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1 Introduction

Contemporary political observers often rail against the initiative process in California, blaming it for virtually all of the state's current ills: a failing public education system, crumbling public infrastructure, and a dysfunctional state government. As political commentator David Broder recently warned, "the initiative process, an import now just over one hundred years old, threatens to challenge or even subvert the American system of government in the next few decades."[1]

The many critics of the initiative process ignore much of the state's political history in suggesting that problems with the initiative are of recent vintage. Since its first use in 1912, the initiative process has drawn huge sums of money into the state's political system; it has been utilized as a tool by various interest groups to bypass legislative process; and it has often brought about the development of popular but poorly designed public policies. Allswang (2000) documented the political history of the use of the initiative process in California politics, and his research demonstrates that recent critics echo earlier complaints about the process voiced throughout the twentieth century.[2]

An important case study example of the long history of the controversial use of the initiative process is the colorful "Ham and Eggs" movement in California. Ham and Eggs was a quirky phenomenon that spawned two initiative campaigns: one in November 1938 that was barely defeated and a second in a special election a year later, which was defeated by a much broader margin. The journalist and historian Carey McWilliams noted at the time that "the Ham and Eggs movement is, by all odds, the most fantastic,

incredible, and dangerous" of early political movements originating in Southern California.[3] Winston and Moore describe the moment in even greater hyperbole:

> California, the unpredictable, was in the midst of an upheaval which amounted to almost a verbal civil war. Brother was turned against brother, father against son, wife against husband; it was an emotional crisis and none of them could be rational about it, no matter which side they espoused. Friendships of long standing were damaged beyond repair, in a contest that was more wrath-provoking than any political or religious argument. Everyone took sides and every street corner was a battle front. Its advocates hailed it as a cure for all of the ills which afflict mankind. Its opposers damned it as a subversive plot to ruin everything up to and including the California climate."[4]

It is this colorful and combative political movement -- and in particular the first initiative campaign in 1938 -- that we study in this paper.

Ham and Eggs emerged out of the turmoil and upheaval of the late 1930s. As an historical coincidence, this miniature social movement came of age at a time in which social scientists and policymakers were making major advancements in the gathering of information about public opinion and preferences. New Deal expansion of the federal government led to the development of new federal agencies, many of which were especially devoted to gathering information about economic, social, and political trends. Examples abound. In 1936, for example, the Department of Agriculture began surveying

American farmers about their response to various USDA programs.[5] In 1935 and 1936, efforts were made to conduct a national health care survey, as well as a national survey of consumer expenditures.[6] The first true large-scale national probability study undertaken in the United States was conducted by the Works Projects Administration in 1939, in an effort to develop better estimates of labor force and employment statistics.[7]

Other non-governmental agencies and institutions were also at work trying to refine tools of social science and survey sampling in the same period. Even prior to the onset of the Depression, the editors of Literary Digest conducted polls attempting to predict presidential elections (the magazine correctly predicted the winner in every election from 1920 through 1932).[8] In perhaps the most famous example of the potential inaccuracies of public opinion polling, the 1936 Literary Digest poll incorrectly forecast an Alf Landon victory over Franklin Roosevelt due to a combination of improper sampling, a low response rate, and response bias in the self-completed survey.[9] Despite the widely publicized failure of the 1936 prediction**,** efforts by such figures as George Gallup, Archibald Crossley and Elmo Roper to develop survey techniques and on-going survey research efforts continued unabated; each had established a survey research firm by 1936. Many market research and business research firms were initiated in the 1930s, including the firm known as the Research Institute of America, featured in the following discussion.

The remainder of our study analyzes a survey conducted in Southern California by the Research Institute in 1938. The individual survey responses -- a set of which was discovered in the Huntington Library -- posed questions about a series of pressing issues in 1938, must importantly, the various Ham and Eggs initiatives. The survey also gave

respondents an opportunity to express feelings and opinions on other issues, and most of the respondents took the opportunity to do so. Unfortunately, we have been unable to find many important details regarding this survey, especially how the sampling was conducted and how survey responses were obtained. While we recognize these problems, and discuss them in below, we find that the despite the fact that we know little about the technical details behind the survey methodology it is of important historical interest for scholars interested in California history and the history of public opinion polling. In the next section we discuss the cauldron of California old-age politics in the late 1930s, with a focus on the Ham and Eggs movement. We follow with a discussion of our qualitative study of the open-ended responses provided by participants in this survey. We then turn to a quantitative analysis of the fixed-choice questions. We conclude with a discussion of what the survey results suggest about California politics in 1938, as well as what they imply about the then-developing science of survey research.

2 The Context: A brief history of "Ham and Eggs"

The beginnings of old-age politics in California can be traced to the massive migration of the elderly into Southern California beginning in the early part of the twentieth century. This migration was related to changing demographic conditions within the American population. In the United States as a whole, the ratio of people sixty-five and older to the total population increased 600 percent between 1870 and 1930. As the concept of "retirement" became more socially acceptable (and physically possible to a healthier older cohort), many older Americans relocated to Southern California because of its warm climate. Between 1920 and 1930 the number of people aged 65 and older in Southern California increased 100 percent. At the outbreak of the Great Depression, the

proportion of the elderly to the total population of Southern California was higher than it had ever been anywhere, in the history of mankind.[10]

Most of the elderly lived on fixed incomes derived from savings, investments, and pension funds. Many received assistance from local charities, and over 65 percent received assistance from their children. As the Depression deepened, these reserves were threatened. By 1933 over twelve million Americans were unemployed: savings, investments, and pension funds showed negative returns, or disappeared altogether. Thousands of elderly people became destitute -- many had no families to turn to and were forced to scrounge through trash and beg in order to survive.

The most influential, if not the first, California plan to deal with the problem of the elderly was the conception of Francis Townsend, a Long Beach physician. At the time, Long Beach was considered the "geriatric capital" of the United States -- over a third of its residents were elderly[11]. Townsend (himself sixty-seven at the time) sympathized with the adverse position of the elderly and realized the potential political strength of this population. On September 30, 1933, Townsend sent a letter to the Long Beach Press Telegram outlining his solution to the plight of the old. If followed, he claimed, his plan would also solve the more general problem of the Great Depression. Townsend's proposal sparked what rapidly became known as the Townsend Movement. The plan relied on a simple formula: there were 15 to 20 million people in the United States over the age of sixty. If each of these individuals were granted $150 a month generated by a national sales tax, and each had to spend the money within the month, then between 2 and 3 billion dollars would be pumped into the economy each month. The

increased circulation of money would, the theory insisted, somehow increase the purchasing power of the masses, and thereby end the Depression.

While economists regarded the plan as laughable, the proposition struck a chord with elderly Californians, many of whom had seen their life savings dwindle away and felt as though they deserved restitution. The Townsend Movement provided a political outlet for this disillusionment. Within three years, 2.2 million Americans had joined Townsend Clubs, and Townsend was regarded by millions as a messiah. "There are people in California," a Townsend spokesman declared, "-- literally by the hundreds of thousands … who firmly believe that God planted the seed of a divine thought in the soul of this humble and kindly man"[12]. The movement sparked a national interest in old age pensions that lasted for over a decade, and culminated in the Ham and Eggs movement.

The Townsend movement faded away mainly due to its economic infeasibility. But it nonetheless served to bring a new constituency into the mainstream of American politics -- the elderly. By 1938 there were approximately eighty different old-age welfare schemes competing for political support in California.[13] The most prominent and sensational of these schemes was "Ham and Eggs," an idea concocted by popular radio personality Robert Noble.

In 1931**,** Yale professor Irving Fisher had advocated a different solution to the economic slump: the weekly distribution of stamped scrip with monetary value. Noble liked the idea and began to push for an old-age pension plan based on a scrip system. The plan was to give $25 in warrants each Monday morning to every unemployed Californian over the age of fifty. The far-fetched plan soon turned into a statewide campaign to introduce a constitutional amendment, "California Pension Plan", on the 1938 ballot.

While Noble was probably sincere in his commitment to the cause, the leadership of the movement was eventually wrestled away from Noble by two brothers, radio promoters Lawrence and Willis Allen. They formed the "Retirement Life Payments Association" (RLPA), which presented the California Secretary of State with a petition signed by 789,000 voters (one-fourth of all registered) to put a new act -- renamed the "California Life Payments Act", now advocating $30 every Thursday morning to every unemployed Californian over fifty -- on the ballot.

Critics termed the Act "Ham and Eggs," as a mocking attempt to conjure up a negative image of "Ma and Pa California" eating ham and eggs for breakfast every Thursday morning when their warrants arrived. However, a radio commentator picked up on the phrase and turned it into positive sloganeering: Californians deserve ham and eggs![14]

Perhaps the most effective critic of the plan was economist Fisher himself, who resented the bastardization of his original scrip proposal. He argued that while his plan sought to use only very limited amounts of scrip with which to supplement the existing money supply, the Ham and Eggs plan sought to issue more scrip than there was money. Once issued, the value of the scrip would plummet, and the state, having vowed to accept the scrip as payment for taxes, would quickly go bankrupt.

The Ham and Eggs initiative was ultimately put on the 1938 ballot as Proposition 25. At the same time, a conservative anti-picketing measure, Proposition 1, was also put on the ballot. The 1938 election was one of the first in California history to be centered about two ballot measures and not the personalities or platforms of the candidates. Yet

shortly before election day, a devastating blow was dealt to the Ham and Eggs movement.

A police officer named Earl Kynette was arrested for planting a time-bomb in the car of an investigator who was probing the city administration, and Kynette was sentenced to San Quentin. While in jail, Kynette demanded to be reimbursed by the Allens for a sum of money he had lent them prior to his arrest, money that had been used to help the Allens gain control over Robert Noble's California Pension Plan organization. Kynette also claimed to have an IOU from the brothers. The media picked up the story and ran with it. In the ensuing election, Proposition 25 was defeated by a relatively narrow margin -- 1,143,670 to 1,398,999. Although Ham and Eggs was voted down, it had played a major role in reviving the Democratic Party in California. Democrat Culbert Olson won the governor's race by a narrow margin, while fellow Democrat Sheridan Downey won the senator's race by a landslide; both were Ham and Eggs supporters, although Olson later became a staunch opponent of the measure. The conservative Proposition 1 was defeated narrowly.

Despite electoral defeat, Ham and Eggs refused to die. Some believed the scandal preceding the election was actually staged by the Allen brothers in an attempt to lose the election and keep contributions flowing in. It was alleged that during the week before the election, the Allens spent less money campaigning than ever before. Members of the Retirement Life Payments Association were required to pay dues of a penny a day, and were urged to buy lapel pins, booklets, and copies of the Ham and Eggs proposal.[15] In 1938 more than $332,000 was brought into the RLPA treasury, and by 1939 this figure had climbed to $590,000. An observer claimed that when the Ham and Eggs money

began pouring in, 'Willis [Allen], in frank and outspoken delight, paced up and down the hall, beating his fist against his open palm and chortling "Is she sweet or is she sweet? Wowie!"'[16]

Within a month of its defeat at the ballot box, the initiative had rekindled mass enthusiasm. The Ham and Eggs leadership began a petition-circulating campaign to get Governor-elect Olson to hold a special election on the issue. Now decidedly cool on the topic, Olson was eventually forced to take action and call for a special election when the Allens presented him with over a million petition signatures. Olson announced his decision at a Ham and Eggs rally in Sacramento on May 18, 1939, with a closing remark that left little doubt as to where he stood. "I am in sympathy with the objectives of your plan, but I do not want you to infer that I believe in the feasibility of the plan or that it would accomplish these objectives if adopted."[17]

The governor did not immediately set a date for the election, but the Allen brothers made it known that they wanted an August 15th election – a time at which support would supposedly be at its peak, and before which opponents would be left enough time to mount a successful counterattack. Supporters and opponents began to prepare for an election on this day. On July 1, to the dismay of Ham and Eggers, Olson announced that the election would take place on November 7, giving opponents of Ham and Eggs plenty of time to amass strength. By November, Ham and Eggs opponents had mounted a successful campaign aimed at revealing the economic infeasibility of the plan, and at portraying the leaders of the movement as corrupt racketeers. On election day the proposition did not carry a single county and lost by almost a million votes -- 1,933,557 to 993,204.

Still, Ham and Eggs endured. After losing on November 7, the leadership of Ham and Eggs remobilized to recall Governor Olson from office and to campaign for a new Ham and Eggs initiative, now giving $20 a week in stamped scrip to every Californian over fifty. The refusal of Ham and Eggs to die after two failed election attempts utterly outraged many people.[18]

In the 1940 presidential election, a Ham and Eggs slate was overwhelmingly defeated by a pro-Roosevelt slate headed by Governor Olson, a victory that effectively ended the recall attempt. RLPA revenues declined sharply in 1940, and the number of rallies dwindled. The only hope of the leadership was to keep above water until 1942, when the new Ham and Eggs initiative could be put on the ballot. But in October 1940, the Secretary of State dealt a fatal blow to the movement when he disqualified 14,000 Ham and Eggs petition signatures, thus barring the measure from the 1942 ballot.[19] The Ham and Eggs movement was officially over.

Thus, the Ham and Eggs movement was of critical importance in Depression-era California politics. Not surprisingly, there have been some historical studies of the movement, in particular the book-length studies by Moore and Moore (1939) and Putnam (1976), and in Starr's (1996) analysis of this period of California political life. But despite these previous studies, little is known about the important details of the first Ham and Eggs ballot measure: who supported it, who opposed it, and why it ultimately failed by only a few votes. The recently discovered self-completion survey response we analyze in the rest of this paper provide some important indications about voting behavior in this election that shed light on the fate of Ham and Eggs.

3 The origin of the surveys

In 1935, with the passage of the Social Security Act, a Kansas entrepreneur named Carl Hovgard founded the Tax Research Institute (later renamed the Research Institute of America, or RIA), a New York-based company whose mission was to keep businesses up-to-date about the increasingly frequent changes in state and federal tax laws. This task was accomplished through a series of publications put out by the Institute, with titles such as "Adjusting Your Business to War", "Payroll Tax-Saving Service", and "Social Security Coordinator". The RIA also published a subscription-based bi-weekly (and later weekly), Research Institute Analysis.

The primary function of these publications was to predict the economic effects of contemporary legislative action and/or social upheaval, and to make recommendations for action. In one Institute Analysis, the RIA advised its clients that "the CIO is here to stay and the [United Auto Workers] sitdown strike will succeed."[20] In another issue, the RIA advised its members to keep lines of communication open with labor unions during the war: "Far from weakening the processes of collective bargaining, the war is certain to strengthen them, despite the near-outlawing of strikes ... Don't play a waiting game by assuming that collective bargaining will lose significance after the war."[21] Similarly, the Institute set out to study controversial cases before the Supreme Court and advise its members as far as possible in advance as to the kinds of decisions that would be handed down.

The only clue we have about the organization that conducted the survey is the heading that appears on each postcard: "Research Institute Surveys Public Opinion". While we have no direct evidence that the "Research Institute" referred to on the

postcards is the Research Institute of America, we are fairly certain that the RIA did conduct the survey. Not only was Social Security one of the primary interests of the Research Institute of America, but the organization was initially founded as a mail-order company that both sold its product and conducted its research through the mail. Furthermore, the RIA had a Los Angeles office located on Wilshire Boulevard near downtown, close to the Metropolitan Station post office that the surveys were returned to. The surveys were most likely an attempt by the RIA to gauge public opinion on Ham and Eggs before the 1938 election, in order to help predict the outcome of the election for particular clients or perhaps an edition of Institute Analysis.

From the postcard surveys stored at the Huntington Library, we have a total of 139 respondents. The survey had two components; the first part involved fixed-choice survey questions on a number of different issues, focusing primarily on economic redistribution items from the 1938 campaign; the second part of the survey was an open-ended write-in response in which respondents were invited to simply "speak their minds" on one side of the postcard.

We provide an example of one of the surveys in Figures 1 and 2. Here we reproduce both sides of one of the postcard surveys. Figure 1 portrays the more quantitative aspect of this short survey -- a series of short answer questions on contemporary state and national political issues. It is interesting to note the statements on the questionnaire, indicating confidentiality ("no signature") and that appeal to the potential respondent's courtesy, intelligence, and California identity ("we welcome your comment on these questions as an intelligent Californian … Research Institute appreciates your courtesy in replying to this questionnaire.") Figure 2 gives the reverse

side of the questionnaire -- half taken up by the return address, half taken up by blank lines allowing the respondent to express their opinions on the survey.[22]

Before we turn to our examination of the information in the survey responses, both the open-ended and quantitative responses, we note again that we have found only 139 survey responses in the Huntington Library archives. We have no information on the exact population, although given that the surveys are clearly aimed at California voters and have stamped State Assembly numbers on them, we suspect that the survey was aimed at California or Southern California voters. We do not know the sampling frame, or the methodology used to select respondents, nor do we know the survey response rate. Last, we do not know whether these 139 responses are representative of what must have been a larger survey sample, and given the total absence of information about the sample methodology it is impossible to attempt any statistical approach to studying whether these survey responses deviate from a particular population.[23] Instead, we offer these 139 survey responses for exactly what they are -- an interesting set of portraits of a set of California voters opinions in this volatile period of California history. Also, the survey itself provides an interesting perspective on the status of survey methodology during this early period in the history of public opinion polling.

4 A qualitative look at the survey responses

The qualitative portion of the surveys takes the form of blank space upon which respondents are invited to offer their opinions on any of the questions put to them: “We welcome your comment on these questions as an intelligent Californian.” All survey respondents offered some thoughts, although these range widely, both as to questions responded to and the spectrum of respondent ideas. At least three of the qualitative

responses were typed, and a number of respondents signed their short statements and a few even added their addresses! Almost every respondent took the time to write comments that tended to fill the available space, with a few writing comments that carried over into the return address side of the questionnaire. There is no doubt that these survey respondents took the time and effort necessary to complete this open-ended question. Nonetheless, these responses themselves offer a rough, admittedly very rough, gauge of some of the social and political opinions of a handful of Southern Californians in the late 1930s. And because respondents at least offered some information about their age (usually), we can associate some of the thoughts with age.

In general, as we have noted, the queries broke into three categories (four, if we count the final "will you vote?" question). The "what shall we do about Czechoslovakia?" query is the outlier -- either it was an interest of the Research Institute (or its clients) or the question might perhaps have been utilized merely as an opening to draw respondents into the survey itself. From international affairs, the questions quickly moved to American social security questions. Was the federal Social Security plan a good idea? How about California's own cash-benefit pension plan, the California State Old Age Pension program? From these queries, the survey moved into its most interesting terrain. Was the Ham and Eggs proposition of $30 in "warrants" paid every Thursday to eligible senior citizens worth enacting? Would the respondent accept "these so-called warrants" as either substitute for wages or "as change for good money?"

Again, the written responses varied as widely as the simple matrix choices on the other side of the survey form. Of those who believed that Social Security plans, either at the state or federal levels, were reasonable and appropriate, many suggested that the

transfer payments themselves were too little to live on. “Do Not Be Tight,” suggested one respondent. Some of the responses are terse: a dismissive phrase or even a single word. For instance, in response to one of the Ham and Eggs questions, one respondent summed up his or her reaction with a single word: “Ponzi.” Others offered longer versions of similar opinions. One survey taker wrote that “the setting up of the present Check [sic] Republic was a stupid political blunder. That goes for the 30-Thursday plan also.” Another survey taker suggested that they had undergone a change of Ham and Eggs heart. “I was made to believe the $30 a week pension was a good thing. But I see in to it now -- the Best thing to do I think is to drop the $30 a week pension in the ocean.”

It is interesting to see what fears those opposed to Ham and Eggs offered as justification for their opposition. Some pointed to the sheer economic murkiness of the program, wondering whether it would bankrupt the state. “I agree with the professor of economics at Stanford who characterized the $30 plan’s believers as ‘Economically illiterate’,” offered one respondent. Others declared that it doubtless would invite California bankruptcy, and the state’s financial downfall would accompany their own. “I am selling my property for fear the $30.00 every Thursday Plan will carry.” More interesting are those who voiced an already time-worn fear: that California would be soon inundated by those deemed less desirable. Respondents feared that the passage of Ham and Eggs would bring untold thousands of transients and unemployed to the Far West. California would become “the dumping ground … even more than at present … of the derelicts of the entire nation. California has its own people … I myself am a 4th generation Californian.”[24] This point of view, common in the state during the Depression, was voiced by others in the survey as well. One respondent, who believed that the elderly

included more shiftless people than found in younger cohorts (because "workers" died younger), made his or her views succinctly. "Let us close California as the dumping ground and Eden of the indigent over 50 of other states."

Others, like our "Ponzi" respondent above, questioned the plan's moral and legal foundations. "I consider 30 warrants every Thursday simply a racket and I believe the originators of the scheme do too," wrote one. Another added that the entire world was run by "Paid Racketeers." Why would the 30 warrant plan be any different? Some believed the plan merely "fantastic." An eighty-four year old thought Ham and Eggs "the most absurd proposal since the Townsend Act failed."

Others felt that the plan offered no structural reform and did not go far enough. "Why so shallow?" wondered one respondent. "Let the State compel [sic] equal justice and the warrants will be gratefully received in trade." This same survey taker offered up his or her own political bearings: "I believe in Bellamy." One of the more interesting responses along these lines, worth quoting at some length here, offers us real insight into certain perceptions of organized commercial and political power in 1930s Los Angeles. This fifty to seventy year old Ham and Eggs supporter opined that the program was indeed "Revolutionary. So was Christianity. So also was U.S. Constitution. So was Ether-Serum, Steam, Electricity, Etc .... Until the Bankers, M + M [the powerful Merchants and Manufacturers Association of Los Angeles], and C of C [Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce] produce arguments understood by the millions in California in the lower brackets, I will continue to subscribe to the millions or more of the signers of +4 [Ham and Eggs], in the hope that their radical-revolutionary dream may cause the opponents, Bankers, C of C, & M + M to recognize all human beings the right to work and labor

anywhere anyplace their talents or skill measures up to the standards of industry. Quo Vadis?"

Another survey taker thought the plan unable to deal with structural problems of a different sort; this person suggested that "a much better plan would be the removing from employment of married women whose husbands could keep them at home. This is really a national scandal.... But the women have votes [and] our legislators are afraid to tackle the problem."

The Ham and Eggs plan did, as the numbers of "yes" marks bear out, have supporters. "What this country needs is to give the people 50 yrs and over a break," wrote one. Some thought that Ham and Eggs would lessen crime and "degeneracy." Others pointed out that the rich and powerful, or at least the regularly employed, already had safety nets in place. "All Bankers have Ham [and] Eggs," wrote one angry respondent. "All State, County [and] Federal Employees Have Ham [and] Eggs. All Chamber of Commerce members have Ham [and] Eggs. All Railroad Employees Have Ham [and] Eggs. 20,000,000 registered voters are for Ham [and] Eggs. Think this over." [Bill---should we add a note here saying that the total population of CA at this time is under 7 million?] This fifty to seventy year-old added as a postscript: "Try [to] feed 6 person[s] on $53.00 per month [and] see if you ever see Ham [and] Eggs." But even some of these wondered where the money would come from for these warrants of grocery store scrip. Some offered ideas: "Why not Legalize Bookmaking?" asked one respondent, offering the helpful definition of Bookmaking as "place to Bet on Races." Another, like-minded respondent asked, "Why don't they charge a 5% tax on Cal. horse racing, that would pay cash for a pension within reason [?]"

Curiously enough, only one respondent seems to have felt compelled to comment on the possible linkages between the Czechoslovakia question and social security in the United States. “The unemployment condition must be changed before it is too late … Dictatorship.”

5 Quantitative Analysis

In the pages that follow, we discuss the results from the fixed-choice responses in the 139-observation database. We begin by discussing attributes of the respondents to this unique survey of Southern California voters. Then we turn to a simple analysis of the opinions offered on the fixed-choice questions. Last, we perform some univariate and multivariate analyses of the responses to the redistribution items in this survey in order to obtain some additional leverage concerning some of the questions we believe might be answered using this survey sample.

5.1 Basic information about the survey and the sample

In Tables 1 and 2 we provide some simple information about the survey respondents: the age they gave on one of the survey items which asked them to indicate whether they were in their twenties, thirties, forties, or fifties and above; the Assembly District (this was stamped on the postcards); the post office which postmarked the card; and the date which the card was postmarked.

Table 1 provides information about the first two attributes of our respondents -- their age and the Assembly District stamped on the postcard. Of the 139 respondents, only two did not provide an age on their cards. Of the remainder, the age distribution is weighted towards the elderly, with almost 39 percent of the sample being respondents who are fifty or older, 26 percent being in their forties, 24 percent in their thirties and

only 10 percent being in their twenties. This table also indicates which Assembly District was stamped on the postcard (which we are assuming is the Assembly District in which the survey respondent resided). Here we have a roughly even distribution of respondents across seven Assembly Districts, with a low of 9 percent in Assembly District 62, while almost even numbers fall into the other six Assembly Districts.

In Table 2 we give the information from the postal stamp on each postcard (note that two of the postcards did not have postal stamps on them). An overwhelming majority of the returned postcards were stamped in the Arcade post office in Los Angeles (73 percent). Of the remainder, 9 percent were from Santa Monica, 4 percent from Los Angeles, Venice or Beverly Hills, and a scattering of postal stamps from Culver City, Huntington Park, Olive View, and West Los Angeles.

Table 2 also gives the date of the postal stamp, which we are taking as an indication of when the respondent answered and returned the survey. Here we see that all of the surveys were postmarked in October 1938, during the end of the general election campaign. Roughly 80 percent of the surveys were postmarked in the first week of October, with 8% percent being postmarked October 1 or 3; 43 percent postmarked October 4 or 5, 13 percent on October 6, and 14 percent postmarked over the next two days. The distribution of postmarks is highly skewed towards the beginning of October.

From this basic information we infer that this survey was most likely targeted at the population of Los Angeles voters, based on the Assembly Districts and postmark information. Furthermore, the surveying was done approximately a month before the election, indicating that the poll takers were probably interested in trying to determine

how voters in this geographic area would respond to the Ham and Eggs measure on that fall's ballot, as well as their opinions on some other important issues.

6 Analysis of opinions from the survey

In Table 3 we present the patterns of responses to the seven different political questions asked in this survey. Of the seven questions, one focused on an important international relations problem at the time, whether Czechoslovakia should be split; one asked about vote intentions in the upcoming fall election; the remaining five asked about economic redistribution (one focused on opinions about the national Social Security program, the rest on California economic redistribution plans).

We see in Table 3 that Southern Californians surveyed in the fall of 1938 were closely divided about the question of Czechoslovakia. In this sample, 49 percent were in favor of the division of Czechoslovakia while 45 percent opposed this division. 8 percent of the sample did not answer this particular question. On the vote intention question (last row of Table 3) we see that of the people who answered this question, 99 percent of them stated that they expected to vote. Obviously such a high rate of participation seems amazing; perhaps the survey respondents received these postcards in some way that selected people likely to vote. Or perhaps the Research Institute, in an attempt to solely predict the outcome of the election, simply discarded surveys that indicated the respondent was not planning to vote.

The remaining survey items in Table 3 focus on either national or state economic redistribution. In this sample we see a high level of support amongst respondents for the United States Social Security system; 78 percent of the stated that they favored this program and 15 percent were opposed. Next, there were two survey questions asking

about different California redistribution plans -- the Old Age Pension and Life Payments plans. We see a very mixed reaction amongst respondents to these two different plans. The Old Age Pension plan receives the support of a solid majority of our survey respondents, with 60 percent favoring this plan and 32 percent opposing it. We see virtually the opposite pattern for the Life Payments plan, since 63 percent opposed this program and 34 percent supported it. The next two questions asked respondents to state whether they would be willing to take "warrants" under the Life Payments program instead of wages or cash. We see that majorities were opposed to both of these mechanisms of redistribution – 63 percent opposed both warrant systems.

6.1 A deeper cut into the survey responses

The next step was to look more thoroughly into the survey data we obtained from these postcards. We first examined variation in the answers to the fixed-choice questions (we exclude the expected vote from further analysis since there is no variation in that question) first by Assembly District and then by age. The results by Assembly District are presented in Table 4 and by age of respondent in Table 5.

In Table 4 we see that there is a good deal of variation in opinions across Assembly Districts. Beginning with the Czechoslovakia question, we see that the division of Czechoslovakia was opposed by a majority in AD 57, but supported by majorities in AD 58, 59 and 63. To make matters more complicated, this international relations question saw mixed support in the remaining districts (AD 60, 61 and 62).

On the economic redistribution questions we also see interesting patterns across Assembly Districts. First, we see that the United States Social Security system was strongly supported in all assembly districts. But second, there is quite mixed reaction to

the California Old Age Pension system: it was supported in AD 57, 59, 60, 61 and 63, but opposed in AD 62. Support for this redistribution plan was mixed in AD 58. The Life Warrants plan was supported in AD 59 and 61, but opposed in all of the other Assembly Districts. When it comes to the two different mechanisms of implementing the warrants program, Assembly Districts 57, 58, 59, 60 and 63 strongly oppose both mechanisms; we see, however, that AD 61 supports these warrant mechanisms while AD 62 is divided.

When we examine the patterns of responses to these same survey questions by age group, different patterns emerge (Table 5). Beginning with the division of Czechoslovakia, we find that only those in their thirties oppose this move. Next, we see that there is little difference between age groups on the United States Social Security system -- all age groups strongly support this system. However, when it comes to the California economic redistribution systems, those in their twenties opposed the Old Age Pension plan, while the other age groups supported it. Those in their twenties also opposed the Life Warrants plan, but this time they are joined in opposition by all of the other age groups. We see similar levels of opposition across age groups when we break down the opinions on the two warrant mechanisms by age.

But are the responses given by individuals across the different economic redistribution programs related? There are two different approaches to this question given in Tables 6 and 7. In Table 6 we present the simple inter-item correlations between each of these survey items (where the * denotes a correlation which is significantly different from zero at the p=.05 level); in Table 7 we present the results of a simple maximum-likelihood factor analysis of the opinions of these survey respondents to further assess how these different opinions might be correlated for individuals.

Table 6 provides the item-by-item correlations for the economic redistribution questions. We see that there is a significant and positive correlation between a respondent's opinion about the U.S. Social Security system and the California Old Age Pension system, meaning that supporting one of these programs implies supporting the other for most respondents. But the opposite correlation is observed between the U.S. Social Security opinion and the opinions on the Life Payments and Warrants -- each of these are negative and statistically different from zero. We see similar (but much stronger) negative correlations between a respondent's opinion on the California Old Age Pension system and the Life Payments plan and the two Warrant programs. However, there are very strong and positive correlations between a respondent's opinion on the Old Age Pension plan and the two Warrant programs.

These results tend to indicate that opinions about economic redistribution in the fall of 1938 amongst these Southern California respondents were of two types. The first was their opinions about Social Security and Old Age Pensions -- opinions on these were positively correlated. The other were their opinions on the Life Payments program and the specific warrant mechanisms -- opinions on these were positively correlated, but negatively correlated with opinions about either the national or state programs for elderly persons.

However, it remains to be seen whether these clusterings of opinions by respondents are evocative of there being two distinct attitudes about economic redistribution (one about redistribution for the elderly the other about redistribution for the non-elderly) or whether there really is one underlying attitude about economic redistribution and that tends to structure beliefs about specific policies. To probe into

these two explanations, we present in Table 7 the results of a maximum-likelihood factor analysis of the responses to these five different survey questions.

The results in Table 7 strongly support the idea that Southern Californian respondents in this period had a general set of beliefs about economic redistribution which structured their opinions about specific programs. This factor analysis revealed that one underlying dimension strongly structured these responses, since the first factor accounted for 96 percent of the variation in responses to these five questions. The three non-elderly programs load positively and strongly on this dimension, while the two elderly programs load negatively, with the U.S. Social Security opinions loading much more weakly than the rest. This tends to indicate that what we might have uncovered by the factor analysis in Table 7 is an underlying structure of opinion which is strongly centered around the state-wide redistribution programs and that the national redistribution programs are generated by another set of beliefs.

6.2 Multivariate analysis of opinions on the state-wide redistribution plans

Last, we provide a multivariate analysis of the opinions offered on the four California redistribution plans. We take as our explanatory variables the respondent's opinion about the U.S. Social Security program, their age, and their Assembly District. Specifically, we estimate a binary probit model (since the opinions about the state-wide redistribution programs are dichotomous), in which we have as right-hand explanatory variables: a dummy variable for support of U.S. Social Security; dummy variables for whether the respondent was in their twenties, thirties, or forties (which leaves those in their fifties and older as the baseline comparison group); and dummy variables for being in two Assembly Districts (60 and 62) since in our analysis these were the only two

Assembly Districts which showed significant heterogeneity after controlling for Social Security opinions and age. We present the probit estimates in Table 8 and the estimated effects of each explanatory variable in Table 9.

Beginning with the probit estimates in Table 8, note that we see that Social Security opinions have a strong effect in each of these models. Consistent with our earlier analyses, we see that there is a strong and positive effect of Social Security opinion on the respondent's Old Age Pension opinion, but here we are controlling for the effects of age and location. The effect of Social Security opinions is strong, but negative, for the Life Payments and Warrants opinions. The only consistent age effects which we see indicate that those in their forties are significantly less likely than those in their fifties and beyond to support the Life Payments and Warrants programs. Last, we do see heterogeneity by Assembly District.

When we turn to the probability effects given in Table 9 we see that both the Social Security and age effects are quite strong. The entries in Table 9 reflect a transformation of the probit estimates in Table 8 into estimated probability effects, controlling for the other variables. This can be thought of directly as estimated changes in the probability of supporting a particular program, as we change the individual from low to high on the particular independent variable. Thus, someone who supports Social Security is 58 percent more likely to support the Old Age Pension plan than someone who opposes Social Security, ceteris paribus. Those who support Social Security are 37, 41 and 40 percent less likely to support the Life Payments, Warrants-for-wages and Warrants-for-cash, respectively, than someone who opposed Social Security. Last, we see

that those in their forties are consistently 24 percent less likely to support the Life Payments and Warrants programs than those in their fifties or beyond.

7 Conclusions

Like most manifestations of direct legislation, the Ham and Eggs movement emerged as a response to a real crisis and mirrored the times in which it was created -- in this case, the adverse condition of elderly Californians and the rise of the welfare state. Despite our lack of knowledge about the origin of the surveys and how the respondents were selected, our analysis of the data yields some interesting conclusions about Depression-era politics in California. Our most significant empirical finding is the strong support the United States Social Security system garnered in all assembly districts coupled with the strong negative correlation between those who supported the California Old Age Pension system and those who supported the Life Payments Act (Ham and Eggs). This seems to suggest that the issue of old-age pensions was one-dimensional. It was not so much a matter of whether something should be done about the question of the elderly – with the exception of the respondent who claimed that "workers" died younger, the majority of respondents felt that the problem of the elderly was real and dire. The relevant issue at hand was how to achieve change – in this case, whether the use of warrants in place of cash was economically feasible. The narrow margin by which the Life Payments Act lost suggests that many Californians were led to believe firmly in its feasibility.

In this sense, the story of the Ham and Eggs movement can be seen as an important and damning case study of the California initiative process, a process much criticized for bringing about the development of popular but badly designed public policies. It has been repeatedly argued that most initiative measures are, "like Proposition 13, reflections

of immediate crises, with little concern for long-term effects."[25] In this case, not only was the proposition economically infeasible, but its sponsors were racketeers who manipulated the initiative process to profit off the savings of the poor and the elderly.

Perhaps more importantly, the Ham and Eggs movement is an early example of the Californian trend, beginning after the advent of the initiative in 1911, of replacing representative legislation with direct legislation. As noted earlier, the 1938 election was one of the first in California history to be centered not on the parties or personalities of the candidates running, but around two propositions. The early twentieth century Progressives who worked to bring about the initiative process in California saw direct legislation as a way to lessen the partisanship of public offices, to move the authority to legislate away from what they deemed to be corrupt and unresponsive "professional politicians", towards the electorate itself. The result has been a strong trend towards issue-specificity in Californian politics over much of the last century, and away from the more permanent legislative institutions generated by party politics. As Allswang notes, "The public is being ruled by an uncertain process indeed." [26] That Ham and Eggs came within a five percent margin of becoming a constitutional amendment is evidence of this uncertainty.

Last, the Ham and Eggs movement occurred at the same time that social science research was rapidly adopting new technologies for studying political, economic, and social change. Most importantly, during the late 1930s the field of survey research was quickly evolving. The discovery of the self-completion surveys that we discuss and analyze in this paper provides an important opportunity to document the development of survey research in America, as well as a chance to study opinions of these Southern

Californians about the important social, political, and economic topics in the 1938 election.

Of course, there are many caveats associated with our analysis of these data because of the paucity of information we have about the survey methodology. While we do note these caveats, we also have obtained some interesting results from these survey responses. For example, in our factor analysis (Table 7) found that the Southern Californians interviewed in 1938 do appear to have produced their survey responses to questions about the various economic plans constructed from some underlying value or predisposition regarding economic redistribution. We also found in our multivariate analysis (Tables 8 and 9) evidence for strong age effects, as older voters were much more likely to support especially the life warrants, warrants for wages and cash. As best as we are aware, we have here analyzed the only survey data on California politics of this period. Thus our analysis, while necessarily limited, should help to shed additional light on this important period of California politics.

Notes

1 David S. Broder, Democracy Derailed: Initiative Campaigns and the Power of Money (New York, 2000), 1. Another important, and widely cited critic of the initiative process is Peter Schrag, Paradise Lost: California's Experience, America's Future (New York, 1998). For a counterargument from academic political science, see Elisabeth R. Gerber, The Populist Paradox: Interest Group Influence and the Promise of Direct Legislation (Princeton, 1999).

2 John M. Allswang, The Initiative and Referendum in California, 1898 - 1998 (Palo Alto, 2000). Also see John M. Allswang, California Initiatives and Referendums, 1912 - 1990: A Survey and Guide to Research, Los Angeles, CA: Edmund G. "Pat" Brown Institute of Public Affairs, 1991.

3 Carey McWilliams, Southern California Country: An Island on the Land, (Freeport, New York, 1970), 304.

4 Winston and Marian Moore, Out of the Frying Pan, (Los Angeles, 1939), II.

5 Hans Skott, "Attitude Research in the Department of Agriculture," Public Opinion Quarterly, 7 (1943), 280 - 292; Seymour Sudman and Norman M. Bradburn, "The Organizational Growth of Public Opinion Research in the United States," Public Opinion Quarterly, 51 (1987), S6 - S78.

6 Sudman and Bradburn, "Organizational Growth of Public Opinion Research in the United States," S71 - S72.

7 L. R. Frankel and J. S. Stock, "On the Sample Survey of Unemployment," Journal of

the American Statistical Association, 37 (1942), 7 - 80; M. R. Frankely and L. R. Frankel, "Fifty Years of Survey Sampling in the United States," Public Opinion Quarterly, 51, (1987), S12 - S138.

8 Claude E. Robinson, Straw Votes: A Study of Political Prediction, (New York, 1932); Peverill Squire, "Why the 1936 Literary Digest Poll Failed," Public Opinion Quarterly, 52 (1988), 125 - 133.

9 Squire, "Why the 1936 Literary Digest Poll Failed," 131 - 132.

10 Kevin Starr, Endangered Dreams: The Great Depression in California, (New York, 1996), 133 - 34.

11 Starr, Endangered Dreams, 133.

12 Jackson K. Putnam, Old Age Politics in California: From Richardson to Reagan, (Stanford, CA, 1970), 55.

13 Putnam, Old Age Politics in California, 89.

14 Starr, Endangered Dreams, 206.

15 Putnam, Old Age Politics in California, 96.

16 Moore and Moore, Out of the Frying Pan, 67.

17 Putnam, Old Age Politics in California, 106.

18 As a formerly anti-Olson newspaper denounced the recall campaign, "The entire proposition STINKS. It STINKS just as badly, if not worse, than the CARRION leadership of the Ham and Eggs movement. STINK is not a pleasant word. It means "giving forth a foul aroma." Used as an adjective, carrion means "aroma from dead flesh." California would be well off if it could get to work on a sound old-age program, improving what we have already created, and should bury this foul dead flesh which has been exposed for two long years to the air of an otherwise enlightened state." See Putnam, Old Age Politics in California, 112.

19 Putnam, Old Age Politics in California, 114.

20 Irving Stone, Evolution of an Idea, (New York, 1945), 37 - 38.

21 Research Institute of America, "Your Business after the War," Institute Analysis, Institute Analysis, 31, ()ct., 1943), 55.

22 It is interesting to note at this point that many of these features of this 1938 self-completion survey indicate that much might have been known about how to maximize response rates in a self-completion mail-return survey: the provision of a postage paid return process, the statement on confidentiality, the appeals to the respondent's intelligence and courtesy. Many of these same elements are now considered important elements of self-completion survey design today; for example, see Chapter 4, "Survey Implementation" in Don Dillman's Mail and Internet Surveys: The Tailored Design Method, second edition (New York, 2000).

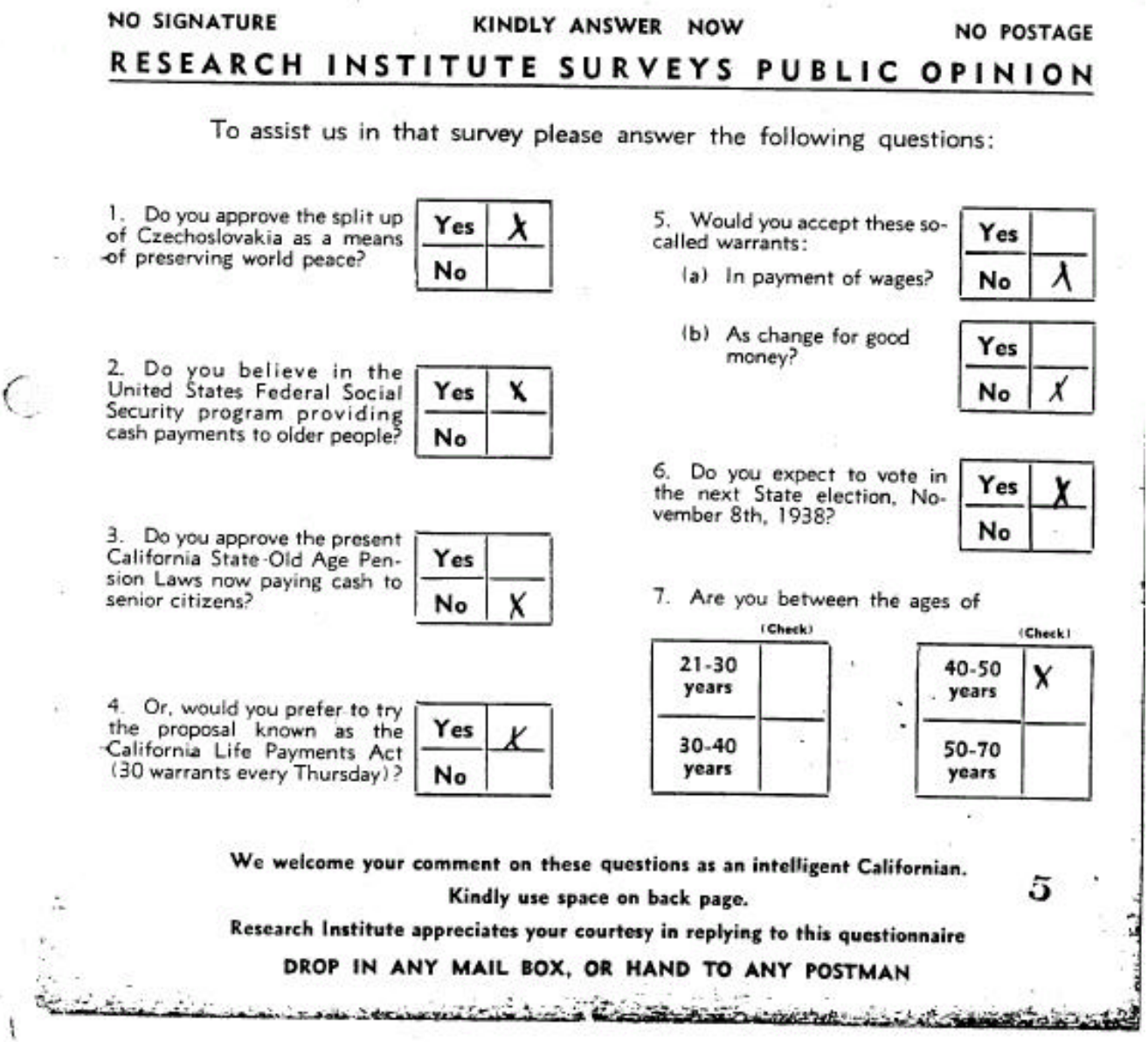
23 There is a large literature in statistics and survey methodology on sampling and the problems associated with nonrandom samples or samples with nonresponse. Both issues are discussed in Robert M. Groves, Survey Errors and Survey Costs, (New York, 1989), and the latter has an in-depth treatment in Robert M. Groves and Mick P. Couper, Nonresponse in Household Interview Surveys, (New York, 1998).

24 This respondent stated that he/she was between thirty and forty years old. Assuming youth was on his/her side (as well as that of his ancestors), we might offer that he/she had been born in 1908, his parents in 1888, their parents in 1868, and theirs in 1848. Twenty-year generations such as these seem unlikely (though certainly possible). One wonders if this respondent might have had native California ancestry, which would of course make the "fear of influx" response all the more fascinating.

25 Allswang, Initiative and Referendum in California, 249.

26 Allswang, Initiative and Referendum in California, 248.

Figure 1



NO SIGNATURE KINDLY ANSWER NOW NO POSTAGE

RESEARCH INSTITUTE SURVEYS PUBLIC OPINION

To assist us in that survey please answer the following questions:

1. Do you approve the split up of Czechoslovakia as a means of preserving world peace?

Yes	X
No	

2. Do you believe in the United States Federal Social Security program providing cash payments to older people?

Yes	X
No	

3. Do you approve the present California State-Old Age Pension Laws now paying cash to senior citizens?

Yes	
No	X

4. Or, would you prefer to try the proposal known as the California Life Payments Act (30 warrants every Thursday)?

Yes	X
No	

5. Would you accept these so-called warrants:

(a) In payment of wages?

Yes	
No	X

(b) As change for good money?

Yes	
No	X

6. Do you expect to vote in the next State election, November 8th, 1938?

Yes	X
No	

7. Are you between the ages of

	(Check)
21-30 years	
30-40 years	

	(Check)
40-50 years	X
50-70 years	

We welcome your comment on these questions as an intelligent Californian.

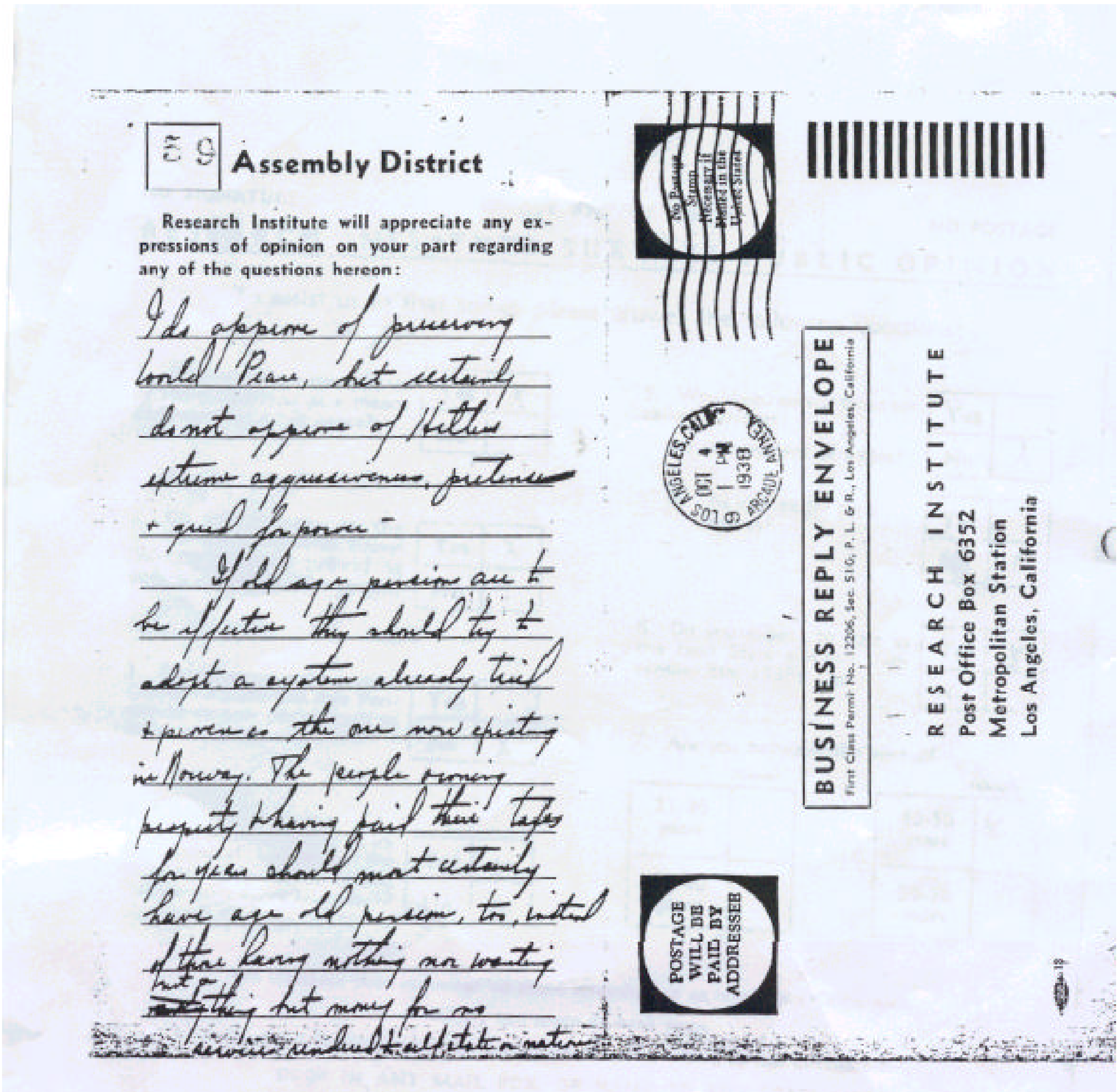
Kindly use space on back page.

Research Institute appreciates your courtesy in replying to this questionnaire

DROP IN ANY MAIL BOX, OR HAND TO ANY POSTMAN

5

Figure 2



59 **Assembly District**

Research Institute will appreciate any expressions of opinion on your part regarding any of the questions hereon:

I do approve of preserving World Peace, but certainly do not approve of Hitler's extreme aggressiveness, pretense + greed for power –

If old age pension are to be effective they should try to adopt a system already tried + proven as the one now existing in Norway. The people owning property + having paid their taxes for years should most certainly have age old pension, too, instead of those having nothing nor wanting anything but money for no service rendered to all state or nation

No Postage Stamp Necessary if Mailed in the United States

LOS ANGELES, CALIF. OCT 4 1 PM 1938 ARCADE ANNEX

BUSINESS REPLY ENVELOPE
First Class Permit No. 12206, Sec. 510, P. L. & R., Los Angeles, California

POSTAGE WILL BE PAID BY ADDRESSEE

RESEARCH INSTITUTE
Post Office Box 6352
Metropolitan Station
Los Angeles, California

Table 1: Information about the sample

		N	%
Age	20-29	14	10.1
	30-39	33	23.7
	40-49	36	25.9
	50 and up	54	38.9
	DK	2	1.4
Assembly District	57	21	15.1
	58	19	13.7
	59	21	15.1
	60	21	15.1
	61	24	17.3
	62	13	9.4
	63	20	14.4

Table 2: Sample Characteristics

Post Office	N	%	Date	N	%	Date	N	%
Arcade	101	72.7	Oct 1	6	4.3	Oct 11	3	2.2
Beverly Hills	5	3.6	Oct 3	6	4.3	Oct 12	2	1.4
Culver City	2	1.4	Oct 4	30	21.6	Oct 13	3	2.2
Huntington Park	1	0.7	Oct 5	31	22.3	Oct 14	1	0.7
Los Angeles	6	4.3	Oct 6	18	13.0	Oct 15	1	0.7
Olive View	1	0.7	Oct 7	10	7.2	Oct 18	1	0.7
Santa Monica	12	8.6	Oct 8	10	7.2	Oct 19	1	0.7
Venice	6	4.3	Oct 9	5	3.6	Oct 21	1	0.7
West LA	3	2.2	Oct 10	8	5.8	None	2	1.4
None	2	1.4						

Table 3: Survey responses for each item

	Yes		No		DK	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Czechoslovakia split	68	48.9	60	45.2	11	7.9
US Social Security	109	78.4	21	15.1	9	6.5
CA Old Age Pension	83	59.7	45	32.4	11	7.9
CA Life Payments	47	33.8	87	62.6	5	3.6
Warranties for wages	45	32.4	87	62.6	7	5.0
Warranties for cash	43	30.9	86	61.9	10	7.2
Expect to vote	137	98.6	0	0.0	2	1.4

Table 4: Responses by assembly district

	57	58	59	60	61	62	63
Czechoslovakia split							
% Yes	38.1	47.4	66.7	42.9	45.8	46.2	55.0
% No	57.1	42.1	28.6	42.9	45.8	46.2	40.0
US Social Security	81.0	79.0	81.0	81.0	62.5	92.3	80.0
% Yes	9.5	15.8	14.3	14.3	20.8	7.7	20.0
% No							
CA Old Age Pension	81.0	47.4	66.7	57.1	45.8	46.2	70.0
% Yes	9.5	42.1	33.3	42.9	37.5	53.9	15.0
% No							
CA Life Warrants	14.3	31.6	47.6	23.8	54.2	38.5	25.0
% Yes	81.0	63.2	42.9	76.2	45.8	53.9	75.0
% No							
Warrants for wages	19.1	26.3	28.6	23.8	54.2	46.2	30.0
% Yes	76.2	63.2	61.9	76.2	45.8	46.2	65.0
% No							
Warrants for cash	14.3	26.3	33.3	19.1	54.2	46.2	25.0
% Yes	76.2	63.2	52.4	76.2	45.8	46.2	70.0
% No							

Table 5: Responses by age

	Twenties	Thirties	Forties	Fifties +
Czechoslovakia split				
% Yes	53.9	44.4	52.8	57.7
% No	46.2	55.6	47.2	42.3
US Social Security				
% Yes	76.9	90.3	91.4	76.5
% No	23.1	9.7	8.6	23.5
CA Old Age Pension				
% Yes	46.2	66.7	76.5	60.8
% No	53.9	33.3	23.5	39.2
CA Life Warrants				
% Yes	42.9	33.3	16.7	47.1
% No	57.1	67.7	83.3	52.9
Warrants for wages				
% Yes	46.2	31.3	14.7	45.3
% No	53.9	68.8	85.3	54.7
Warrants for cash				
% Yes	41.7	30.0	14.7	45.4
% No	58.3	70.0	85.3	54.7

Table 6: Pairwise correlations

	SS	OAP	LP	WW	WC
US Social Security					
CA Old Age Pension	.44*				
CA Life Payments	-.30*	-.68*			
Warrants for wages	-.34*	-.59*	.88*		
Warrants for cash	-.32*	-.61*	.93*	.97*	

Note: * denotes a correlation which is significantly different from zero at the p=.05 level.

Table 7: Factor analysis of redistribution items

	Factor Loading
US Social Security	-.397
CA Old Age Pension	-.687
CA Life Payments	.938
Warrants for wages	.941
Warrants for cash	.967
Eigenvalue	3.33
Proportion explained	96%

Table 8: Probit estimates of California redistribution items

	CA OPA	CA LP	WW	WC
Constant	-.82*	.67*	.66*	.62*
	.33	.33	.33	.33
Support Social Security	1.60*	-.97*	-1.10*	-1.06*
	.35	.33	.33	.33
Twenties	-.25	-.19	-.03	-.09
	.45	.41	.42	.43
Thirties	.10	-.30	-.32	-.30
	.33	.32	.33	.33
Forties	.27	-.77*	-.79*	-.80*
	.33	.32	.34	.34
AD 60	-.87*	-.54*	-.43	-.43
	.40	.36	.63	.36
AD 62	-.82*	.36	.72*	.71*
	.33	.42	.42	.42
N	125	127	125	123
Model chi-square	30.4*	19.2*	24.0*	22.1*
Pseudo r-square	.19	.12	.15	.15

Note: * denotes a correlation which is significantly different from zero at the p=.05 level.

Table 9: Estimated effects on California redistribution items

	CA OPA	CA LP	WW	WC
Support Social Security	.58*	-.37*	-.41*	-.40*
Twenties	-.09	-.06	.12	-.03
Thirties	.03	-.10	-.10	-.10
Forties	.10	-.24*	-.24*	-.24*
AD 60	-.13	-.16*	-.14	-.13
AD 62	-.33*	.13	.27*	.27*

Note: * denotes a correlation which is significantly different from zero at the p=.05 level.