 12 months (of those currently employed, laid off, or unemployed). In the pilot study, 22% were. And 6% said they were working fewer hours than they wanted, and 48% at a much lower-qualification job. So there is merit in picking up these additional problem people.

In the pilot study some but not all of these problems were addressed by adding new followups in the standard series. There is some inherent value in eliminating the checklist, which is uniformly administered to all respondents, because the branching format of the standard series is inherently more sensitive to the complexities of a heterogeneous work world. Nevertheless, the series needs to be expanded to cover a wider variety of employment problems. Our suggestions need to be made for three groups of people: the currently employed or laid off, currently unemployed, or other categories of people who may or may not have been employed in the previous

year (disabled, retired, students, housewives, of whom 21% had been employed at some time in the 12 months prior to the 1978 study.

	Category		
	<u>Currently employed/ laid off</u>	<u>Unemployed</u>	<u>Retired etc.</u>
Unemployed/lost job	v30, 38	v30	add -(2)
Temporarily laid off	add -(1)	v30	add -(2)
Reduced hours	add -(3)	Omit	add -(3)
Pay cut	add -(3)	Omit	add -(3)
Had jobs under qualified	v34	Omit	Omit
Different shift	Omit	Omit	Omit

Checklist variables

Changes:

(1) For those working now, change v38 to read "Were you out of work or laid off at any time during the last twelve months?"

(2) For the retired, disabled, housewives, and students, add the same followon to the end of the standard series.

(3) For all except the unemployed, add "Have you had to reduce your hours or take a pay cut at any time during the last twelve months?" to the end of the series.

These changes would make the checklist superfluous.

Interestingly enough, the individual's perceived personal financial situation is more closely related to inflation impact than to employment problems. The tau-c for the subjective (v576) and objective (income change) inflation indicators with personal financial situation (v558) is .24 and .25;

with the unemployment index, .06.

Also interesting is that feeling something can be done about unemployment was positively related to being unemployed; perhaps only the employed have a pessimistic, "the poor will always be with us" attitude.

2A:D7a

* (R.B., P. 11) Some people feel the government in Washington should see to it that every person has a job and a good standard of living. Others think the government should just let each person get ahead on his own.

2B:E9a

WITH REGARD TO A JOB AND A GOOD STANDARD OF LIVING FOR EVERY PERSON

V.387 16% 26% 39% 42% 51% 62% 72%

GOVERNMENT SEE TO A JOB AND GOOD STANDARD OF LIVING

GOVERNMENT LET EACH PERSON GET AHEAD ON OWN

D7a. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?



(3%)

8. DON'T KNOW

0. HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH

(7%)

1A : E3

1B : F7.

(R.B., P. 14) Some people feel the government in Washington should do much more to see to it that every person has a job and a good standard of living. Others think the government should do much less, letting each person get ahead on his own. Still others feel that the government is now doing what is needed.

V.305

WITH REGARD TO A JOB AND A GOOD STANDARD OF LIVING FOR EVERY PERSON:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
GOVERNMENT SHOULD DO MUCH MORE	GOVERNMENT SHOULD DO SOMEWHAT MORE	GOVERNMENT SHOULD DO A LITTLE MORE	GOVERNMENT NOW DOING WHAT IS NEEDED	GOVERNMENT SHOULD DO A LITTLE LESS	GOVERNMENT SHOULD DO SOMEWHAT LESS	GOVERNMENT SHOULD DO MUCH LESS
12%	10%	22%	23%	11%	9%	13%

Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about it?

(2%)

(7%)

8. DON'T KNOW

0. HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH

D1. Now I'm going to ask you a few questions about unemployment in this country. First, how serious of a national problem do you think unemployment is at this time? Is it an extremely serious problem, fairly serious problem, or not a serious problem for the country as a whole right now?

V.620

3. EXTREMELY SERIOUS	2. FAIRLY SERIOUS	1. NOT SERIOUS	8. DON'T KNOW
27%	52%	20%	1%

D2. Can you tell me about what percentage of the work force in this country is currently unemployed?

V.621

median 7 PERCENT 98. DON'T KNOW
 mode 6 33%

D3. In the next year or so, do you think the problem of unemployment will become more serious, stay about the same, or become less serious?

V.622

3. MORE SERIOUS	2. SAME	1. LESS SERIOUS	8. DON'T KNOW
53%	37%	6%	4%

D4. What do you think are the main things that cause unemployment in this country?

98. DON'T KNOW = 11%

IF R MENTIONS MORE THAN ONE CAUSE:

V.626

D4a. Of the things you've mentioned, which do you feel is the single most important cause of unemployment?

20 : D5. (R.B., P. 14) Now I'd like to show you a list of things that some people think are the causes of unemployment in the U.S. As I read them, I'd like you to tell me whether you feel each is extremely important, somewhat important, or not very important in causing unemployment.

V.627

V.628

V.629

V.630

	3. EXTREMELY IMPORTANT	2. SOMEWHAT IMPORTANT	1. NOT VERY IMPORTANT	8. DON'T KNOW
a. Not enough jobs for all the people who want to work	20%	42%	36%	2%
b. Many of the unemployed don't have training or experience for the jobs that are available.	15	48	35	2
c. Many of the unemployed don't want to work.	18	29	51	2
d. The educational system in this country doesn't train people for jobs.	29	40	27	4

D6. Do you think something can be done to deal successfully with the problem of unemployment, or do you feel that we'll have to continue living with unemployment because not much can be done about it?

53%

41%

6%

V.631

1. SOMETHING CAN BE DONE

2. NOT MUCH CAN BE DONE

3. DON'T KNOW



GO TO D7

TURN TO P. 30 , D8

V.632

D6a. What sort of thing do you think could be done (to deal successfully with the problem of unemployment)?

V.635

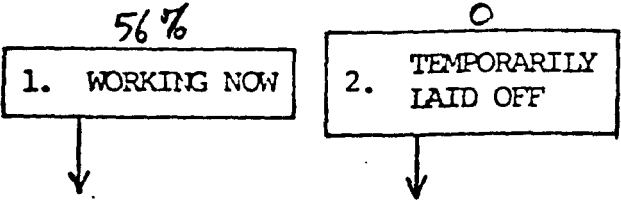
D6b. Who do you think should be doing that? (PROBE: IF R MENTIONS "GOVERNMENT": Who in the government do you think should be doing that)?

V.638

D7. Why do you say that?

F13. We'd like to know if you are working now, or are you unemployed, retired,

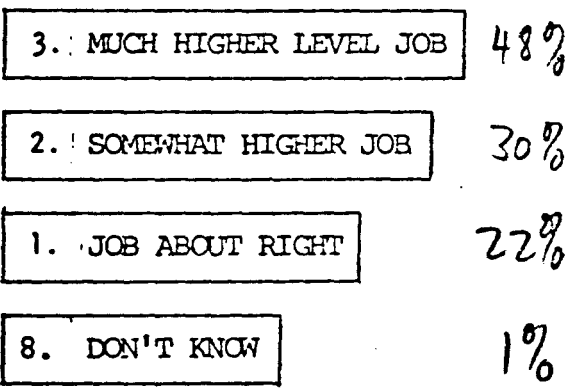
V.30



F14. What is your main occupation? (What sort of work do you do?) (IF NOT CLEAR: Tell me a little more about what you do.)

F15. Generally, does your training and experience qualify you for a much higher level job, a somewhat higher job, or is this job about right for someone with your training and experience?

V.34

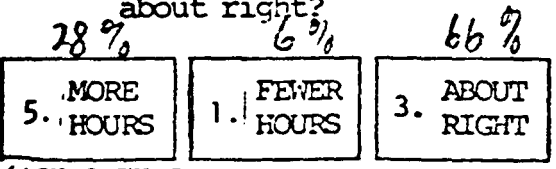


F16. About how many hours do you work on your job in the average week?

_____ HOURS A WEEK

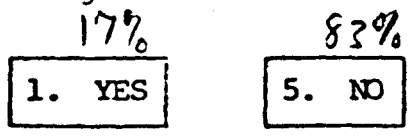
F16a. Is that more hours than you want to work, fewer hours than you want to work, or generally about right?

V.37



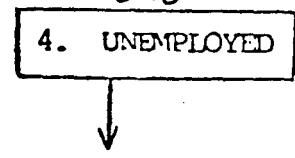
F17. (ASK ONLY IF WORKING NOW) Were you out of work at any time during the last twelve months?

V.38

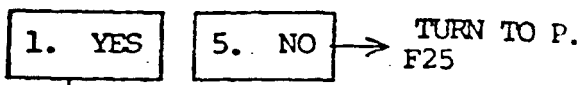


TURN TO P. 56, F25

3%

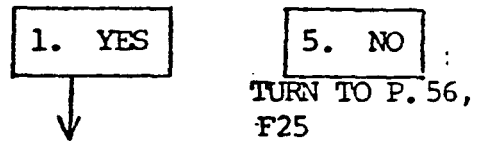


F18. Have you ever done any work for pay



F18a. What kind of work did you do on your last regular job? (What was your occupation?)

F19. Have you had a job in the past twelve months?

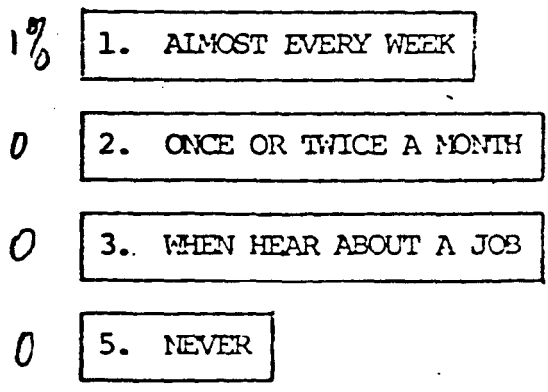


F19a. About how many hours did you work on your last job in the average week?

_____ HOURS A WEEK

F20. Would you say you go out looking for work almost every week, once or twice a month, when you hear about a job, or never?

V.39



TURN TO P. 56, F25

housewife), (a student), or what?

19%

2%

5. RETIRED

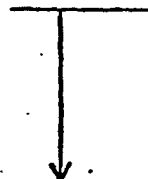
6. PERMANENTLY DISABLED



F21. When did you retire?

F22. Have you ever done any work for pay?

YEAR



1. YES

5. NO



TURN TO P. 56, F25

F23. During the last twelve months did you do any work for pay?

1. YES

5. NO

TURN TO P. 56, F25



F23a. About how many hours a week did you work in the average week when you were working?

_____ HOURS A WEEK

F23b. Are you doing any work for pay at the present time?

1. YES

5. NO

GO BACK TO "WORKING NOW" F14

TURN TO P. 56, F25

17%

2%

(MISSING: 6%)

7. HOUSEWIFE

8. STUDENT



F24. In the last twelve months, did you do any work for pay?

1. YES

5. NO

TURN TO P. 56, F25



F24a. Are you doing any work for pay at the present time?

1. YES

5. NO

GO BACK TO "WORKING NOW" F14

TURN TO P. 56, F25

Table 6

Effects of Politicizing Personal Impact

	Support for National Health Insurance				Increased Social Security Taxes and Benefits			
	v379		v300		v396		v310	
	Form A	Form B	Form A	Form B	Form A	Form B	Form A	Form B
No coverage	.527	.699	-.168	.078	.011	-.069	.125	-.495
Dip into savings	-.512	.491	-1.092	.306	.657*	.539*	.480*	.292
Would have to borrow	.388	1.002	.768	.505	-.307*	-.124	-.019	-.314
Party id (dem)	.331	.133	.111	.226	.290*	.082	.071	-.002
Lib-conserv.	.409	.473*	.711*	.383*	-.052	.062	.235	.268
r^2	.148	.191	.294	.125	.391	.228	.226	.154
n	115	99	113	104	100	93	113	89

Table 6
(continued)

	Support for Government Guaranteeing Jobs and Income				Support for Government Action on Unemployment (as Opposed to Inflation)	
	v387		v305		v293	v274
	Form A	Form B	Form A	Form B	Form A	Form B
Underemployment	-.162	.457	.095	.379	-.178	.196
Personal finances	.172	.205	.178	.006	-.087	.075
Helped by inflation	-	-	-	-	-.013	-.153
Income group more	-	-	-	-	-.071	-.071
Party id	.228	.178	.151	.355*	.194	.006
Lib-conserv.	.280	.297	.461*	.142	-.014	.023
r^2	.175	.157	.314	.152	.135	.103
n	111	96	113	100	92	91

Note: Entries are unstandardized regression coefficients (b's). * = $p < .05$.
A positive entry means greater personal impact or liberal predispositions are associated with support for the policy in question. Form A is politicized, Form B is control.

Table 7

Causes of Unemployment

	Factor loadings		Carter approval				Unemployment/ Inflation Tradeoff	
	Factor 1	Factor 2	Job	Economy	Unemploy- ment	Economy's Performance		
629 Don't want to work	-.45	-.05	-.09	.07	-.07	.00	-.04	-.02
628 Insufficient training	.06	.37	-.08	.07	-.04	.07	.12*	.05
630 Poor educational system	.09	.28	-.01	.14*	.23*	.04	.02	.16*
627 Too few jobs	.54	.25	.02	.23*	.26*	.12*	.14*	.05
Eigenvalue	2.95	1.05						

National Health Insurance

Three versions of the policy attitude item were used. One was the 1976 (v.3273) 7 point scale. A second adding a trailer cuing people to the legitimacy of non-polar responses. The third was a fully labelled seven-point scale asking whether the government should do more or less in this area.

The cuing variation levelled the distribution remarkably -- it increased the number of non-polar responses from 49% to 66%. It somewhat increased the r^2 for a symbolic politics equation, from .148 to .191 (see Table 6). However, it also substantially increased the "haven't thought about this," from 3% to 12%. Again, the solution may be to provide such cuing once per interview rather than in each item.

The "government should do more" format is appealing, but it plainly converts the item into something quite different. No longer is it a specific preference between government and private insurance plans, but between the much vaguer and more comprehensive question of doing more or less in that area of life. They are correlated ($r = .51$), but not the same. Clearly a more activist government is much more popular (66% support) than are government insurance plans (45% or 42% support), but it's apples and oranges.

This "do more" item behaves well. Let us make the radical suggestion of a checklist involving perhaps a dozen such areas of life (e.g., occupational safety, environmental protection, etc.) and ask "more," "now OK," and "less" alternatives for each. Fast, a new kind of data, and a good compliment to tradeoff items.

The 1976 data contained some personal impact measures, of which we earlier (Sears et al, 1979b) used 3: whether or not you are insured, whether you think your coverage is inadequate, and whether (if insured) your insurance is too

expensive. The first two measures were significant predictors of attitudes toward NHI. In the pilot study the third measure was replaced by a follow-up on those who were not insured, which is very similar to the follow-up question for those who were insured: "In case of extended illness affecting you . . . would you have to dip into your savings or would you have to borrow large sums of money?" Only 9% of the sample was not covered by some form of health insurance (compared to 11% in 1976). With a large sample the new follow-on would be valuable, but it would not be with a small sample.

Clearly we need to get a more sensitive index of personal impact, and two dimensions of vulnerability are involved: financial and physical. We suggest replacing the follow-on (v.377) with one reading ". . . cover all the costs, most of the costs, half the costs, or some of the costs." Those in the latter three categories would be further subdivided as follows: "How would you cover the rest, through dipping into your savings, borrowing money, public assistance, or something else?"

Physical vulnerability involves past experience (have they had a major illness in the family recently) and future threat (current physical health). We suggest the following items: "In general, would you say your health is excellent, good, fair, or poor?" and "How about other people in your household. In general, would you say their health is excellent, good, fair, or poor?"

2A; D5. (R.B., P. 10) There is much concern about the rapid rise in medical and hospital costs. Some feel there should be a government insurance plan which would cover all medical and hospital expenses. Others feel that medical expenses should be paid by individuals, and through private insurance like Blue Cross.

WITH REGARD TO HEALTH INSURANCE TO COVER MEDICAL AND HOSPITAL EXPENSES

126% 211% 38% 49% 511% 610% 720%

GOVERNMENT INSURANCE PLAN

PRIVATE INSURANCE PLAN

V.379

D5a. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?



(2%) 8. DON'T KNOW

0. HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH (3%)

2B: E7. (R.B., P. 17) There is much concern about the rapid rise in medical and hospital costs. Some people feel there should be a government insurance plan which would cover all medical and hospital expenses. Suppose these people are at one end of the scale at point number 1. Others feel that medical expenses should be paid by individuals, and through private insurance like Blue Cross. Suppose these people are at the other end, at point number 7. And, of course, some other people have opinions somewhere in between, at points 2,3,4,5, or 6.

WITH REGARD TO HEALTH INSURANCE TO COVER MEDICAL AND HOSPITAL EXPENSES

116% 213% 313% 414% 513% 613% 718%

GOVERNMENT INSURANCE PLAN

PRIVATE INSURANCE PLAN

V.379

E7a. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?



(3%) 8. DON'T KNOW

0. HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH (12%)

1A: E2. (R.B., P. 20) There is much concern about the rapid rise in medical and hospital costs. Some feel the government in Washington should do much more in providing health insurance to cover medical and hospital expenses. Others feel the government should do much less than it does now, with medical expenses to be paid by individuals and through private insurance like Blue Cross. Still others think the government is now doing what is needed.

1B: F6.

WITH REGARD TO HEALTH INSURANCE TO COVER MEDICAL AND HOSPITAL EXPENSES:

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

GOVERNMENT SHOULD DO MUCH MORE

GOVERNMENT SHOULD DO SOMEWHAT MORE

GOVERNMENT SHOULD DO A LITTLE MORE

GOVERNMENT NOW DOING WHAT IS NEEDED

GOVERNMENT SHOULD DO A LITTLE LESS

GOVERNMENT SHOULD DO SOMEWHAT LESS

GOVERNMENT SHOULD DO MUCH LESS

30%

19%

17%

16%

4%

6%

9%

V.300

Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?

(2%)

(6%)

8. DON'T KNOW

0. HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH

2B E5. Are you currently covered by any health insurance such as Blue Cross, Medicare or Medicaid which pays for all or part of your medical costs?
2A: D3

1. YES 91% 9% 5. NO 8. DON'T KNOW

GO TO E6

V.376

E5a. In case of an extended illness affecting you (or your family), would your insurance cover most of the costs, would you have to dip into your savings, or would you have to borrow large sums of money?

1. COVERAGE ADEQUATE 3. DIP INTO SAVINGS 5. BORROW MONEY 8. DON'T KNOW

63% 19% TURN TO P. 38, E7 11% 6%

MISS: (9%)

V.377

E6. In case of an extended illness affecting you (or your family), would you have to dip into your savings or would you have to borrow large sums of money?

1. DIP INTO SAVINGS 5. BORROW MONEY 3. BOTH 8. DON'T KNOW

14% 55% 14% 18%

MISS: (91%)

V.378

Performance

The principal rationale for a series of performance items is to test an accountability model of which a typical example is the one outlined in Figure 1: to what extent are evaluations of the President dependent variously on (1) the respondent's own well-being; (2) the nation's well-being; and (3) evaluations of the President's performance in various domains? Some of the sub-issues raised by such a model are also important (e.g., to what extent the individual evaluates the nation's well-being on the basis of his own well-being). Research on such models has been conducted by Fiorina, Kinder, Tufte, and others, using such terms as "retrospective voting," "sociotropic politics," etc.

A comprehensive set of performance items would involve evaluations of self, nation, and President in as many domains as are thought important. In the pilot study, this lays out as follows:

	<u>Self</u>	<u>Country</u>	<u>Carter</u>
overall	Note a	v561	v568
economy (past)	v558	v564	--
economy (present)	--	--	v571
economy (future)	v559	v566	--
inflation	v576	Note b	v572
unemployment	v30-39	Note b	v573
foreign affairs	--	v562	v569

Note a: No such item was used, but a quality-of-life item could be added (e.g., v771 from the 1972 study).

Note b: The closest to such items is perhaps v620, asking how serious a national problem unemployment is.

These items all yielded good distributions and hence are useful in complex models. There are some unnecessary inconsistencies that could be

tidied up, however: (1) the tense is not always comparable; sometimes present tense (e.g., own unemployment, seriousness of national unemployment problem, evaluations of Carter's job performance), sometimes past (e.g., nation's economy, own financial situation; (2) response scales are not always comparable (especially compare v570 and v572). Our feeling is that the response scales need not be identical though it is helpful to have a clear neutral point (only v572 and v573 do not). We have no solution to the tense problem.

Redundancy. The marginals and inter-correlations suggest important variations across items. Consider the "self" level. Normally, overall satisfaction levels are positive. But in the financial realm, only a minority has employment problems (see above), 42% say they are worse off now than a year ago (v558) and 86% feel they have been hurt, on balance, by inflation (v576).

For the country, overall performance and foreign relations look similar -- slightly negative (v561 and v562). The economy looks much worse (6% better, 73% worse), a situation expected to persist (9% better, 59% worse) (v564,566). The correlations of v561 with 564 and 566 range from .12 to .45 (considering the two subsamples separately), and between v564 and v566, .38 and .41. Inflation and unemployment are perceived quite differently; v272 finds 13% thinking unemployment more serious, and 76%, inflation.

The Carter items also yield substantially different marginals. His performance in foreign relations is mostly applauded (by 50% to 39%), on the economy, booed (by 20% to 69%), and overall, somewhere in between (41% to 48%). He is wisely thought to have done worse on inflation than on unemployment (37% to 16% "poor"). The correlations among them are substantial but hardly perfect, as shown in Table 8. They average in the mid-40's.

Carter accountability. Overall Carter approval seems to be most contingent on evaluations of his foreign policy efforts as shown in Table 8. This is sustained when his evaluations on all four domains (economy, inflation, unemployment, foreign affairs) are placed in a regression analysis along with party identification (which, incidentally, has no significant effect), though approval of his efforts on the economy runs a close second. The r^2 is .501, not surprisingly. This result simply illustrates the potential usefulness of a package of presidential approval items that covers several areas. It does not by itself flag which presidential action was most crucial (e.g., regarding Panama, Israel/Egypt, Iran, OPEC, human rights, China, Africa, Russia, etc.).

Attributions of responsibility could potentially play a mediating role in these evaluations. Only those outcomes he is perceived as responsible for contribute to his disapproval. Some evidence for that is shown in Table 8. Both Carter's job approval and approval of his inflation policies are correlated with blaming inflation on the government, but not with blaming it on the general public. Similar findings emerge with respect to the reasons for unemployment.

Pushing this reasoning one step further, attributions of responsibility to the government ought to induce a tighter link between perceptions of the nation's well-being and evaluations of the president. That is, such attributions should increase the tendency to hold the president accountable for the fate of the country. To test this, we correlated the nation's economic well-being (v564) with Carter approval (v568, 570, 572, 573) controlling (one at a time) on the several different causes of inflation and unemployment (v602, 609, 627-630).

The general finding is that Carter's evaluation is most dependent on the perceived health of the economy when (a) the respondent believes the root causes of inflation and unemployment are government spending and absence of jobs (respectively) and Carter approval focuses on the economy (v570), (as shown in Table 3) and when (b) the respondent ascribes economic difficulties to the private sector (consumers, the unemployed, or business) and generalized job approval is at stake (v568). In other words, public sector attributions seem to control the president's accountability for economic conditions specifically ⁱⁿ terms of the economy, which private sector attributions are irrelevant to. But private sector attributions come home to roost on more generalized job approval. (Incidentally, the Carter-unemployment-approval item, v573, works like the general economy item, v570, but the inflation-approval item, v572, yields little payoff here).

Such analyses illustrate the value of different dimensions of job performance, since they differentially control overall job approval, and accountability works in different ways depending on the dimension. Moreover, job approval is not controlled by the same factors as more general evaluations, either absolute ones (the thermometer ratings) or relative ones (ranking of candidate preferences). General evaluations are much more controlled by party identification, and less contingent on foreign affairs or economic performance, as shown in Table 8. When combined with other new indicators of perceptions of public figures, these items can help move the 1980 study beyond the simple-minded, one-dimensional, evaluation-is-everything approach of prior research on perceptions of political leaders.

The personal impact of economic issues seems to have little effect on Carter approval, as shown in Table 8. Evaluations of the nation's well-being are much more closely related, consistent with Kinder and Kiewiet's "sociotropic"

model. For example, personal finances (v558) correlate .19 with the nation's economy (v561) and .07 with Carter's economic performance (v571) but these latter two correlate .42.

One obvious caveat about any model such as that presented in Figure 1 is that the direction of causality among the performance variable cannot be assessed with precision. Conceivably people with a variety of grievances against the President will rationalize them by disapproving of his performance in one domain or another. Variations found across domains provide one safeguard against this indiscriminate kind of evaluating.

2A: C9
2B: D8.

We are interested in how people are getting along financially these days. Would you say that you (and your family living here) are better off or worse off financially than you were a year ago?

- 1. BETTER NOW
- 3. SAME
- 5. WORSE NOW
- 8. DON'T KNOW

30% 28% 42% 1%

2A: C10
2B: D9.

Now looking ahead—do you think that a year from now you (and your family living here) will be better off financially, or worse off, or just about the same as now?

- 1. BETTER YEAR FROM NOW
- 3. SAME
- 5. WORSE YEAR FROM NOW
- 8. DON'T KNOW

18% 47% 35% 2%

2A: C10a
2B: D9a.

I'd like you to think for a moment about how well you expected to do financially this past year, and compare that to how well you actually did. Being as realistic as possible, would you say that you have done better than expected, not as well as expected, or about the same as expected?

- 1. BETTER
- 2. SAME
- 3. NOT AS WELL
- 8. DON'T KNOW

19% 52% 28% 3%

2A: C 20
2B: D10.

Looking ahead, do you think that (you/your family) would get along better financially in the next four years if the Democrats win the election in 1980, or if the Republicans win the election, or wouldn't it make much difference?

- 1. BETTER WITH DEMOCRATS
- 5. BETTER WITH REPUBLICANS
- 3. NOT MUCH DIFFERENCE

12% 9% 73%

MISS: 8%

2A: C 21
2B: D11.

If Ted Kennedy were to replace Jimmy Carter in the White House, do you think that over the next four years (you/your family would get along better financially, be worse off, or wouldn't there be much difference?

- 1. BETTER WITH KENNEDY
- 5. WORSE WITH KENNEDY
- 3. NOT MUCH DIFFERENCE

15% 17% 61%

MISS: 8%

V. 55a

V. 559

V. 560

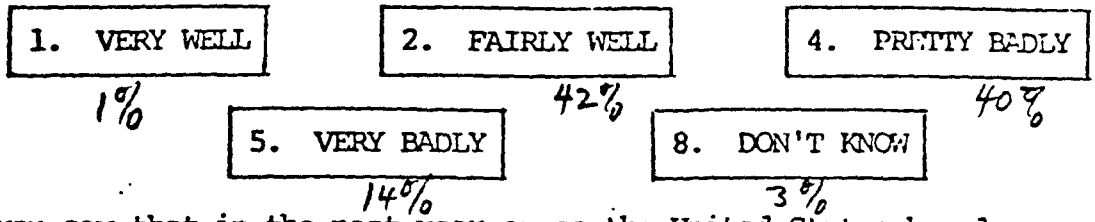
V. 574

V. 575

18: E6
2A: C11.

How do you feel that things are going in the country these days—very well, fairly well, pretty badly, or very badly?

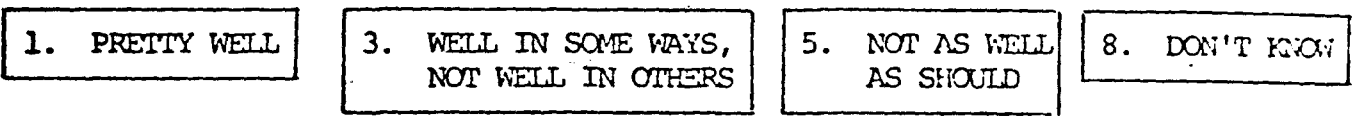
V.561



18: E7
2A: C12.

Would you say that in the past year or so the United States has done pretty well in dealing with foreign countries, or would you say that we haven't been doing as well as we should?

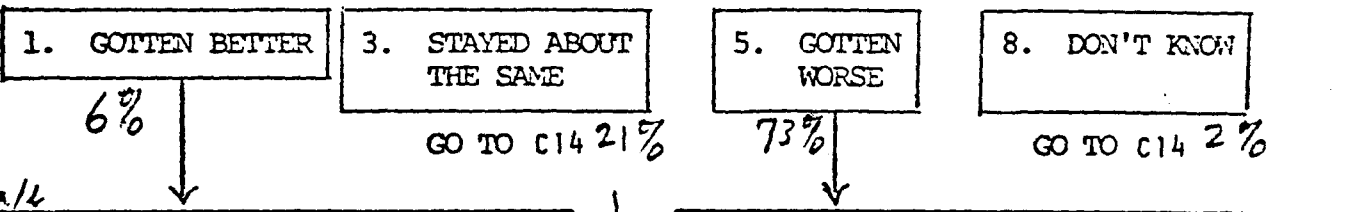
V.562



18: E8
2A: C13.

What about the economy? Would you say that over the apst year the nation's economy has gotten better, stayed about the same, or gotten worse?

V.563



18: ESA/4

C13a. Would you say the economy has gotten much better or or somewhat better?

1. MUCH BETTER 1%	2. SOMEWHAT BETTER 5%
----------------------	--------------------------

C13b. Would you say the economy has gotten much worse or somewhat worse?

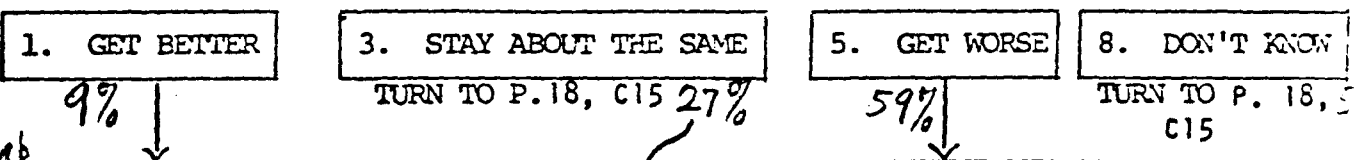
5. MUCH WORSE 30%	4. SOMEWHAT WORSE 43%
----------------------	--------------------------

V.564

18: E9
2A: C14.

What about the next 12 months or so? Do you expect the economy to get better, get worse, or stay about the same?

V.565



18: E9ab

C14a. Do you expect the economy to get much better or somewhat better?

1. MUCH BETTER 1%	2. SOMEWHAT BETTER 8%
----------------------	--------------------------

C14b. Do you expect the economy to get much worse or somewhat worse?

5. MUCH WORSE 19%	4. SOMEWHAT WORSE 40%
----------------------	--------------------------

V.566

MISS: 6%

10: E1. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Carter is handling his job as President? 41% 48% 11%

V.567

1. APPROVE 5. DISAPPROVE 8. DON'T KNOW

GO TO E2

V.568

E1a. Do you approve strongly or not strongly? 1. STRONGLY 11% 2. NOT STRONGLY 35%		E1b. Do you disapprove strongly or not strongly? 5. STRONGLY 30% 4. NOT STRONGLY 24%	
---	--	--	--

10: E2. Do you approve or disapprove of the way President Carter is handling our relations with foreign countries?

1. APPROVE 5. DISAPPROVE 8. DON'T KNOW

V.570

10: E3. And what about the economy? Do you approve or disapprove of the way President Carter is handling the economy? 20% 69% 11%

1. APPROVE 5. DISAPPROVE 8. DON'T KNOW

GO TO E4

V.571

E3a. Do you approve strongly or not strongly? 1. STRONGLY 3% 2. NOT STRONGLY 16%		E3b. Do you disapprove strongly or not strongly? 5. STRONGLY 44% 4. NOT STRONGLY 26%	
--	--	--	--

V.572

10: E4. Thinking about the steps that have been taken to fight inflation, would you say that President Carter has been doing an excellent job, a good job, a fair job, or a poor job? 1% 11% 48% 37% 3%

1. EXCELLENT 2. GOOD 4. FAIR 5. POOR 8. DON'T KNOW

V.573

10: E5. Thinking about the steps that have been taken to fight unemployment, would you say that President Carter has been doing an excellent job, a good job, a fair job, or a poor job? 4% 19% 55% 16% 7%

1. EXCELLENT 2. GOOD 4. FAIR 5. POOR 8. DON'T KNOW

4% 19% 55% 16% 7%

Correlates of Carter Evaluations

	Job Approval					Overall Evaluation	
	Overall	Economy	Inflation	Unemploy- ment	Foreign	Thermo- meter	Ranking
	v568	v571	v572	v573	v569	v117	
Party identification	.57	.17	.18	.12	-	.45	.37
Personal impact							
Inflation (576)	.11	.13	.10	-	-	-	-
Income change (42-43)	.08	.09	.06	-	-	-	-
Personal finances (558)	.37	.28	.24	.25	-	.21	.14
Underemployment (29-40)	.08	-.02	-.11	.08	-	.14	.01
Carter Job Approval							
Overall (568)	-	.49	.43	.32	.57	.60	.55
Economy (571)	.49	-	.51	.44	-	.41	.29
Inflation (572)	.43	.51	-	.52	-	.47	.29
Unemployment (573)	.32	.44	.52	-	-	.32	.25
Foreign (569)	.57	-	-	-	-	.42	.3
Causes of Inflation							
Government spending (604)	-.21	-.10	-.15	-	-	-	-
Government jobs policy (608)	-.32	-.10	-.20	-	-	-	-
People buying (605)	-.15	-.01	-.03	-	-	-	-
People borrowing (602)	-.09	-.07	-.07	-	-	-	-
Causes of Unemployment							
Too few jobs (627)	.02	.23	-	.26	-	-	-
Lazy people (629)	-.09	.07	-	-.04	-	-	-

Note: These correlations are mostly Pearson, with some tau-b's and tau-c's.

The Politicizing of Personal Impact

Much research shows that little connection normally exists between the potential or real personal impact of government policy and voters' policy preferences (e.g., Kinder & Kiewiet, 1979; Sears et al, 1979b). But obviously the connection exists sometimes; citizens do on occasion arrive at policy preferences by calculating what is to their own personal advantage. The general problem is to determine the conditions for such effects.

One possibility is that when the connection between personal and political events is made explicit, voters will weigh personal impact more heavily in arriving at political preferences. Among the many ways of making the connection explicit, one is a suggestive sequence of questioning in an interview, one that politicizes personal matters. For example, in the 1976 pre-election survey, questions about personal financial situations were followed by evaluations of government economic policy, which party could best handle economic problems, and finally party identification. Presumably this sequence makes explicit the potential for basing political judgments on personal problems just enunciated. And indeed there is some evidence that party identification was influenced by personal impact in that instance (Fiorina, in preparation). The question is whether that is an artifact of this particularly suggestive item order.

The pilot study tested this possibility by varying the explicitness of political-personal connections. Form A was constructed to be politicizing by preceding presidential approval and policy preference items by the relevant personal impact items. Form B served as an unpoliticized control by putting all the political items in wave 1, and the personal impact items in wave 2, where they could not influence the political attitudes. If the order artifact is important, personal impact should influence political items in Form A but not Form B.

Retrospective voting. The retrospective voting hypothesis is that presidential approval is partly determined by one's recent personal economic situation (e.g., Kramer, 1971). In the pilot study, the crucial variables are the measure of being better or worse off financially than a year ago (v.558), evaluation of how the country had done economically over the past year (v.564), approval of President Carter's handling of the economy (v.571), and evaluations of Carter (ranked preference for him relative to Ford, Reagan, Kennedy, and Brown). A simple recursive causal model was set up with these variables. To more completely specify the model, we also included Party ID as a predictor. In Form A, the four crucial questions were asked almost one right after the other in wave 2 (C9, C13a, C17a, E5, respectively), an order which could artificially increase the intercorrelations of these items. In Form B, however, the two political performance questions (how the country was doing economically, and approval of Carter's economic policies) were asked in wave 1 (E8a, E3a), while the personal questions and candidate preference were asked in the second wave (D8, E21). If one's financial situation must be explicitly linked to evaluations of Carter via the two crucial intervening attitudinal paths, then they should be less correlated in Form B than in Form A.

Figure 1, and the summary statistics in Table 9, support this artifactual explanation for retrospective voting. The total effect of personal financial situation on evaluations of Carter, (due chiefly to the path through evaluations of how the country is doing economically) is much greater in the politicized order (.109) than in the nonpoliticized order (.008). Likewise the path from personal economic situation to approval of Carter's economic job performance, is much stronger in the politicized form (.141) than in the non-politicized form (-.019). A more sophisticated structural equation model with latent variables corroborates these general findings.

Personal impact. This hypothesis also implies that making the personal impact of policy issues salient ought to give it more weight in the formation of policy preferences. This was tested in the same manner, by immediately preceding policy attitudes with the relevant personal impact items in Form A, while in Form B, the policy attitudes were in wave 1 and the personal impact items in wave 2. The effect of personal impact should be greater in Form A.

To test this, the same "symbolic politics" regression equations were run as alluded to earlier, including five demographic variables, party identification and liberalism-conservatism, and the personal impact measures. Table 6 shows the data. Form A generates higher regression coefficients for personal impact than does Form B in eight of twenty cases. Clearly the pattern does not provide strong support for the politicizing hypothesis in this case.

Why this discrepancy occurs is unclear. The sequence may be too transparent in the latter cases, and people may not want to be so baldly selfish. Approval of Carter is not so blatant as opposing more social security taxes. Or the policy items may themselves not be so strong. Or additional analysis may be required, and considering possible interactions.

The models presented here are quick and dirty, but they serve to make the point well: we must be very concerned about the order of items in the 1980 interview schedule. We are not arguing for a random order of questions, for good questionnaire construction dictates that certain items go together. But there are other logical places where some of these items could go (for instance subjective financial situation or current health of self and family among the demographics). And wherever feasible, these items should be separated as far as possible by time.

Table 9

"Retrospective Voting," Controlling on Order Effects

Politicized Form (A)

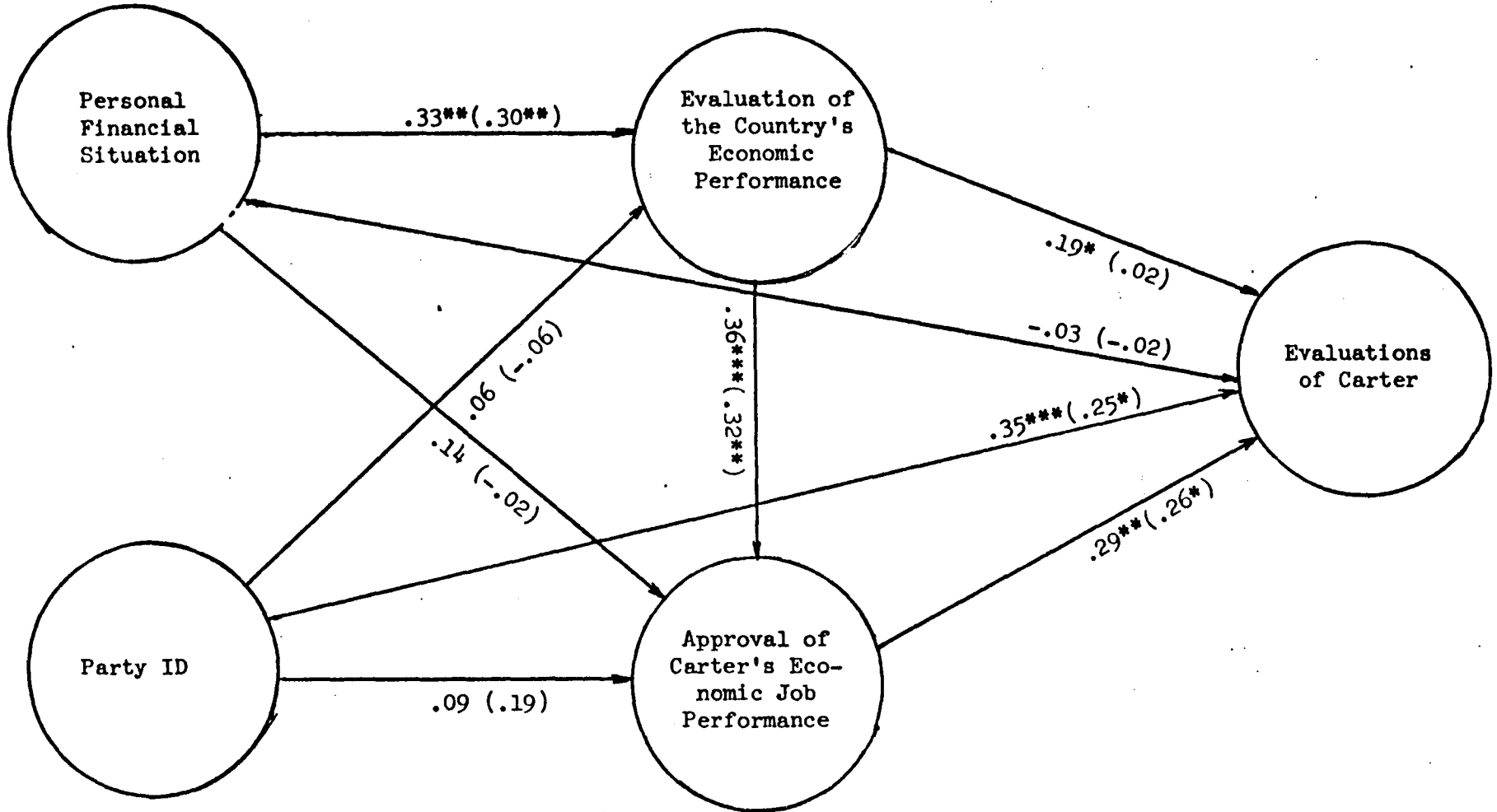
Dependent Variable	Predetermined Variable	Total Effect	Indirect Effect via		Direct Effect
			v564	v571	
How is the Country Doing Economically? (v564)	Personal Economic Situation (v558)	.327	-	-	.327
	Party ID	.057	-	-	.057
Carter's Economic Job Performance (v571)	v558	.259	.118	-	.141
	Party ID	.116	.021	-	.095
	v564	.360	-	-	.360
Evaluations of Carter	v558	.109	.097	.040	-.028
	Party ID	.392	.017	.027	.34
	v564	.297	-	.103	.194
	v571	.285	-	-	.285

Non-politicized Form (B)

v564	v558	.298	-	-	.298
	Party ID	-.059	-	-	-.059
v571	v558	.077	.096	-	-.019
	Party ID	.170	-.020	-	.190
	v564	.323	-	-	.323
Evaluations of Carter	v558	.008	.030	-.005	-.017
	Party ID	.297	-.006	.048	.25
	v564	.102	-	.082	.019
	v571	.255	-	-	.255

FIGURE 1

A Model of Retrospective Voting



Note. Figure entries are the standardized (beta) regression weights from Form A (the politicized version). Entries in parentheses are from Form B (the nonpoliticized version).

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

*** $p < .001$

References

- Fiorina, M. P. Economic retrospective voting in American national election: A micro-analysis. American Journal of Political Science, 1978 , 22, 426-443.
- Kinder, D. R., & Kiewiet, D. R. Economic grievances and political behavior: The role of personal discontents and collective judgments in congressional voting. American Journal of Political Science, 1979, 23,
- Kramer, G. H. Short-term fluctuations in U.S. voting behavior, 1896-1964. American Political Science Review, 1971, 65, 131-143.
- Sears, D. O., Hensler, C. P., & Speer, L. K. Whites' opposition to "busing:" Self-interest or symbolic politics. American Political Science Review, 1979a, 73, 369-384.
- Sears, D. O., Lau, R. R., Tyler, T. R., Allen, H. M., Jr. Self-interest vs. symbolic politics in policy attitudes and 1976 presidential voting. Prepared for delivery at the 1979 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington. 1979b.
- Tufte, E. R. Political control of the economy. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978.

Recommendations for 1980

A. Taxation

Policy Items: Social Security, v396

Constitutional Ammendment, v593/4

Tax service tradeoff, v590

Fairness of tax system, v588

Personal Impact: Pay fair share, v579

Pay more than should, federal and social security taxes,
v581, v582

Pay more now, federal and social security taxes, v585,
v586

(new item) "Are you currently receiving any social security
benefits?"

B. Inflation

Causes: Closed-ended items, v602-v609

Follow closed-ended with "Which of these is the most important
cause?" v600

Can something be done? v610

(new item) IF YES: "Do you think the solution lies chiefly in (a) reducing
government spending, (b) instituting wage and price controls,
(c) changing peoples' lifestyles to a more modest standard of
living, or (d) something else?"

(new item) Who is chiefly responsible for reducing inflation? (a) the
President, (b) Congress, (c) business (d) labor unions, or
(e) the general public?

Policy Item: v271, v272, v369 (asked in sequence)

(new item) How serious a problem do you think inflation is?

Personal impact: Current personal and family income, v42, v44

Personal and family income five years ago, v43, v45

Feeling hurt by inflation, v576, 77-78 (be sure to ask
v577 and v578 to all people who respond to v576)

C. Unemployment

Serious problem v620 (precede v272)

Causes -- external -- too few jobs, v627

training/experience, v628

foreign competition (new)

inflation (new)

internal -- laziness, v629

Solutions -- possibility? v631

Who has most responsibility for solving unemployment: government,
business, unions, or the workers themselves?" (new)

And if government, who has the most responsibility: the
president, Congress, or state and local government agencies? (new)

Policy -- government more/less v305

(guaranteed jobs --- time series) v387

Personal impact -- standard series plus changes shown on p. 30

D. National Health Insurance

Policy items: Government vs. private insurance, v379

v300, and in other areas too (e.g., crime, safety, environment,
etc.)

Personal Impact: Covered? v376

(new item) IF YES: "In case of extended illness, would your insurance cover all the costs, most of the costs, about half the costs, or only a small percentage of the costs?"

(Follow-up on latter 3 categories) "How would you cover the rest -- dipping into your savings, borrowing money, public assistance, or something else?"

(new item) IF NO: How would you pay for an extended illness covering you or your family -- dip into your savings, borrow money, public assistance, or something else?

(new item) Current health: In general, would you say your health is excellent, good, fair, or poor?

How about other people in your household. In general, would you say their health is excellent, good, fair, or poor?

E. Ordering Items -- throughout interview, try to avoid obtaining policy preferences or government performance evaluations immediately after assessing personal impact in that policy area

F. Performance

	<u>Self</u>	<u>Country</u>	<u>Carter</u>
overall	--	--	v568
economy-past	v558	v564	v571 (reword tense)
economy-future	v559	v566	---
inflation	v576*	new item*	v572 (rescale)
unemployment	v30-39	v620	v573 (rescale)
foreign affairs	--	--	v569

* items recommended in earlier context