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GENERAL BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

The decade which began this year includes the 200th Anniversary of our national beginnings. A particularly important aspect of that period is the role electoral participation has played in maintaining the continuity of our country. By comparison the election studies of the Survey Research Center have been conducted for a little more than two decades. Yet they represent a significant contribution to the better understanding of the wants and aspirations of our citizens.

Due in large part to our hard-working Field staff, we have built up an invaluable collection of survey data on the political attitudes and behavior of the American people. This archive of data is regarded so highly by students of American government that in 1962 the Inter-university Consortium for Political Research was established in Ann Arbor partly for the purpose of making our political data readily available to other students of American politics besides those of us who are responsible for these studies. Today more than 135 American and foreign universities and colleges are members of this Consortium.

The two major books resulting from the analysis of these data are The American Voter (1960) and Elections and the Political Order (1966), both by Angus Campbell, Philip Converse, Warren Miller, and Donald Stokes. Two further books by Center authors should be completed in the near future. In addition, literally scores of doctoral dissertations and scholarly articles in the field of American government and politics have made use of these data. With our data base now extending over 20 years, historians as well as students of contemporary government are beginning to show an interest in the interviews you have been collecting so patiently.

We will be interviewing the respondents only once this time. However, we want to allow for the probability of reinterviewing these same R's again in 1972. This is an important part of our research approach since we will be able to learn more about change and stability in electoral behavior and attitudes by interviewing the same respondents later on. It is this emphasis on dynamics which will significantly increase the value of our data to present-day researchers and investigators of the future. The most immediate demand on you as an interviewer will be to procure the relevant information about R, such as his name, and the appropriate back-up information such as the name of an individual who can help us locate R in case he moves.

We are well aware of the problems of maintaining contact with R's over such an extended period, but we feel the cost will be worth the research results obtained. The first link in the process is the most important—to obtain the respondent's name--and the link must be accomplished by you. Of course this information must be given freely by the R and without hard feelings so that we can interview him again. The confidentiality of the respondent's questionnaire will be maintained. Our sole objective in obtaining his name is to be able to interview him again in the future. It is important that any reluctant R be assured of this and be made aware of how important it is for us to obtain his views later on.

The primary objective of this study is an analysis of the current attitudes and voting patterns of a cross-section of American citizens, particularly in comparison with attitudes and voting patterns found in our past cross-section studies. In addition to our continuing emphasis on the role of the political parties and candidates, we are investigating the reactions of the American people to contemporary social issues. We feel that such issues as crime,

urban unrest, campus disorders, and the Vietnam War have aroused the interest of our citizenry to a degree unparalleled since the 1930's. We have included a large number of issue questions and we believe that the interview will be a rewarding and challenging experience both to you and R. We are also interested in recording the continuing reactions of the American people to the movement for racial equality. As we did in 1964 and 1968, to enhance our descriptions and analysis of the movement, we are taking a supplementary sample of Black citizens.

This study is financed by a grant from the National Science Foundation as part of its continuing interest in research on public affairs. The study made possible by this grant is the first U. S. survey to be conducted by the Center for Political Studies, the recently formed fourth Center in the Institute for Social Research. The Center for Political Studies includes the former Political Behavior Program as well as the Consortium and will combine the U. S. studies with a broader focus on cross-national comparative research.

SAMPLING PROCEDURES

A. Two Samples for the Post Election Study

This study includes a cross-section and a supplement sample of Negroes.

The Cross-Section Sample (Peach and Dark Green Cover Sheets)

The cross-section sample, distributed throughout all PSUs, is a sample of all United States citizens age 18 or over, regardless of race. (For further explanation see section "Instructions for the Cross-Section Sample" - item H.)

The Supplement Sample (Light Green Cover Sheets)

In the supplement sample, interviews are to be attempted at Negro addresses only. The purpose is to increase the representation of Negroes in the Election Study. The supplement segments are identified by an entry of "Supplement" in column 6 of the Blue Folders.

Not all PSUs have a supplement sample. If your PSU has a supplement, you will receive materials clearly marked for use in the supplement; if you do not receive supplement materials, you need not be concerned with the section on "Instructions for the Negro Supplement."

B. Three Kinds of Segments

There are now three kinds of segments. Although the principles of listing are unchanged, the detailed procedures will vary. The three types are identified by codes stamped near the top of the Blue Folder:

1. Type A, or area method

Procedures are written in detail in the INTERVIEWER'S MANUAL so you will not be receiving any special instructions with the sampling materials.

2. Type B, or building listing method

Where Type B segments are used, a separate set of instructions ("SEGMENT IDENTIFICATION") will accompany the sampling materials.

B. Three Kinds of Segments (Cont.)

3. Type C, or country or road section method

Where Type C segments are used, a separate set of instructions ("SEGMENT IDENTIFICATION") will accompany the sampling materials.

In your PSU you may receive only Type A segments. In some PSUs, however, there are also Types B and/or C. Be sure that you use the proper instructions for segments of the various types.

C. Updating Listings for Take-part Segments

For instructions on updating segments listed on earlier studies, please refer to "Procedures When A Segment is to Be Updated" in Chapter 10 of the INTERVIEWER'S MANUAL.

When updating the segment, begin at the segment boundary preceding the listing on line 1 and proceed around the segment in the order of the original listing.

SEARCH FOR SEGMENT DWELLINGS THAT DO NOT APPEAR ON THE LISTING SHEET. Some dwellings may be unlisted because they are newly constructed, while others may have been overlooked at the time of the original listing. Previously unlisted dwellings are to be added to the listing sheet in accordance with the instructions in Chapter 10 of the INTERVIEWER'S MANUAL. Briefly stated, the rule is: If the unlisted DU is covered by an existing line, it is to be added to that line; if it is not covered by an existing line, it is to be added at the bottom of the listing sheet on the next available line.

D. Listing New Segments

Before listing new segments, review "General Listing Instructions" in Chapter 9 of the INTERVIEWER'S MANUAL. Notice that when listing DUs in a multiple-DU structure where dwellings are not clearly identified (by number or letter), you are to inquire of a responsible person about the number and locations of DUs within the structure.

E. Sampling Procedures in Large Segments of all Three Types

1. TAKE-ALL SEGMENTS

If, after completing the listing of a take-all segment, you find that the segment contains more than 12 DUs, do not interview in the segment. Return the Blue Folder containing the complete listing and sketch showing DU locations to us immediately. Attach an Immediate Action Form (pink) to the folder and call our attention to the fact that you have 13 or more DUs assigned in the segment on P. 49517. We will then make a decision about the procedure to be used and return the Blue Folder to you as quickly as possible.

E. Sampling Procedures in Large Segments of all Three Types (Cont.)

2. TAKE-PART SEGMENTS

In take-part segments, if the number of listed addresses exceeds the highest line number appearing in column 5 of the Blue Folder Cover, send the folder (Immediate Action Form attached), with the listings and a rough sketch of the segment, to the Field Office. After reviewing the materials, we will send instructions to you.

F. Sample Address Summary Forms

The sample address summary form is packaged as a copyset with a green top sheet, a sheet of carbon paper, and a stiff cream-colored sheet in back. The green top sheet becomes the office contact's summary form on which to keep track of all the addresses in the PSU, and the cream-colored copy is to be sent to the Field Office as soon as a segment is listed or updated for use as our office Sample Book. Please observe the following instructions very carefully.

1. When making your entries, place the copyset (green sheet, carbon paper and cream sheet) on a hard, smooth surface and write clearly and firmly, using a ballpoint pen. Be sure that the cream-colored copy is readable. If it is not, trace over the entry again.
2. For each segment in the sample fill out the heading items on one of the green sheets. Put the project number, 49517, after "PROJ.;" the name of the PSU after "PSU," and the sample place name as indicated on the segment folder after "PLACE." Do not put more than one segment on a summary form even if there is room.
3. Enter the segment number and letter in the unlabeled, double-ruled column between the "ADDRESS" column and the "INTERVIEWER ASSIGNED" column. You needn't write the segment number anew for each address but may write it for just the first address and draw a line down to indicate the number is the same for the other addresses on the sheet. Reserve some space in this column to add the questionnaire form number and selection table letter. See cover sheet instructions, paragraph b.
4. Enter the capital letter "L", with the line number below it, in the margin to the left of each address. See the heading and first two columns of the example on page 10-9 of the INTERVIEWER'S MANUAL.
5. When you have completed your listing or updating of a segment and determined which lines are included in the current study, copy the addresses or descriptions from the sample lines verbatim onto the green summary sheet. Use one ruled space per address. (In take-part segments be careful to copy only P. 49517 sample lines.)
6. If you need to use more than one sheet for a segment, be sure that you fill in the heading information and segment number on the second sheet.

F. Sample Address Summary Forms (Cont.)

7. RETURN THE CREAM-COLORED SHEET TO THE FIELD OFFICE AT ONCE. Your interviews from that segment cannot be logged-in until we have received the cream-colored sheet for our sample book.

White sample address summary forms are included and may be used as usual by the interviewers to keep track of their own assignments.

G. Return of Blue Folders to Ann Arbor

After a segment has been visited and the listing sheet in the Blue Folder updated or a new listing prepared, the Blue Folder is to be returned to the Ann Arbor office. Do not keep the Blue Folder any longer than is necessary. Work from the Yellow Folder and return the Blue Folder to us.

H. Instructions for the Cross-Section Sample

Most of the sampling procedures are described in the Interviewer's Manual. Some additional notes on this sample follow:

1. Materials to be Furnished

a. New Blue and Yellow Folders for New Chunks

For the chunks that are being used for the first time, both Blue and Yellow Folders will be sent to the Office Contact.

b. Blue Folders for Old Chunks

When a chunk has been used on an earlier study, only the Blue Folder will be mailed to the Office Contact since the Yellow Folder is already in her/his files.

c. Maps

A map for each sample place has been or is being sent to the Office Contact. In order that we may send replacements when needed, we again remind you to notify us whenever maps become misplaced or badly worn. Or if there are discrepancies between segment folders and maps, with respect to chunk boundaries or numbers, please notify us promptly so that corrections can be made.

d. Listing Sheets

A supply of listing sheets, assembled in duplicate, will accompany Blue Folders.

e. Unaddressed Peach and Dark Green Cover Sheets

Cover sheets have been assembled in sets of five.

2. Cover Sheet Instructions - Cross-Section

a. Assigning Peach and Dark Green Cover Sheets

After listing a segment or updating a segment which was previously listed, assign a cover sheet to each sample address.

2. Cover Sheet Instructions - Cross-Section (Cont.)

Peach and dark green cover sheets, assembled in sets of five are to be used in the order in which they are assembled; the top sheet from the set is to be used first, then the second, and so on. All sheets in one set are to be assigned before using sheets from a second set.

Peach and dark green cover sheets have two uses:

1. Within a sample segment, peach and dark green cover sheets are to be assigned systematically to addresses in the order in which they appear on the segment listing sheet. Peach cover sheets go with peach Form 1 questionnaires; dark green cover sheets go with dark green Form 2 questionnaires.
 2. A peach or dark green cover sheet is to be assigned to each previously unlisted dwelling found at a sample address at the time of interviewing.
- b. Record Selection Table Letter on Segment Listing Sheet and Sample Address Summary Form. (Also record Questionnaire Form Number on Sample Address Summary Form.) For each sample line, in the right-hand margin of the segment listing sheet and to the right of the project number, 49517, record the identification letter of the selection table stamped on page 1 of the cover sheet assigned to that listing sheet address. In the case of previously unlisted dwellings found at the time of interviewing, the selection table letter is to be noted just following the dwelling identification that you record on the segment listing sheet. Also record the questionnaire form number and the selection table letter on the Sample Address Summary Form. Use the double lined column which is also used to record the segment number. (Peach cover sheet means Form 1; dark green, Form 2.)

3. Whom to Interview

Attempt an interview with the adult (here, 18 years or older) citizen chosen, by use of the selection table on page 1 of the cover sheet, from among all members of the household, 18 years old or older. Step-by-step instructions for the use of the selection table appear on page 1 of the cover sheet.

Please notice that all household members age 18 or older, citizens and non-citizens, are to be recorded in the listing box on page 1 of the cover sheet. (See new chapter 11 of the Interviewer's Manual and the chart on page 11-6 to determine members of the household.) In some households there may be no eligible persons and, consequently, no interview to be taken. In that case, complete the nonresponse form on page 4 of the cover sheet.

I. Instructions for the Supplement Segments

1. Recognition of the Supplement Segments

There are at least three ways to recognize when you have a Supplement segment:

- a. "Supplement" will be stamped in column six of the blue folder.

1. Recognition of the Supplement Segments (Cont.)

- b. You will receive a supply of light green cover sheets.
- c. You will receive a check sheet which calls for the racial composition of the supplement segment and instructions for use of the checksheet.

If you receive part but not all of these three indicators of a supplement segment, please notify the Field Office immediately. If you receive none of the three indicators or supplement segments, you may disregard this section.

2. Materials to be Furnished

The materials furnished for the supplement are the same as the materials furnished for the cross-section except:

- a. Light green cover sheets are furnished for the supplement instead of peach and dark green. The light green cover sheets may be used with either form of the questionnaire. Alternate between Form 1 and Form 2 questionnaires, if you can.
- b. The Racial Composition Checksheet and instructions for completion of the Racial Composition Checksheet accompany supplement segments.

3. Racial Composition Checksheet

Since the purpose of the supplement is to increase the number of Negro respondents above that number which would be expected from the cross-section alone, only Negroes are eligible to be interviewed in the supplement segments. Given this restriction, there will be some supplement segments in some PSUs that have no Negro residents. It would be wasteful of interviewer time to make calls at every DU of an all white segment when the interviewer has good information that all DUs are occupied by whites. For this reason we have included the Racial Composition Checksheet.

Complete the Racial Composition Checksheet before listing. Instructions accompany the checksheets.

- a. No Negroes in Supplement Segment
If you determine that there are no Negroes in the segment, do not prepare a listing, do not prepare cover sheets. Simply return the checksheet and blue folder to Ann Arbor. (Unless the blue folder is needed for another segment.)
- b. All Negroes, Some, or Can't Tell
If you know there are Negroes in the segment or if it is even reasonably possible that there are some Negroes in the segment, list the segment. The instructions for work which precedes the first contact, i.e. listing, sample address summary form, and segments with more than 12 dwellings contributing to the sample, are the same as the instructions for the cross-section sample, except that you use light green cover sheets.

b. All Negroes, Some, or Can't Tell (Cont.)

However, since we are interested in interviewing only eligible Negro respondents, the next steps are different from those you are using in the cross-section sample. After a light green cover sheet is assigned to each listing sheet address with 45558 in column 3 of the segment sheet, continue as follows:

- Step 1. If the DU is occupied by Negro residents, continue with the respondent selection procedure on page 1 of the cover sheet.
- Step 2. If the sample address is that of a vacant dwelling, or if there is no dwelling at the address, complete the nonresponse form on page 2 of the light green cover sheet.
- Step 3. If you have personal knowledge that the dwelling is not occupied by a Negro household, check "NNR" on page 2 of the light green cover sheet and complete the nonresponse form on page 2.
- Step 4. If there is any doubt about the race of the residents of a sample dwelling, then visit the dwelling to obtain household composition (item 12 of light green cover sheet) from any responsible adult who is at home.
- a. If the household is not Negro, complete the household composition listing and terminate the interview saying something like: "I'm doing some preliminary work on a survey for The University of Michigan and we just need to know the composition of the household at this address. Thank you very much." Check "Other than Negro" in item 12 and "NNR" on page 2 of the cover sheet.
 - b. In the case of a Negro household, continue with the respondent selection procedure on page 1 of the light green cover sheet.
- Step 5. If your contact(s) in the segment convincingly inform(s) you for specific DUs in the segment that all of the persons who live in the DUs are other than Negro, then you may simply complete the nonresponse part of the cover sheet ("NNR") for the specific dwellings in the sample for which the contact gave you information.

Observe the same precautions as those given in the instructions for the racial composition checksheet, i.e. secondary families, roomers, live-in domestic help, students, etc., tend to be overlooked when contacts are asked to comment on their neighbors. In large and take-part segments, contacts tend to know less about their distant neighbors.

4. Whom to Interview - Supplement Segments

The only eligible respondents are Negroes whose ages are 18 years or over and who are citizens. Interview that person identified by the selection table. The cover sheet has detailed instructions for the use of the selection table.

FIELD NOTESStudy Dates

The study starts the day after Election Day, Wednesday, November 4, and ends Wednesday, December 16. It is imperative on this project that you start interviewing immediately and continue at a steady pace throughout the study. Thanksgiving comes in the middle of the study, and in some PSUs weather could become a problem toward the end of the interviewing period. We will be monitoring progress very closely, so you may expect to hear from us in desperate tones if you fall behind schedule.

Don't hesitate to call your supervisor and let her know if at any point you feel you cannot cover your assignment in the allotted time. She will make arrangements to send someone in to help you or to backstop you in some other way.

All interviews and cover sheets must be mailed by midnight on Wednesday, December 16.

Practice Interview

As usual, take a practice interview for P. 49517 as soon as you have studied your materials, and mail it to your supervisor for her review and comments. You may start interviewing without waiting for your supervisor to comment on your practice interview. Please remember to identify clearly your practice interview by writing "PRACTICE" on the first page.

Before you take a practice interview, please complete the Practice Selection Table Worksheet (enclosed with the project materials) and check your answers carefully. Then send the completed Worksheet to your supervisor along with the practice interview.

Materials You Should Have for P. 49517

Instruction Book	1 per interviewer, plus 1 extra in large PSUs
Form 1 Questionnaires (Peach cover)	1 per sample address for $\frac{1}{2}$ the sample, plus extras
Form 2 Questionnaires (Dark green cover)	1 per sample address for $\frac{1}{2}$ the sample, plus extras
Show Cards	3 sets per interviewer, 12 cards per set
Respondent Letters	1 folded per sample address, plus extras
Envelopes for Respondent Letters	1 per sample address
"Why We Ask You" folders	1 per sample address
Interviewer Cards.	1 per sample address
Practice Selection Table Worksheet.	1 per interviewer

Materials (Cont.)**Progress Report and**

**Project Completion Forms 1 set per PSU (for
Office Contact's use)**

Set includes:

2 forms Nov. 4 - 11
 2 forms Nov. 12 - 18
 2 forms Nov. 19 - 25
 2 forms Nov. 26 - Dec. 2
 2 forms Dec. 3 - 9
 3 Project Completion Forms (includes Dec. 10 - Dec. 16)

Press Release. 2 per PSU (for Office Contact's use)

Sample Address Summary (Green) 1 per segment

**Sample Address Summary (White) enough to cover total assignment
for PSU**

Respondent Information Sheet

Form 1 (Pink). 1 per Form 1 Questionnaire

Respondent Information Sheet

Form 2 (Blue). 1 per Form 2 Questionnaire

**Envelope of Sampling Materials contains cover sheets and
segment folders**

Call Procedures

1. Please attempt to match the race of interviewer and respondent wherever possible. Matching the race of interviewer and respondent will be especially important on this study where there are a number of questions about sensitive issues, such as civil rights and racial attitudes.
 - a. In listing the segments and checking the racial composition of each area, you should have a fairly accurate idea of the race of respondents to be found at each address in your sample before you begin interviewing.
 - b. The interview itself has a question asking the racial composition of the neighborhood. Therefore, you will be able to gain further information about racial composition during the first interview in a segment.
 - c. In PSUs having interviewers of both races, addresses must be assigned to interviewers so as to match the race of interviewer and respondent.
 - d. If a PSU has no black interviewer but a black interviewer from a neighboring PSU can take the interview, the race of interviewer and respondent will be matched. In PSUs not having a black interviewer, where it would entail an overnight stay to get the interviews, there must be at least four black respondents expected in order to have a black interviewer assigned.

Call Procedures (Cont.)

- e. Regardless of how many black respondents you expect, contact your supervisor as soon as you have a definite idea where black respondents will be found in your segments. Your supervisor will make the appropriate arrangements for bringing in a black interviewer.
 - f. Where interviewers of both races are available, but an address which is expected to have a respondent of the interviewer's race turns out to have a respondent of a different race, the interviewer making the first contact will nevertheless attempt to complete the interview on that call. If she is unsuccessful, the local staff should determine the advisability of reassigning the address to an interviewer of the respondent's race on subsequent calls.
2. On your first visit to a segment to update, or list, you should plan to interview at least one respondent in the segment. Be sure to allow enough time on your first visit to the segment to both check or make a listing and take an interview. This procedure will get you off to a good start and keep sampling costs down.
 3. Since the study questions the respondents about the "recent" election, it is imperative that all respondents be contacted as early in the study period as possible. The later it gets, the less people will remember about the election!

Start calls on all addresses right away. This will allow you time to make repeated callbacks for respondents you are unable to contact the first time. If you call at a bad time for the respondent, offer to return at a better time before the respondent has a chance to refuse. If possible, make an appointment for a later date. Callbacks at addresses which were previously NAH or RA should range over the entire study period, showing a spread between weekdays and weekends, as well as between mornings, afternoons, and evenings.

4. Return a cover sheet to the office if it is RA (Respondent Absent) or NAH (Not At Home) after four calls in urban or rural non-farm areas, or after three calls on a rural farm address if:
 - a. Calls were made at all parts of the day - morning, afternoon, and evening.
 - b. Calls were made on weekend days as well as weekdays.
 - c. Your PSU has reached a minimum response rate of 85%.

If all three of these conditions are not true, continue to call on a NAH or RA until all conditions are met, or the maximum limit of eight calls has been reached. The only exception to this rule is in those cases where you find a house vacant on your first call made during the study period. In this case do not call back, even if someone is moving in the next day. As far as we are concerned, these addresses will remain HVs for the duration of the study, since it is perfectly possible for the people who move in to have come from another address in the sample. The rule can also be applied in reverse, that is, if you find a DU occupied on your first contact, but the people move out before you can interview them, the address becomes an NI-Other and you will not have to make additional callbacks.

Call Procedures (Cont.)

5. If you get a refusal, it has proved useful to exchange refusals with another interviewer's refusals. Often just a different person calling at the address will impress the respondent with the importance of his being interviewed.

If you feel a personal letter from the office might reverse a refusal, please write and request a persuasion letter. In a request for a persuasion letter include the following information:

- (1) mailing address, plus segment and line number
- (2) person in DU you want letter to go to (identify by relationship to head, or name if necessary and available).
- (3) circumstances of refusal - if some other person kept you from getting to the selected respondent, be sure to indicate that the refusal was from someone other than the respondent so that the letter to respondent can be so adapted.
- (4) any information you might have about respondent and/or family which might be useful in adapting a letter to the individual circumstances.

The letter we send may not always reflect all the information you send in your request for a persuasion letter, because whenever possible, we will use the standard persuasion letter composed for this study, but we do need to have the types of information listed above so that we will at least not send a letter which is inappropriate in any way. However, if you furnish us complete information, you will equip us to write a relevant and perhaps effective letter if time pressures in the office permit.

We will send a carbon copy of the persuasion letter to you on the same day we send the original to the respondent.

Use of Respondent Letter

A copy of the respondent letter appears at the back of this book. We have included in the study materials for each PSU enough letters and franked envelopes so that you can send a letter to every assigned sample address and also have an extra to show to or leave with respondents who say they didn't receive a letter.

If you cannot get a good mailing address for an assigned DU, simply hand the respondent one of the letters when you make your contact. This would also be necessary when you attempt to take an interview on your first visit to a segment which has not been updated. All respondent letters should be addressed to the head of the household. Please include a "Why We Ask You" folder with each respondent letter. When you mail respondent letters, please put your name or initials above the return address on the envelope. Occasionally, respondent letters are returned to this office, because they cannot be delivered. It is most helpful if the interviewer's name appears on the envelope so that we can quickly return these letters to the right person.

Returning Interviews and Cover Sheets:

Securely assemble all the materials for one interview and simply insert the cover sheet and respondent information sheet in the questionnaire. Please do not use staples, scotch tape, or the "fold and tear" method since all materials for each interview are assigned a code number in the office and then separated to insure anonymity.

Please check your manila mailing envelopes to make sure you have only envelopes addressed to "Field Office, Survey Research Center." An envelope addressed just to "The Institute for Social Research" instead of to "Field Office" might be sidetracked to another office in the building, and thus be delayed in reaching us for days or even weeks!

Mailing Schedule

As you know, it is extremely important to maintain a steady flow of interviews to the Field Office throughout the study period. This ensures that work will not pile up at your end and that we can keep up with the processing and coding of interviews in Ann Arbor.

Please plan your work so that you can complete the minimum percentages indicated below during each week of the study:

<u>Week</u>	<u>% of Assignment to be Covered and Mailed</u>
1 November 4 - 11	20%
2 November 12 - 18	45%
3 November 19 - 25	65%
4 November 26 - December 2	80%
5 December 3 - 9	90%
6 December 10 - 16	100%

THERE WILL BE NO EXTENSIONS OF THE DECEMBER 16 DEADLINE!

Mailing Rules:

Mail interviews in groups of three, unless you have not completed three interviews within the seven-day period following your last mailing. In this case, mail the ones you have on hand. NEVER HOLD COMPLETED INTERVIEWS LONGER THAN ONE WEEK. DO NOT COLLECT MORE THAN THREE INTERVIEWS BEFORE MAILING.

Progress Report Forms

The supervisor should receive a Progress Report Form for each week of the study period. It is most important that she be informed of the progress of each PSU throughout the study period. The Project Completion Form, of course, is sent to the field Office and the supervisor at the end of the study.

Progress Report Forms (Cont.)

Here are the procedures for using the Progress Report Forms:

1. As soon as you receive your sample, write each assigned address on the white Sample Address Summary Form. Keep these Summary Forms up to date throughout the study. Every time you take an interview, or find a DU that is NI or NS, or find an unlisted DU, note this on the Sample Summary Form. Bring your Form up to date after each trip to a segment.
2. The office contact and the interviewers should agree on a time when the interviewer should call the office contact to give her information for the Progress Report Form. This time should be mutually convenient but, once it has been set, it is the interviewer's responsibility to call the office contact about that time, and the office contact's responsibility to be available for the call. Naturally, we do not suggest any definite rules about this. We only suggest setting an approximate time for the convenience of all and to insure adequate communication.
3. When the interviewer calls the office contact it is the interviewer's responsibility to provide information for every item on the Progress Report Form. The interviewer should be prepared to report a figure for every item on the form, including her response rate (Item 7). If the office contact notices a discrepancy in the figures, she should, of course, ask the interviewer about it. However, it should not be necessary for the office contact to figure out each interviewer's response rate, not to check all figures.
4. By consulting her Sample Address Summary Form, the interviewer can fill out blanks in one column of a Progress Report Form. The blank form provided at the back of this instruction book can be used for that purpose. The first column, now labeled "Office Contact," can be used for the first week of the study, the second column for the second week, etc. The columns, of course, are cumulative; that is, the figures in the column for November 12-18 will also include the figures in the column through November 11.
5. The office contact will then mail the copy of the Progress Report Form for her entire PSU to her supervisor on the indicated day each week of the study period. If the office contact has not heard from each interviewer in her PSU by the specified time, and is unable to contact the interviewer, then the office contact should leave the column for the interviewer blank and mail the form anyway.

Notice that there is a column on the Progress Report Form for every interviewer in the PSU who is working on the study. If we expect more than four interviewers (including office contact) to be working on the study, we will send extra forms for the additional interviewers.

For P. 49517 there are five Progress Report Forms, corresponding to each week (except the last week) in the study. For the last week of the study, please use the Project Completion Form (yellow). Send one copy of the Project Completion Form to your supervisor and one to the Field Office, and keep one for your files, as usual.

Editing Interviews

Please try to edit your interviews right after you take them, while you still remember the respondent and the interview situation clearly. Read through the entire interview as though you had never seen it before; pretend you must "code" the responses -- will they be clear to someone who was not present during the interview? Please make sure you cover the following points while editing:

1. LEGIBILITY
2. Inappropriate questions are clearly marked "Inap" or "X'ed". (Make sure the questions you "Inap" are really inappropriate according to the question-by-question objectives. "Omitted" or "skipped" should be used to account for questions that are not asked for any other reason.)
3. Full thumbnail sketch to give editors and coders a good idea of the interviewing situation.
4. All probes (and any other remarks by you) indicated by parentheses.
5. All unclear responses clarified (by your parenthetical notes).
6. Your name label appears on the questionnaire, the cover sheet, and the respondent information sheet.

Press Release

A brief press release is enclosed for use by office contacts. This release will not be sent to local newspapers from here. Past experience indicates that the only time this news is printed is when it is taken personally to local editors. It has proved effective when retyped and "edited" by the office contact to include names of local interviewers working on the project and approximate areas involved in the study.

Contacting Local Authorities

As usual, we feel it is important that the office contact (by letter or by telephone) contact the local Police Chief or Sheriff, as well as the Better Business Bureau or Chamber of Commerce, and give these people the following information before interviewing begins:

1. A brief statement about the study (similar to what you will be telling your respondents);
2. The names of all the local interviewers working on the study;
3. A general indication of the interviewing dates, and the neighborhoods where interviews will be taken.

If you are interviewing in several towns, you'll need to do this for each one. Feel free to show your ID card, the "Why We Ask You" folder, and the Respondent Letter. If the person wants a direct confirmation from Ann Arbor, let us know immediately and we'll send a letter; or, if necessary, the person may contact us directly. In such a case he should write Dr. John C. Scott in the Field Office, or call him at area code 313, 764-8356.

Show Cards

The Show Cards are to be used, as usual, when they are called for in the questionnaire. Each interviewer should have three sets of twelve show cards each.

"Why We Ask You" Folders

We suggest that you include the "Why We Ask You" folder with the respondent letter. The folder can also be used at the door or after the interview has been completed.

Report to Respondents

We are not sending report request cards because we are planning to send a report to all respondents on this study. We will have names because you will be getting them at the end of the interview on the Respondent Information Sheet.

Respondent Information Sheet

Form 1 (pink) Respondent Information Sheet goes with a Form 1 interview, and Form 2 (blue) Respondent Information Sheet goes with a Form 2 questionnaire. You will notice that the wording of the request for information is somewhat different on each form.

Form 1 asks for the respondent's name and mailing address so that we can send him a report of the study. We ask for the name of a contact person in case R moves. Form 2 mentions that we might call back on the respondent in two years' time, so we need his mailing address. We hope to find out whether one approach is more effective in gathering information than the other. Of course, both of these reasons for wanting R's name are legitimate -- we will send out a report and we do intend to contact these R's again in 1972.

In order to keep the distribution of these two forms random and accurate, please be sure to match the Respondent Information Sheet with the appropriate form of the questionnaire. Again this can be done by color coding:

Questionnaire Form 1 (peach)
Respondent Information Sheet, Form 1 (pink)

Questionnaire Form 2 (dark green)
Respondent Information Sheet, Form 2 (blue)

You may want to insert a Respondent Information Sheet in the back of each questionnaire before you begin interviewing, making sure that you match a Form 1 Respondent Information Sheet with a Form 1 Questionnaire, etc.

Nuts and Bolts

1 box Cheerios
1 box Rice Chex
1 box Wheat Chex
1 box Corn Chex
4 bags pretzels
4+ cans (13oz.) mixed nuts
4 lbs. butter
4T+ Worcestershire sauce
3T garlic salt
8+ cloves of garlic
4+ tsp. celery salt
Tabasco

USE SMALL BOXES OR YOU'LL GET ABOUT 17 QUARTS!
--

Warm butter and spices and pour over cereal mixture. Bake at 250 degrees in oven in large roasting pan for 2½ hours, or until crispy. Toss occasionally.

QUESTION-BY-QUESTION OBJECTIVES

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

We have tried to organize the questionnaire in the simplest fashion possible. There is an extensive use of contingencies on individual questions. These tend to follow a standard pattern but there is some variation so please study the contingency questions carefully. It will save many awkward moments in the interview.

Notes on Format

1. Inasmuch as many of the questions have been used before, we have done a considerable amount of "precoding" on the questionnaire itself. This means that in many cases we have inserted a number, as well as a key answer word in the box which you are to check. As far as your interviewing is concerned, you should disregard these numbers (except on Q.20); the answer words will always be stated, and that is all you need be concerned with. Check each appropriate box, whether it has a number in it or not.
2. In most cases you should try to get R to pick only one response to a question, and record any qualifications he may have. However, if he insists on choosing two responses, you may go ahead and check two boxes, being sure to note why. Of course there are a few questions in which more than one response may be expected (e.g., P8a. union membership), but these are indicated by a special instruction.
3. One way to avoid problems in checking boxes would be to mark with an "X" rather than a check mark. Using an X helps to define the intended box more accurately because we can assume it is the box nearest the intersection in the X.
4. Usually for questions which are not open-ended we have tried to provide boxes for all possible answers. However, there are some instances in which the respondent may answer "Don't know" but there is no box provided for such a response. Whenever a respondent answers "Don't know," indicate this on the questionnaire, even if there is no specific box for you to check. If you fail to record such an answer, we must code the question as "Not ascertained," because we have no way of telling whether or not you asked the question and received an answer.
5. Optional probes are sometimes indicated in parentheses. Please show when you have used them by abbreviating them in parentheses. Of course we are always interested in as full a report of R's responses as possible, including objections, qualifications, comments, etc., to the closed questions as well as to the open-ended questions.
6. There are two forms for this study. While both forms contain the same questions, not all the questions on each form will be asked of everyone. Skip instructions are provided in the interview.

Notes on Format (Cont.)

7. The Use of the Term Black or Negro. In determining whether or not to use the term Black or Negro, the key factor should always be whichever term makes the R most comfortable and cooperative in the interview situation. Here are some hints about how to find this out:
- (1) Pay attention to which term R might use in Q. 1 - 9.
 - (2) If it is still not clear by then, you can try the following probe:
Some people prefer the term Negro, others the term Black.
Please tell me which you prefer we use during the interview.
 - (3) Then please use whichever term R prefers when reading the questions regardless of what term is used in the questionnaire. There are only two exceptions to this rule. Read Questions 58 and 75 as they appear in the questionnaire. Please indicate on the questionnaire if you used the term Black rather than Negro.
8. We are using Form 1 in the Instruction Book here, and it is just like Form 2 except for the order of items asked in two questions and several skip instructions.
- a. BOX A - FORM 1: this occurs on page 4 after Q.9. BOX A - FORM 2 is on page 2 after Q2c. Skip Q.10 - 20 in Form 1. Skip Q. 3 - 8 in Form 2.
 - b. BOX B - FORM 2 only: this occurs on page 15 after Q.28. Skip Q. 29 - 31.
 - c. BOX C - FORM 2 only: this occurs on page 18 after Q.37. Skip Q. 38 - 41.
 - d. Q.73 on p.29: asked of Black respondents only in Form 2.
 - e. Q.74-75: the order of items is reversed on Form 2.

Summary

Form 1 has only one major skip as indicated by Box A, page 4. Form 2 has three skip boxes, A, B, and C. Form 2 asks Q.73 of blacks only. Form 2 asks items in Q.74-75 in the reverse order of Form 1.

Please remember that cross-section cover sheets match the color of the appropriate questionnaire. Form 1 questionnaires have peach covers and match the peach cross-section cover sheets. Form 2 questionnaires have dark green covers and match the dark green cross-section cover sheets.

But supplement (light green) cover sheets may be used with either Form 1 or Form 2 questionnaires. In order not to run out of either Form 1 or Form 2, please alternate forms when you interview supplement respondents. That is, try to use an equal number of Form 1 and Form 2 for supplement (light green) cover sheets.

QUESTION-BY-QUESTION OBJECTIVES

1970 POST-ELECTION STUDY

PROJECT 49517



SURVEY RESEARCH CENTER
INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH
THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN 48106

(Do not write in above space)

1. Interviewer's Label

2. P S U _____

3. Your Interview No. _____

4. Date _____

5. Length of Interview _____
(Minutes)

6. Segment No. _____ 7. Line No. _____

FORM 1

Items 1-7:

Be sure to fill in all information, and affix your label to the questionnaire.

As you well know, there are many serious problems in this country and in other parts of the world. We'd like to start out by talking with you about some of them.

1. What do you personally feel are the most important problems which the government in Washington should try to take care of? (IF FEWER THAN 3 -- Any others?)

2. How much attention have you been paying to what is going on in Vietnam: a good deal, some, or not much?

/1.A good deal/

/3.Some/

/5.Not much/

- 2a. Do you think we did the right thing in getting into the fighting in Vietnam or should we have stayed out?

/1.Yes, did right thing/

/5.No, should have stayed out/

/8.Don't know/

- 2b. Which of the following do you think we should do now in Vietnam:
(HAND R CARD # 1)

/1.Pull out of Vietnam entirely/

/2.Keep our soldiers in Vietnam but try to end the fighting/

/3.Take a stronger stand even if it means invading North Vietnam/ ?

/8.DK/

OTHER; DEPENDS: _____

- 2c. Which party do you think is more likely to do what you want on this, the Democrats, the Republicans, or wouldn't there be any difference between them?

/1.Democrats/

/5Republicans/

/3.No difference/

/8.Don't know/

Q.1

This question asks about problems which the respondent thinks the Government in Washington should try to take care of. If R's answer is not clear, you may probe to clarify what he means. If the respondent gives less than three problems, use the "any others" probe, but only once. We do not want to force responses. We want the respondent to mention only the problems which are of genuine concern to him; he should not feel that he must cast about in his imagination or yesterday's newspaper for topics to add to what he has already told us.

Responses indicating that the government should stay out of certain areas are legitimate (i.e., "Stay out of race question"), since we are basically interested in what the respondent considers to be major national problems, and not so much in what he thinks the government should do about them.

Q.2

Take special note that even if R answers that he has not paid much attention to the Vietnam situation, he is still to be asked questions 2a -2b. Please use Card #1, but also read the three alternatives to R.

If R says "DON'T KNOW" on 2a and 2b, SKIP 2c.

FORM 2: Box A

This is our first skip instruction for Form 2. Please make sure you check the appropriate box and follow the directions indicated.

- /5.More likely/ /1.Less likely/ /3.About same/ /7.Depends/ /8.Don't know/

- | /1.Better by Democrats/ | /5.Better by Republicans/ | /3.Same by both/ | /8.Don't know/ |
|-------------------------|---------------------------|------------------|----------------|
| | | (GO TO Q.5) | (GO TO Q.5) |

1. Better now/ 3. Same/ 5. Worse now/ 7. Uncertain/ 8. Don't know/
(GO TO Q.7)

/1.Better/ /3.Same/ /5.Worse/ /7.Uncertain/ /8.Don't know/

- /1.Yes/

/5.No/ → (GO TO Q.9)

8a. How is that?

Q.3 There may be some ambiguity about the term "bigger war." Basically we are interested in whatever the R thinks a "bigger war" means, but if you are asked for clarification you might say that we are thinking about a war involving more countries and not just increasing American troops in Vietnam.

Q.4 The sense of this question is, of course, which party would be more likely to keep us out of a bigger war.

Q.5-Q.7 Please note that Q.5 and Q.7 call for a comparison between now and another point in time. Watch out for casual answers that tell only how things are at one point in time. For example (to Q.5), the answer "Prices will be very high" does not mean "will go up." The question asks whether a change is involved, and if so, in which direction.

Q.6 Be sure to ask Q.6 no matter what response (except d.k.) you get in Q.5. If R gives more than one reason for his views, please try to get them all down.

Q.7 We want to know what R actually EXPECTS financially in the coming year. Note that responses in terms of what R "hopes" will happen are not acceptable.

Q.8 Straightforward. Usual caution to get responses which are as specific as possible about the potential financial impact of the elections on R's family.

In our studies over the years we have collected some ideas different people have about the sorts of things the government in Washington should or should not be doing. I will read you some questions about these ideas.

9. Some people are afraid the government in Washington is getting too powerful for the good of the country and the individual person. Others feel that the government in Washington has not gotten too strong for the good of the country. Have you been interested enough in this to favor one side over the other?

/1.Yes/

/5.No/ → (GO TO BOX A)

9a. What is your feeling, do you think:

/1.The government is getting too powerful/

or do you think

/5.The government has not gotten too strong/ ?

/8.Don't know/
(GO TO BOX A)

OTHER; DEPENDS: _____

9b. Which party is more likely to do what you want on this, the Democrats, the Republicans, or wouldn't there be any difference between them?

/1.Democrats/

/5Republicans/

/3.No difference/

/8.Don't know/

BOX A

INTERVIEWER: CHECK ONE --

/ 1./ IF R BLACK CONTINUE

/ 2./ R IS NOT BLACK, GO TO Q.21, PAGE 8.

Q.9-Q.11

The most important thing to note about this series is that we do not want to force R to ~~come~~ up with an answer. On these structured issue questions we do not want any probes. For each question, ask first whether R has been interested enough to have an opinion; if he says "No," move on to the next question, taking the posture that many people aren't interested in a particular question.

Make use of the lines following "OTHER, DEPENDS" both for R's reason(s) for refusing to accept one of the two answers, and for any comments he makes on his choice of one of the answers. In the latter case be sure to mark the box R chooses.

FORM 1: Box A

This is our first skip instruction for Form 1. Please make sure you check the appropriate box and follow the directions indicated.

10. Some people say that the government in Washington should see to it that White and Negro children are allowed to go to the same schools. Others claim that this is not the government's business. Have you been concerned enough about this question to favor one side over the other?

/1.Yes/

/5.No/ → (GO TO Q.11)

- 10a. Do you think the government in Washington should:

/1.See to it that White and / /5.Stay out of this/ /8.Don't know/
/ Negro children are allowed/ or / area as it is not/ (GO TO Q.11)
/ to go to the same schools/ / its business / ?

OTHER; DEPENDS: _____

- 10b. Which party do you think is more likely to do what you want on this, the Democrats, the Republicans, or wouldn't there be any difference between them?

/1.Democrats/ /5Republicans/ /3.No difference/ /8.Don't know/

11. As you may know, Congress passed a bill that says that Negroes should have the right to go to any hotel or restaurant they can afford, just like anybody else. Some people feel that this is something the government in Washington should support. Others feel that the government should stay out of this matter. Have you been interested enough in this to favor one side over another?

/1.Yes/

/5.No/ → (GO TO Q.12)

- 11a. Should the government support the right of Negroes:

/1.To go to any hotel or / or should /5.Stay out of/ /8.Don't know/
/ restaurant they can afford/ it / this matter / ? (GO TO Q.12)

OTHER; DEPENDS: _____

- 11b. Which party do you think is more likely to favor the government supporting the right of Negroes to go to any hotel or restaurant?

/1.Democrats/ /5Republicans/ /3.No difference/ /8.Don't know/

Q.10-Q.11

Refer to objectives on page 4 for Q.9 - 11.

12. Which of these statements would you agree with:

/1.White people have a right to keep Negroes out of/
/ their neighborhoods if they want to; /

or

/5.Negroes have a right to live wherever they can afford/
/ to, just like anybody else. /

/8.Don't know; depends; can't decide/ → (GO TO Q.13)

12a. Do you feel strongly about your position on this question or not too strongly?

/1.Strongly/

/5.Not too strongly/

13. In the past few years we have heard a lot about civil rights groups working to improve the position of the Negro in this country. How much real change do you think there has been in the position of the Negro in the past few years: a lot, some, or not much at all?

/1.A lot/

/3.Some/

/5.Not much at all/

14. Some say that the civil rights people have been trying to push too fast. Others feel they haven't pushed fast enough. How about you: Do you think that civil rights leaders are trying to push too fast, are going too slowly, or are they moving about the right speed?

/1.Too fast/

/5.Too slowly/

/3.About right/

15. During the past year or so, would you say that most of the actions Negroes have taken to get the things they want have been violent, or have most of these actions been peaceful?

/1.Most been violent/

/5.Most been peaceful/

/8.Don't know/

16. Do you think the actions Negroes have taken have, on the whole, helped their cause, or on the whole have hurt their cause?

/1.Helped/

/5.Hurt/

/8.Don't know/

Q. 12 - Q. 19

We hope these questions will not get you into a philosophical discussion about human rights. If R wants to know what we mean by desegregation or segregation, just say we mean removing or maintaining the laws and customs which separate the races.

17. In general, how many of the Negroes in this area would you say are in favor of desegregation--all of them, most of them, about half, less than half, or none of them?

/1.All/ /2.Most/ /3.About half/ /4.Less than half/ /5.None/ /0.No Negroes/
in area

- 17a. And how many Whites in this area would you say are in favor of desegregation--all of them, most of them, about half, less than half, or none of them?

/1.All/ /2.Most/ /3.About half/ /4.Less than half/ /5.None/ /0.No whites/
in area

18. Again referring to White people in this area, how many would you say are in favor of strict segregation of the races--all of them, most of them, about half, less than half, or none of them?

/1.All/ /2.Most/ /3.About half/ /4.Less than half/ /5.None/ /0.No whites/
in area

19. What about you? Are you in favor of desegregation, strict segregation, or something in between?

/1.Desegregation/ /5.Segregation/ /3.In between/

INTERVIEWER: ASK FOLLOWING QUESTIONS PRESENTING R WITH 5 ORDERED CATEGORY OPTIONS GIVEN BELOW. RECORD THE NUMBER OF THE CATEGORY CHOSEN BY R.

20a. Is this neighborhood you now live in: _____

20b. Is the grade school nearest you: _____

20c. Is the junior high school nearest you: _____

20d. Is the high school nearest you: _____

20e. If you are now employed, are the people where you work: _____

/Not Working/ _____

20f. Are the people who shop and trade where you do: _____

20g. Are your friends: _____

- | |
|------------------------|
| 1. All White |
| 2. Mostly White |
| 3. About half and half |
| 4. Mostly Negro |
| 5. All Negro? |
| ----- |
| 8. Don't know |

Q. 17-Q.19

Sometimes R may ask what is meant by "area." Since we are interested in R's own definition, we don't want to give a precise, physical explanation such as the name of a town. So if R asks, tell him to think in terms of where he and his family carry on the numerous and important activities of their everyday lives. As usual, if R asks for a definition or explanation of "area," note this in the margin.

Q. 20

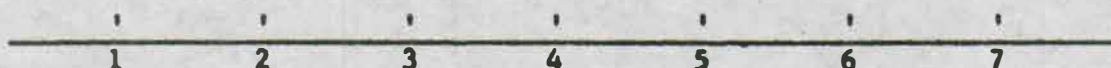
Do not make the mistake of reading aloud to the respondent "Don't know" as a response option for questions 20a-20g. It is a very legitimate response and should be recorded but it should not be suggested. Don't forget to check the "Not Working" response when appropriate for 20e.

And now I would like to talk to you about some problems which are important in America today.

21. There is much discussion about the best way to deal with the problem of urban unrest and rioting. Some say it is more important to use all available force to maintain law and order--no matter what results. Others say it is more important to correct the problems of poverty and unemployment that give rise to the disturbances. And, of course, other people have opinions in between. Suppose the people who stress doing more about the problems of poverty and unemployment are at one end of this scale--at point number 1 (SHOW CARD #2 TO R). And suppose the people who stress the use of force are at the other end--at point number 7.

Solve problems
of poverty and
unemployment

Use all
available
force



21a. Where would you place yourself on this scale? _____

21b. Where would you place the Democratic party? _____

21c. Where would you place the Republican party? _____

21d. (Where would you place) Richard Nixon? _____

21e. (Where would you place) Edmund Muskie? _____

21f. (Where would you place) George Wallace? _____

21g. How important would you say this issue is to you:

1. Very important

2. Somewhat important

3. Not very important

4. Not important?

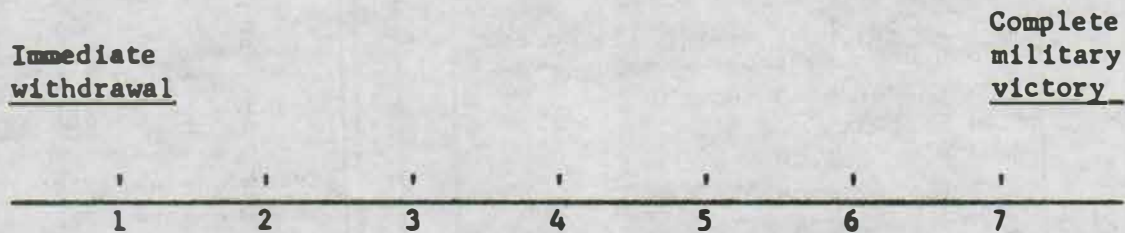
Q.21-Q.28

These questions use Cards #2 - #9. We realize that these questions are demanding on both you and R; however, much valuable research information has already been derived from this technique, which was used in the 1968 election study. Definitely try to get R to specify his response in terms of a number on the scale. If R gives a range (e.g. 5-7) record this but also ask R to give, if possible, a single number out of that range. As you will note Q.23a, 24a, 25a, 26a, 27a, 28a, have a skip instruction, if it is clear that R has not thought much about the questions. We believe that almost everyone has given some thought to questions 21 and 22 and if prodded gently, but firmly, can place himself and the other elements on the scale. We also believe that Q.23 - 28 have been given considerable attention by the public, even though they are somewhat more specific. While we want as much information as possible, if the respondent has definitely not thought about the issue, follow the skip instruction.

Our first task for the respondent is to place himself on the scale between, or at, one of the extreme positions of the particular issue. After accomplishing this R is to try to place the parties and the political leaders on the scale. We have found that in general if R understands the questions and can place himself on the scale, the other parts of the questions are much easier for him to accomplish. However, if R gives a "Don't know" or "no opinion" for the political leaders or parties, it is a perfectly acceptable response. It is also important that R understand that he should place the parties and political leaders on the scale in terms of where he thinks they are now, NOT in terms of where he would like them to be. Whenever such confusion becomes apparent to you, please try to clarify the response in terms of where R thinks the candidate or party position is now. All of the questions (Q.22 - Q.28) have been pretested and we think that their meaning will be fairly clear to everyone. If you are questioned about a particular term it is probably best to reply: "Whatever that term means to you."--otherwise, too much interpretation for one R without interpretation for all of them would create numerous research problems.

Finally, please read all four of the alternatives for item "g" of questions 21 -28 (where applicable).

22. There is much talk about "hawks" and "doves" in connection with Vietnam, and considerable disagreement as to what action the United States should take in Vietnam. Some people think we should do everything necessary to win a complete military victory, no matter what results. Some people think we should withdraw completely from Vietnam right now, no matter what results. And, of course, other people have opinions somewhere between these two extreme positions. Suppose the people who support an immediate withdrawal are at one end of this scale (SHOW CARD #3 TO R) at point number 1. And suppose the people who support a complete military victory are at the other end of the scale at point number 7.



22a. Where would you place yourself on this scale?

22b. Where would you place the Democratic party?

22c. Where would you place the Republican party?

22d. (Where would you place) Richard Nixon?

22e. (Where would you place) Edmund Muskie?

22f. (Where would you place) George Wallace?

22g. How important would you say this issue is to you:

1. Very important

2. Somewhat important

3. Not very important

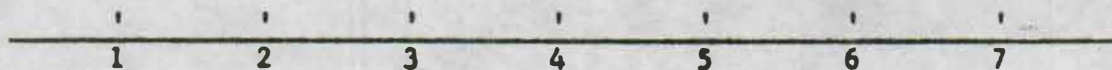
4. Not important?

Q.22a-Q.22g Same as objectives on page 8.

23. Some people are pretty upset about rioting and disturbances on college campuses and in high schools. Some feel sympathetic with the students and faculty who take part in these disturbances. Others think the schools should use police and the national guard to prevent or stop disturbances. And others fall somewhere between these extremes. (SHOW CARD #4 TO R)

Sympathetic
with students
and faculty

Use force
to stop
disturbances



- 23a. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?
(IF HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH GO TO Q.24)

- 23b. Where would you place the Democratic party?

- 23c. Where would you place the Republican party?

- 23d. (Where would you place) Richard Nixon?

- 23e. (Where would you place) Edmund Muskie?

- 23f. (Where would you place) George Wallace?

- 23g. How important would you say this issue is to you:

/ 1. / Very important

/ 2. / Somewhat important

/ 3. / Not very important

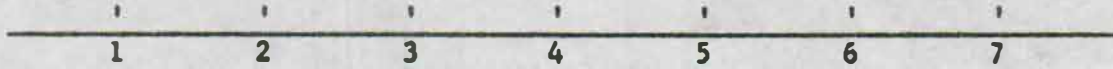
/ 4. / Not important?

Q.23a-Q.23g Same as objectives on page 8.

24. Some people feel that the Government in Washington should make every possible effort to improve the social and economic position of Negroes and other minority groups. Others feel that the Government should not make any special effort to help minority peoples but they should be expected to help themselves. (SHOW CARD #5 TO R)

Government help
minority groups

Minority groups
help themselves



- 24a. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?
(IF HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH GO TO Q.25)

- 24b. Where would you place the Democratic party?

- 24c. Where would you place the Republican party?

- 24d. (Where would you place) Richard Nixon?

- 24e. (Where would you place) Edmund Muskie?

- 24f. (Where would you place) George Wallace?

- 24g. How important would you say this issue is to you:

/ 1. / Very important

/ 2. / Somewhat important

/ 3. / Not very important

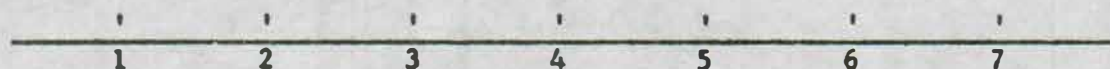
/ 4. / Not important?

Q.24a-Q.24g Same as objectives on page 8.

25. There is a great deal of talk these days about rising prices and the cost of living in general. Some feel that the problem of inflation is temporary and that no Government action is necessary. Others say the Government must do everything possible to combat the problem of inflation immediately or it will get worse. (SHOW CARD #6 TO R)

Total Government
action against
inflation

No Government
action against
inflation



- 25a. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?
(IF HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH GO TO Q.26)

- 25b. Where would you place the Democratic party?

- 25c. Where would you place the Republican party?

- 25d. (Where would you place) Richard Nixon?

- 25e. (Where would you place) Edmund Muskie?

- 25f. (Where would you place) George Wallace?

- 25g. How important would you say this issue is to you:

/ 1. / Very important

/ 2. / Somewhat important

/ 3. / Not very important

/ 4. / Not important?

Q.25a-Q.25g Same as objectives on page 8.

26. Some people are primarily concerned with doing everything possible to protect the legal rights of those accused of committing crimes. Others feel that it is more important to stop criminal activity even at the risk of reducing the rights of the accused. (SHOW CARD #7 TO R)

Protect
rights of
accused

Stop crime
regardless
of rights
of accused



- 26a. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?
(IF HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH GO TO Q.27)

- 26b. Where would you place the Democratic party?

- 26c. Where would you place the Republican party?

- 26d. (Where would you place) Richard Nixon?

- 26e. (Where would you place) Edmund Muskie?

- 26f. (Where would you place) George Wallace?

- 26g. How important would you say this issue is to you:

/ 1. / Very important

/ 2. / Somewhat important

/ 3. / Not very important

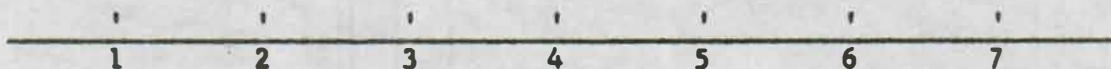
/ 4. / Not important?

Q.26a-Q.26g Same as the objective on page 8.

27. There are many sources of air and water pollution; one of them is private industry. Some say the Government should force private industry to stop its polluting. Others believe industries should be left alone to handle these matters in their own way. Given these two approaches. . . (SHOW CARD #8 TO R)

Government force
private industry
to stop polluting

Industries should
handle pollution
in their own way



- 27a. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?
(IF HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH GO TO Q.28)

- 27b. Where would you place the Democratic party?

- 27c. Where would you place the Republican party?

- 27d. (Where would you place) Richard Nixon?

- 27e. (Where would you place) Edmund Muskie?

- 27f. (Where would you place) George Wallace?

- 27g. How important would say this issue is to you:

1. Very important

2. Somewhat important

3. Not very important

4. Not important?

Q.27a-Q.27g Same as objectives on page 8.

- 2 . There is much concern about the rapid rise in medical and hospital costs. Some feel there should be a government health 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. (SHOW CARD #9 TO R)

Government
insurance plan

Private
insurance plans

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

- 28a. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?
(IF HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH GO TO Q.29)

- 28b. Where would you place the Democratic party?

- 28c. Where would you place the Republican party?

- 28d. (Where would you place) Richard Nixon?

- 28e. (Where would you place) Edmund Muskie?

- 28f. (Where would you place) George Wallace?

- 28g. How important would you say this issue is to you:

/ 1. / Very important

/ 2. / Somewhat important

/ 3. / Not very important

/ 4. / Not important?

Q.28a-Q.28g Same as objectives on page 8.

FORM 2: BOX B

This is our second skip instruction for Form 2. Please make sure you check the appropriate box and follow the directions indicated.

There are many possible ways for people to show their disapproval or disagreement with governmental policies and actions. I am going to describe three such ways. We would like to know which ones you approve of as ways of showing dissatisfaction with the government, and which ones you disapprove of.

29. How about taking part in protest meetings or marches that are permitted by the local authorities? Would you approve of taking part, disapprove, or would it depend on the circumstances?

/1.Approve/

/5.Disapprove/

/3.Depends/

/8.Don't know/

30. How about refusing to obey a law which one thinks is unjust, if the person feels so strongly about it that he is willing to go to jail rather than obey the law? Would you approve of a person doing that, disapprove, or would it depend on the circumstances?

/1.Approve/

/5.Disapprove/

/3.Depends/

/8.Don't know/

31. Suppose all other methods have failed and the person decides to try to stop the government from going about its usual activities with sit-ins, mass meetings, demonstrations, and things like that? Would you approve of that, disapprove, or would it depend on the circumstances?

/1.Approve/

/5.Disapprove/

/3.Depends/

/8.Don't know/

Q.29-Q.31

Straightforward,

32. Now I'd like to read some of the kinds of things people tell us when we interview them and ask you whether you agree or disagree with them. I'll read them one at a time and you just tell me whether you agree or disagree.

32a. People like me don't have any say about what the government does. /1.Agree/ /5.Disagree/

32b. Voting is the only way that people like me can have any say about how the government runs things. /1.Agree/ /5.Disagree/

32c. Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on. /1.Agree/ /5.Disagree/

32d. I don't think public officials care much what people like me think. /1.Agree/ /5.Disagree/

32e. Generally speaking, those we elect to Congress in Washington lose touch with the people pretty quickly. /1.Agree/ /5.Disagree/

32f. Parties are only interested in people's votes but not in their opinions. /1.Agree/ /5.Disagree/

People have different ideas about the government in Washington. These ideas don't refer to Democrats or Republicans in particular but just to the government in general. We want to see how you feel about these ideas -- for example:

33. Do you think that people in the government waste a lot of the money we pay in taxes, waste some of it, or don't waste very much of it?

/5.A lot/

/3.Some/

/1.Not much/

34. How much of the time do you think you can trust the government in Washington to do what is right -- just about always, most of the time, or only some of the time?

/1.Always/

/3.Most of the time/

/5.Some of the time/

35. Would you say the government is pretty much run by a few big interests looking out for themselves or that it is run for the benefit of all the people?

/5.Few big interests/

/1.For benefit of all/

Q.32-Q.35

Straightforward. Try to get the R to choose only one box even if he has qualifications and record the qualifications in your marginal notes.

36. Do you feel that almost all of the people running the government are smart people who usually know what they are doing, or do you think that quite a few of them don't seem to know what they are doing?

/1.Know what they're doing/

/5.Don't know what they're doing/

37. Do you think that quite a few of the people running the government are a little crooked, not very many are, or do you think hardly any of them are crooked at all?

/5.Quite a lot/

/3.Not many/

/1.Hardly any/

38. Over the years, how much attention do you feel the government pays to what the people think when it decides what to do:

/1.A good deal/

/3.Some/

or

/5.Not much/ ?

/8.Don't know/

39. How much do you feel that political parties help to make the government pay attention to what the people think:

/1.A good deal/

/3.Some/

or

/5.Not much/ ?

/8.Don't know/

40. And how much do you feel that having elections makes the government pay attention to what the people think:

/1.A good deal/

/3.Some/

or

/5.Not much/ ?

/8.Don't know/

41. How much attention do you think most Congressmen pay to the people who elect them when they decide what to do in Congress:

/1.A good deal/

/3.Some/

or

/5.Not much/ ?

/8.Don't know/

Now here is something different. We have a few questions on other things besides politics.

42. Do you think it's better to plan your life a good way ahead, or would you say life is too much a matter of luck to plan ahead very far?

/1.Plan ahead/

/5.Too much luck to plan/

/8.Don't know/

Q.36-Q.37

Straightforward. Try to get R to choose only one box even if he has qualifications and record the qualifications in your marginal notes.

FORM 2: Box C

This is our third skip instruction for Form 2. Please make sure you check the appropriate box and follow the directions indicated.

Q.38-Q.42

Straightforward. Try to get R to choose only one box even if he has qualifications and record the qualifications in your marginal notes. In question Q.38 - Q.41, please be sure not to read the "Don't Know" category.

43. When you do make plans ahead, do you usually get to carry out things the way you expected, or do things usually come up to make you change your plans?

/1.Things work out as expected/ /5.Have to change plans/ /8.Don't know/

44. Have you usually felt pretty sure your life would work out the way you want it to, or have there been times when you haven't been sure about it?

/1.Pretty sure/ /5.Haven't been sure/ /8.Don't know/

45. Some people feel they can run their lives pretty much the way they want to; others feel the problems of life are sometimes too big for them. Which one are you most like?

/1.Can run own life/ /5.Problems of life too big/ /8.Don't know/

46. In general, how satisfying do you find the way you're spending your life these days? Would you call it completely satisfying, pretty satisfying or not very satisfying?

/1.Completely/ /3.Pretty/ /5.Not very/ /8.Don't know/

47. Now I'd like to talk with you a bit about the elections which took place this fall. As you know, representatives to the Congress in Washington were chosen in this election from congressional districts all around the country. How much would you say that you personally cared about the way the elections to Congress came out: very much, pretty much, not very much, or not at all?

/1.Very much/ /2.Pretty much/ /4.Not very much/ /5.Not at all/ /8.Don't know/

OTHER; DEPENDS: _____

Q.43-Q.46

Straightforward.

Q.47

We want to know how much R personally cares about the outcome of the election, not whether he thinks it was a good or bad thing, etc.

48. During the election campaign, did anyone ask you for your suggestions about which party or candidate to vote for?

/1.Yes/

/5.No/ → (GO TO Q.49)

48a. Was this somebody in your family, one of your friends, or someone where you work?

/1.Family/

/2.Friend/

/3.Someone at work/

OTHER: (specify) _____

49. During the campaign did you talk to anybody and try to show them why they should vote for one of the parties or candidates?

/1.Yes/

/5.No/ → (GO TO Q.50)

49a. Was this somebody in your family, one of your friends, or someone where you work?

/1.Family/

/2.Friend/

/3.Someone at work/

OTHER: (specify) _____

50. Did you go to any political meetings, rallies, dinners, or things like that?

/1.Yes/

/5.No/ → (GO TO Q.51)

50a. How many would you say you went to? _____

51. Did you do any other work for one of the parties or candidates?

/1.Yes/

/5.No/

52. Do you belong to any political club or organizations?

/1.Yes/

/5.No/

53. Did you wear a campaign button or put a campaign sticker on your car?

/1.Yes/

/5.No/

Q.48

This question is designed to be a companion to Q.49. In Q.48 we want to know if any one has asked R for guidance or advice. We do not expect many respondents to answer "Yes" to this question, but in every social grouping, ~~there seem~~ to be a few individuals to whom others turn for guidance about political matters, and we are trying to identify these people in this question. We do not want to know if R's opinions were canvassed routinely by a political party, or his union. You should probe if R's response is not clear: R: "Yes, we talk about it at work." Interviewer: "Can you tell me more about that?"

More than one answer may be checked in response to Q.48a.

Q.49

Now we want to know if R has talked to anyone with the purpose of persuading them to vote for his party or candidate. For this question, it is irrelevant whether ~~someone~~ had asked R for his guidance. You may need a probe in order to determine if R in his conversation actually made ~~some~~ effort to convince ~~someone~~ else to vote for a certain party or candidate.

More than one answer may be checked in response to Q.49a.

Q.50-Q.53

Straightforward.

54. Would you say that one of the parties is more conservative or more liberal than the other at the national level?

1.Yes

54a. Which party is more conservative? /1.Democratic/ /5.Republican/

54b. What do you have in mind when you say that the (R)(D) are more conservative than the (D)(R)? (Anything else?)

54c. Would you say the (R's)(D's) are a lot more conservative than the (D's)(R's) or only a little more conservative?

/1.Lot more conservative/

/5.Little more/

5.No

or
8.DK

54d. Do you think that people generally consider the Democrats or the Republicans more conservative, or wouldn't you want to guess about that?

/1.Dems more conserv./

/5.Reps more conserv./

/7.No guess/
(GO TO Q.55)

54e. What do people have in mind when they say the (D's)(R's) are more conservative than the (R's)(D's)?

Q.54

In this question we wish to find out what the familiar terms "conservative" and "liberal" mean to people, and how they associate the terms with the two major parties. Therefore it is very important that you avoid saying anything which might give the R any clue as to what the terms "conservative" or "liberal" mean to you. If he does not know what they mean, this is precisely what we would like to find out. If he asks you what we mean by these terms, reply that we would like him to use whatever meaning he would give these words. Actually, the probes 54b and 54c are included to find out what kind of meaning R attaches to these words when they are used to describe a party. An adequate response to 54b or 54c should reveal what specifically the word "conservative" means to the R.

Q.55 Here we are attempting to measure the respondent's party identification." By party identification we mean a person's feeling of attachment or belonging to a party. The question is intended to pin down the respondent's "usual" or customary sense of party affiliation, not particularly how he intends to vote in this election. This means that a response such as "Oh, I have been a Democrat off and on, but I really don't know about this year" classifies the respondent as a Democrat (Probably, in 55b, a "not very strong Democrat"), and not as an Independent. The people who are deviating from a usual party will be identified by later questions, but at this point we want to know if they have a "usual" party.

A few respondents may shy away from the question with responses such as "I am an American." Such evasions should be probed further with something such as "Well, a lot of us who feel that we are good Americans also think of ourselves as Democrats, Republicans, and so forth. Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself....?"

We hope that the new format for this question is easily understandable. Note that the possible answers to Q.55 appear at the top of the page - and that the appropriate probes then follow directly underneath for Republican and Democrat, but on the next page for Independent, No Preference and Other.

In the 55a, 55b, and 55j probes concerning strength and closeness, we are again interested in R's usual party feeling. However if R mentions any recent change in his feelings toward a party, be sure to record that.

In the 55c, 55d, 55k, 55L, and 55m probes we are interested in learning about any change in R's party identification over the years, and the next probe asks when such a change took place.

We are interested in getting the year as accurately as possible, but we will settle for more general information as to the period when the change occurred, such as "Right after the Hoover depression" or "After Dewey got beat the first time." If R talks in terms of a man who was active in more than one campaign, such as Hoover, Dewey, Roosevelt, etc., try to get the particular term or campaign he is thinking of. If "When Hoover ran," try to pin down the date - was it 1928 or 1932?

Note that we are specifically interested in the time of the most recent change. That is, a "born" Republican may have become a Democrat temporarily during the depression, and may want to tell you why he switched from Republican to Democrat at that time. However, we want to know when he switched to his present identification. By stressing "When did you change from Democrat (back) to Republican" you will get the time element which we are most interested in.

If R does not give clear response to 55f and 55o probe to determine if change was influenced by (1) a particular candidate; (2) some issue or issues he felt strongly about; (3) because of the position taken by the parties on certain issues or posture towards certain groups; (4) the influence of other people such as a husband, wife, some other family relative or friend.

(IF R IS /INDEPENDENT/ /NO PREFERENCE/ /OTHER/)55j. Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican or to the Democratic party?/5.Republican//4.Neither//3.Democratic/

55k. Was there ever a time when you thought of yourself as closer to the Democratic party instead of the Republican party?

/1.Yes/ /5.No, never/
(GO TO Q.55p)

55l. Was there ever a time when you thought of yourself as a Democrat or as a Republican? (Which party was that?)

/1.Yes, Dem/ /5.No, never/
(GO TO Q.55p)
/3.Yes, Rep/

55m. Was there ever a time when you thought of yourself as closer to the Republican party instead of the Democratic party?

/1.Yes/ /5.No, never/
(GO TO Q.55p)

55n. When did you change? _____

55o. Why did you change? _____

CONT. WITH Q.55p

55p. Now when you say you (are an Independent/have no preference/are OTHER) are you thinking only of politics here in (STATE) or national politics or both?

/1.National//3.Both/
(GO TO Q.56)/5.State/

55q. How about politics here in (STATE), are you:

/1.Democrat//5.Republican//3.Independent/ ?/7.Other (Specify): _____/

55r. How about in national politics, are you:

/1.Democrat//5.Republican//3.Independent/ ?/7.Other (Specify): _____/

Q.55j-Q.55r Refer to objectives on page 22.

56. Do you remember when you were growing up whether your father thought of himself mostly as a Democrat, as a Republican, or what?

/1.Democrat/

/5.Republican/

/7.Other (SPECIFY) /

/8.Don't know/

57. Now how about your mother? When you were growing up did she think of herself mostly as a Democrat, as a Republican, or what?

/1.Democrat/

/5.Republican/

/7.Other (SPECIFY) /

/8.Don't know/

(FOR BLACK RESPONDENTS ONLY:)

58. Some people say Blacks should form their own political party and work mainly through it; others say Blacks should concentrate on making changes through the two major parties. How do you feel?

/1.Work in own party/

/2.Both/

/3.Work in two major parties/

/8.Don't know, /
not sure /

- 58a. Would you support an independent black political party?

/1.Yes/

/3.Depends, not sure/

/5.No/

Q.56-Q.57 Straightforward.

Q.58-Q.58a. Ask Black Respondents only. Please read questions 58 and 58a
as they appear--do not substitute Negro for Black.

59. In the elections for President since you have been old enough to vote, would you say you have voted in all of them, most of them, some of them, or none of them?

/3.All/ /2.Most/ /1.Some/ /5.None/ /0.Inap.-Not of voting age in 1968/

(GO TO Q.60) (GO TO Q.60)

59a. Have you always voted for the same party or have you voted for different parties for president?

(IF SAME)

59b. Which party was that?

/1.Democratic/ /5.Republican/ /7.Other

59c. Now in 1968 you remember that Mr. Nixon ran on the Republican ticket against Mr. Humphrey on the Democratic ticket and Mr. Wallace on an independent ticket. Do you remember for sure whether or not you voted in that election?

/1.Yes, did vote/ /5.No, did not vote/ /7.Don't remember if voted/

59d. Which one did you vote for?

/2.Nixon/ /1.Humphrey/ /3.Wallace/ /8.Don't know/ /7.Other/

60. Some people don't pay much attention to political campaigns. How about you? Would you say that you were very much interested, somewhat interested, or not much interested in following the political campaigns this year?

/1.Very much interested/ /3.Somewhat interested/ /5.Not much interested/

Q.59-Q.60 Straight forward.

61. Do you happen to remember the names of the candidates for Congress -- that is, the House of Representatives in Washington -- that ran in this congressional district this November?

/1.Yes/

/5.No/ → (GO TO Q.62)

61a. Who are they?		
61b. Which party is (he/she)?	NAME	PARTY
61c. INTERVIEWER CHECK: <input type="checkbox"/> ONE PARTY MENTIONED ASK Q.62		
<input type="checkbox"/> MORE THAN ONE PARTY MENTIONED, GO TO Q.63		

62. Do you happen to know if both the parties ran candidates for Congress in this congressional district this November or was there only one candidate?			
<u>/1.Dem only/</u>	<u>/5.Rep only/</u>	<u>/3.Both/</u>	<u>/8.Don't know/</u>

63. Do you happen to know which party had the most members in the House of Representatives in Washington before the election (this / last) month? (IF NECESSARY) Which one?

/1.Democrats/

/5.Republicans/

/8.Don't know/

64. Do you happen to know which party elected the most members to the House of Representatives in the election (this / last) month? (IF NECESSARY) Which one?

/1.Democrats/

/5.Republicans/

/8.Don't know/

65. In talking to people about the election we find that a lot of people weren't able to vote because they (were too young,) weren't registered, they were sick, or they just didn't have time. How about you, did you vote this time or did something keep you from voting?

/1.Yes, voted/
(CONTINUE WITH Q.66)

/5.No, didn't vote/
(GO TO Q.72)

Q.61 This year we are not supplying the names of the congressional candidates. Please record as accurately as possible the names supplied by the R. Note "INTERVIEWER check" at 61c gives direction on how to proceed from Q.61.

Q.62 Straightforward.

Q.63-Q.64 Question 63 refers to which party had a majority before the election, whereas Q.64 deals with the outcome of the election in November.

Q.65-Q.72 These questions on respondent's voting participation are a crucial part of this political study. We tend to get higher proportions of our respondents saying they voted in November than would be expected from the national turnout figures, so it is important to ask this question in as casual a way as possible. The purpose of the introductory statement is to make it easier for the respondent to admit that he didn't vote without a feeling of embarrassment or guilt for not performing his civic duty. If, as you proceed with the voting questions, it appears that perhaps the respondent really had not made it to the polls, a further gentle probe in this regard would be in order. But this should be done cautiously with full awareness that some people, who actually voted, don't remember a few weeks later who they voted for. Because this is the first time a political study has included 18 - 20 year olds as eligible respondents we have added an optional statement ("were too young") with regard to age. Read this option only to those under 21, except in Georgia and Kentucky.

66. How about the election for United States Senator? Did you vote for a candidate for Senator?

/1.Yes/

/5.No/
(GO TO Q.67)

/8.Don't know/
(GO TO Q.67)

66a. Who did you vote for? Which party was that?

(NAME)

(PARTY)

67. How about the vote for Congressman? Did you vote for a candidate for Congress?

/1.Yes/

/5.No/
(GO TO Q.68)

/8.Don't know/
(GO TO Q.68)

67a. Who did you vote for? Which party was that?

(NAME)

(PARTY)

68. How about the vote for Governor? Did you vote for a candidate for Governor?

/1.Yes/

/5.No/
(GO TO Q.69)

/8.Don't know/
(GO TO Q.69)

68a. Who did you vote for? Which party was that?

(NAME)

(PARTY)

69. Did you vote for other state and local offices?

/1.Yes, voted/

/5.Didn't vote/
(GO TO Q.70)

69a. Did you vote a straight ticket, or did you vote for candidates from different parties?

/1.Straight ticket/

/5.Different parties/

69b. Which party?

/1.Dem/ /5.Rep/

69c. How did you split your vote:

/1.Mostly Dem/ /5.Mostly Rep/

/3.Almost even Rep and Dem/?

Q.66-Q.68

THESE QUESTIONS ON VOTE FOR SENATOR AND FOR GOVERNOR ARE ONLY TO BE ASKED IN STATES IN WHICH SUCH CANDIDATES WERE ON THE BALLOT. If your state does not appear in this list turn to the list of candidates for Governor and Senator (p.) and familiarize yourself with the correct spellings; but record whatever name the R gives.

Q.66

There were no Senatorial races in the following 15 states:

Alabama	Iowa	North Carolina
Arkansas	Kansas	Oklahoma
Colorado	Kentucky	Oregon
Georgia	Louisiana	South Carolina
Idaho	New Hampshire	South Dakota

Q.67

All members of the House of Representatives in Washington from all districts are up for election.

Q.68

There were no races for Governor in the following 15 states:

Delaware	Mississippi	North Dakota
Illinois	Missouri	Utah
Indiana	Montana	Virginia
Kentucky	New Jersey	Washington
Louisiana	North Carolina	West Virginia

IT IS SUGGESTED THAT YOU "INAP" THESE QUESTIONS PRIOR TO THE INTERVIEW, IF YOU ARE INTERVIEWING IN A STATE IN WHICH ONE OR BOTH OF THESE QUESTIONS IS/ARE INAPPROPRIATE.

WASHINGTON, D.C. INTERVIEWERS: Q.66 - 8 ARE INAP FOR R'S INSIDE THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA SINCE THERE ARE NO D.C. CANDIDATES FOR THESE OFFICES.

Q.66-Q.68

In these questions on voting for Senator, Congressman, and Governor we want to know if the R can give the correct candidate name. Of course, if he gives you an incorrect name, you should not correct him but record the name as given and then ask "Which party is that?" In editing please make sure the names recorded are legible. Whether or not the R provides the candidate's name, we always want to know the candidates' party. The names of the Senator and Governor candidates are given in the State List of Senator and Governor Candidates beginning on page 43.

Q.69

This is a question about state and local offices other than those just covered.

70. In addition to voting for candidates for office, many states also have people vote on other problems at the same time. How about here? Were there any statewide propositions on the ballot for the people to vote on?

/1.Yes/

/5.No/
(GO TO Q.72)

/8.Don't know/
(GO TO Q.72)

70a. Were there any propositions you were particularly interested in?

/1.Yes/

/5.No/
(GO TO Q.71)

/8.Don't know/
(GO TO Q.71)

70b. Which were they?

71. Did you vote on all, most, some, or none of these statewide propositions?

/ 1./ Voted on all propositions

/ 2./ Voted on most propositions

/ 3./ Voted on some propositions

/ 4./ Didn't vote for any propositions

/ 8./ Don't know

72. In general, do you feel that more issues should be decided by voters at the polls?

/1.Yes/

/5.No/
(GO TO Q.73)

/8.Don't know/
(GO TO Q.73)

72a. Is there anything in particular you had in mind?

Q.70-Q.71

This is a new set of questions concerning propositions on the ballot. We hope that "proposition" is a general enough word to cover any kind of issue, question, referendum, bonding proposal, etc. which the voters are called upon to approve or reject. Note that Q.70 and Q.71 refer only to statewide propositions.

Q.72

This question refers to issues in general and not just statewide; these could be local or national issues.

73. We're also interested in learning what kinds of work Americans respect most highly. Which of these occupations do you respect the most? (HAND CARD #10 TO RESPONDENT) What would be your second choice? Third choice?

_____ United States Senator

_____ Bishop or other church official

_____ General or admiral

_____ Famous doctor

_____ Justice of the U. S. Supreme Court

_____ Atomic scientist

_____ Professor at a large university

_____ President of the United States

_____ Well known athlete

_____ President of a large corporation like General Motors

_____ Governor of your state

Q.73

Use Card #10. Mark "1" before the occupation which is R's first choice, "2" before his second and "3" before his third choice.

FORM 2: ASK BLACK RESPONDENTS ONLY.

74. Several political leaders have already been mentioned as possible candidates for President in 1972. We would like to get your feelings toward some of these people.

I have here a card (INTERVIEWER HANDS OVER CARD #11) on which there is something that looks like a thermometer. We call it a "feeling thermometer" because it measures your feelings towards these people.

Here's how it works. If you don't feel particularly warm or cold toward a person, then you should place him in the middle of the thermometer, at the 50 degree mark.

If you have a warm feeling toward a person, or feel favorably toward him, you would give him a score somewhere between 50° and 100°, depending on how warm your feeling is toward that person.

On the other hand, if you don't feel very favorably toward a person -- that is, if you don't care too much for him -- then you would place him somewhere between 0° and 50°.

Of course, if you don't know too much about a person, just tell me and we'll go on to the next name.

Our first person is George Wallace. Where would you put him on the thermometer?

INTERVIEWER: TAKE SOME TIME TO EXPLAIN HOW THE THERMOMETER WORKS, SHOWING THE WAY IN WHICH THE DEGREE LABELS CAN HELP HIM TO LOCATE AN INDIVIDUAL, SUCH AS GEORGE WALLACE.

	<u>Rating</u>		<u>Rating</u>
a. George Wallace	_____	f. Edmund Muskie	_____
b. Hubert Humphrey	_____	g. Edward (Ted) Kennedy	_____
c. Richard Nixon	_____	h. George McGovern	_____
d. John Lindsay	_____	i. Spiro Agnew	_____
e. Ronald Reagan	_____	j. Eugene McCarthy	_____

Q.74-Q.75

These are the thermometer questions--and they require Card #11. As a research tool this procedure was used for the first time in 1964 and has yielded quite a bit of valuable information about the respondents feelings. In this study we are using the thermometer to measure feelings towards possible Presidential candidates and a number of groups. If R has no opinion about a particular "possible candidate" or a particular group, do not assign a number, but record "DK" or "no opinion".

Watch to be sure that warmth of feeling is not equated with anger. In order to avoid such a mix-up and others like it, we have consistently equated favorable with warm and unfavorable with cold on the show card. We understand that warm or favorable is the same as "liking" someone and cold means "disliking" someone.

We want the ratings entered in degrees on the interview schedule. If R wants to select a degree level which is not entered on the feeling thermometer, i.e., 95°, in order to indicate more accurately his feeling toward a group, by all means let him do so and record his response to the exact degree.

FORM 2:

The only difference between Forms 1 and 2 is the order in which the persons and/or groups are listed. The lists in Q.74-75 are reversed on Form 2.

75. As you know, there are many groups and persons in America that try to get the Government or the American people to see things more their way. Please use the thermometer again -- this time to indicate your feelings toward these groups or persons. Our first group is civil rights leaders. Where would you put them on the thermometer?

	<u>Rating</u>		<u>Rating</u>
a. Civil rights leaders	_____	j. Democrats	_____
b. Policemen	_____	k. Negroes	_____
c. Ministers who lead protest marches	_____	l. Republicans	_____
d. Conservatives	_____	m. People who use marijuana	_____
e. People who riot in cities	_____	n. Liberals	_____
f. People who go to rock festivals	_____	o. Radical students	_____
g. John Birch Society	_____	p. Women's Liberation Movement	_____
h. The Military	_____	q. Black militants	_____
i. Whites	_____		

Q.75

Refer to objectives on page 30.

76. Now I would like to ask you about how the Government in Washington spends the money it gets in taxes. Do you happen to know about how many cents of your federal tax dollar are going to the Defense Department these days?

 c/

/8.Don't know/

77. If the United States Congress passes a law, is there any way that the law can be changed without the agreement of Congress?

/1.Yes/

/5.No/ → (GO TO Q.78)

77a. How is that?

78. How many times can an individual be elected president of the United States?

 Times

/0.Don't know/

79. How long is the term of office for a United States Senator?

 Years

/0.Don't know/

80. How long is the term for a member of the House of Representatives in Washington, D. C.?

 Years

/0.Don't know/

Q.76

In this question we are trying to get an indication of R's knowledge of the federal budget, particularly how much he thinks is going to the Defense Department. If R asks if this includes the costs of the Vietnam War, the answer is yes. Should R give a range of cents, (e.g., 60 - 70¢), please record that. We definitely want the number of cents; therefore if R says "quite a bit", ask him to specify this in some number of cents.

Q.78

Please note that this question refers to the number of times an individual can be elected President, not to the number of years he can hold office. If R seems to be answering in terms of years in office please clarify the answer.

Q.79-Q.80

We do want the number of years in these questions. Please record the number given regardless of whether it is correct or not.

We would now like a little background information on you and your family.

P1. What is your date of birth?

(MONTH)

(DAY)

(YEAR)

P2. Are you married now and living with your (husband/wife) -- or are you widowed, divorced, separated, or single?

/1.Married and living with spouse (or spouse in service)/

/2.Single/
(GO TO Q.P3)

/5.Widowed/

/3.Divorced/

/4.Separated/

P2a. Do you have any children?

/1.Yes/

/5.No/ → (GO TO Q.P3)

P2b. How many? _____

P2c. What are their ages?

_____, _____, _____, _____, _____, _____, _____, _____, _____, _____

OPL.-Q.P2

Straightforward.

(ASK Q.P3 FOR RESPONDENT AND AGAIN FOR HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD IF R IS NOT HEAD.
IF R IS HEAD ASK AGAIN FOR HIS WIFE)

P3. How many grades of school did (you) finish?

RESPONDENT				HEAD, OR HIS WIFE, IF NOT R			
<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>
<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>
<u>9</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>12</u>

P3a. Have (you) had any other schooling? (What was that?) (Any other?)

/1.Yes/
↓
/5.No/
(GO TO SECOND COLUMN)

/1.Yes/
↓
/5.No/
(GO TO Q.P4)

(COLLEGE, SECRETARIAL, BUSINESS SCHOOL, ETC.)

(COLLEGE, SECRETARIAL, BUSINESS SCHOOL, ETC.)

/IF R ATTENDED COLLEGE/
↓

P3b. What college(s) did (you) attend? Where (is that/are they) located?

(1) _____
(COLLEGE)

(1) _____
(COLLEGE)

(LOCATION)

(LOCATION)

(2) _____

(2) _____

(3) _____

(3) _____

P3c. Do (you) have a college degree?

/1.Yes/
↓
/5.No/
(GO TO SECOND COLUMN)

/1.Yes/
↓
/5.No/
(GO TO Q.P4)

P3d. (IF YES) What degree(s) have (you) received? From which college(s)?

Q.P3-Q.P3d

Note that these education questions must be repeated for the head of household when R is not head. If R is head and married, then ask about his wife. Of course this will require a rephrasing of the questions in terms of "your husband," "your son," "has he," "your wife," "has she".

In P3 "grades of school" refers to elementary and secondary school, not to college or technical school. In P3a under "other schooling" we want to be able to distinguish between non-college courses which are primarily technical or vocational and college courses which include liberal arts requirements. Please record enough information about the schooling to make this distinction clear.

P4. Are you presently employed, or are you unemployed, retired, (a housewife), (a student), or what?

<u>/1.Employed/</u>	<u>/2.Unemployed/</u>	<u>/3.Retired/</u>	<u>/4.Housewife/</u>	<u>/5.Student/</u>	<u>/6.Other</u> (SPECIFY)
	(GO TO Q.P4g)		(GO TO Q.P4k ON NEXT PAGE)		

(EMPLOYED)

P4a. What kind of work do you do? (IF NECESSARY) What exactly do you do on your job?

P4b. What kind of business is that?

P4c. Do you work for yourself?

/1.Yes/

/5.No/

P4d. Do you work full time or part time?

/1.Full time/

/3.Part time/

P4e. Have you been out of a job anytime in the past two years?

/1.Yes/

/5.No/ → (GO TO Q.P5)

P4f. When was that?

FROM: _____ 19 _____ TO: _____ 19 _____
(MONTH) (YEAR) (MONTH) (YEAR)

(GO TO Q.P5)

(UNEMPLOYED OR RETIRED)

P4g. What kind of work did you do when you were employed? (IF NECESSARY) What exactly did you do on your job?

P4h. What kind of business was that?

P4i. Did you work for yourself?

/1.Yes/

/5.No/

P4j. How long has it been since you were working?

_____ OR _____ OR _____
(DAYS) (MONTHS) (YEARS)

(GO TO Q.P5)

Q.P4-Q.P6

This is a change in our usual occupation format. Instead of just asking R's occupation we now begin with a screening question to determine his employment status. Then, depending on the employment status, we provide alternative sets of questions in the boxes (P4a-P4f; P4g-P4j; P4k-P4p) and when appropriate (P6a-P6f; P6g-P6j; P6k-P6p).

Remember to check Q.P5 in all cases. Q.P5 contains the instructions which are to be followed in asking for the occupation of the family HEAD or the wife of R whenever R is the family HEAD.

It's difficult to phrase the employment status question in a way that is suitable to all Rs. Thus the category "housewife" is placed in parentheses to indicate that you should ask it only when talking to a female R. Other changes may also be made in this question as seem appropriate, such as dropping the student category with an elderly R, or skipping the question if R has already indicated in some way that he is currently employed. But please make sure that you really know the R's employment status before you go on to the appropriate box. Please make sure you have checked the appropriate response or responses for Q.P4 and Q.P6. Note that more than one alternative may be checked, if, for example, an R says she is mainly a housewife but she also does some part-time work. "On strike" is another category which you may receive as a response to the lead question. Note this or any other different responses in the blank box.

Q.P4a-P4d
P4g-P4i
P4k-P4n
P6a-P6d
P6g-P6i
P6k-P6n

These are three slightly different sets of questions concerning the kind of work R does or did. However, we don't care much about the exact wording of the questions which you use, as long as you obtain the basic desired information about his job - kind of work and business, self-employment or not and time fraction. Whenever R mentions two jobs, either for himself, the family head or his spouse, get occupation information only for: 1) what R considers to be his main job; or if R doesn't say which is his main job, 2) the job from which R earns the largest total income. If R does not consider one job to be his main job, or both contribute an equal amount to total income, record both occupations, write the information in the margins of the back of the page if you need more space.

(HOUSEWIFE, STUDENT, OTHER)

P4k. Do you do any kind of work for pay?

/1.Yes//5.No/ → (GO TO Q.P4o)

P4l. What kind of work is that? (IF NECESSARY) What exactly do you do on your job?

P4m. What kind of business is that?

P4n. Do you work for yourself?

/1.Yes//5.No/

P4o. Was there any time in the past two years when you were looking for work, but couldn't get a job?

/1.Yes//5.No/ → (GO TO Q.P5)

P4p. When was that?

FROM: _____ 19 _____ TO _____ 19 _____
(MONTH) (YEAR) (MONTH) (YEAR)

P5. INTERVIEWER: CHECK ONE

- ☐ 1 R IS FAMILY HEAD LIVING WITH SPOUSE.....(ASK Q.P6 ABOUT R's SPOUSE)
- ☐ 2 R IS FAMILY HEAD, NO SPOUSE IN HOUSEHOLD..(GO TO Q.P7)
- ☐ 3 R IS NOT FAMILY HEAD.....(ASK Q.P6, ABOUT HEAD OF R's FAMILY IN HOUSEHOLD)

P6. Is (the head/your spouse) presently employed, or is (he/she) unemployed, retired, (a housewife), (a student), or what?

/1.Employed/ /2.Unemployed/ /3.Retired/ /4.Housewife/ /5.Student/ /6.Other
 (GO TO Q.P6g) (GO TO Q.P6k ON NEXT PAGE) (SPECIFY)

(EMPLOYED)

P6a. What kind of work does (he/she) do? (IF NECESSARY) What exactly does (he/she) do on the job?

P6b. What kind of business is that?

P6c. Does (he/she) work for (him/her)self?

/1.Yes//5.No/

P6d. Does (he/she) work full time or part time?

/1.Full time//3.Part time/

P6e. Has (he/she) been out of a job anytime in the past two years?

/1.Yes//5.No/ → (GO TO Q.P7)

P6f. When was that?

FROM: _____ 19 _____ TO: _____ 19 _____
(MONTH) (YEAR) (MONTH) (YEAR)

(GO TO Q. P7)

Q.P4a-b
P4g-h
P4l-m
P6a-b
P6g-h
P6L-m

Occupation is always a difficult problem for us to code back at SRC. Therefore we need your help in obtaining a full account of R's work. If R says he is a school teacher, there is not too much ambiguity about what he does. But many occupation responses are hard to code into their proper categories. Here are some examples of the kinds of coding difficulties we face when adequate occupation information is not obtained.

- R says he is a "salesman." Is he a traveling salesman, or is he a clerk in a department store? If he travels, does he sell magazines from door to door or is he traveling representative for a farm machinery manufacturer? Is he selling retail or wholesale?
- R says she is a "nurse." Is she a trained or registered nurse, or a "practical nurse"? Does she work for a private doctor, a government hospital, a manufacturing plant or a public school system?
- R says he "does carpentering." Is he a fully skilled carpenter, a carpenter's helper, an apprentice, or what?
- R says he is an "engineer." Does this mean that he tends an apartment house boiler, or is he an engineering consultant for a large corporation?
- R says that he works for the local newspaper. Is he editor, reporter, business manager, copy boy, or janitor?
- R says he is "in the Army." Is he an officer or an enlisted man? If he is "on the police force," is he a police captain, a detective, or a patrolman?

Try to keep these difficulties in mind when you are asking the occupation questions. Don't probe too far; we don't want to give R the impression that we are trying to "trace down" the name of his employer. But do try to make these basic distinctions, so that we'll have meaningful data for analysis.

(UNEMPLOYED OR RETIRED)

P6g. What kind of work did (he/she) do when (he/she) was employed? (IF NECESSARY) What exactly did (he/she) do on the job?

P6h. What kind of business was that? _____

P6i. Did (he/she) work for (him/her)self? /1.Yes/ /5.No/

P6j. How long has it been since (he/she) was working?

_____ OR _____ OR _____
(DAYS) (MONTHS) (YEARS)

(GO TO Q.P7)

(HOUSEWIFE, STUDENT, OTHER)

P6k. Does (she/he) do any kind of work for pay?

/1.Yes/



/5.No/ → (GO TO Q.P6o)

P6l. What kind of work is that? (IF NECESSARY) What exactly does (he/she) do on the job?

P6m. What kind of business is that? _____

P6n. Does (he/she) work for (him/her)self? /1.Yes/ /5.No/

P6o. Was there any time in the past two years when (he/she) was looking for work, but couldn't get a job?

/1.Yes/



/5.No/ → (GO TO Q.P7)

P6p. When was that?

FROM: _____ 19 _____ TO _____ 19 _____
(MONTH) (YEAR) (MONTH) (YEAR)

Q.P6g-P6p Refer back to objectives on pages 35 and 36.

(ASK WHERE HEAD HAS A FARM OCCUPATION -- EITHER FULL OR PART TIME)

P7. (Do you/Does head) do any other kind of work besides farming -- for pay, I mean?

/1.Yes/

/5.No/ → (GO TO Q.P8)

P7a. What kind of work is that? _____

P7b. About how much time (do you/does head) usually put in on that?

_____ hours per week for _____ weeks per year

P7c. Do you /1.own/ your farm, /2.manage/ it, /3.rent/ it or what?

P8. Does anyone in this household belong to a labor union?

/1.Yes/

/5.No/ → (GO TO Q.P9)

P8a. Who is it that belongs?
(CHECK AS MANY AS
APPLICABLE)

/Respondent/

/Head (not R)/

/Someone else /
/ in household/

P8b. What union is that?
(What unions are those?)
(e.g., UAW, UMW, AFT,
ILGU)

P8c. About how long (have you/
has he) belonged to this
union?

Q.P7

This question deals with other types of work done by a Head of Household, who has either a full-time or part-time farm occupation.

In P7c, if R's answer does not clearly fit into the categories "own," "manage" or "rent," please record any explanations he gives.

Q.P8

This sequence of questions will be asked of any R who lives in the same household with a union member. In Q.P8b, we are anxious to get more than the simple distinction between AF of L and CIO Unions; we would like to know the name of the international union to which the household member belongs. Therefore, we need enough probes to uncover the full name of the international, although we are not greatly interested in the number of R's local union. Where more than one union member lives in the same household, get the specific international union and the length of membership for each member.

- P9. There's been some talk these days about different social classes. Most people say they belong either to the middle class or to the working class? Do you ever think of yourself as belonging in one of these classes?

/1.Yes/

/5.No/

/8.DK/

/7.Other: _____/

P9a. Which one?
(RECORD BELOW)

P9b. Well, if you had to make a choice, would you call yourself middle class or working class?
(RECORD BELOW)

/Middle Class/

/Working Class/ /Other: _____/
(GO TO Q.P10)

P9c. Would you say that you are about average middle class, or that you are in the upper part of the middle class?

/4.Average middle/ /6.Upper middle/

P9d. Would you say you feel pretty close to middle class people, or that you don't feel much closer to them than to people in other classes?

/1.Close/ /4.Not closer/

P9e. Would you say that you are about average working class, or that you are in the upper part of the working class?

/1.A verage working/ /3.Upper working/

P9f. Would you say you feel pretty close to working class people, or that you don't feel much closer to them than to people in other classes?

/2.Close/ /5.Not closer/

- P10. In what social class do you think other people would place you?

- P11. What would you say your family was when you were growing up:

/1.Middle class/ or /2.Working class/ ?

Q.P9

This sequence of questions has become tried and true over the course of past surveys. In general, if R asks what we mean by "class," have him just use whatever meaning the term has for him. For example, if R asks "What do you mean by (working) (middle) class?," it would be all right to say, "We want whatever you would generally think of as (working class) (middle class)." In the first question (Q.P9) we want to find out whether R does think in terms of class groups. But even if he says he does not, we are anxious to have him place himself in one class or the other. This is why we say "...if you had to make a choice" in Q.P9b. We do not want R to feel that he does not need to make a choice, simply because he has said "No" to Q.P9.

Q.P9d-P9f

These seek to measure the degree to which R feels identified with his class grouping.

Q.P10

Straightforward.

Q.P11

If R did not grow up with his own family, but with some family, we would like him to respond in terms of the people who brought him up.

P12. Is your religious preference Protestant, Catholic, Jewish or something else?

/1.Protestant/ /3.Roman Catholic/ /5.Jewish/ /7.Other: _____/
(SPECIFY)

(IF PROTESTANT)

P12a. What church is that, Baptist, Methodist or what?

(IF SOME CHURCH PREFERENCE)

P13. Would you say you go to church --

/1.Almost every/ /2.Once or twice a/ /3.A few times/ or /4.Never/ ?
week month a year

P14. Where were you born? (IF UNITED STATES) Which state?

(DO NOT ASK OF NEGROES OR FOREIGN-BORN)

P15. Were both your parents born in this country?

/5.No/

P15a. Which country was your father born in?

P15b. Which country was your mother born in?

/1.Yes/

/8.Don't know/

P15c. Do you remember which country your family came from originally on your father's side?

P15d.on your mother's side?

(IF MORE THAN ONE NATIONALITY MENTIONED)

P15e. Aside from being American, what nationality do you think of your family being mainly?

Q.P12 If the respondent has no church preference or does not care to state it, this should be noted on the questionnaire.

Q.P13 Straightforward.

Q.P14 Straightforward.

Q.P15a-d Straightforward.

Q.P15e This question is asked only when two different country names appear in P15a and P15b or P15c and P15d.

P16. What kind of work did your father do for a living while you were growing up?

P17. What kind of work did your mother do for a living while you were growing up?

(IF FATHER HAD FARM OCCUPATION)

P18. When you were growing up on the farm, would you say that your family was pretty well off financially, about average, or did they have trouble making ends meet?

/1.Well off/

/3.Average/

/5.Trouble/

/8.Don't know/

P19. Where was it that you grew up? (IF UNITED STATES) Which state or states?

(IF GREW UP IN DIFFERENT STATE FROM CURRENT RESIDENCE)

19a. How old were you when you came to this state? _____

P20. Were you brought up mostly in the country, in a town, in a small city, or in a large city?

P21. How long have you lived here in (NAME OF COMMUNITY)? _____

P21a. (IF LESS THAN ALL OF LIFE) Where did you live before you moved here?

CITY

STATE

P22. How long have you lived in this house (apartment)? _____
(IF ALL OF LIFE GO TO Q.P24)

P23. How would you compare this neighborhood with the one you left:

a. Is this one: /1.Newer/ /5.Older/ /3.About the same/ ?

b. Is it: /1.Less expensive/ /5.More expensive/ /3.About the same/ ?

c. Is it: /1.Closer to center/ /5.Further out from/ /3.About the/
/ of the city / / center of city / / same / ?

Q.P16-Q.P18

In some cases R will say that his father died early or was not around for some other reason. Here we are more interested in what kind of environment R grew up in than in his father as an individual. Therefore, the occupation of the relative or other foster parent who raised him may be appropriate.

Q.P19

By "grow up" here we mean the time from birth until R was roughly 18-20 years old. If R lived in more than one place during this period, information as to the proper sequence of states lived in, along with a rough estimate of the period involved, would be appreciated.

Q.P20

Straightforward.

Q.P21

Straightforward.

Q.P21a

Please note that P21a. is asked only if R has not lived in the same community all of his life.

Q.P22

Straightforward.

Q.P23

Ask only of R who has not lived in same residence all of his life.

- P24. Many people don't know their exact 1970 income yet; but would you tell me as best you can what you expect your 1970 total family income to be--before taxes? You may just tell me the letter of the group on this card into which your family income will probably fall. (HAND R CARD #12)

/A.Under \$1000/ /B.\$1000-1999/ /C.\$2000-2999/ /D.\$3000-3999/
/E.\$4000-4999/ /F.\$5000-7499/ /G.\$7500-9999/ /H.\$10,000-14,999/
/I.\$15,000-24,999/ /J.\$25,000 and over/

- P25. Do you own your own home here, or rent, or what?

/1.Own/ /2.Rent/ OTHER: _____
(EXPLAIN)

INTERVIEWER: GO TO RESPONDENT INFORMATION SHEET

INTERVIEWER'S SUPPLEMENT

- P26. Respondent's sex is: /1.Male/ /2.Female/
- P27. Respondent's race is: /1.White/ /2.Negro/ OTHER: _____
- P28. Relationship of R to head: /1.Is head/ /2.Is wife/ OTHER: _____
- P29. Other persons present at interview were: /None/ /Children under 6/
(CHECK MORE THAN ONE BOX IF NECESSARY)
/Older children/ /Spouse/ /Other relatives/ /Other adults/
- P30. Respondent's cooperation was:
/1.Very good/ /2.Good/ /3.Fair/ /4.Poor/ /5.Very poor/
- P31. Respondent's general interest in politics and public affairs seemed:
/1.Very high/ /2.Fairly high/ /3.Average/ /4.Fairly low/ /5.Very low/
- P32. Respondent's general level of information about politics and public affairs seemed:
/1.Very high/ /2.Fairly high/ /3.Average/ /4.Fairly low/ /5.Very low/

Q.P24

If necessary, make sure respondent understands that (1) this information is strictly confidential; (2) this information makes the information in the rest of the interview more valuable to us.

NOTE that the figure we want is total family income from all sources before taxes, for the calendar year 1970, not just respondent's own earnings. The question is designed so that respondent will not have to name a specific figure, or even to give a narrow range.

Q.P25-P26

Straightforward.

Q.P27

We are interested in obtaining as accurate a description of minority race membership as possible. The "Other" category is provided for R's who are Puerto Rican, Mexican-American (Chicano), American Indian, Oriental, etc. Please check "Other" and give the appropriate designation.

Q.P28-P32

Straightforward.

Candidate List*

<u>State</u>	<u>Candidates for Senator</u>	<u>Candidates for Governor</u>
Alabama	-----	George C. Wallace (D) John Cashin (NDA) A.C. Shelton (Ind.) Menter G. Walker (Ind.)
Alaska	Wendell P. Kay (D) Theodore R. Stevens (R)	William A. Egan (D) Keith H. Miller (R)
Arizona	Sam Grossman (D) Paul J. Fannin (R)	Raul H. Castro (D) Jack Williams (R)
Arkansas	-----	Dale Rumpers (D) Winthrop Rockefeller (R) Walter L. Carruth (AI)
California	John V. Tunney (D) George Murphy (R) Charles C. Ripley (AI) Robert Scheer (PF)	Jesse Unruh (D) Ronald Reagan (R) William K. Shearer (AI) Ricardo Romo (PF)
Colorado	-----	Mark Hogan (D) John A. Love (R) Albert Gurule (LRU)
Connecticut	Joseph D. Duffey (D) Lowell P. Weicker (R) Thomas J. Dodd (Ind.) Berenice N. Napper (Ind.)	Emilio Q. Daddario (D) Thomas J. Meskill (R)
Delaware	Jacob Zimmerman (D) William V. Roth (R) Donald G. Gies (A)	-----
Florida	-----	-----
Georgia	-----	-----
Hawaii	-----	-----
Idaho	-----	Cecil D. Andrus (D) Don Samuelson (R) Wallace L. Hitt (A)
Illinois	Adlai E. Stevenson III (D) Ralph T. Smith (R)	-----

*Party key located on page 46

<u>State</u>	<u>Senator</u>	<u>Governor</u>
Indiana	Vance Hartke (D) Richard L. Roudebush (R)	-----
Iowa	-----	Robert Fulton (D) Robert Ray (R)
Kansas	-----	Robert Docking (D) Kent Frizzell (R) Ernest W. Stout (AI)
Kentucky	-----	-----
Louisiana	-----	-----
Maine	Edmund S. Muskie (D) Neil S. Bishop (R)	Kenneth M. Curtis (D) James S. Erwin (R) Plato Truman (Ind.)
Maryland	Joseph D. Tydings (D) J. Glenn Beall Jr. (R) Harvey Wilder (AI)	Marvin Mandel (D) C. Stanley Blair (R) Dr. Robert W. Merkle Sr. (AI)
Massachusetts	Edward M. Kennedy (D) Josiah A. Spaulding (R) Bernard M. Bane (Ind.)	Kevin H. White (D) Francis W. Sargent (R) Cyd Pearl (Ind.)
Michigan	Philip A. Hart (D) Lenore Romney (R)	Sander Levin (D) William G. Milliken (R)
Minnesota	Hubert H. Humphrey (D) Clark MacGregor (R) Nancy Strebe (SW) William Braatz (IG)	Wendell R. Anderson (D) Douglas Head (R) Miriam Harary (SW) Karl Heck (IG)
Mississippi	John Stennis (D)	-----
Missouri	Stuart Symington (D) John C. Danforth (R) Gene Chapman (A) Emilio J. DiGirolamo (Ind.)	-----
Montana	Mike Mansfield (D) Harold E. Wallace (R)	-----
Nebraska	Frank B. Morrison (D) Roman L. Hruska (R)	J.J. Exon (D) Norbert T. Tiemann (R) Albert C. Walsh (A)
Nevada	Howard W. Cannon (D) William J. Raggio (R) Harold G. DeSellem (IA)	Mike O'Callaghan (D) Ed Fike (R) Daniel M. Hansen (IA) Charles E. Springer (Ind.)

<u>State</u>	<u>Senator</u>	<u>Governor</u>
New Hampshire	-----	Roger J. Crowley Jr. (D) Walter R. Peterson (R)
New Jersey	Harrison A. Williams (D) Nelson Gross (R) Julius Levin (SL) Joseph S. Mans (Ind.) William J. O'Grady (NC) Joseph F. Job (Ind.)	-----
New Mexico	Joseph M. Montoya (D) Anderson Carter (R)	Bruce King (D) Pete V. Domenici (R)
New York	Richard L. Ottinger (D) Charles E. Goodell (R) James L. Buckley (C)	Arthur J. Goldberg (D) Nelson A. Rockefeller (R) Paul L. Adams (C)
North Carolina	-----	-----
North Dakota	Quentin N. Burdick (D) Thomas S. Kleppe (R)	-----
Ohio	Howard Metzenbaum (D) Robert Taft Jr. (R) Richard B. Kay (AI)	John J. Gilligan (D) Roger Cloud (R) Edwin G. Lawton (AI)
Oklahoma	-----	David Hall (D) Dewey F. Bartlett (R) Reuel Little (A)
Oregon	-----	Robert W. Straub (D) Tom McCall (R)
Pennsylvania	William Sesler (D) Hugh Scott (R) Frank W. Gaydosh (Const.)	Milton J. Shapp (D) Raymond Broderick (R) Andrew J. Watson (Const.)
Rhode Island	John O. Pastore (D) John McLaughlin (R) David N. Fenton (PF)	Frank Licht (D) Herbert F. DeSimone (R)
South Carolina	-----	John West (D) Albert W. Watson (R) A.W. Bethea (Ind.)
South Dakota	-----	Richard F. Kneip (D) Frank L. Farrar (R)
Tennessee	Albert Gore (D) W.E. Brock III (R) Cecil Pitard (A)	John J. Hooker Jr. (D) Winfield Dunn (R) Douglas Heinsohn (A) Buford Pusser (Ind.)

<u>State</u>	<u>Senator</u>	<u>Governor</u>
Texas	Lloyd Bentsen (D) George Bush (R)	Preston Smith (D) Paul Eggers (R)
Utah	Frank E. Moss (D) Laurence J. Burton (R) Clyde B. Freeman (AI)	-----
Vermont	Philip H. Hoff (D) Winston L. Prouty (R)	Leo O'Brien Jr. (D) Deane C. Davis (R)
Virginia	George C. Rawlings (D) Ray L. Garland (R) Harry F. Byrd Jr. (Ind.)	-----
Washington	Henry M. Jackson (D) Charles W. Elicker (R)	-----
West Virginia	Robert C. Byrd (D) Elmer Dodson (R)	-----
Wisconsin	William Proxmire (D) John E. Erickson (R) Edmond E. Hou-seye (A) Betty A. Boardman (Ind.)	Patrick J. Lucey (D) Jack B. Olsen (R) Leo J. McDonald (A)
Wyoming	Gale McGee (D) John S. Wold (R)	John J. Rooney (D) Stanley K. Hathaway (R)

Party Key

A	-- American Party
AF	-- America First Party
AI	-- American Independent Party
C	-- Conservative Party
Const.	-- Constitutional Party
D	-- Democratic Party
FP	-- For the People Party
IA	-- Independent American Party
IG	-- Industrial Government Party
Ind.	-- Independent
L	-- Liberal Party
LRU	-- La Raza Unida
NC	-- National Conservative Party
NDA	-- National Democratic Party of Alabama
PF	-- Peace and Freedom Party
R	-- Republican Party
SL	-- Socialist Labor Party
SW	-- Socialist Workers Party
UT	-- Urban Tax Reform Party