

FORM I

COVER SHEET
1972 POST-ELECTION STUDY

Project 495402
Winter 1972



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. PSU _____

3. Your Interview No. _____

4. Date _____

5. Length of Interview _____
(Minutes)

6. Segment No. _____ Line No. _____ 6a. R's New Address (if any):

Address (or description) _____
_____ Street and Number

City _____ State _____ City _____ State _____ Zip _____

7. Check one: Pre-election respondent lives here. (Interview the respondent)
 Pre-election respondent no longer lives here. (Try to get new address and enter at item 6a above. If new address is within 50 miles of an interviewer in your PSU, interview should be taken. If not, return cover sheet to Field Office for possible reassignment.)

8. Call Record

Call Number	1	2	3	4	5	6	More (specify)
Hour of the Day (plus AM or PM)							
Date							
Day of Week							
Results							
Interviewer's Initials							

9. Nonresponse Categories: Ref(R) Ref(O) NOC(AT) RU Other

COMMENTS:

FOR POST-ELECTION ONLY

List ALL household members by relationship to Head

	(a) Household members by relationship to Head	(b) Sex	(c) Age	(d) If 17: Will he/she Be 18 On Or Before Nov 7? "Yes" or "No"	(e) Citizen? "Yes" or "No"	(f) Eligible Persons "✓"	(g) Person Number	(h) Enter "R" For Resp.
↑ Persons 17 years or over	HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD							
↑ Persons under 17 years								

If the number of eligible persons is:	Interview the person numbered:
1	1
2	1
3	1
4	1
5	1
6 or more	1

- For d. For 17 year olds, you must ascertain whether they will be 18 on or before November 7 and write "yes" or "no" in this column.
- For e. Ask "Are any of these persons not U. S. Citizens?" (Write "no" for ones who aren't and "yes" for all others.)
- For f. Enter a check mark (✓) for each person eligible for selection. Eligible persons are U. S. Citizens 18 years of age or older (and 17 year olds who will be 18 on or before November 7).
- For g. Assign a sequential number to each eligible person checked in column (f). Number checked Males in household from oldest to youngest, THEN number checked Females in household from oldest to youngest.
- For h. Use the selection table on the lower right of the listing box to determine the number of the person to be interviewed. In the first column of the selection table, circle the number of eligible persons. The number across from this circled number in the second column of the selection table identifies the person to be interviewed. In column (h), enter the letter R to identify that person as your respondent.

RESPONDENT INFORMATION SHEET

1972 POST ELECTION STUDY

1. PLACE INTERVIEWER'S LABEL HERE

2. PSU _____

3. Segment Number _____

4. Line Number _____

5. Your Interview No. _____

6. Date Taken _____

7. Respondent's Phone Number:
_____ Area Code _____ Number

8. Respondent's Name: Mr. _____

(Check appropriate title)

Mrs. _____
(R's first and last name) (If married,
give husband's first name also)

Miss _____

9. Respondent's MAILING address (Please enter an address so we will know where to mail
a respondent letter in the future.)

Number and Street

City or Town State Zip Code

10. Respondent's relationship to Head _____ Age of R _____ Race of R _____

11. Just in case you move, would you give me the name and address of someone who would
know where you will be then, like a close relative or friend?

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

12. NOTE BELOW RELATIONSHIP (IF ANY) OF CONTACT PERSON TO RESPONDENT.

13. MAKE ANY COMMENTS ON THE BACK OF THIS PAGE WHICH WILL HELP YOU RELOCATE THIS
RESPONDENT IN THE FUTURE.

PLEASE PRINT ALL INFORMATION CLEARLY !!!!

B: PARTICIPATION

- B1. We're interested in this interview in finding out whether people paid much attention to the election campaign this year. Take newspapers for instance--did you read much about the campaign this year in any newspaper?

1. YES	5. NO	8. DK
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GO TO B2

B1a. How much did you read newspaper articles about the election--regularly, often, from time to time, or just once in a great while?

1. REGULARLY	2. OFTEN	3. TIME TO TIME	4. ONCE IN A GREAT WHILE	8. DK
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B1b. What paper did you read most for news about politics? _____

- B2. How about radio--did you listen to any speeches or discussions about the campaign on the radio?

1. YES	5. NO	8. DK
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GO TO B3

B2a. How many programs about the campaign did you listen to on the radio--a good many, several, or just one or two?

1. GOOD MANY	2. SEVERAL	3. JUST ONE OR TWO	8. DK
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- B3. How about magazines--did you read about the campaign in any magazines?

1. YES	5. NO	8. DK
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TURN TO P. 2, B4

B3a. How many magazine articles about the campaign would you say you read--a good many, several, or just one or two?

1. GOOD MANY	2. SEVERAL	3. JUST ONE OR TWO	8. DK
--------------	------------	--------------------	-------

- B4. How about television—did you watch any programs about the campaign on television?

1. YES	5. NO	8. DK
--------	-------	-------

GO TO B5

B4a. How many television programs about the campaign would you say you watched--a good many, several, or just one or two?

1. GOOD MANY	2. SEVERAL	3. JUST ONE OR TWO	8. DK
--------------	------------	--------------------	-------

- B5. How fair and accurate do you find television news reporting? Would you say TV news coverage is usually fair and accurate, sometimes fair and accurate, or rarely fair and accurate?

1. USUALLY FAIR AND ACCURATE	3. SOMETIMES FAIR AND ACCURATE
5. RARELY FAIR AND ACCURATE	8. DK

- B6. As you know, the political parties try to talk to as many people as they can, to get them to vote for their candidate. Did anybody from one of the political parties call you up or come around and talk to you about the campaign?

1. YES	5. NO → GO TO B7
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B6a. Which party was that?

1. REPUBLICANS	5. DEMOCRATS	3. BOTH REP & DEM	4. AMERICAN INDEPENDENT
7. OTHER: SPECIFY _____			8. DK

- B7. Now I'd like to find out about some of the things that people do to help a party or a candidate win an election. During the campaign, did you talk to any people and try to show them why they should vote for one of the parties or candidates?

1. YES	5. NO
--------	-------

B8. Did you go to any political meetings, rallies, dinners, or things like that?

1. YES

5. NO

B9. Did you do any other work for one of the parties or candidates?

1. YES

5. NO

B10. Did you wear a campaign button or put a campaign sticker on your car?

1. YES

5. NO

B11. Did you give any money to a political party this year?

1. YES

5. NO → GO TO B12

B11a. To which party was that?

1. DEM	3. BOTH DEM & REPUB	2. REP	4. AMERICAN INDEPENDENT	7. OTHER; SPECIFY _____
				8. DK

B12. Aside from this particular election campaign, here are some other ways people can be involved in politics. Have you ever written a letter to any public officials giving them your opinion about something that should be done?

1. YES

5. NO, NEVER

B13. Have you ever written a letter to the editor of a newspaper or magazine giving any political opinions?

1. YES

5. NO, NEVER

B14. Some people seem to follow what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time, whether there's an election going on or not. Others aren't that interested. Would you say you follow what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time, some of the time, only now and then, or hardly at all?

1. MOST OF THE TIME

2. SOME OF THE TIME

3. ONLY NOW AND THEN

4. HARDLY AT ALL

8. DK

INTERVIEWER SEE INSTRUCTION MANUAL FOR C3 AND C5 BEFORE ASKING THIS SECTION

- C1. In talking to people about elections, we often find that a lot of people weren't able to vote because they weren't registered, or they were sick, or they just didn't have time. How about you--did you vote in the elections this fall?

1. YES, DID VOTE	5. NO, DID NOT VOTE	8. DK
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↓
TURN TO P.7 , C8

- C2. Who did you vote for in the election for President?

1. NIXON	2. MCGOVERN	7. OTHER: SPECIFY: _____	8. DK
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↓
GO TO C3

C2a. How long before the election did you decide that you were going to vote the way you did? _____

- C3. How about the election for United States Senator? Did you vote for a candidate for Senator?

1. YES	5. NO	8. DK
--------	-------	-------

↓
TURN TO P. 6 , C4

C3a. Who did you vote for?

C3b. Which party was that?

1. REPUBLICAN	5. DEMOCRATIC	7. OTHER; SPECIFY: _____	8. DK
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- C4. How about the election for Congressman--that is, for the House of Representatives in Washington? Did you vote for a candidate for Congress?

1. YES	5. NO	8. DK
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GO TO C5

C4a. Who did you vote for?

C4b. Which party was that?

1. REPUBLICAN	5. DEMOCRATIC	7. OTHER; SPECIFY: _____	8. DK
---------------	---------------	--------------------------	-------

- C5. How about the election for Governor -- did you vote for a candidate for Governor?

1. YES	5. NO	8. DK
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TURN TO P. 7, C6

C5a. Who did you vote for?

C5b. Which party was that?

1. REPUBLICAN	5. DEMOCRATIC	7. OTHER; SPECIFY: _____	8. DK
---------------	---------------	--------------------------	-------

C6. How about the elections for other state and local offices -- did you vote a straight ticket, or did you vote for candidates from different parties?

1. STRAIGHT TICKET	5. DIFFERENT PARTIES	8. DK → GO TO C7
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<p>C6a. Which party?</p> <table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="width: 50%; text-align: center; padding: 5px;">1. REPUBLICAN</td> <td style="width: 50%; text-align: center; padding: 5px;">5. DEMOCRATIC</td> </tr> </table>	1. REPUBLICAN	5. DEMOCRATIC	<p>C6b. Did you vote mostly Republican, mostly Democrat, or about half and half?</p> <table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="text-align: center; padding: 5px;">1. MOSTLY REPUBLICAN</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="text-align: center; padding: 5px;">3. ABOUT HALF & HALF REPUB - DEM</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="text-align: center; padding: 5px;">5. MOSTLY DEMOCRATIC</td> </tr> </table>	1. MOSTLY REPUBLICAN	3. ABOUT HALF & HALF REPUB - DEM	5. MOSTLY DEMOCRATIC
1. REPUBLICAN	5. DEMOCRATIC					
1. MOSTLY REPUBLICAN						
3. ABOUT HALF & HALF REPUB - DEM						
5. MOSTLY DEMOCRATIC						

C7. How about propositions on the ballot in November? Were there any state, county, or local propositions on the ballot for the people to vote on?

1. YES, THERE WERE	5. NO, THERE WEREN'T	8. DK
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GO TO C8

C7a. Did you vote on all, most, some or none of these propositions?					
1. ALL	2. MOST	3. SOME	4. NONE	8. DK	

C8. In general, do you feel that more issues should be decided by the voters at the polls?

1. YES	5. NO	8. DK
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TURN TO P. 8, C9

<p>C8a. Is there anything in particular you had in mind?</p> <hr style="border: 0; border-top: 1px solid black; margin: 5px 0;"/> <hr style="border: 0; border-top: 1px solid black; margin: 5px 0;"/>
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C9. Before the election there was a great deal of talk about McGovern's campaign. Some people said that it was not very organized, while others thought it was very well run. How about you? Do you think McGovern did a good job, or a poor job in running his campaign.?

1. GOOD JOB

5. POOR JOB

8. DK

C10. Do you think there are any important differences in what the Republicans and Democrats stand for ?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DK

C11. Would you say that either one of the parties is more conservative or more liberal than the other at the national level?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DK

C11a. Which party is more conservative?

1. DEMOCRATIC 2. REPUBLICAN

TIME NOW _____

C11b. Do you think that people generally consider the Democrats or the Republicans more conservative, or wouldn't you want to guess about that?

3. DEMS MORE CONSERV.

4. REPS MORE CONSERV.

5. NO GUESS

TIME NOW _____

D: ECONOMIC ATTITUDES

- D1. We are interested in how people are getting along financially these days. Would you say that you (and your family) are better off or worse off financially than you were a year ago?

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

D1a. Why do you say so? _____

(IF NOT ALREADY ANSWERED)

- D2. Are you (and your family) receiving as much income now as you were a year ago, or more, or less?

1. MORE NOW	3. ABOUT THE SAME	5. LESS NOW
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(ASK EVERYONE)

- D3. Now looking ahead -- do you think that a year from now you (and your family) will be better off financially, or worse off, or just about the same as now?

1. WILL BE BETTER OFF	3. SAME	5. WILL BE WORSE OFF	8. DON'T KNOW
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- D4. Now turning to business conditions in the country as a whole -- do you think that during the next 12 months we'll have good times financially, or bad times, or what?

1. GOOD TIMES	4. BAD WITH QUALIFICATIONS
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↓ ↓ ↓ ↓ ↓ ↓

2. GOOD WITH QUALIFICATIONS	5. BAD TIMES	8. DON'T KNOW
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↓ ↓ ↓ ↓ ↓ ↓

3. PRO-CON	(TURN TO P.10, D5)
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↓ ↓ ↓ ↓ ↓ ↓

D4a. Why do you think that? _____

D5. Would you say that at the present time business conditions are better or worse than they were a year ago?

1. BETTER NOW

3. ABOUT THE SAME

5. WORSE NOW

D6. During the last few months, have you heard of any favorable or unfavorable changes in business conditions?

(IF NECESSARY) D6a. What did you hear? _____

IF NOT CLEAR WHETHER A CHANGE R MENTIONS IS FAVORABLE OR UNFAVORABLE,
 PROBE: "Would (MENTION CHANGE) be favorable or unfavorable?"
 AND NOTE "favorable" OR "unfavorable."

D7. And how about a year from now, do you expect that in the country as a whole business conditions will be better or worse than they are at present, or just about the same?

1. BETTER A YEAR
FROM NOW

3. ABOUT THE SAME

5. WORSE A YEAR
FROM NOW

D8. How about people out of work during the coming 12 months - do you think that there will be more unemployment than now, about the same, or less?

1. MORE UNEMPLOYMENT

3. ABOUT THE SAME

5. LESS UNEMPLOYMENT

D9. Looking ahead, which would you say is more likely - that in the country as a whole we'll have continuous good times during the next 5 years or so, or that we will have periods of widespread unemployment or depression, or what?

D10. As to the economic policy of the government - I mean steps taken to fight inflation or unemployment - would you say the government is doing a good job, only fair, or a poor job?

1. GOOD JOB

3. ONLY FAIR

5. POOR JOB

8. DON'T KNOW

D11. During the next year or two, do you think the government will be successful in reducing inflation, or do you expect that there will not be much improvement?

D12. Do you think the government will be successful in reducing unemployment during the next year or two, or do you expect there will not be much improvement?

D13. During the next 12 months, do you think that prices in general will go up, or go down, or stay where they are now?

1. GO UP

3. SAME

5. GO DOWN

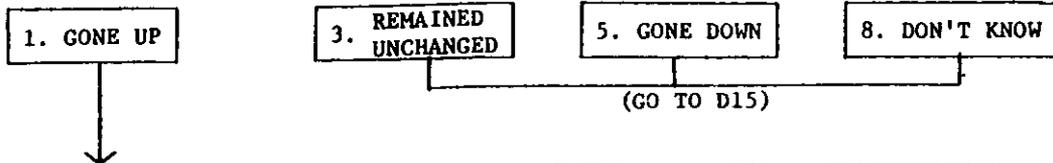
8. DON'T KNOW

(TURN TO P. 12, D14)

D13a. How large a price increase do you expect? Would you say that a year from now prices will be about 1 or 2 percent higher, or 5 percent, or closer to 10 percent higher than now, or what?

D13b. Do you expect that the overall price increase during the next 12 months will be larger, the same, or smaller than during the past 12 months?

D14. Since the government announced wage and price controls more than a year ago, have prices of the things you buy remained unchanged, or have they gone up, or have they gone down?



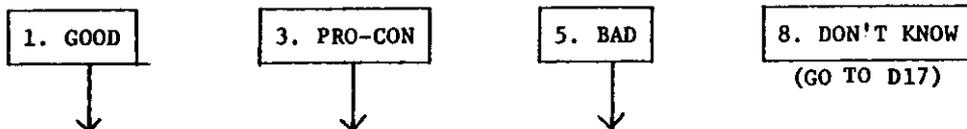
D14a. Since the controls were introduced, would you say prices of the things you buy have gone up just a bit or have they gone up substantially?

1. SUBSTANTIALY 2. SOMETHING IN BETWEEN 3. JUST A BIT 8. DON'T KNOW

D15. No one can say for sure, but what do you think will happen to interest rates for borrowing money during the next 12 months - will they go up, stay the same, or go down?



D16. Generally speaking, do you think now is a good time or a bad time to buy a house?

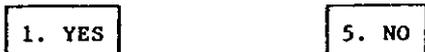


D16a. Why do you say so? _____

D17. Do you or anyone else here in your family own a car?



D18. Do you or anyone else here in your family lease a car?



D19. Speaking now of the automobile market - do you think the next 12 months or so will be a good time or a bad time to buy a car?

- 1. GOOD
- 3. PRO-CON
- 5. BAD
- 8. DON'T KNOW
(GO TO D20)

D19a. Why do you say so? (Anything else?) _____

(IF R MENTIONS THAT CAR PRICES WILL GO UP)

D19b. Why do you expect that car prices will be higher? (Any other reason?)

D20. Do you or anyone else in the family living here expect to buy or lease a car during the next 12 months?

0. WILL NEVER BUY A CAR
(TURN TO P. 14, D23)

D21. (CARD D1- YELLOW) Just to give us a better idea of what you think are the chances that you will buy or lease a car during the next 12 months, would you please tell me which answer on this card best describes the likelihood that you will buy?

- 1. Almost certain
 - 2. Probably will
 - 3. Better than even chance
 - 4. Even chance; may or may not

- 5. Less than even chance
 - 6. Probably will not
 - 7. Very unlikely

D21a. Would it be a brand new car or a used car?
(IF TWO CAR PURCHASES PLANNED, USE MARGIN FOR SECOND)

1. NEW

2. USED

8. DON'T KNOW

D21b. When do you think you might buy this car?

(MONTH AND YEAR)

D22. How long do you think it may be before you (or anyone in the family) buy or lease a car?

- D23. About the big things people buy for their homes - such as furniture, refrigerator, stove, television, and things like that. Generally speaking, do you think now is a good or a bad time for people to buy major household items?

1. GOOD

3. PRO-CON

5. BAD

8. DON'T KNOW

(GO TO D24)

D23a. Why do you say so? _____

- D24. Thinking of your financial situation just now, do you feel you are in an especially good position to buy some of the things you would like to have, or is now a rather bad time for you to spend money, or what?

- D25. Do you think it is more important than usual for you to try to add to your savings and reserve funds just now, or are you fairly well satisfied with your savings?

- D26. Thinking of what your standard of living is likely to be in the years to come, what would you say are the chances that you will actually get most of the things you would like to own? Are the chances quite good, somewhat good, or not so good that you will get most of the things you would like to own?

1. QUITE GOOD

2. SOMEWHAT GOOD

5. NOT SO GOOD

TIME NOW _____

H: SYSTEM SUPPORT

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:

H1. Do you think that people in the government waste a lot of 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

8. DK

H2. 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

8. DK

H3. Would 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

8. DK

H4. 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

8. DK

H5. 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 FEW

3. NOT MANY

1. HARDLY ANY

8. DK

H6. Over the years, how much attention do you feel the government pays to what the people think when it decides what to do--a good deal, some, or not much?

1. A GOOD DEAL

3. SOME

5. NOT MUCH

8. DK

H7. How much do you feel that political parties help to make the government pay attention to what the people think—a good deal, some, or not much?

1. A GOOD DEAL

3. SOME

5. NOT MUCH

8. DK

H8. And how much do you feel that having elections makes the government pay attention to what the people think—a good deal, some, or not much?

1. A GOOD DEAL

3. SOME

5. NOT MUCH

8. DK

H9. How much attention do you think most Congressmen pay to the people who elect them when they decide what to do in Congress—a good deal, some, or not much?

1. A GOOD DEAL

3. SOME

5. NOT MUCH

8. DK

H10. How much do you think that having interest groups makes the government pay attention to what people think—a good deal, some or not much?

1. A GOOD DEAL

3. SOME

5. NOT MUCH

8. DK

H11. Would you say it has become harder for the average man to lead a good moral life today, or was it harder to lead a good, moral life 25 years ago?

1. HARDER TO LEAD A GOOD LIFE NOW

3. SAME

5. HARDER 25 YEARS AGO

8. DK

H12. Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted, or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people?

1. MOST PEOPLE CAN BE TRUSTED

5. CAN'T BE TOO CAREFUL

8. DK

H13. Would you say that most of the time people try to be helpful, or that they are mostly just looking out for themselves?

1. TRY TO BE HELPFUL

5. JUST LOOK OUT FOR THEMSELVES

8. DK

H14. Do you think most people would try to take advantage of you if they got a chance, or would they try to be fair?

1. WOULD TAKE ADVANTAGE OF YOU

5. WOULD TRY TO BE FAIR

8. DK

J: ISSUES

Let's talk next about some problems that are important to America today.

J1. Would you say that it's safe to go out walking around here alone at night?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DK

J2. In general, which political party do you think would best see to it that the streets are safe--the Democrats, the Republicans, or wouldn't there be much difference between them?

1. DEMOCRATS

5. REPUBLICANS

3. NOT MUCH DIFFERENCE

8. DK

J2a. Some people feel that after the Vietnam war is over, the government should declare an amnesty--that is, men who left the country to avoid the draft should be allowed to return without severe punishment. How do you feel--do you think the government should declare an amnesty after the war?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DK

J2b. Which political party do you think is more in favor of declaring an amnesty--the Democrats, the Republicans, or wouldn't there be much difference between them?

1. DEMOCRATS

5. REPUBLICANS

3. NOT MUCH DIFFERENCE

8. DK

J2c. Some people believe that our armed forces are already powerful enough and that we should spend less money for defense. Others feel that military spending should at least continue at the present level. How do you feel--should military spending be cut, or should it continue at least at the present level?

1. CUT MILITARY SPENDING

5. CONTINUE SPENDING AT LEAST
AT PRESENT LEVEL

8. DK

J2d. Which political party do you think is more in favor of cutting military spending--the Democrats, the Republicans, or wouldn't there be much difference between them?

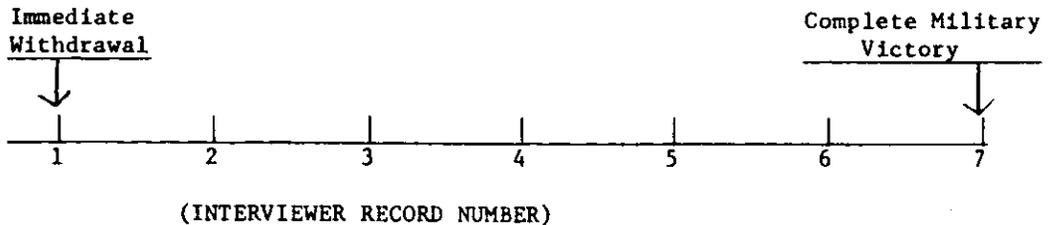
1. DEMOCRATS

5. REPUBLICANS

3. NOT MUCH DIFFERENCE

8. DK

- J3. (CARD J1 - YELLOW) With regard to 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--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.



- _____ J3a. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?

0. HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH

8. DK

TURN TO P. 20, J4

- _____ J3b. Where would you place Richard Nixon?

8. DK

- _____ J3c. Where would you place George McGovern?

8. DK

- _____ J3d. Where would you place George Wallace?

8. DK

- _____ J3e. (Where would you place) the Democratic Party?

8. DK

- _____ J3f. (Where would you place) the Republican Party?

8. DK

- _____ J3g. (Where would you place) most Young People?

8. DK

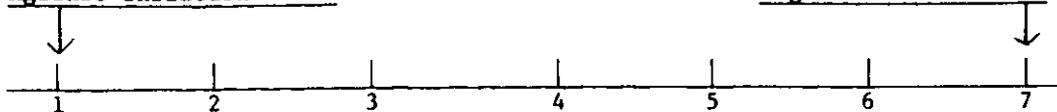
- _____ J3h. (Where would you place) most Middle-aged People?

8. DK

J4. (CARD J2 - BLUE) There is a great deal of talk these days about rising prices and the cost of living in general. Some feel that the government must do everything possible to combat the problem of inflation immediately or it will get worse. Others say that the problem of inflation is temporary and that no government action is necessary.

Total Government Action
Against Inflation

No Government Action
Against Inflation



(INTERVIEWER RECORD NUMBER)

_____ J4a. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?

0. HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH

8. DK

TURN TO P. 21, J5

_____ J4b. Where would you place Richard Nixon?

8. DK

_____ J4c. Where would you place George McGovern?

8. DK

_____ J4d. Where would you place George Wallace?

8. DK

_____ J4e. (Where would you place) the Democratic Party?

8. DK

_____ J4f. (Where would you place) the Republican Party?

8. DK

_____ J4g. (Where would you place) most Liberals?

8. DK

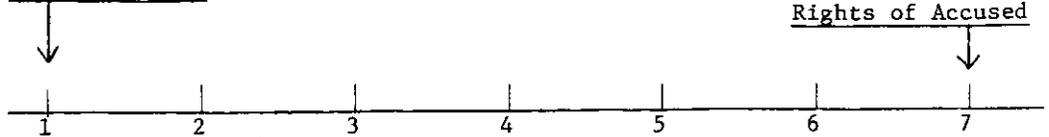
_____ J4h. (Where would you place) most Conservatives?

8. DK

- J5. (CARD J9 - BLUE) 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.

Protect Rights
of Accused

Stop Crime
Regardless of
Rights of Accused



(INTERVIEWER RECORD NUMBER)

- _____ J5a. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?

0. HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH

8. DK

→ TURN TO P. 22, J6

- _____ J5b. Where would you place Richard Nixon?

8. DK

- _____ J5c. Where would you place George McGovern?

8. DK

- _____ J5d. Where would you place George Wallace?

8. DK

- _____ J5e. (Where would you place) the Democratic Party?

8. DK

- _____ J5f. (Where would you place) the Republican Party?

8. DK

- _____ J5g. (Where would you place) most White People?

8. DK

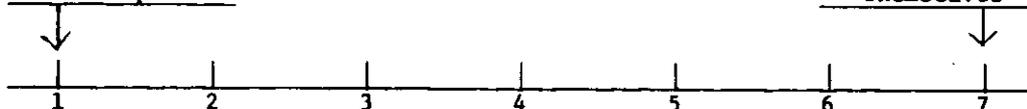
- _____ J5h. (Where would you place) most Black People?

8. DK

- J6. (CARD J10 - WHITE) Some people feel that the government in Washington should make every possible effort to improve the social and economic position of Blacks and other minority groups. Others feel that the government should not make any special effort to help minorities because they should help themselves.

Government Should
Help Minority
Groups

Minority Groups
Should Help
Themselves



(INTERVIEWER RECORD NUMBER)

- _____ J6a. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?

0. HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH

8. DK

TURN TO P. 23, J7

- _____ J6b. Where would you place Richard Nixon?

8. DK

- _____ J6c. Where would you place George McGovern?

8. DK

- _____ J6d. Where would you place George Wallace?

8. DK

- _____ J6e. (Where would you place) the Democratic Party?

8. DK

- _____ J6f. (Where would you place) the Republican Party?

8. DK

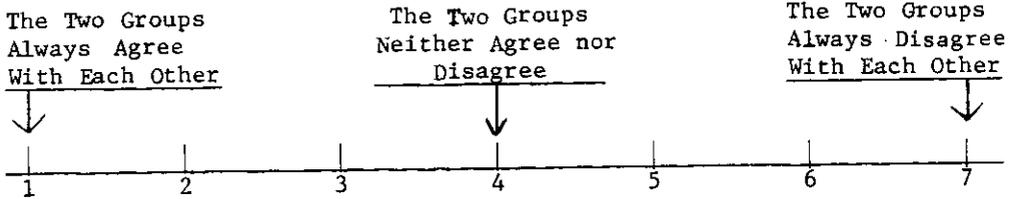
- _____ J6g. (Where would you place) most Workingmen?

8. DK

- _____ J6h. (Where would you place) most Middle Class People?

8. DK

J7. (CARD J11-BLUE) As we well know, there are many important issues in America today. Some groups usually agree with each other on the issues, while other groups usually disagree with each other. On this card, two groups that always agree with each other would be placed at point number 1, and two groups that always disagree with each other would be placed at point number 7. Two groups that neither agree nor disagree would be placed in the middle, at point number 4. I'm going to read you a list containing several pairs of groups, and I want you to try and place each pair on this card.



The first pair is Democrats and Republicans.

(INTERVIEWER RECORD NUMBER)

_____ J7a. Democrats and Republicans

8. DK

_____ J7b. Intellectuals and Workingmen

8. DK

_____ J7c. Catholics and Protestants

8. DK

_____ J7d. Southerners and Northerners

8. DK

_____ J7e. Workingmen and Labor Unions

8. DK

_____ J7f. Liberals and Conservatives

8. DK

_____ J7g. Farmers and people who live in cities

8. DK

_____ J7h. Labor Unions and Democrats

8. DK

_____ J7j. Young People and Middle-aged People

8. DK

_____ J7k. Workingmen and Democrats

8. DK

_____ J7m. Men and Women

8. DK

_____ J7n. People on Welfare and Taxpayers

8. DK

_____ J7p. Big Business and Republicans

8. DK

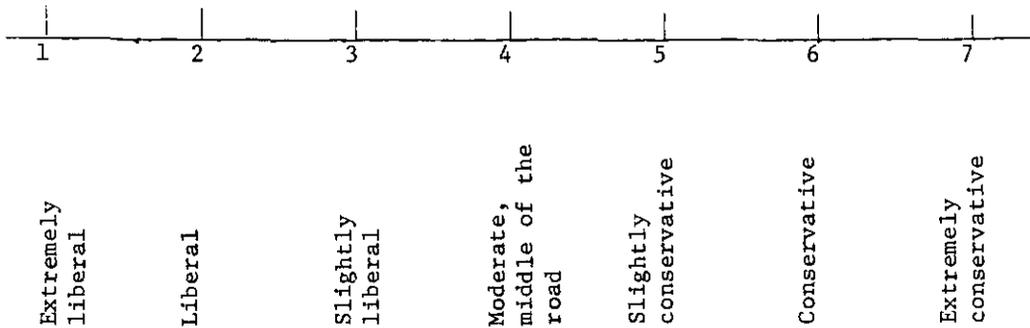
_____ J7q. Workingmen and Middle Class People

8. DK

_____ J7r. Blacks and Whites

8. DK

J8. (CARD J12-ORANGE) We hear a lot of talk these days about liberals and conservatives. I'm going to show you a seven-point scale on which the political views that people might hold are arranged from extremely liberal to extremely conservative.



(INTERVIEWER RECORD NUMBER)

_____ J8a. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?

0. HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH

8. DK

→ TURN TO P. 27, SECTION K

_____ J8b. Where would you place Richard Nixon?

8. DK

_____ J8c. Where would you place George McGovern?

8. DK

_____ J8d. Where would you place George Wallace?

8. DK

_____ J8e. (Where would you place) the Democratic Party?

8. DK

_____ J8f. (Where would you place) the Republican Party?

8. DK

_____ J8g. (Where would you place) most White People?

8. DK

_____ J8h. (Where would you place) most Black People?

8. DK

_____ J8j. (Where would you place) most Workingmen?

8. DK

K: EVALUATIONS

K1. (CARD K1--YELLOW) We'd like to get your feelings toward the candidates for national office in this year's election, using the "feeling thermometer" we showed you in our earlier interview. As you may recall, if you don't feel particularly warm or cold toward a candidate, then you should place him in the middle of the thermometer, at 50 degrees. If you have a warm feeling toward a candidate, or feel favorably toward him, you would give him a score somewhere between 50 and 100 degrees. If you don't feel favorably toward a candidate, then you would place him somewhere between 0 and 50 degrees.

The first person is George Wallace---where would you place him on the thermometer?

RATING

_____ Kla. George Wallace
 _____ K1b. Richard Nixon
 _____ K1c. George McGovern
 _____ K1d. Spiro Agnew
 _____ K1e. R. Sargent Shriver
 _____ K1f. John Schmitz

K2. We'd also like to get your feelings about some groups in American society, using the feeling thermometer just as we did for the candidates. If we come to a group you don't know much about, just tell me and we'll move on to the next one. Our first group is Big Business--how warm would you say you feel toward them?

RATING

_____ K2a.	Big Business	_____ K2s.	Labor Unions
_____ K2b.	Poor People	_____ K2t.	Young People
_____ K2c.	Liberals	_____ K2u.	Conservatives
_____ K2d.	Southerners	_____ K2v.	Women's Liberation Movement
_____ K2e.	Intellectuals	_____ K2w.	People Who Use Marijuana
_____ K2f.	Catholics	_____ K2x.	Black Militants
_____ K2g.	Radical Students	_____ K2y.	People Who Riot in Cities
_____ K2h.	Policemen	_____ K2z.	Civil Rights Leaders
_____ K2j.	Protestants	_____ K2aa.	People Who Live in Suburbs
_____ K2k.	Jews	_____ K2bb.	Workingmen
_____ K2m.	The Military	_____ K2cc.	Farmers
_____ K2n.	Whites	_____ K2dd.	Ministers Who Lead Protest Marches
_____ K2p.	Democrats	_____ K2ee.	Middle-Class People
_____ K2q.	Blacks	_____ K2ff.	People Who Live in Cities
_____ K2r.	Republicans		

K3. While we have the feeling thermometer in front of us, what about your own life? Where would you put your life as a whole these days on the feeling thermometer?

(RATING)

- K4. (CARD K2--GREEN) Some people think that certain groups have too much influence in American life and politics, while other people feel that certain groups don't have as much influence as they deserve. On this card are three statements about how much influence a group might have. For each group I read to you, just tell me the number of the statement that best says how you feel. The first group is Labor Unions.

(RECORD NUMBER OF RESPONSE CATEGORY)

- _____ K4a. Labor Unions
 _____ K4b. Poor People
 _____ K4c. Jews
 _____ K4d. Southerners
 _____ K4e. Protesters
 _____ K4f. Workingmen
 _____ K4g. Politicians
 _____ K4h. Big Business
 _____ K4j. Blacks
 _____ K4k. Liberals
 _____ K4m. Catholics
 _____ K4n. Intellectuals
 _____ K4p. Young People
 _____ K4q. Women
 _____ K4r. Television Commentators
 _____ K4s. Republicans
 _____ K4t. People on Welfare
 _____ K4u. Farmers
 _____ K4v. Older People
 _____ K4w. Democrats
 _____ K4x. Middle-class People

- | |
|--|
| 1. TOO MUCH INFLUENCE |
| 2. JUST ABOUT THE RIGHT
AMOUNT OF INFLUENCE |
| 3. TOO LITTLE INFLUENCE |
| 8. DK |

TIME NOW _____

M: GROUP IDENTIFICATION

M1. (CARD M1-GREEN) Here is a list of some of the groups we asked you about before. Please read over this list and tell me which of these groups you feel particularly close to--people who are most like you in their ideas and interests and feelings about things. (PLACE AN "X" AT THE LEFT OF EACH GROUP R FEELS CLOSE TO.)

- | | |
|--|---|
| a. <input type="checkbox"/> Businessmen | j. <input type="checkbox"/> Whites |
| b. <input type="checkbox"/> Liberals | k. <input type="checkbox"/> Blacks |
| c. <input type="checkbox"/> Southerners | m. <input type="checkbox"/> Conservatives |
| d. <input type="checkbox"/> Poor People | n. <input type="checkbox"/> Women |
| e. <input type="checkbox"/> Catholics | p. <input type="checkbox"/> Middle Class People |
| f. <input type="checkbox"/> Protestants | q. <input type="checkbox"/> Workingmen |
| g. <input type="checkbox"/> Jews | r. <input type="checkbox"/> Farmers |
| h. <input type="checkbox"/> Young People | s. <input type="checkbox"/> Older People |

(IF MORE THAN ONE) M1t. Look at the list again, and tell me which one you feel closest to of those you mentioned.

NOTE TO INTERVIEWER: IN THE REST OF SECTION M, USE FOR "CLOSEST GROUP" THE NAME OF THE GROUP GIVEN IN M1t (OR THE GROUP GIVEN IN M1a-s IF ONLY ONE GROUP WAS MENTIONED.)

SPECIFY NAME OF GROUP YOU WILL USE IN THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS:

IF R REFUSES TO CHECK ANY GROUP IN M1a-s, ASK: Is there any group you feel closer to than the groups on this list? (IF YES, SPECIFY)

M1u. _____

USE THIS GROUP FOR "CLOSEST GROUP" IN THE REST OF SECTION M.

IF R STILL REFUSES TO NAME A GROUP, TURN TO P. 34, SECTION N

Now I'd like to ask you a few questions about (CLOSEST GROUP).

M2. Do you belong to any organizations or take part in any activities that represent the interests and viewpoints of (CLOSEST GROUP)?

1. YES

5. NO

GO TO M3

M2a. What activities or organizations?

M3. Do you read any newspaper or magazine that particularly represents the interests and viewpoints of (CLOSEST GROUP)?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DK

TURN TO P. 32, M4

M3a. What one(s)?

M5. Do you think the influence of (CLOSEST GROUP) is increasing or decreasing--is it more or less than it used to be?



M5a. Why is that--what things have made them have (more/less) influence?

GO TO M6

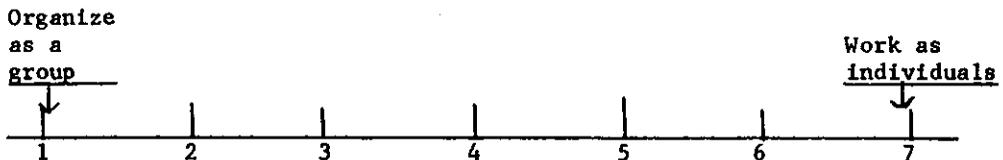
M6. (CARD M2-YELLOW) Some people feel that (CLOSEST GROUP) should organize, work together, and bring pressure as a group in order to have influence and get the things they want. Others feel (CLOSEST GROUP) should not organize in this way. They should work as individuals, doing such things as voting, writing letters to officials and generally making their opinions known.

Suppose people who think (CLOSEST GROUP) should organize as a group are at one end of the scale - at point number 1. And suppose those who feel (CLOSEST GROUP) should work as individuals are at the other end of the scale--at point number 7.

(INTERVIEWER RECORD NUMBER)

_____ M6a. Where would you place yourself on this scale?

_____ M6b. Where do you think most (CLOSEST GROUP) would place themselves on this scale?



N. GROUP DIFFERENCES

I'd like to ask you a few questions about some of the differences between groups in our society. People have different ideas about these things...I'd like to ask you about your ideas. (HAND R GREEN BOOKLET) For each set of statements in this booklet, we would like you to check the one you agree with most.

INTERVIEWER: IF YOU FEEL R MAY HAVE ANY READING OR SEEING PROBLEM, USE THE QUESTIONNAIRE AS USUAL. READ EACH SET OF STATEMENTS AND CHECK R'S CHOICE. DO THIS ONLY FOR THE FIRST TEN SETS OF QUESTIONS (N1-N10). IN EITHER CASE, BE SURE TO FILL IN CHECK POINT A, PAGE 36.

N1. Which of these first two statements do you agree with most?

1. People who are born poor have less chance to get ahead than other people. -- or --
5. People who have the ability and work hard have the same chance as anyone else, even if their parents were poor.

N2. Which of these two?

1. Many qualified women can't get good jobs; men with the same skills have much less trouble. -- or --
5. In general, men are more qualified than women for jobs that have great responsibility.

N3. And these?

1. Discrimination affects all Black people. The only way to handle it is for Blacks to organize together and demand rights for all. -- or --
5. Discrimination may affect all Blacks but the best way to handle it is for each individual to act like any other American--to work hard, get a good education, and mind his own business.

N4. And these?

1. Women can best overcome discrimination by pursuing their individual career goals in as feminine a way as possible. -- or --
5. It is not enough for a woman to be successful herself; women must work together to change laws and customs that are unfair to all women.

N5. And these?

1. It's lack of skill and abilities that keep many Black people from getting a job. It's not just because they're Black. When a Black person is trained to do something, he is able to get a job. -- or --
5. Many qualified Black people can't get a good job. White people with the same skills wouldn't have any trouble.

N6. Which of these statements do you agree with most?

1. Many poor people simply don't want to work hard. -- or --
5. The poor are poor because the American way of life doesn't give all people an equal chance.

N7. And these?

1. The best way for Blacks to overcome discrimination is through pressure and social action. -- or --
5. The best way to overcome discrimination is for each individual Black to be even better trained and more qualified than the most qualified White person.

N8. 1. It's more natural for men to have the top responsible jobs in a country. -- or--

5. Sex discrimination keeps women from the top jobs.

N9. 1. Many Blacks have only themselves to blame for not doing better in life. If they tried harder, they'd do better. -- or--

5. When two qualified people, one Black and one White, are considered for the same job, the Black won't get the job no matter how hard he tries.

N10. 1. The best way to handle problems of discrimination is for each woman to make sure she gets the best training possible for what she wants to do. -- or --

5. Only if women organize and work together can anything really be done about discrimination.

IF YOU ARE READING STATEMENTS TO R, TURN TO P. 36, CHECK POINT A

N11. 1. Racial discrimination is here to stay. -- or --

5. People may be prejudiced, but it's possible for American society to completely rid itself of racial discrimination.

N12. 1. Many Black people who don't do well in life do have good training, but the opportunities just always go to Whites. -- or --

5. Black people may not have the same opportunities as Whites, but many Blacks haven't prepared themselves enough to make use of the opportunities that come their way.

- N13. 1. It's the lack of skills and abilities that keep most unemployed people from getting a job; if they had the skills most of them could get a job. -- or --
5. Many people with skills can't get a job; there just aren't any jobs for them.
- N14. 1. People who blame discrimination generally do it to cover their own weaknesses. -- or --
5. The person's skill and effort are important but many people still face serious discrimination in our society.
- N15. 1. By nature women are happiest when they are making a home and caring for children. -- or --
5. Our society, not nature, teaches women to prefer homemaking to work outside the home.
- N16. 1. The attempt to "fit in" and do what's proper hasn't paid off for Blacks. It doesn't matter how "proper" you are, you'll still meet serious discrimination if you're Black. -- or --
5. The problem for many Blacks is that they aren't really acceptable by American standards. Any Black who is educated and does what is considered proper will be accepted and will get ahead.
- N17. 1. Men have more of the top jobs because they are born with more drive to be ambitious and successful than women. -- or --
5. Men have more of the top jobs because our society discriminates against women.
- N18. 1. The racial situation in America may be very complex, but with enough money and effort, it is possible to get rid of racial discrimination. -- or --
5. We'll never completely get rid of discrimination. It's part of human nature.
- N19. 1. Blacks and other minorities no longer face unfair employment conditions. In fact, they are favored in many training and job programs. -- or --
5. Even with the new programs, minorities still face the same old job discrimination once the program is over.

CHECK POINT A

- | |
|--|
| <p>1 R READ QUESTIONS IN BOOKLET WITH NO APPARENT READING DIFFICULTY.</p> <p>2 R READ QUESTIONS IN BOOKLET--MAY HAVE HAD SOME DIFFICULTY.</p> <p>3 INTERVIEWER READ QUESTIONS.</p> |
|--|

TIME NOW _____

R: INCOME TAXES

- R1. Now I have a few questions about the federal income taxes people pay to the United States government. Over the last 2 or 3 years, do you happen to know whether federal tax rates have gone up, gone down, or remained about the same as 2 or 3 years ago?

1. GONE UP	3. ABOUT THE SAME	5. GONE DOWN	8. DON'T KNOW
------------	-------------------	--------------	---------------

- R2. At federal income tax filing time this last spring, I mean early in 1972, did you (and your husband/wife) find that you were entitled to a refund, or did you owe the government money, or weren't you required to file an income tax return?

1. ENTITLED TO REFUND	→	(GO TO <u>R3</u>)	IF HUSBAND AND WIFE FILED SEPARATE RETURNS, COMBINE THEM TO DETERMINE WHETHER THE NET RESULT WAS A REFUND OR OWING MONEY						
2. OWED MONEY	→	(TURN TO P. 39, <u>R10</u>)							
3. CAME OUT EVEN: NEITHER REFUND NOR OWED MONEY	→	(TURN TO P. 39, <u>R8</u>)							
4. DON'T KNOW WHETHER REFUND OR OWED	→	(TURN TO P. 39, <u>R8</u>)							
5. NOT REQUIRED TO FILE	→	<p>R2a. Do you expect that you (and your husband/wife) will be required to file a federal income tax return <u>next</u> spring, early in 1973?</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td>1. YES</td> <td>5. NO</td> <td>8. DON'T KNOW</td> </tr> <tr> <td>(TURN TO P. 39, <u>R8</u>)</td> <td>(TURN TO P. 45, SECTION S)</td> <td>(TURN TO P. 45, SECTION S)</td> </tr> </table>		1. YES	5. NO	8. DON'T KNOW	(TURN TO P. 39, <u>R8</u>)	(TURN TO P. 45, SECTION S)	(TURN TO P. 45, SECTION S)
1. YES	5. NO			8. DON'T KNOW					
(TURN TO P. 39, <u>R8</u>)	(TURN TO P. 45, SECTION S)	(TURN TO P. 45, SECTION S)							
8. DON'T KNOW WHETHER REQUIRED TO FILE	→								

- R3. The last 3 or 4 years, have you usually found that you were entitled to a refund at federal income tax filing time, or was this the first year you got a refund, or what?
-
-

R4. Was your federal tax refund last spring larger than you had expected before you filled out the tax return, or was it smaller, or was the refund about what you had expected?

1. LARGER

5. SMALLER

3. ABOUT AS
EXPECTED

(GO TO R5)

R4a. Why was the refund larger than you expected it would be?

R5. About how large was your federal tax refund last spring?

_____ (DOLLARS)

(IF CAN'T SAY)

R5a. Was it about \$50, \$100, \$200, or what?

_____ (DOLLARS)

IF HUSBAND AND WIFE
FILE SEPARATE RETURNS,
COMBINE THEM TO
DETERMINE THE NET
AMOUNT OF THE REFUND

(IF MORE THAN \$25)

R6. What did you do with the money from your federal income tax refund -- did you spend it, save it, invest it, repay debts, use it for a downpayment on something, or what?

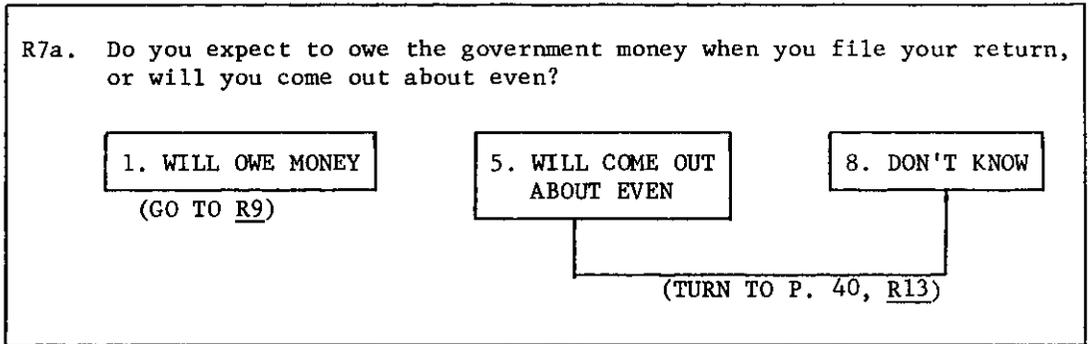
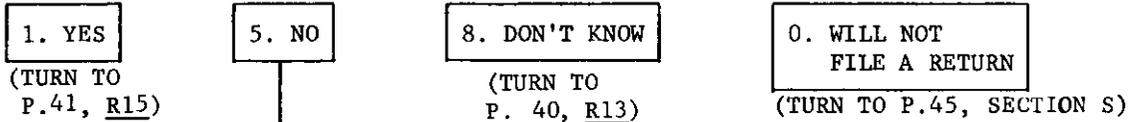
(IF SPENT OR
USED AS
DOWNPAYMENT)

R6a. On what did you (spend it/use it for a downpayment)?

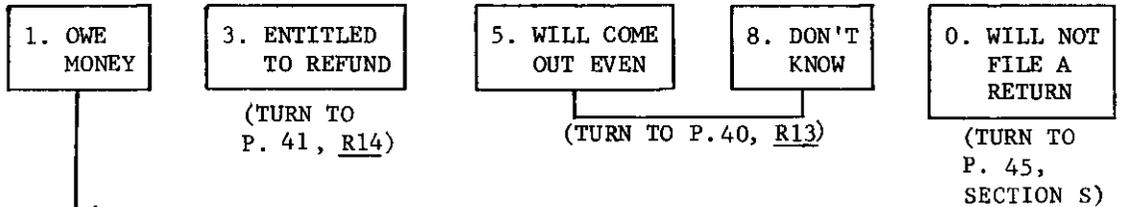
(IF SAVED OR
INVESTED)

R6b. Where did you put the money you (saved/invested) -- in the bank, in stocks, in bonds, or what?

R7. Do you (and your husband/wife) expect to get a refund when you file your federal income tax return next spring?



R8. When you (and your husband/wife) file your federal income tax return next spring, do you expect that you will owe the government money then, or will you be entitled to a refund, or what?



R9. Where will the money for the income tax come from next spring -- do you expect to borrow it, will it come out of savings, will you cut down on your spending, or what?

(TURN TO P. 40, R13)

R10. About how much did you owe the government when you filed your federal tax return last spring?

_____ (DOLLARS)

(IF CAN'T SAY)

R10a. Was it about \$50, \$100, or \$200, or what?

_____ (DOLLARS)

IF HUSBAND AND WIFE FILED SEPARATE RETURNS, COMBINE THEM TO DETERMINE THE NET AMOUNT OWED

(IF \$50 OR MORE)

R11. Where did you get the money owed when you filed your return -- did you borrow it, did it come from savings, did you cut down on your spending, or what?

R12. When you (and your husband/wife) file your federal income tax return next spring, do you expect to owe about the same amount, or will you be entitled to a refund, or what?

1. WILL OWE MORE	3. ABOUT THE SAME	5. WILL OWE LESS	6. WILL OWE NOTHING; COME OUT EVEN	7. WILL GET REFUND	8. D.K. (GO TO R13)	9. WILL NOT FILE A RETURN (TURN TO P.45 , SECTION S)
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(ASK BOTH R12a AND R12b)

(TURN TO P.41 , R14)

R12a. Where will the money for the income tax come from next spring -- do you expect to borrow it, will it come out of savings, will you cut down on your spending, or what?

R12b. Why do you expect to owe less money on your tax return next spring than you owed last spring?

R13. Suppose it turns out that you get a refund equal to about one week's income -- what would you do with the money -- spend it, save it, invest it, repay debts, use it for a downpayment on something, or what?

(IF SPEND OR USE AS DOWNPAYMENT) R13a. On what would you (spend it/use it for a downpayment)?

(IF SAVE OR INVEST IT) R13b. Where would you put the money you (save/invest) -- in the bank, in stocks, in bonds, or what?

(TURN TO P.42 , R18)

R14. Why do you expect to get a refund on your tax return next spring?

(TURN TO P. 42 , R16)

R15. Do you expect the tax refund you will get next spring to be larger, smaller, or about the same size as the one you got last spring?

1. LARGER
NEXT SPRING

3. ABOUT
THE SAME

5. SMALLER
NEXT SPRING

8. DON'T KNOW

(TURN TO P.42 , R16)

R15a. Why do you expect your refund next spring to be larger than last spring?

R16. What do you think you will do with the money you get from your tax refund next spring -- spend it, save it, invest it, repay debts, use it for a downpayment on something, or what?

(IF SPEND OR USE AS DOWNPAYMENT) R16a. On what would you (spend it/use it for a downpayment)?

(IF SAVE OR INVEST IT) R16b. Where would you put the money you (save/invest) -- in the bank, in stocks, in bonds, or what?

R17. Suppose your tax refund turns out to be a couple of hundred dollars larger than you expected -- what would you do with the extra money?

(IF SPEND OR USE AS DOWNPAYMENT) R17a. On what would you (spend it/use it for a downpayment)?

(IF SAVE OR INVEST IT) R17b. Where would you put the money you (save/invest) -- in the bank, in stocks, in bonds, or what?

R18. Do you (and your husband/wife) file estimates of your income tax during the same year the income is being earned, or do you just file your regular return the next spring?

1. FILES ESTIMATED TAX

5. FILES JUST REGULAR RETURN

CHECKPOINT B: 1. RESPONDENT IS MARRIED 2. RESPONDENT IS SINGLE

R19. Did you (and your husband/wife) file a joint income tax return this last spring, or did you file separate returns?

1. JOINT 2. SEPARATE 8. DON'T KNOW

R20. Have you received any wage or salary income this year from which federal income taxes have been withheld?

1. YES 5. NO 8. DON'T KNOW

R21. Has your (husband/wife) received any wage or salary income this year from which federal income taxes have been withheld?

1. YES 5. NO 8. DON'T KNOW

R22. Have you received any wage or salary income this year from which federal income taxes have been withheld?

1. YES 5. NO 8. D.K.

(TURN TO P. 45, SECTION S)

CHECKPOINT C: (FROM R20 and R21)

1. BOTH YES BOXES CHECKED

(ASK R23-25 TWICE: FIRST FOR R, THEN FOR HUSBAND/WIFE)

2. ONE YES BOX CHECKED

(ASK R23-25 WITH REFERENCE TO PERSON FOR WHOM BOX IS CHECKED YES)

3. NEITHER YES BOX CHECKED

(TURN TO P. 45, SECTION S)

R23. Is the proportion of (your/your husband's/your wife's) income that is being withheld larger this year than last, or smaller, or is about the same proportion being withheld as last year?

(IF LARGER)

R23a. Why is it that a larger proportion is being withheld for federal income taxes this year than last?

	RESPONDENT	HUSBAND OR WIFE
	1. LARGER	1. LARGER
	3. SAME → (TURN TO P. 44, R24) 5. SMALLER → (TURN TO P. 44, R24) 8. DON'T KNOW → (TURN TO P. 44, R24)	3. SAME → (TURN TO P. 44, R24) 5. SMALLER → (TURN TO P. 44, R24) 8. DON'T KNOW → (TURN TO P. 44, R24)

	RESPONDENT	HUSBAND OR WIFE
<p>R24. (Have you/has your husband/ your wife) changed the number of exemptions you claim this year, so as to change the amount the employer withholds for federal income taxes?</p> <p>(IF YES)</p> <p>R24a. Was that an increase in the number of exemptions, or a decrease?</p> <p>R24b. Why was it that the number of exemptions was (increased/ decreased)?</p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> 5. NO (GO TO R25)</p> <p>↓</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 1. INCREASE</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 2. DECREASE</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> 5. NO (GO TO R25)</p> <p>↓</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 1. INCREASE</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 2. DECREASE</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p>
<p>R25. Sometimes a person will hold jobs with two different employers at the same time. Have (you/your husband/ your wife) had a second job this year?</p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> 1. YES <input type="checkbox"/> 5. NO</p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> 1. YES <input type="checkbox"/> 5. NO</p>

TIME NOW _____

S: FEELINGS ABOUT LIFE

In the next section of this interview I will be asking how you feel about your life, and life in this country. Please tell me the feelings you have now--taking into account what has happened in the last year and what you expect in the near future.

(CARD S1, ORANGE) Most of the questions can be answered by telling me what number on this card comes closest to how you feel: "one" for delighted, "two" for pleased, and so forth on to "seven" for terrible. If one of the questions doesn't seem to fit the way you think, you can tell me "A" to indicate that you can't answer that particular question.

I FEEL:						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
DELIGHTED	PLEASED	MOSTLY SATISFIED	MIXED (ABOUT EQUALLY SATISFIED AND DISSATISFIED)	MOSTLY DISSATIS-	UNHAPPY	TERRIBLE
A I CAN'T ANSWER THAT QUESTION						

- _____ S1. First, a very general question: How do you feel about your life as a whole?
- _____ S2. Now, try and forget all the things in your life that annoy or worry you; how do you feel about the good and pleasant parts of your life? How do these nice aspects, by themselves, make you feel?
- _____ S3. Now do the opposite--try and forget all the good and pleasant parts of your life; how do you feel about the things that annoy or worry you? How do these poor aspects, by themselves, make you feel?

S4a. I'm going to read you a pair of statements that may describe your life. If one of the statements describes how you see your life, tell me; if neither seems right, we will try another pair. Here is the first pair:

- TURN TO
P.47, S5 ←
- 1 My life is very good; I have really nothing to be dissatisfied about,
... or ...
 - 2 My life is pretty bad; I don't have much of anything to feel good about,
... or ...
 - Neither of those.

S4b. Here is another pair for you to try:

- TURN TO
P.47, S5 ←
- 3 My life is pretty good; I have only small things to be dissatisfied about,
... or ...
 - 4 My life is not good, but there are a few nice parts that keep me going.
... OR ...
 - NEITHER

S4c. How about:

- TURN TO
P.47, S5 ←
- 5 My life is all right; I've just got to handle my problems,
... or ...
 - 6 My life isn't too bad; but I keep thinking about the things I don't like.
... OR ...
 - NEITHER

S4d. Here's another pair:

- TURN TO
P.47, S5 ←
- 7 Putting everything together, my life is both very good and also very bad,
... or ...
 - 8 My life doesn't seem to be either very good or very bad.
... OR ...
 - 0 NEITHER

S4e. Could you tell me how you think of your life? _____

S5. (CARD S1, ORANGE) Now here are some questions on how you feel about parts of your life. Like before, just tell me the number on the card which gives the best idea of how you feel.

- _____ S5a. How do you feel about your house/apartment?
- _____ S5b. Thinking only of your own needs, how do you feel about your house/apartment?
- _____ S5c. With your values of what is appropriate or fair, how do you feel about your house/apartment?
- _____ S5d. Considering what your house/apartment takes in money, time and energy, how do you feel about the house/apartment?
- _____ S5e. Thinking of what it would take to move to another dwelling or change this one, how do you feel about your present house/apartment?
- _____ S5f. How do you think most people would feel about your house/apartment?
- _____ S5g. Thinking of your age and position in life, how do you feel about your house/apartment?

S6. Now let's shift to another part of your life.

- _____ S6a. How do you feel about what you are accomplishing in your life?
- _____ S6b. Considering just yourself and your own needs, how do you feel about what you are accomplishing in life?
- _____ S6c. With your values of what is appropriate or fair, how do you feel about what you are accomplishing in life?
- _____ S6d. How do you feel about what you are accomplishing in life considering the resources of money, time and energy you're putting into it?
- _____ S6e. Thinking of what it would take to change what you are accomplishing, how do you feel about what you are accomplishing in life?
- _____ S6f. How do you think most people would feel about what you are accomplishing in your life?
- _____ S6g. Thinking of your age and position in life, how do you feel about what you are accomplishing in life?

S7. Here's the last set of these kinds of questions.

_____ S7a. How do you feel about what our national government is doing?

_____ S7b. Thinking only of yourself and your needs, how do you feel about what the national government is doing?

_____ S7c. With your values about what is appropriate and fair, how do you feel about what the national government is doing?

_____ S7d. How do you feel about what our national government is doing considering the resources--money, time and energy--being put into it?

_____ S7e. Considering what it would take to change what the government is doing, how do you feel about what our national government is doing?

_____ S7f. How do you think most people feel about the things that our national government is doing?

_____ S7g. Thinking of your age and position in life, how do you feel about what our national government is doing?

TIME NOW _____

T: CULTURAL ATTITUDES

Here are a few questions about your religious attitudes.

- T1. About how often do you pray—several times a day, once a day, a few times a week, once a week or less, or never?

1. SEVERAL TIMES A DAY

2. ONCE A DAY

3. A FEW TIMES A WEEK

4. ONCE A WEEK OR LESS

5. NEVER

8. DK

- T2. Do you believe that God sends misfortune and illness on people as punishment for their sins, or not?

1. YES

5. NO

3. DEPENDS

8. DK

- T3. Do you believe in a life after death, or not?

1. YES

5. NO

3. DEPENDS

8. DK

- T4. Do you feel that someone who doesn't believe in God can be a good American, or not?

1. YES

5. NO

3. DEPENDS

8. DK

- T5. Now here's something else. During the past year we have had high unemployment in some places. Do you think that this is mainly due to the policies followed by the government or mainly due to other reasons?

1. MAINLY DUE TO POLICIES

5. MAINLY OTHER REASONS

8. DK

- T6. Do you think that quite a few of the people running the government are dishonest, not very many are, or do you think hardly any of them are dishonest?

5. QUITE A FEW

3. NOT MANY

1. HARDLY ANY

8. DK

Would you agree or disagree with each of the following statements?

- T7. I prefer the practical man anytime to the man of ideas.

1. AGREE

5. DISAGREE

- T8. The findings of science may someday show that many of our most deeply-held beliefs are wrong. 1. AGREE 5. DISAGREE
- T9. People ought to pay more attention to new ideas, even if they seem to go against the American way of life. 1. AGREE 5. DISAGREE
- T10. All except the old and the handicapped should have to take care of themselves without social welfare benefits. 1. AGREE 5. DISAGREE
- T11. In many respects, equality has gone too far in this country. 1. AGREE 5. DISAGREE

U: KNOWLEDGE

Here are a few questions about elected officials in Washington. Many people don't know the answers to these questions, so if there's one you haven't thought about much, just tell me and we'll go on to the next one.

U1. Do you happen to know how many times an individual can be elected President?

_____ Times

98. NO, DK

U2. Do you know how long the term of office is for a United States Senator?

_____ Years

98. NO, DK

U3. Do you happen to remember the names of the candidates for Congress-- that is, for the House of Representatives in Washington--that ran in this district this November?

1. YES

5. NO

→ TURN TO P. 51, U4

U3a. Who were they?

U3b. Which party was (he/she)?

NAME

PARTY

NAME	PARTY
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

(IF R MENTIONS TWO OR MORE PARTIES, TURN TO P. 52, U4;
IF R MENTIONS ONLY ONE PARTY, ASK U3c):

U3c. Do you happen to know if both of the parties ran candidates for Congress in this congressional district this November, or was there only one candidate?

1. DEM ONLY

2. BOTH PARTIES

3. REPUB ONLY

4. THREE OR MORE PARTIES

8. DK

U4. How long is the term of office for a member of the House of Representatives in Washington?

_____ Years

98. DK

U5. Do you happen to know which party had the most members in the House of Representatives in Washington before the elections (this/last) month? (IF NECESSARY: Which one?)

1. REPUBLICANS

5. DEMOCRATS

8. NO, DK

U6. Do you happen to know which party elected the most members to the House of Representatives in the elections (this/last) month? (IF NECESSARY: Which one?)

1. REPUBLICANS

5. DEMOCRATS

8. NO, DK

W. PERSONAL TRUST

W1. (CARD W1-WHITE) Now I'd like to read you some statements about other people and ways of dealing with them. For each statement, please pick the answer on this card that best describes how you feel about it. You can just tell me the answer you choose - whether you strongly agree, mildly agree, neither agree nor disagree, mildly disagree, or strongly disagree.

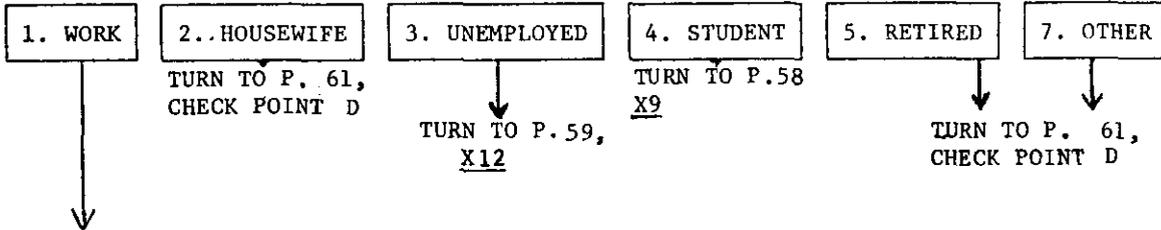
	STRONGLY AGREE	MILDLY AGREE	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE	MILDLY DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE	DK
W1a. Most people have very little confidence in others.	1	2	3	4	5	8
W1b. Most people would tell a lie if they could gain by it.	1	2	3	4	5	8
W1c. In spite of TV or newspaper reports, there is really no lack of trust between older and younger generations.	1	2	3	4	5	8
W1d. More often than not, people have hidden reasons for doing nice things for others.	1	2	3	4	5	8
W1e. Most people can be counted on to do what they say they will do.	1	2	3	4	5	8
W1f. Trusting in other people very often leads to disappointment.	1	2	3	4	5	8
W1g. Experience leads me to believe that most people can be trusted.	1	2	3	4	5	8
W1h. People in our society are genuinely concerned with others and are not just out for themselves.	1	2	3	4	5	8
W1j. Most salesclerks are honest in describing the products which they sell.	1	2	3	4	5	8
W1k. In dealing with strangers, one ought to be cautious until they have shown themselves to be trustworthy.	1	2	3	4	5	8

	STRONGLY AGREE	MILDLY AGREE	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE	MILDLY DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE	DK
Wlm. People are more inclined to help others than they are usually given credit for.	1	2	3	4	5	8
Wln. Most people are basically honest.	1	2	3	4	5	8
Wlp. It is a good idea to look for hidden meanings behind what other people say.	1	2	3	4	5	8
Wlq. People are basically uncooperative.	1	2	3	4	5	8
Wlr. When you get right down to it, people really don't care what happens to you.	1	2	3	4	5	8
Wls. Even when given a chance, only a few people are likely to take advantage of you.	1	2	3	4	5	8

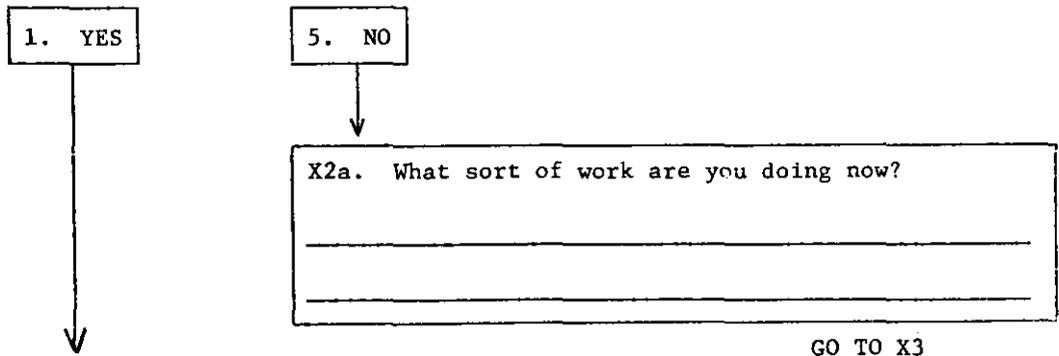
X. WORK AND OTHER ACTIVITIES

X1. We asked you about this the last time we interviewed you but we would like to know if anything has changed... Are you working now, unemployed, (retired), (a housewife), (a student), or what?

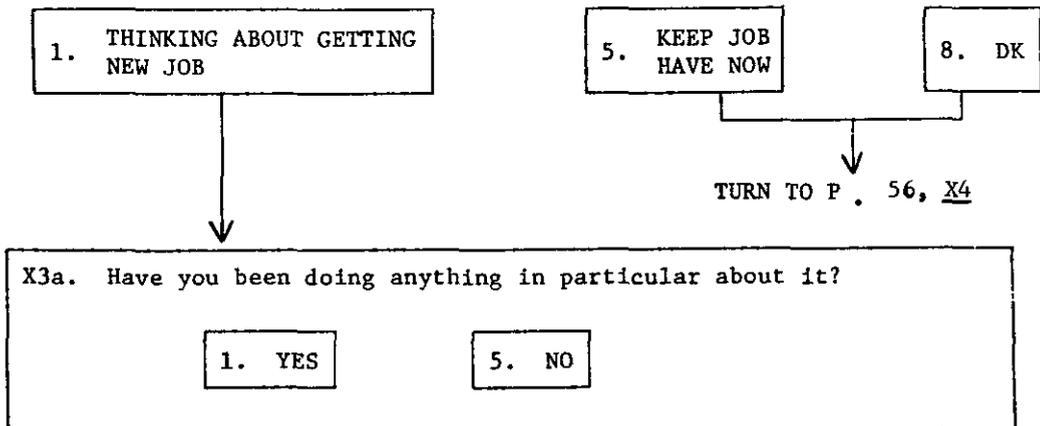
IF R GIVES MORE THAN ONE OCCUPATION CATEGORY FOLLOW INSTRUCTIONS FOR BOX WITH LOWEST CODE NUMBER, I.E., "STUDENT/HOUSEWIFE" FOLLOW SEQUENCE FOR HOUSEWIFE.



X2. Is this the same work you were doing when we talked to you before?



X3. Have you been thinking about getting a new job in the next year or so, or will you keep the job you have now?



ASK WORKING Rs ONLY

X4. Do you work for someone else, yourself, or what?

1. SOMEONE ELSE

2. BOTH SOMEONE ELSE AND SELF

3. SELF

GO TO X7



X5. Suppose you were very unhappy with certain conditions on your job. Could you do anything about it, or is there probably not much you could do?

1. COULD DO SOMETHING ABOUT IT

5. NOT MUCH COULD DO ABOUT IT

8. DK

X6. If you should lose your present job, what would you say were your chances of finding another job that was just as good as your present job in all respects? Would you say very good, good, not so good, or not good at all.

1. VERY GOOD

2. GOOD

4. NOT SO GOOD

5. NOT GOOD AT ALL

8. DK

X6a. Why do you feel that way? _____

GO TO X7

X7. Compared to most other people doing your kind of work, how much ability do you think you have? Do you think you have much more ability, a little more, about the same or a little less ability than most other people doing your kind of work?

1. MUCH MORE

2. A LITTLE MORE

3. ABOUT THE SAME

4. A LITTLE LESS

8. DK

X8. Do you worry at all about the possibility of being laid off or unemployed?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DK

ASK WORKING Rs ONLY

X8a. We would like you to compare how much you earn on your job with what other people in your line of work get. Do you feel the money you make is much less than your fair share, somewhat less than your fair share, about your fair share, or more than your fair share?

1. MUCH LESS

2. SOMEWHAT LESS

3. ABOUT
FAIR

4. MORE

8. DK

X8b. Now, we'd like you to compare how much people in your line of work earn with how much money people in other occupations earn. Do you feel that the money people in your line of work make is much less than their fair share, somewhat less than their fair share, about their fair share, or more than their fair share?

1. MUCH LESS

2. SOMEWHAT LESS

3. ABOUT
FAIR

4. MORE

8. DK

TURN TO P. 60, X16

ASK STUDENTS ONLY

X9. What kind of work do you plan to go into? [IF PLANS UNCERTAIN: What kind of work are you thinking about?]

X10. What do you think your chances will be of getting a good job in that line of work? Would you say very good, good, not so good or not good at all.

1. VERY GOOD

2. GOOD

4. NOT SO GOOD

5. NOT GOOD AT ALL

8. DK

GO TO X11

X10a. Why do you feel that way? _____

GO TO X11

X11. Compared to most other people doing that kind of work, how much ability do you think you have? Do you think you have much more ability, a little more, about the same or a little less ability than most other people doing that kind of work?

1. MUCH MORE

2. A LITTLE MORE

3. ABOUT THE SAME

4. A LITTLE LESS

8. DK

TURN TO P. 59, X16

ASK UNEMPLOYED ONLY

X12. Are you looking for work at the present time?

1. YES

5. NO

→ TURN TO P. 60, X16



X13. What kind of a job are you looking for?

X14. What do you think your chances are of getting that kind of job? Would you say very good, good, not so good or not good at all?

1. VERY GOOD

2. GOOD

4. NOT SO GOOD

5. NOT GOOD AT ALL

8. DK



GO TO X15

X14a. Why do you feel that way? _____

X15. Compared to most other people doing your kind of work, how much ability do you think you have? Do you think you have much more ability, a little more, about the same or a little less ability than most other people doing your kind of work?

1. MUCH MORE

2. A LITTLE MORE

3. ABOUT THE SAME

4. A LITTLE LESS

8. DK

TURN TO P. 60, X16

ASK Rs WHO ARE WORKING, STUDENTS, OR UNEMPLOYED

(CARD X1, GRAY)

X16. Which of these things will have the most influence over how much money you make over the next five years?

1. A. WHAT HAPPENS TO
MY COMPANY OR
EMPLOYER

2. B. WHAT HAPPENS TO PEOPLE
OF MY RACE OR NATIONAL
BACKGROUND

3. C. WHAT I,
MYSELF,
DO

4. D. WHAT MY UNION, TRADE OR
PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATION
IS ABLE TO DO FOR THEIR
MEMBERSHIP

5. E. WHAT HAPPENS TO
THE NATIONAL
ECONOMY

8. DK

X17. What will have the next most influence over the money you make?

1. A.

2. B.

3. C.

4. D.

5. E.

8. DK

TURN TO P. 61, CHECK POINT D

CHECK POINT D

(SEE P. 55, X1)

1 R IS WORKING → GO TO X19

2 R IS HOUSEWIFE

3 { UNEMPLOYED,
STUDENT, RETIRED,
OTHER

X18. Have you ever worked for pay?

1. YES 5. NO → TURN TO
P. 62, X22

X18a. Have you ever worked for pay?

1. YES 5. NO → TURN TO
P. 64, X27

X19. Have you ever felt that you were limited in getting a job or promotion you really wanted or might want in the future because of your education?

1. YES 5. NO 8. DK

X20. Do you feel your race, nationality or religion has had anything to do with promotions or getting a better job -- has it helped you, held you back or meant nothing in your case?

1. HELPED 5. HELD BACK 3. NOTHING 8. DK

(IF RESPONDENT IS A WOMAN)

X21. Do you think that being a woman has had anything to do with your job experience--how good a job you could get, your salary, chances for promotion, or anything like that?

1. YES 5. NO → TURN TO P. 62, CHECK POINT E

X21a. Has it helped you or held you back?

1. HELPED 5. HELD BACK

TURN TO P. 62, CHECK POINT E

CHECK POINT E

<input type="checkbox"/> 1 R IS NOT HOUSEWIFE → TURN TO P. 64, X27 <input type="checkbox"/> 5 R IS HOUSEWIFE (AND NOT WORKING)



X22. Different people feel differently about taking care of a home. I don't mean taking care of children, but things like cooking, sewing and keeping house. Some women look on these things as just a job that has to be done; other women really enjoy them. How do you feel about this?

1. JUST A JOB

5. REALLY ENJOY

3. MIXED

X23. Have you ever wanted a career? (NOT JUST A SHORT TERM JOB)

1. YES

3. MIXED

5. NO

X24. If you could have someone to take care of things here at home, would you like to take an outside job right now, or are you happy enough to be at home?

1. WOULD TAKE OUTSIDE JOB

5. HAPPY ENOUGH TO BE AT HOME

X25. Do you think you are likely to take an outside job in the future?

1. YES

3. DEPENDS

5. NO

→ TURN TO P. 63, X26



<p>X25a. Women have different reasons for working. What would be your main reasons for working?</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p>

ASK HOUSEWIVES ONLY

X26. Suppose you wanted to go to work now, do you think you would be able to find a job easily?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DK

→ TURN TO P. 64, X27

X26a. Why is that? _____

TURN TO P. 64, X27

ASK EVERYONE

X27. Was there ever a time when you tried to change what you were doing--for example, entered a training program, went back to school, tried to go into a different type of work--things that would really change what you were doing?

5. NO 1. YES →

X27a. What did you try to do? _____

X27b. FOR EACH THING MENTIONED: What happened--did you finish or accomplish what you were trying to do?

X27c. FOR ANYTHING NOT COMPLETED: Why weren't you able to do it?



TURN TO P. 65, X28

X27d. Was there ever a time when you thought about doing something like that?

1. YES 5. NO 8. DK



TURN TO P. 65, X28

X27e. What were you thinking about doing? _____

X27f. About how long ago was that?
 _____ (YEARS)

X27g. Why weren't you able to do it? _____

TURN TO P. 65, X28

Now, a few more general questions.

X28. Most people worry more or less about somethings. Would you say you never worry, worry a little, worry sometimes, worry a lot or worry all the time?

1. NEVER WORRY

2. WORRY A LITTLE

3. WORRY SOMETIMES

4. WORRY A LOT

5. WORRY ALL THE TIME

X29. Do you have any children of school age?

1. YES

5. NO

→ GO TO X33

X30. Suppose your child ran into trouble at school. Do you feel you could go to the school and do something about it, or do you feel that wouldn't do much good?

1. DO SOMETHING

5. WOULDN'T DO MUCH GOOD

8. DK

X31. Do you think parent or community groups can do anything to improve the quality of the schools around here--or do you think there is not much they can really do?

1. CAN DO SOMETHING

5. CAN NOT DO MUCH

8. DK

X32. Do you take part in any parent or community groups like that?

1. YES

5. NO

GO TO X33

X33. (CARD X2-WHITE) We have talked about various parts of your life; now I want to ask about your life as a whole. How satisfied are you with your life as a whole these days? Which number on this card comes closest to how satisfied or dissatisfied you are with your life as a whole? If you are completely satisfied, you would choose number 1; if you are completely dissatisfied, you would choose number 7. (CHECK NUMBER CHOSEN BY R)

Completely
Satisfied

Completely
Dissatisfied

X34. (CARD X3-BLUE) Many people take chances in some areas of life...games they play, ways they make money, things like that.

Which of the following activities do you take part in--even if you only do it once in a while? (PLACE AN "X" AT THE LEFT OF EACH ACTIVITY R TAKES PART IN.)

- | | |
|---|---|
| a) <input type="checkbox"/> Taking part in football pools | k) <input type="checkbox"/> Playing bridge |
| b) <input type="checkbox"/> Taking part in check pools | m) <input type="checkbox"/> Playing the numbers |
| c) <input type="checkbox"/> Playing bingo | n) <input type="checkbox"/> Entering magazine contests |
| d) <input type="checkbox"/> Playing poker | p) <input type="checkbox"/> Playing roulette |
| e) <input type="checkbox"/> Betting on the horses | q) <input type="checkbox"/> Playing pinochle |
| f) <input type="checkbox"/> Playing bid whist | r) <input type="checkbox"/> Taking part in baseball pools |
| g) <input type="checkbox"/> Shooting dice | s) <input type="checkbox"/> Buying sweepstakes tickets |
| h) <input type="checkbox"/> Buying lottery tickets | t) <input type="checkbox"/> Buying raffle tickets |
| j) <input type="checkbox"/> Speculating on land | u) <input type="checkbox"/> Buying stocks and bonds |

X34v. Are there any other games you play for money? (SPECIFY)

X34w. (IF MORE THAN ONE MENTIONED) Look at the list again. Which activity do you engage in most often?

NOTE TO INTERVIEWER: IN THE REST OF SECTION X, USE FOR "ACTIVITY." THE NAME OF THE ACTIVITY MENTIONED IN X34w (OR THE ACTIVITY GIVEN IN X34a-u IF ONLY ONE ACTIVITY WAS MENTIONED).

SPECIFY ACTIVITY YOU WILL USE IN THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS:

IF NO ACTIVITY MENTIONED, TURN TO P. 68, X43

X35. How often do you (ACTIVITY)--more than once a week, about once a week, about once a month, or less often than that?

1. MORE THAN ONCE
A WEEK

2. ONCE A WEEK

3. ONCE A MONTH

4. LESS
OFTEN

8. DK

X36. In (ACTIVITY) who do you take advice from--yourself, friends, experts or other people?

1. SELF

2. FRIENDS

3. EXPERTS

4. OTHER (SPECIFY)

X37. Do you take part in (ACTIVITY) mainly for money or prizes or because it's fun?

1. MONEY OR PRIZES

5. FUN

X38. When you stop (ACTIVITY) do you often feel that if you had stayed with it a little longer you would start winning?

1. YES

3. SOMETIMES

5. NO

X39. Do you think people who lose at (ACTIVITY) are just unlucky, or they haven't acquired the skill?

1. UNLUCKY

5. HAVEN'T ACQUIRED SKILL

8. DK

<input type="checkbox"/> 1 R SPENDS SOME MONEY ON ACTIVITY → GO TO X41 <input type="checkbox"/> 5 UNCLEAR WHETHER R SPENDS MONEY ON ACTIVITY

X40. Do you spend any money when you (ACTIVITY)--do you play for any stakes?

1. YES

5. NO →

X40a. (CARD X3-- BLUE) Is there any other activity on the list that you spend some money on? <input type="checkbox"/> 1. YES <input type="checkbox"/> 5. NO → GO TO X43 _____ (SPECIFY MOST FREQUENT AND USE FOR X41 and X42)
--

X41. When you do take part in (ACTIVITY) do you set limits on how much you plan to spend?

1. YES

5. NO → GO TO X42

X41a. Do you usually stick to the limits you set? <input type="checkbox"/> 1. YES <input type="checkbox"/> 5. NO <input type="checkbox"/> 8. DEPENDS

X42. How much do you usually spend on (ACTIVITY)?

_____ Dollars

X43. Suppose you were betting on horses and were a big winner in the third or fourth race. Would you be more likely to continue playing or take your winnings?

1. CONTINUE PLAYING

5. TAKE YOUR WINNINGS

X43a. What would you do with your winnings? _____ _____

INFORMATION FOR LOCATING RESPONDENT

We are particularly interested in changes in people's opinions. We might want to talk with you again in two years to see what you think about things at that time. Therefore, may I please have your name and mailing address? (IF NECESSARY, ASSURE R THAT THE NAME GOES ON A SEPARATE SHEET OF PAPER AND WILL BE KEPT APART FROM THE INTERVIEW)

1. GIVEN

5. REFUSED

IF NAME GIVEN, FILL OUT INFORMATION SHEET AND END INTERVIEW

IF R REFUSES, EXPLAIN:

OBSERVATION

1. RESPONDENT'S SEX IS:

1. MALE

2. FEMALE

2. RESPONDENT'S RACE IS:

1. WHITE

2. BLACK

OTHER: _____

3. RELATIONSHIP OF R TO HEAD
OF HOUSEHOLD:

1. IS HEAD

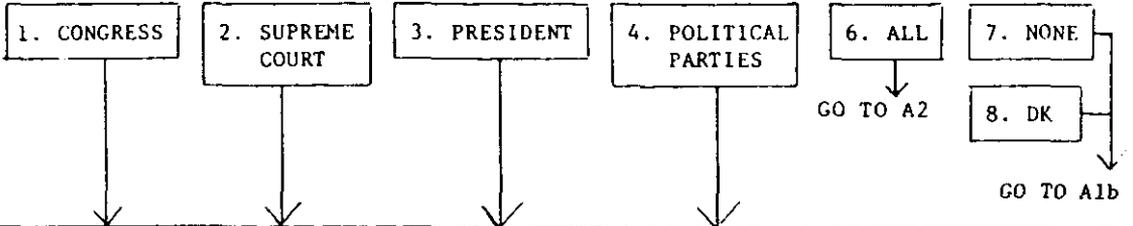
2. IS WIFE

OTHER: _____

THUMBNAIL SKETCH

A: INSTITUTIONS

A1. (CARD A1--BROWN) One of the things we want to learn in this interview is how people feel about the various parts of our government. Which of the parts of the government on this list do you think has done the best job in the past couple of years?



A1a. Which of the others on the list has done the second best job?

1. CONGRESS 2. SUPREME COURT 3. PRESIDENT 4. POLITICAL PARTIES 7. NONE

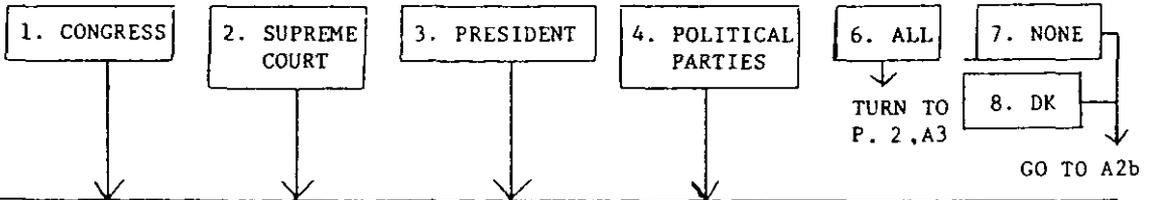
8. DK

A1b. Which has done the worst job?

1. CONGRESS 2. SUPREME COURT 3. PRESIDENT 4. POLITICAL PARTIES

6. ALL 7. NONE 8. DK

A2. Which part of the government on the list would you say is the most powerful?



A2a. Which of the others on the list is second most powerful?

1. CONGRESS 2. SUPREME COURT 3. PRESIDENT 4. POLITICAL PARTIES 7. NONE

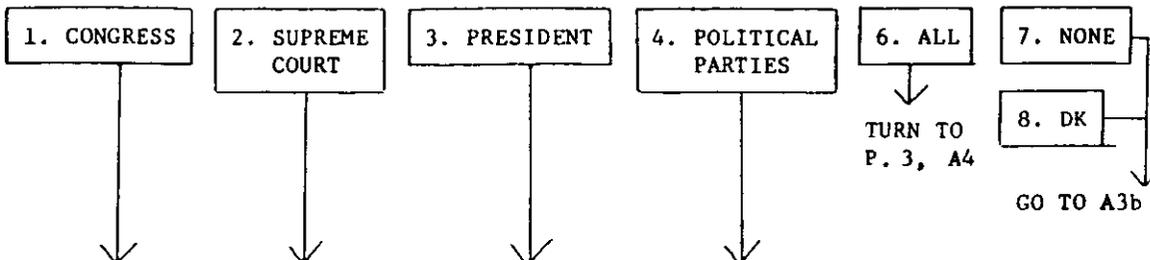
8. DK

A2b. Which is least powerful?

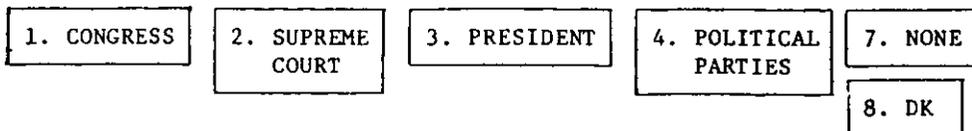
1. CONGRESS 2. SUPREME COURT 3. PRESIDENT 4. POLITICAL PARTIES

6. ALL 7. NONE 8. DK

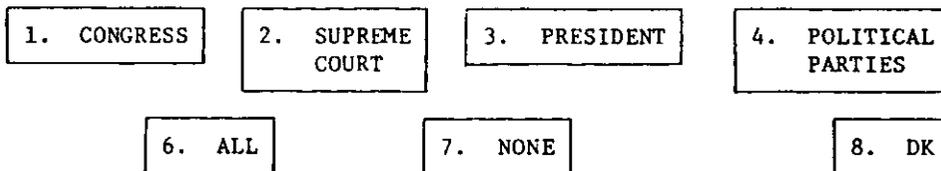
A3. Which part of the government on the list do you most often trust to do what's right?



A3a. Which of the others do you next most often trust to do what's right?



A3b. Which do you least often trust to do what's right?



A4. We find that people differ in how much faith and confidence they have in various levels of government in this country. In your case, do you have more faith and confidence in the national government, the government of this state, or in the local government around here?

1. NATIONAL GOVERNMENT	2. STATE GOVERNMENT	3. LOCAL GOVERNMENT	6. ALL	7. OTHER; SPECIFY: _____
---------------------------	------------------------	------------------------	--------	-----------------------------

TURN TO P. 4, SECTION B

5. NONE	8. DK
---------	-------

GO TO A4b

A4a. Which level do you have the least faith and confidence in--the (MENTION FIRST BOX NOT CHECKED IN E1) or the (OTHER BOX NOT CHECKED)?

1. NATIONAL GOVERNMENT	2. STATE GOVERNMENT	3. LOCAL GOVERNMENT
7. OTHER; SPECIFY: _____		
8. DK		

TURN TO P. 4, SECTION B

A4b. Which level do you have the least faith and confidence in--the national government, the government of this state, or the local government around here?

1. NATIONAL GOVERNMENT	2. STATE GOVERNMENT	3. LOCAL GOVERNMENT
7. OTHER; SPECIFY: _____		
8. DK		

B: PARTICIPATION AND INFLUENCE

Now I'd like to find out about some of the things that people do to help a party or a candidate win an election.

B1. During the campaign, did you talk to any people and try to show them why they should vote for one of the parties or candidates?

1. YES

5. NO

B2. Did you go to any political meetings, rallies, dinners, or things like that?

1. YES

5. NO

B3. Did you do any other work for one of the parties or candidates?

1. YES

5. NO

B4. Did you wear a campaign button or put a campaign sticker on your car?

1. YES

5. NO

B5. Did you give any money to a political party this year?

1. YES	5. NO → GO TO B6
--------	------------------

B5a. To which party was that?

1. DEM	3. BOTH DEM & REPUB	2. REP	4. AMERICAN INDEPENDENT	7. OTHER; SPECIFY: _____
				8. DK

B6. Aside from this particular election campaign, here are some other ways people can be involved in politics. Have you ever written a letter to any public officials giving them your opinion about something that should be done?

1. YES	5. NO, NEVER
--------	--------------

B7. Have you ever written a letter to the editor of a newspaper or magazine giving any political opinions?

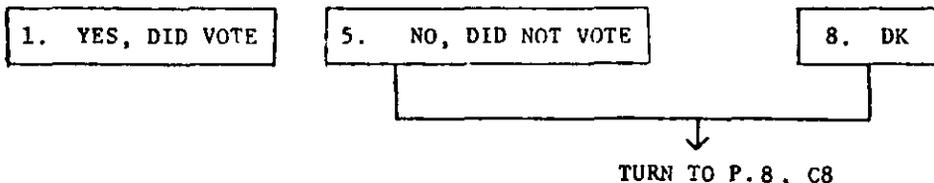
1. YES	5. NO, NEVER
--------	--------------

B8. Some people seem to follow what's going on in government and ~~public~~ public affairs most of the time, whether there's an election going on or not. Others aren't that interested. Would you say you follow what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time, some of the time, only now and then, or hardly at all?

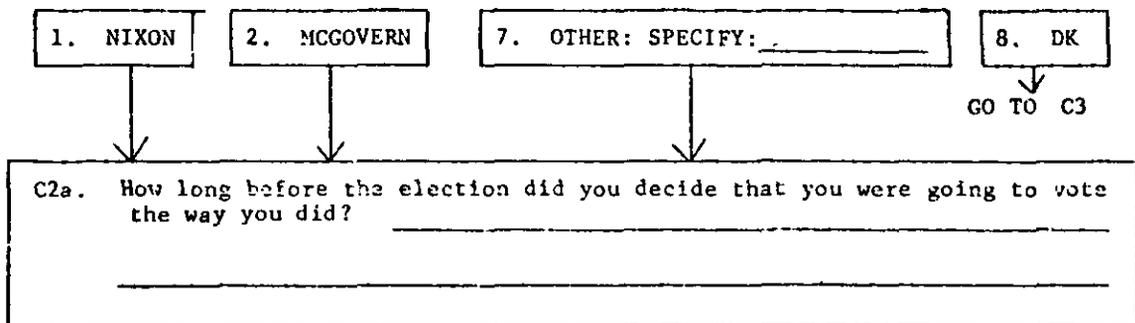
1. MOST OF THE TIME	2. SOME OF THE TIME	3. ONLY NOW AND THEN
4. HARDLY AT ALL		8. DK

INTERVIEWER SEE INSTRUCTION MANUAL FOR C3 AND C5 BEFORE ASKING THIS SECTION

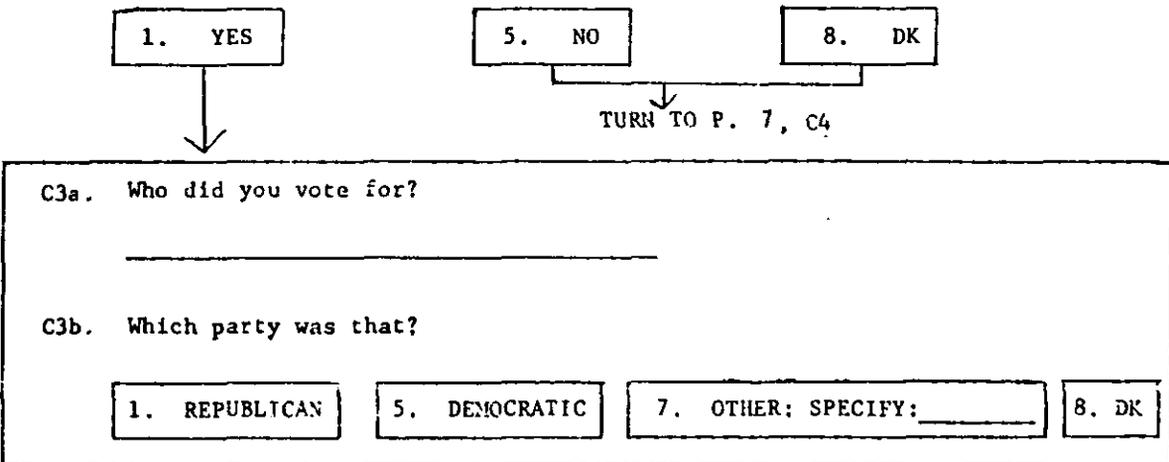
C1. In talking to people about elections, we often find that a lot of people weren't able to vote because they weren't registered, or they were sick, or they just didn't have time. How about you--did you vote in the elections this fall?



C2. Who did you vote for in the election for President?



C3. How about the election for United States Senator? Did you vote for a candidate for Senator?



C4. How about the election for Congressman--that is, for the House of Representatives in Washington? Did you vote for a candidate for Congress?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DK

GO TO C5

C4a. Who did you vote for?

C4b. Which party was that?

1. REPUBLICAN 5. DEMOCRATIC 7. OTHER; SPECIFY: _____ 8. DK

C5. How about the election for Governor - did you vote for a candidate for Governor?

1. YES

5. NO

6. DK

TURN TO P. 8, C6

C5a. Who did you vote for?

C5b. Which party was that?

1. REPUBLICAN 5. DEMOCRATIC 7. OTHER; SPECIFY: _____ 8. DK

C6. How about the elections for other state and local offices -- did you vote a straight ticket, or did you vote for candidates from different parties?

- 1. STRAIGHT TICKET
- 5. DIFFERENT PARTIES
- 8. DK → GO TO C7

C6a. Which party?

1. REPUBLICAN

5. DEMOCRATIC

C6b. Did you vote mostly Republican, mostly Democrat, or about half and half?

1. MOSTLY REPUBLICAN

3. ABOUT HALF & HALF REPUB - DEM

5. MOSTLY DEMOCRATIC

C7. How about propositions on the ballot in November? Were there any state, county, or local propositions on the ballot for the people to vote on?

- 1. YES, THERE WERE
- 5. NO, THERE WEREN'T
- 8. DK

GO TO C8

C7a. Did you vote on all, most, some or none of these propositions?

1. ALL

2. MOST

3. SOME

4. NONE

8. DK

C8. In general, do you feel that more issues should be decided by the voters at the polls?

- 1. YES
- 5. NO
- 8. DK

TURN TO P. 9, SECTION E

C8a. Is there anything in particular you had in mind?

E: IMPORTANT PROBLEMS

E1. Let's change the subject for a moment. We like to have people tell us, in their own words, what sorts of problems they have to deal with in their daily lives. Can you tell me what some of the problems are that you face these days in your own life?

E1a. Anything else? _____

CHECK POINT A

- | | | |
|---|---------------------------------------|--------------------|
| 1 | R HAS NOT MENTIONED ANY PROBLEMS → | TURN TO P. 11, E2 |
| 2 | R HAS MENTIONED ONE PROBLEM → | TURN TO P. 10, E1C |
| 3 | R HAS MENTIONED MORE THAN ONE PROBLEM | |

E1b. Of all you've told me, what would you say is the single most important problem you face?

Elc. Do you think this is something you have to work out on your own, or is there someone who ought to be helping you with this?

1. WORK OUT ON OWN	2. SOMEONE OUGHT TO BE HELPING	8. DK
--------------------	--------------------------------	-------

GO TO Ele

TURN TO P. 11, E2

Eld. Do you think you can take care of this problem, or do you think it is something you can't do much about?

1. CAN TAKE CARE	5. CAN'T DO MUCH	8. DK
------------------	------------------	-------

TURN TO P. 11, E2

Ele. Who is that?

3. THE GOVERNMENT IN GENERAL OR A PUBLIC OR GOVERNMENTAL AGENCY (SPECIFY): _____ _____	1. A PERSON (SPECIFY RELATION TO R): _____ _____	2. A PRIVATE AGENCY OR ORGANIZATION (SPECIFY): _____ _____	8. DK
--	--	--	-------

TURN TO P. 11, E2

Elf. How helpful do you feel (the government/AGENCY MENTIONED) (is/are) being on this problem—very helpful, somewhat helpful, or not helpful at all?

1. VERY HELPFUL	2. SOMEWHAT HELPFUL	3. NOT HELPFUL AT ALL	8. DK
-----------------	---------------------	-----------------------	-------

Elg. Which political party do you think would be most likely to get (the government/AGENCY MENTIONED) to be helpful on this problem?

1. REPUBLICANS	5. DEMOCRATS	3. NO DIFFERENCE
7. OTHER; SPECIFY: _____		8. DK

11

E2. What do you think are the most important problems facing this country?

E2a. Anything else? _____

CHECK POINT B

- | | | | |
|---|---------------------------------------|---|---------------------------|
| 1 | R HAS NOT MENTIONED ANY PROBLEMS | → | TURN TO P. 12 , SECTION F |
| 2 | R HAS MENTIONED ONE PROBLEM | → | GO TO E2c |
| 3 | R HAS MENTIONED MORE THAN ONE PROBLEM | | |

E2b. Of all you've told me, what would you say is the single most important problem the country faces?

E2c. How helpful do you think the government is being on this problem—very helpful, somewhat helpful, or not helpful at all?

1. VERY HELPFUL

2. SOMEWHAT HELPFUL

3. NOT HELPFUL AT ALL

8. DK

E2d. Which political party do you think would be most likely to get the government to be helpful on this problem?

1. REPUBLICANS

5. DEMOCRATS

3. NO DIFFERENCE

7. OTHER; SPECIFY: _____

8. DK

E2e. In the long run, can this problem be solved, or is it something that will always be with us?

1. CAN BE SOLVED

5. ALWAYS BE WITH US

8. DK

F: QUALITY OF POLITICAL LIFE

F1. All in all, would you say that the country is in very good shape, fairly good shape, poor shape, or that something is very wrong?

1. VERY GOOD SHAPE

2. FAIRLY GOOD SHAPE

3. POOR SHAPE

4. SOMETHING VERY WRONG

7. OTHER; SPECIFY _____

8. DK

F2. Looking ahead to the next 5 years, do you think that things in this country will get much better, somewhat better, somewhat worse, or much worse?

1. GET MUCH BETTER

2. GET SOMEWHAT BETTER

3. GET SOMEWHAT WORSE

4. GET MUCH WORSE

5. STAY ABOUT THE SAME

7. OTHER; SPECIFY:

8. DK

F3. Some people believe a change in our whole form of government is needed to solve the problems facing our country, while others feel no real change is necessary. Do you think a big change is needed in our form of government, or should it be kept pretty much as it is?

1. NEED BIG CHANGE

2. NEED SOME CHANGE

3. KEEP AS IS

7. OTHER; SPECIFY:

8. DK

TURN TO P.13 , F4

F3a. When you say we need a change, what exactly do you have in mind? What kind of change in our form of government are you thinking of?

- F4. I'm going to read you a pair of statements about our form of government, and I'd like you to tell me which one you agree with more. Would you say . . .

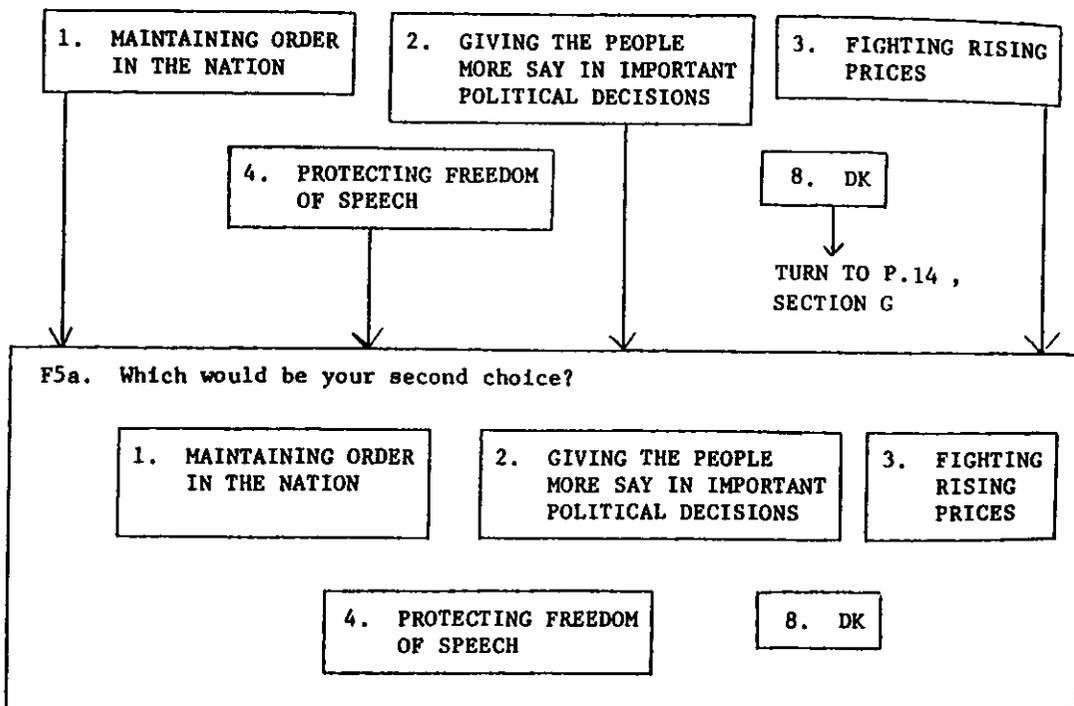
1. I am proud of many things about our form of government,

or

2. I can't find much in our form of government to be proud of?

8. DK

- F5. (CARD F1 - ORANGE) For a nation, it is not always possible to obtain everything one might wish. On this card, several different goals are listed. If you had to choose among them which one seems most desirable to you?



TIME NOW _____

G: EFFICACY

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.

- G1. People like me don't have any say about what the government does. 1. AGREE 5. DISAGREE
- G2. Voting is the only way that people like me can have any say about how the government runs things. 1. AGREE 5. DISAGREE
- G3. Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on. 1. AGREE 5. DISAGREE
- G4. I don't think public officials care much what people like me think. 1. AGREE 5. DISAGREE
- G5. Generally speaking, those we elect to Congress in Washington lose touch with the people pretty quickly. 1. AGREE 5. DISAGREE
- G6. Parties are only interested in people's votes but not in their opinions. 1. AGREE 5. DISAGREE

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

- G7. 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. DK

- G8. 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. DK

- G9. 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. DK

- G10. 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 ones are you most like?

1. CAN RUN OWN LIFE

5. PROBLEMS OF LIFE TOO BIG

8. DK

- G11. 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. DK

TIME NOW _____

H: SYSTEM SUPPORT

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:

H1. Do you think that people in the government waste a lot of 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

8. DK

H2. 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

8. DK

H3. 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

8. DK

H4. 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

8. DK

H5. 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 FEW

3. NOT MANY

1. HARDLY ANY

8. DK

H6. Over the years, how much attention do you feel the government pays to what the people think when it decides what to do—a good deal, some, or not much?

1. A GOOD DEAL

3. SOME

5. NOT MUCH

8. DK

H7. How much do you feel that political parties help to make the government pay attention to what the people think—a good deal, some, or not much?

1. A GOOD DEAL 3. SOME 5. NOT MUCH 8. DK

H8. And how much do you feel that having elections makes the government pay attention to what the people think—a good deal, some, or not much?

1. A GOOD DEAL 3. SOME 5. NOT MUCH 8. DK

H9. How much attention do you think most Congressmen pay to the people who elect them when they decide what to do in Congress—a good deal, some, or not much?

1. A GOOD DEAL 3. SOME 5. NOT MUCH 8. DK

H10. How much do you think that having interest groups makes the government pay attention to what people think—a good deal, some or not much?

1. A GOOD DEAL 3. SOME 5. NOT MUCH 8. DK

H11. Would you say it has become harder for the average man to lead a good moral life today, or was it harder to lead a good, moral life 25 years ago?

1. HARDER TO LEAD A GOOD LIFE NOW 3. SAME 5. HARDER 25 YEARS AGO
8. DK

H12. Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted, or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people?

1. MOST PEOPLE CAN BE TRUSTED 5. CAN'T BE TOO CAREFUL 8. DK

H13. Would you say that most of the time people try to be helpful, or that they are mostly just looking out for themselves?

1. TRY TO BE HELPFUL 5. JUST LOOK OUT FOR THEMSELVES 8. DK

H14. Do you think most people would try to take advantage of you if they got a chance, or would they try to be fair?

1. WOULD TAKE ADVANTAGE OF YOU

5. WOULD TRY TO BE FAIR

8. DK

J: ISSUES

Let's talk next about some problems that are important to America today.

J1. Would you say that it is safe to go out walking around here alone at night?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DK

J2. In general, which political party do you think would best see to it that the streets are safe--the Democrats, the Republicans, or wouldn't there be much difference between them?

1. DEMOCRATS

5. REPUBLICANS

3. NOT MUCH DIFFERENCE

8. DK

- J3. (IF R IS BLACK — CARD J3—BROWN; IF R IS NOT BLACK — CARD J4—WHITE)
 We've asked questions like this of quite a few people by now, both blacks and whites, and they have very different ideas about why, on the average, white people get more of the "good things of life" in American than black people. I will read you some of the reasons people have given, including some things that other people don't agree with at all. For each I'd like you to tell me whether you agree a great deal, agree somewhat, disagree somewhat, or disagree a great deal. First . . .

REASONS

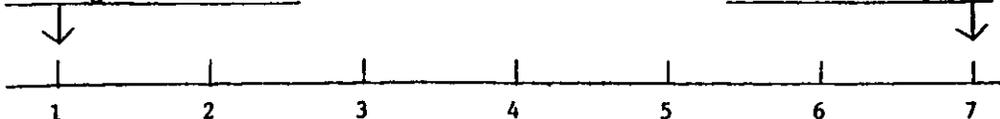
	Agree a Great Deal	Agree Somewhat	Disagree Somewhat	Disagree a Great Deal	DK
J3a. A small group of powerful and wealthy white people control things and act to keep blacks down.....	1	2	4	5	8
J3b. The differences are brought about by God; God made the races different as part of his divine plan.....	1	2	4	5	8
J3c. It's really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; that if blacks would only try harder they could be just as well off as whites.....	1	2	4	5	8
J3d. Generations of slavery and discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for blacks to work their way out of the lower class.....	1	2	4	5	8
J3e. Black Americans teach their children values and skills different from those required to be successful in American society	1	2	4	5	8
J3f. ASK NON-BLACK RESPONDENTS ONLY: Blacks come from a less able race and this explains why blacks are not as well off as whites in America...	1	2	4	5	8
J3g. Now, I'd like you to tell me what you consider the <u>most important</u> reason, of all those on the card, for whites' getting more of the good things in life than blacks.					

Most important reason is #

- J5. (CARD J6-BROWN) As you know, in our tax system people who earn a lot of money already have to pay higher rates of income tax than those who earn less. Some people think that those with high incomes should pay even more of their income into taxes than they do now. Others think that the rates shouldn't be different at all—that everyone should pay the same portion of their income, no matter how much they make.

Increase the Tax Rate
for High Incomes

Have the Same Tax
Rate for Everyone



(INTERVIEWER RECORD NUMBER)

- _____ J5a. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?

0. HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH

8. DK

→ TURN TO P. 23, J6

- _____ J5b. Where would you place Richard Nixon?

8. DK

- _____ J5c. Where would you place George McGovern?

8. DK

- _____ J5d. Where would you place George Wallace?

8. DK

- _____ J5e. (Where would you place) the Democratic Party?

8. DK

- _____ J5f. (Where would you place) the Republican Party?

8. DK

- _____ J5g. (Where would you place) most Workingmen?

8. DK

- _____ J5h. (Where would you place) most Middle Class people?

8. DK

- _____ J5j. (Where would you place) most Big Businessmen?

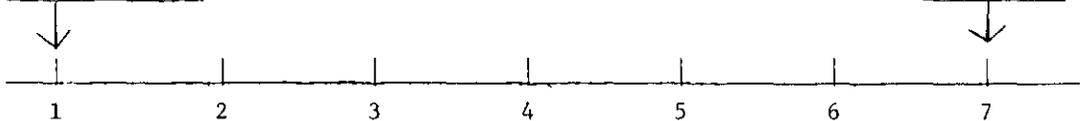
8. DK

J6. (CARD J7-GREY)

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.

Solve Problems
of Poverty and
Unemployment

Use All
Available
Force



(INTERVIEWER RECORD NUMBER)

_____ J6a. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?

0. HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH

8. DK

→ TURN TO P. 24, J7

_____ J6b. Where would you place Richard Nixon?

8. DK

_____ J6c. Where would you place George McGovern?

8. DK

_____ J6d. Where would you place George Wallace?

8. DK

_____ J6e. (Where would you place) the Democratic Party?

8. DK

_____ J6f. (Where would you place) the Republican Party?

8. DK

_____ J6g. (Where would you place) most people who live in suburbs?

8. DK

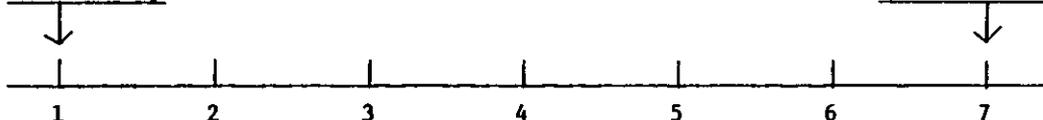
_____ J6h. (Where would you place) most people who live in cities?

8. DK

- J7. (CARD J8-GREEN) 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.

Sympathetic
With Students
and Faculty

Use Force
to Stop
Disturbances



(INTERVIEWER RECORD NUMBER)

- _____ J7a. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?

0. HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH

8. DK

TURN TO P. 25, J8

- _____ J7b. Where would you place Richard Nixon?

8. DK

- _____ J7c. Where would you place George McGovern?

8. DK

- _____ J7d. Where would you place George Wallace?

8. DK

- _____ J7e. (Where would you place) the Democratic Party?

8. DK

- _____ J7f. (Where would you place) the Republican Party?

8. DK

- _____ J7g. (Where would you place) most Liberals?

8. DK

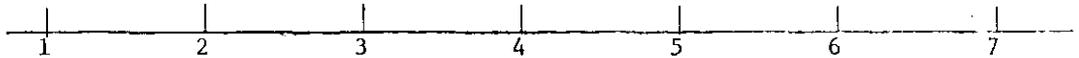
- _____ J7h. (Where would you place) most Conservatives?

8. DK

- J8. (CARD J9 - BLUE) 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.

Protect Rights
of Accused

Stop Crime
Regardless of
Rights of Accused



(INTERVIEWER RECORD NUMBER)

- _____ J8a. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?

0. HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH

8. DK

→ TURN TO P. 26, J9

- _____ J8b. Where would you place Richard Nixon?

8. DK

- _____ J8c. Where would you place George McGovern?

8. DK

- _____ J8c. Where would you place George Wallace?

8. DK

- _____ J8d. (Where would you place) the Democratic Party?

8. DK

- _____ J8e. (Where would you place) the Republican Party?

8. DK

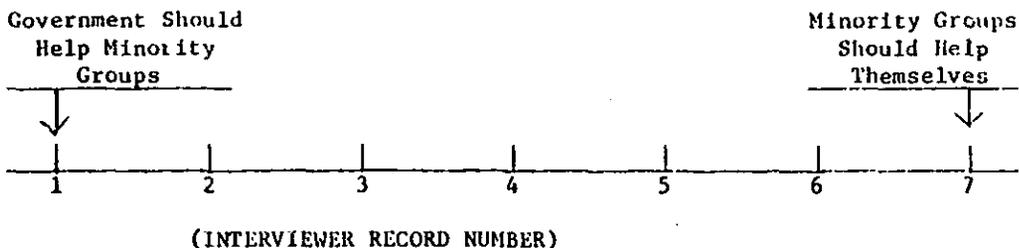
- _____ J8f. (Where would you place) most White People?

8. DK

- _____ J8g. (Where would you place) most Black People?

8. DK

- J9. (CARD J10 -- WHITE) Some people feel that the government in Washington should make every possible effort to improve the social and economic position of Blacks and other minority groups. Others feel that the government should not make any special effort to help minorities because they should help themselves.



- _____ J9a. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?

0. HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH

8. DK

→ TURN TO P. 27, J10

- _____ J9b. Where would you place Richard Nixon?

8. DK

- _____ J9c. Where would you place George McGovern?

8. DK

- _____ J9d. Where would you place George Wallace?

8. DK

- _____ J9e. (Where would you place) the Democratic Party?

8. DK

- _____ J9f. (Where would you place) the Republican Party?

8. DK

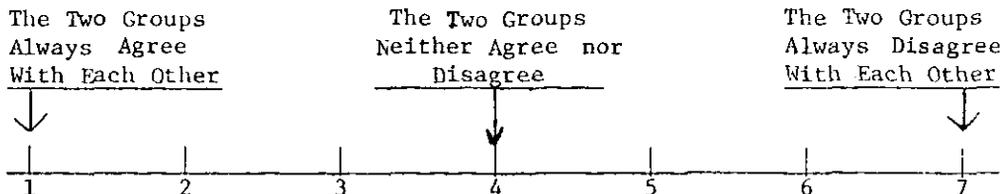
- _____ J9g. (Where would you place) most Workingmen?

8. DK

- _____ J9h. (Where would you place) most Middle Class People?

8. DK

J10. (CARD J11-BLUE) As we well know, there are many important issues in America today. Some groups usually agree with each other on the issues, while other groups usually disagree with each other. On this card, two groups that always agree with each other would be placed at point number 1, and two groups that always disagree with each other would be placed at point number 7. Two groups that neither agree nor disagree would be placed in the middle, at point number 4. I'm going to read you a list containing several pairs of groups, and I want you to try and place each pair on this card.



The first pair is Democrats and Republicans

(INTERVIEWER RECORD NUMBER)

_____ J10a. Democrats and Republicans

8. DK

_____ J10b. Intellectuals and Workingmen

8. DK

_____ J10c. Catholics and Protestants

8. DK

_____ J10d. Southerners and Northerners

8. DK

_____ J10e. Workingmen and Labor Unions

8. DK

_____ J10f. Liberals and Conservatives

8. DK

_____ J10g. Farmers and people who live in cities

8. DK

_____ J10h. Labor Unions and Democrats

8. DK

_____ J10j. Young People and Middle-aged People

8. DK

_____ J10k. Workingmen and Democrats

8. DK

_____ J10m. Men and Women

8. DK

_____ J10n. People on Welfare and Taxpayers

8. DK

_____ J10p. Big Business and Republicans

8. DK

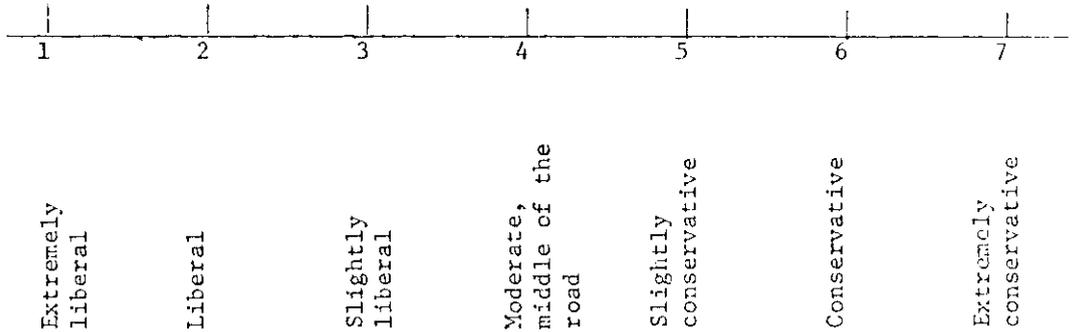
_____ J10q. Workingmen and Middle Class People

8. DK

_____ J10r. Blacks and Whites

8. DK

- J11. (CARD J12--ORANGE) We hear a lot of talk these days about liberals and conservatives. I'm going to show you a seven-point scale on which the political views that people might hold are arranged from extremely liberal to extremely conservative.



(INTERVIEWER RECORD NUMBER)

- _____ J11a. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?

0. HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH

8. DK

→ TURN TO P. 31, J12

- _____ J11b. Where would you place Richard Nixon?

8. DK

- _____ J11c. Where would you place George McGovern?

8. DK

- _____ J11d. Where would you place George Wallace?

8. DK

- _____ J11e. (Where would you place) the Democratic Party?

8. DK

- _____ J11f. (Where would you place) the Republican Party?

8. DK

_____ J11g. (Where would you place) most White People?

8. DK

_____ J11h. (Where would you place) most Black People?

8. DK

_____ J11j. (Where would you place) most Workingmen?

8. DK

TIME NOW _____

J12. (CARD J13-GREY) As you know, even though America is a wealthy nation, there are still many people living here who are poor.

I will read you some reasons people have offered to explain why this is so, including some things that other people don't agree with at all. For each, I'd like you to tell me whether you agree a great deal, agree somewhat, disagree somewhat, or disagree a great deal.

<u>REASONS</u>	Agree a Great Deal	Agree Somewhat	Disagree Somewhat	Disagree a Great Deal	DK
J12a. The poor are poor because the wealthy and powerful keep them poor	1	2	4	5	8
J12b. People are poor because there just aren't enough good jobs for everybody	1	2	4	5	8
J12c. With all the training programs and efforts to help the poor, anyone who wants to work can get a job these days	1	2	4	5	8
J12d. The poor are poor because the American way of life doesn't give all people an equal chance	1	2	4	5	8
J12e. Most poor people don't have the ability to get ahead	1	2	4	5	8
J12f. Poor people didn't have a chance to get a good education--schools in poor neighborhoods are much worse than other schools . . .	1	2	4	5	8
J12g. The seniority system in most companies works against poor people--they're the last to be hired and the first to be fired . .	1	2	4	5	8
J12h. Many poor people simply don't want to work hard	1	2	4	5	8
J12j. Good skilled jobs are controlled by unions and most poor people can't get into the skilled unions	1	2	4	5	8
J12k. Maybe it is not their fault but most poor people were brought up without drive or ambition . .	1	2	4	5	8
J12m. All except the old and the handicapped should have to take care of themselves without social welfare benefits . . .	1	2	4	5	8
J12n. In many respects, equality has gone too far in this country .	1	2	4	5	8

I'd like to ask you about some of the problems our country faces and whether you feel anything can be done about them.

J13. Do you think we'll always have periods of recession and unemployment, or could they be prevented?

1. ALWAYS HAVE
RECESSION

5. COULD BE PREVENTED

8. DK

J14. There's a lot of talk these days about the pollution of our air and environment. Do you think something could be done about these problems, or do you think there's really not much that can be done?

1. SOMETHING COULD
BE DONE

5. NOT MUCH
CAN BE DONE

8. DK

J15. Do you believe that the present form of American government is capable of solving the race problem in America?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DK

TIME NOW _____

K: EVALUATIONS

K1. (CARD K1--YELLOW) We'd like to get your feelings toward the candidates for national office in this year's election, using the "feeling thermometer" we showed you in our earlier interview. As you may recall, if you don't feel particularly warm or cold toward a candidate, then you should place him in the middle of the thermometer, at 50 degrees. If you have a warm feeling toward a candidate, or feel favorably toward him, you would give him a score somewhere between 50 and 100 degrees. If you don't feel favorably toward a candidate, then you would place him somewhere between 0 and 50 degrees.

The first person is George Wallace---where would you place him on the thermometer?

RATING

_____ Kla. George Wallace
 _____ K1b. Richard Nixon
 _____ K1c. George McGovern
 _____ K1d. Spiro Agnew
 _____ K1e. R. Sargent Shriver
 _____ K1f. John Schmitz

K2. We'd also like to get your feelings about some groups in American society, using the feeling thermometer just as we did for the candidates. If we come to a group you don't know much about, just tell me and we'll move on to the next one. Our first group is Big Business--how warm would you say you feel toward them?

RATING

_____ K2a. Big Business	_____ K2s. Labor Unions
_____ K2b. Poor People	_____ K2t. Young People
_____ K2c. Liberals	_____ K2u. Conservatives
_____ K2d. Southerners	_____ K2v. Women's Liberation Movement
_____ K2e. Intellectuals	_____ K2w. People Who Use Marijuana
_____ K2f. Catholics	_____ K2x. Black Militants
_____ K2g. Radical Students	_____ K2y. People Who Riot in Cities
_____ K2h. Policemen	_____ K2z. Civil Rights Leaders
_____ K2j. Protestants	_____ K2aa. People Who Live in Suburbs
_____ K2k. Jews	_____ K2bb. Workingmen
_____ K2m. The Military	_____ K2cc. Farmers
_____ K2n. Whites	_____ K2dd. Ministers Who Lead Protest Marches
_____ K2p. Democrats	_____ K2ee. Middle-Class People
_____ K2q. Blacks	_____ K2ff. People Who Live in Cities
_____ K2r. Republicans	

K3. While we have the feeling thermometer in front of us, what about your own life? Where would you put your life as a whole these days on the feeling thermometer?

(RATING)

- K4. (CARD K2--GREEN) Some people think that certain groups have too much influence in American life and politics, while other people feel that certain groups don't have as much influence as they deserve. On this card are three statements about how much influence a group might have. For each group I read to you, just tell me the number of the statement that best says how you feel. The first group is Labor Unions.

(RECORD NUMBER OF RESPONSE CATEGORY)

- ___ K4a. Labor Unions
 ___ K4b. Poor People
 ___ K4c. Jews
 ___ K4d. Southerners
 ___ K4e. Protesters
 ___ K4f. Workingmen
 ___ K4g. Politicians
 ___ K4h. Big Business
 ___ K4j. Blacks
 ___ K4k. Liberals
 ___ K4m. Catholics
 ___ K4n. Intellectuals
 ___ K4p. Young People
 ___ K4q. Women
 ___ K4r. Television Commentators
 ___ K4s. Republicans
 ___ K4t. People on Welfare
 ___ K4u. Farmers
 ___ K4v. Older People
 ___ K4w. Democrats
 ___ K4x. Middle-class People

- | |
|---|
| 1. TOO MUCH INFLUENCE |
| 2. JUST ABOUT THE RIGHT AMOUNT OF INFLUENCE |
| 3. TOO LITTLE INFLUENCE |
| 8. DK |

TIME NOW _____

L: FEELINGS ABOUT LIFE

L1. (ASK L1a THRU L1k BEFORE PROCEEDING TO L2 a-k). Now I have some questions about how you have been feeling recently. You can just answer "yes" or "no." During the past few weeks did you ever feel...

L1a. Particularly excited or interested in something?

 0. NO

 YES

L1b. Did you ever feel so restless that you couldn't sit long in a chair?

 0. NO

 YES

L1c. Proud because someone complimented you on something you had done?

 0. NO

 YES

L1d. Very lonely or remote from other people?

 0. NO

 YES

L1e. Pleased about having accomplished something?

 0. NO

 YES

L1f. Bored?

 0. NO

 YES

L1g. On top of the world?

 0. NO

 YES

L1h. Depressed or very unhappy?

 0. NO

 YES

L1j. That things were going your way?

 0. NO

 YES

L1k. Upset because someone criticized you?

 0. NO

 YES

L2. (ASK THIS QUESTION FOR EACH ITEM TO WHICH THE RESPONDENT ANSWERED "YES" IN L1.) You mentioned that you had felt _____. How often during the past few weeks did you feel this way? Was it just once, several times, or a lot of times?

L2a. Particularly excited or interested in something...

 1. ONCE

 2. SEVERAL

 3. A LOT

L2b. So restless that you couldn't sit long in a chair...

 1. ONCE

 2. SEVERAL

 3. A LOT

L2c. Proud because someone complimented you...

 1. ONCE

 2. SEVERAL

 3. A LOT

L2d. Very lonely or remote from other people...

 1. ONCE

 2. SEVERAL

 3. A LOT

L2e. Pleased about having accomplished something....

 1. ONCE

 2. SEVERAL

 3. A LOT

L2f. Bored?

 1. ONCE

 2. SEVERAL

 3. A LOT

L2g. On top of the world...

 1. ONCE

 2. SEVERAL

 3. A LOT

L2h. Depressed or very unhappy...

 1. ONCE

 2. SEVERAL

 3. A LOT

L2j. That things were going your way...

 1. ONCE

 2. SEVERAL

 3. A LOT

L2k. Upset because someone criticized you...

 1. ONCE

 2. SEVERAL

 3. A LOT

(IF ALL "NO," TURN TO P. 37, L3)

- L3. Taking all things together, how would you say things are these days-- would you say you're very happy, pretty happy, or not too happy these days?

1. VERY HAPPY

3. PRETTY HAPPY

5. NOT TOO HAPPY

In the next section of this interview we want to find out how you feel about parts of your life, and life in this country as you see it. Please tell me the feelings you have now--taking into account what has happened in the last year and what you expect in the near future.

- L4. Considering the way your life is going, would you like to continue much the same way, change some parts of it, or change many parts of it?

1. CONTINUE SAME WAY

2. CHANGE SOME PARTS

3. CHANGE MANY PARTS

(CARD L1, ORANGE) Now I am going to be asking about a long list of things, so just tell me what number on this card gives the best summary of how you feel, "one" for delighted, "two" for pleased, and so forth on to "seven" for you feel terrible about it. If you have no feelings at all on the question, tell me letter "A." If you have never thought about something that I ask you, and this probably will not happen, then tell me letter "B." And I may ask you a question that doesn't apply to you, if so tell me letter "C." Let's try an easy one first (WRITE NUMBER OR LETTER ON LINE TO LEFT OF EACH QUESTION.)

I FEEL:						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
DELIGHTED	PLEASED	MOSTLY SATISFIED	MIXED (ABOUT EQUALLY SATISFIED AND DISSATISFIED)	MOSTLY DISSATIS- FIED	UNHAPPY	TERRIBLE
<input type="checkbox"/> A NEUTRAL (NEITHER SATISFIED NOR DISSATISFIED) <input type="checkbox"/> B I NEVER THOUGHT ABOUT IT <input type="checkbox"/> C DOES NOT APPLY TO ME						

- _____ L5. How do you feel about your house/apartment?
(DO NOT ACCEPT "C" AS AN ANSWER)
- _____ L6. And now a very general one: How do you feel about your
life as a whole? (NO "C")

How do you feel about . . .

- _____ L7. This community as a place to live (NO "C")
- _____ L8. Your housework--the work you need to do around your home
(NO "C")
- _____ L9. The way young people in this country are thinking and acting
(NO "C")
- _____ L10. Your own health and physical condition (NO "C")
- _____ L11. The things you and your family do together
- _____ L12. How much you are admired or respected by other people (NO "C")
- _____ L13. The way you spend your spare time, your non-working activities
(NO "C")
- _____ L14. Your job
- _____ L15. What our government is doing about the economy--jobs, prices,
profits (NO "C")
- _____ L16. The respect other people have for your rights (NO "C")
- _____ L17. The reliability of the people you depend on
- _____ L18. The information and entertainment you get from TV, newspapers,
radio, magazines
- _____ L19. Your friends (NO "C")
- _____ L20. Your opportunity to change things around you that you don't
like (NO "C")
- _____ L21. Your standard of living--the things you have like housing,
car, furniture, recreation, and the like (NO "C")
- _____ L22. Your sex life
- _____ L23. How secure you are from people who might steal or destroy
your property (NO "C")
- _____ L24. The privacy you have--being alone when you want to be (NO "C")
- _____ L25. The goods and services you can get when you buy in this area--
things like food, appliances, clothes (NO "C")
- _____ L26. Your chance of getting a good job if you went looking for one
- _____ L27. The sleep you get (NO "C")
- _____ L28. The standards and values of today's society (NO "C")

How do you feel about . . .

- _____ L29. How happy you are (NO "C")
- _____ L30. The amount of time you have for doing the things you want to do (NO "C")
- _____ L31. Nearby places you can use for recreation or sports
- _____ L32. Yourself--what you are accomplishing and how you handle problems (NO "C")
- _____ L33. What you have to pay for basic necessities such as food, housing, and clothing (NO "C")
- _____ L34. What our national government is doing (NO "C")
- _____ L35. How much fun you are having (NO "C")
- _____ L36. How creative you can be (NO "C")
- _____ L37. Your chances for relaxation--even for a short time. (NO "C")
- _____ L38. The income you (and your family) have (NO "C")
- _____ L39. How well your family agrees on how family income should be spent.
- _____ L40. The way our political leaders think and act (NO "C")
- _____ L41. Your own family life--your wife/husband, your marriage, your children if any
- _____ L42. What your local government is doing (NO "C")
- _____ L43. The chance you have to enjoy pleasant or beautiful things (NO "C")
- _____ L44. And now the last one of these; How do you feel about your life as a whole? (NO "C")

TIME NOW: _____

M: GROUP IDENTIFICATION

M1. (CARD M1-GREEN) Here is a list of some of the groups we asked you about before. Please read over this list and tell me which of these groups you feel particularly close to--people who are most like you in their ideas and interests and feelings about things. (PLACE AN "X" AT THE LEFT OF EACH GROUP R FEELS CLOSE TO.)

- | | |
|--|---|
| a. <input type="checkbox"/> Businessmen | j. <input type="checkbox"/> Whites |
| b. <input type="checkbox"/> Liberals | k. <input type="checkbox"/> Blacks |
| c. <input type="checkbox"/> Southerners | m. <input type="checkbox"/> Conservatives |
| d. <input type="checkbox"/> Poor People | n. <input type="checkbox"/> Women |
| e. <input type="checkbox"/> Catholics | p. <input type="checkbox"/> Middle Class People |
| f. <input type="checkbox"/> Protestants | q. <input type="checkbox"/> Workingmen |
| g. <input type="checkbox"/> Jews | r. <input type="checkbox"/> Farmers |
| h. <input type="checkbox"/> Young People | s. <input type="checkbox"/> Older People |

(IF MORE THAN ONE) M1t. Look at the list again, and tell me which one you feel closest to of those you mentioned.

NOTE TO INTERVIEWER: IN THE REST OF SECTION M, USE FOR "CLOSEST GROUP" THE NAME OF THE GROUP GIVEN IN M1t (OR THE GROUP GIVEN IN M1a-s IF ONLY ONE GROUP WAS MENTIONED.)

SPECIFY NAME OF GROUP YOU WILL USE IN THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS:

IF R REFUSES TO CHECK ANY GROUP IN M1a-s, ASK: Is there any group you feel closer to than the groups on this list? (IF YES, SPECIFY)

M1u. _____

USE THIS GROUP FOR "CLOSEST GROUP" IN THE REST OF SECTION M.

IF R STILL REFUSES TO NAME A GROUP, TURN TO P. 44, SECTION N

Now I'd like to ask you a few questions about (CLOSEST GROUP).

M2. Do you belong to any organizations or take part in any activities that represent the interests and viewpoints of (CLOSEST GROUP)?

1. YES



5. NO



GO TO M3

M2a. What activities or organizations?

M3. Do you read any newspaper or magazine that particularly represents the interests and viewpoints of (CLOSEST GROUP)?

1. YES



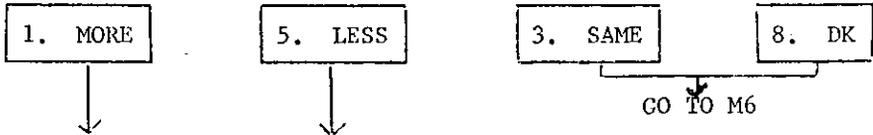
5. NO

8. DK

TURN TO P. 42, M4

M3a. What one(s)?

M5. Do you think the influence of (CLOSEST GROUP) is increasing or decreasing--is it more or less than it used to be?



M5a. Why is that--what things have made them have (more/less) influence?

GO TO M6

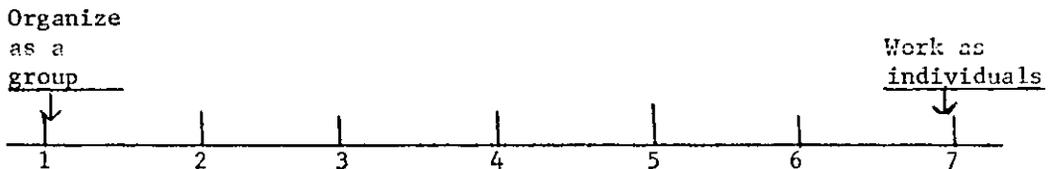
M6. (CARD M2-YELLOW) Some people feel that (CLOSEST GROUP) should organize, work together, and bring pressure as a group in order to have influence and get the things they want. Others feel (CLOSEST GROUP) should not organize in this way. They should work as individuals, doing such things as voting, writing letters to officials and generally making their opinions known.

Suppose people who think (CLOSEST GROUP) should organize as a group are at one end of the scale - at point number 1. And suppose those who feel (CLOSEST GROUP) should work as individuals are at the other end of the scale--at point number 7.

(INTERVIEWER RECORD NUMBER)

_____ M6a. Where would you place yourself on this scale?

_____ M6b. Where do you think most (CLOSEST GROUP) would place themselves on this scale?



N. GROUP DIFFERENCES

I'd like to ask you a few questions about some of the differences between groups in our society. People have different ideas about these things...I'd like to ask you about your ideas. (HAND R GREEN BOOKLET) For each set of statements in this booklet, we would like you to check the one you agree with most.

INTERVIEWER: IF YOU FEEL R MAY HAVE ANY READING OR SEEING PROBLEM, USE THE QUESTIONNAIRE AS USUAL. READ EACH SET OF STATEMENTS AND CHECK R'S CHOICE. DO THIS ONLY FOR THE FIRST TEN SETS OF QUESTIONS (N1-N10). IN EITHER CASE, BE SURE TO FILL IN CHECK POINT C, ON PAGE 46.

N1. Which of these first two statements do you agree with most?

1. People who are born poor have less chance to get ahead than other people. -- or --
5. People who have the ability and work hard have the same chance as anyone else, even if their parents were poor.

N2. Which of these two?

1. Many qualified women can't get good jobs; men with the same skills have much less trouble. -- or --
5. In general, men are more qualified than women for jobs that have great responsibility.

N3. And these?

1. Discrimination affects all Black people. The only way to handle it is for Blacks to organize together and demand rights for all. -- or --
5. Discrimination may affect all Blacks but the best way to handle it is for each individual to act like any other American--to work hard, get a good education, and mind his own business.

N4. And these?

1. Women can best overcome discrimination by pursuing their individual career goals in as feminine a way as possible. -- or --
5. It is not enough for a woman to be successful herself; women must work together to change laws and customs that are unfair to all women.

N5. And these?

1. It's lack of skill and abilities that keep many Black people from getting a job. It's not just because they're Black. When a Black person is trained to do something, he is able to get a job. -- or --
5. Many qualified Black people can't get a good job. White people with the same skills wouldn't have any trouble.

N6. Which of these statements do you agree with most?

1. Many poor people simply don't want to work hard. -- or --
5. The poor are poor because the American way of life doesn't give all people an equal chance.

N7. And these?

1. The best way for Blacks to overcome discrimination is through pressure and social action. -- or --
5. The best way to overcome discrimination is for each individual Black to be even better trained and more qualified than the most qualified White person.

N8. 1. It's more natural for men to have the top responsible jobs in a country. -- or--

5. Sex discrimination keeps women from the top jobs.

N9. 1. Many Blacks have only themselves to blame for not doing better in life. If they tried harder, they'd do better. -- or--

5. When two qualified people, one Black and one White, are considered for the same job, the Black won't get the job no matter how hard he tries.

N10. 1. The best way to handle problems of discrimination is for each woman to make sure she gets the best training possible for what she wants to do. -- or --

5. Only if women organize and work together can anything really be done about discrimination.

IF YOU ARE READING STATEMENTS TO R, TURN TO P. 46, CHECK POINT C

N11. 1. Racial discrimination is here to stay. -- or --

5. People may be prejudiced, but it's possible for American society to completely rid itself of racial discrimination.

N12. 1. Many Black people who don't do well in life do have good training, but the opportunities just always go to Whites. -- or --

5. Black people may not have the same opportunities as Whites, but many Blacks haven't prepared themselves enough to make use of the opportunities that come their way.

- N13. 1. It's the lack of skills and abilities that keep most unemployed people from getting a job; if they had the skills most of them could get a job. -- or --
5. Many people with skills can't get a job; there just aren't any jobs for them.
- N14. 1. People who blame discrimination generally do it to cover their own weaknesses. -- or --
5. The person's skill and effort are important but many people still face serious discrimination in our society.
- N15. 1. By nature women are happiest when they are making a home and caring for children. -- or --
5. Our society, not nature, teaches women to prefer homemaking to work outside the home.
- N16. 1. The attempt to "fit in" and do what's proper hasn't paid off for Blacks. It doesn't matter how "proper" you are, you'll still meet serious discrimination if you're Black. -- or --
5. The problem for many Blacks is that they aren't really acceptable by American standards. Any Black who is educated and does what is considered proper will be accepted and will get ahead.
- N17. 1. Men have more of the top jobs because they are born with more drive to be ambitious and successful than women. --or--
5. Men have more of the top jobs because our society discriminates against women.
- N18. 1. The racial situation in America may be very complex, but with enough money and effort, it is possible to get rid of racial discrimination. -- or --
5. We'll never completely get rid of discrimination. It's part of human nature.
- N19. 1. Blacks and other minorities no longer face unfair employment conditions. In fact, they are favored in many training and job programs. -- or --
5. Even with the new programs, minorities still face the same old job discrimination once the program is over.

CHECK POINT C

- | |
|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1 R READ QUESTIONS IN BOOKLET WITH NO APPARENT READING DIFFICULTY.
<input type="checkbox"/> 2 R READ QUESTIONS IN BOOKLET--MAY HAVE HAD SOME DIFFICULTY.
<input type="checkbox"/> 3 INTERVIEWER READ QUESTIONS. |
|--|

T: CULTURAL ATTITUDES

Here are a few questions about your religious attitudes.

- T1. About how often do you pray—several times a day, once a day, a few times a week, once a week or less, or never?

1. SEVERAL TIMES A DAY

2. ONCE A DAY

3. A FEW TIMES A WEEK

4. ONCE A WEEK OR LESS

5. NEVER

8. DK

- T2. Do you believe that God sends misfortune and illness on people as punishment for their sins, or not?

1. YES

5. NO

3. DEPENDS

8. DK

- T3. Do you believe in a life after death, or not?

1. YES

5. NO

3. DEPENDS

8. DK

- T4. Do you feel that someone who doesn't believe in God can be a good American, or not?

1. YES

5. NO

3. DEPENDS

8. DK

- T5. Now here's something else. During the past year we have had high unemployment in some places. Do you think that this is mainly due to the policies followed by the government or mainly due to other reasons?

1. MAINLY DUE TO POLICIES

5. MAINLY OTHER REASONS

8. DK

- T6. Do you think that quite a few of the people running the government are dishonest, not very many are, or do you think hardly any of them are dishonest?

5. QUITE A FEW

3. NOT MANY

1. HARDLY ANY

8. DK

Would you agree or disagree with each of the following statements?

- T7. I prefer the practical man anytime to the man of ideas.

1. AGREE

5. DISAGREE

T8. The findings of science may someday show that many of our most deeply-held beliefs are wrong.

1. AGREE

5. DISAGREE

T9. People ought to pay more attention to new ideas, even if they seem to go against the American way of life.

1. AGREE

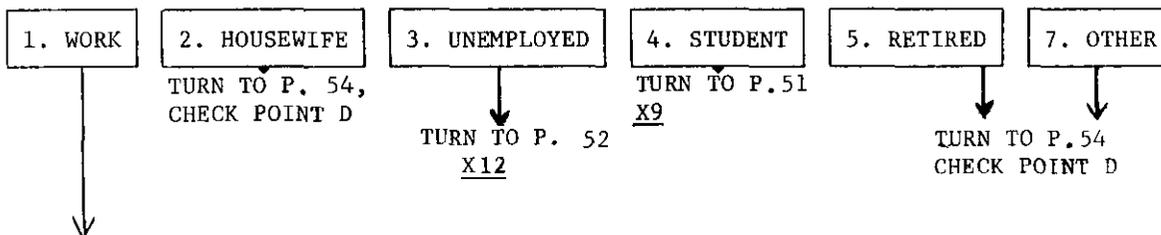
5. DISAGREE

TIME NOW _____

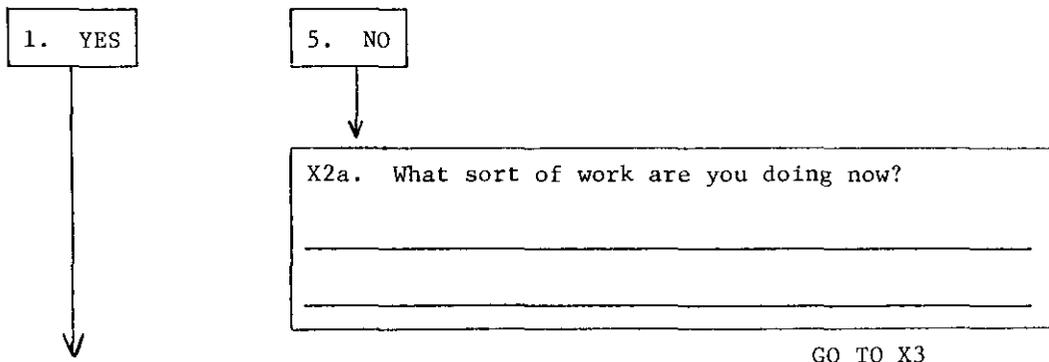
X. WORK AND OTHER ACTIVITIES

X1. We asked you about this the last time we interviewed you but we would like to know if anything has changed... Are you working now, unemployed, (retired), (a housewife), (a student), or what?

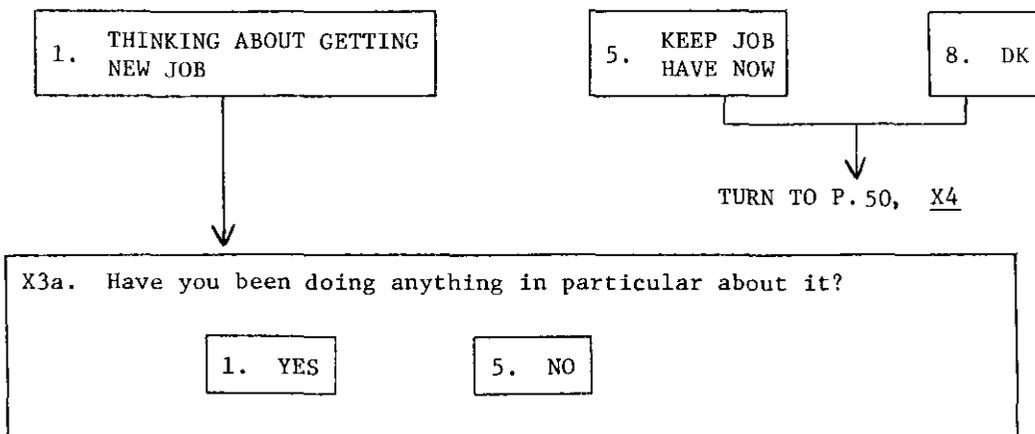
IF R GIVES MORE THAN ONE OCCUPATION CATEGORY FOLLOW INSTRUCTIONS FOR BOX WITH LOWEST CODE NUMBER, I.E., "STUDENT/HOUSEWIFE" FOLLOW SEQUENCE FOR HOUSEWIFE.



X2. Is this the same work you were doing when we talked to you before?



X3. Have you been thinking about getting a new job in the next year or so, or will you keep the job you have now?



ASK WORKING Rs ONLY

X4. Do you work for someone else, yourself, or what?

1. SOMEONE ELSE

2. BOTH SOMEONE
ELSE AND SELF

3. SELF

→ GO TO X7

X5. Suppose you were very unhappy with certain conditions on your job. Could you do anything about it, or is there probably not much you could do?

1. COULD DO SOMETHING
ABOUT IT

5. NOT MUCH COULD DO
ABOUT IT

8. DK

X6. If you should lose your present job, what would you say were your chances of finding another job that was just as good as your present job in all respects? Would you say very good, good, not so good, or not good at all.

1. VERY GOOD

2. GOOD

4. NOT SO GOOD

5. NOT GOOD AT ALL

8. DK

x6a. Why do you feel that way? _____

GO TO X7

X7. Compared to most other people doing your kind of work, how much ability do you think you have? Do you think you have much more ability, a little more, about the same or a little less ability than most other people doing your kind of work?

1. MUCH MORE

2. A LITTLE MORE

3. ABOUT THE SAME

4. A LITTLE LESS

8. DK

X8. Do you worry at all about the possibility of being laid off or unemployed?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DK

TURN TO P. 53, X16

ASK STUDENTS ONLY

X9. What kind of work do you plan to go into? [IF PLANS UNCERTAIN: What kind of work are you thinking about?]

X10. What do you think your chances will be of getting a good job in that line of work? Would you say very good, good, not so good or not good at all.

1. VERY GOOD 2. GOOD 4. NOT SO GOOD 5. NOT GOOD AT ALL 8. DK

GO TO X11

X10a. Why do you feel that way? _____

GO TO X11

X11. Compared to most other people doing that kind of work, how much ability do do think you have? Do you think you have much more ability, a little more, about the same or a little less ability than most other people doing that kind of work?

1. MUCH MORE 2. A LITTLE MORE 3. ABOUT THE SAME 4. A LITTLE LESS 8. DK

TURN TO P. 53, X16

ASK UNEMPLOYED ONLY

X12. Are you looking for work at the present time?

1. YES

5. NO

→ TURN TO P. 53, X16

X13. What kind of a job are you looking for?

X14. What do you think your chances are of getting that kind of job? Would you say very good, good, not so good or not good at all?

1. VERY GOOD

2. GOOD

4. NOT SO GOOD

5. NOT GOOD AT ALL

8. DK

GO TO X15

X14a. Why do you feel that way? _____

X15. Compared to most other people doing your kind of work, how much ability do you think you have? Do you think you have much more ability, a little more, about the same or a little less ability than most other people doing your kind of work?

1. MUCH MORE

2. A LITTLE MORE

3. ABOUT THE SAME

4. A LITTLE LESS

8. DK

TURN TO P. 53, X16

ASK Rs WHO ARE WORKING, STUDENTS, OR UNEMPLOYED

(CARD X1, GRAY)

X16. Which of these things will have the most influence over how much money you make over the next five years?

1. A. WHAT HAPPENS TO
MY COMPANY OR
EMPLOYER

2. B. WHAT HAPPENS TO PEOPLE
OF MY RACE OR NATIONAL
BACKGROUND

3. C. WHAT I,
MYSELF,
DO

4. D. WHAT MY UNION, TRADE OR
PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATION
IS ABLE TO DO FOR THEIR
MEMBERSHIP

5. E. WHAT HAPPENS TO
THE NATIONAL
ECONOMY

8. DK

X17. What will have the next most influence over the money you make?

1. A.

2. B.

3. C.

4. D.

5. E.

8. DK

TURN TO P. 54, CHECK POINT D

CHECK POINT D

(SEE P. 49, X1)

1 R IS WORKING → GO TO X19

2 R IS HOUSEWIFE

3 { UNEMPLOYED,
STUDENT, RETIRED,
OTHER

X18. Have you ever worked for pay?

1. YES 5. NO → TURN TO P. 55, X22

X18a. Have you ever worked for pay?

1. YES 5. NO → TURN TO P. 57, X27

X19. Have you ever felt that you were limited in getting a job or promotion you really wanted or might want in the future because of your education?

1. YES 5. NO 8. DK

X20. Do you feel your race, nationality or religion has had anything to do with promotions or getting a better job -- has it helped you, held you back or meant nothing in your case?

1. HELPED 5. HELD BACK 3. NOTHING 8. DK

(IF RESPONDENT IS A WOMAN)

X21. Do you think that being a woman has had anything to do with your job experience--how good a job you could get, your salary, chances for promotion, or anything like that?

1. YES 5. NO → TURN TO P. 55, CHECK POINT E

X21a. Has it helped you or held you back?

1. HELPED 5. HELD BACK

TURN TO P. 55, CHECK POINT E

CHECK POINT E

<input type="checkbox"/> 1	R IS NOT HOUSEWIFE	—————→	TURN TO P. 57, <u>X27</u>
<input type="checkbox"/> 5	R IS HOUSEWIFE (AND NOT WORKING)		



X22. Different people feel differently about taking care of a home. I don't mean taking care of children, but things like cooking, sewing and keeping house. Some women look on these things as just a job that has to be done; other women really enjoy them. How do you feel about this?

1. JUST A JOB	5. REALLY ENJOY	3. MIXED
---------------	-----------------	----------

X23. Have you ever wanted a career? (NOT JUST A SHORT TERM JOB)

1. YES	3. MIXED	5. NO
--------	----------	-------

X24. If you could have someone to take care of things here at home, would you like to take an outside job right now, or are you happy enough to be at home?

1. WOULD TAKE OUTSIDE JOB	5. HAPPY ENOUGH TO BE AT HOME
---------------------------	-------------------------------

X25. Do you think you are likely to take an outside job in the future?

1. YES	3. DEPENDS	5. NO	—————→	TURN TO P. 56, <u>X26</u>
--------	------------	-------	--------	---------------------------



<p>X25a. Women have different reasons for working. What would be your main reasons for working?</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p>

ASK HOUSEWIVES ONLY

X26. Suppose you wanted to go to work now, do you think you would be able to find a job easily?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DK

→ TURN TO P. 57, X27

X26a. Why is that? _____

TURN TO P. 57, X27

ASK EVERYONE

X27. Was there ever a time when you tried to change what you were doing--for example, entered a training program, went back to school, tried to go into a different type of work--things that would really change what you were doing?

5. NO

1. YES →

X27a. What did you try to do? _____

X27b. FOR EACH THING MENTIONED: What happened--did you finish or accomplish what you were trying to do?

X27c. FOR ANYTHING NOT COMPLETED: Why weren't you able to do it?

TURN TO P. 58, X28

X27d. Was there ever a time when you thought about doing something like that?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DK

TURN TO P. 58, X28

X27e. What were you thinking about doing? _____

X27f. About how long ago was that?

_____ (YEARS)

X27g. Why weren't you able to do it? _____

TURN TO P. 58, X28

Now, a few more general questions.

X28. Most people worry more or less about somethings. Would you say you never worry, worry a little, worry sometimes, worry a lot or worry all the time?

1. NEVER WORRY

2. WORRY A LITTLE

3. WORRY SOMETIMES

4. WORRY A LOT

5. WORRY ALL THE TIME

X29. Do you have any children of school age?

1. YES

5. NO

→ GO TO X33

X30. Suppose your child ran into trouble at school. Do you feel you could go to the school and do something about it, or do you feel that wouldn't do much good?

1. DO SOMETHING

5. WOULDN'T DO MUCH GOOD

8. DK

X31. Do you think parent or community groups can do anything to improve the quality of the schools around here--or do you think there is not much they can really do?

1. CAN DO SOMETHING

5. CAN NOT DO MUCH

8. DK

X32. Do you take part in any parent or community groups like that?

1. YES

5. NO

GO TO X33

X33. (CARD X2-WHITE) We have talked about various parts of your life; now I want to ask about your life as a whole. How satisfied are you with your life as a whole these days? Which number on this card comes closest to how satisfied or dissatisfied you are with your life as a whole? If you are completely satisfied, you would choose number 1; if you are completely dissatisfied, you would choose number 7. (CHECK NUMBER CHOSEN BY R)

Completely
Satisfied

Completely
Dissatisfied

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

X34. (CARD X3-BLUE) Many people take chances in some areas of life...games they play, ways they make money, things like that.

Which of the following activities do you take part in--even if you only do it once in a while? (PLACE AN "X" AT THE LEFT OF EACH ACTIVITY R TAKES PART IN.)

- | | |
|---|---|
| a) <input type="checkbox"/> Taking part in football pools | k) <input type="checkbox"/> Playing bridge |
| b) <input type="checkbox"/> Taking part in check pools | m) <input type="checkbox"/> Playing the numbers |
| c) <input type="checkbox"/> Playing bingo | n) <input type="checkbox"/> Entering magazine contests |
| d) <input type="checkbox"/> Playing poker | p) <input type="checkbox"/> Playing roulette |
| e) <input type="checkbox"/> Betting on the horses | q) <input type="checkbox"/> Playing pinochle |
| f) <input type="checkbox"/> Playing bid whist | r) <input type="checkbox"/> Taking part in baseball pools |
| g) <input type="checkbox"/> Shooting dice | s) <input type="checkbox"/> Buying sweepstakes tickets |
| h) <input type="checkbox"/> Buying lottery tickets | t) <input type="checkbox"/> Buying raffle tickets |
| j) <input type="checkbox"/> Speculating on land | u) <input type="checkbox"/> Buying stocks and bonds |

X34v. Are there any other games you play for money? (SPECIFY)

X34w. (IF MORE THAN ONE MENTIONED) Look at the list again. Which activity do you engage in most often?

NOTE TO INTERVIEWER: IN THE REST OF SECTION X, USE FOR "ACTIVITY." THE NAME OF THE ACTIVITY MENTIONED IN X34w (OR THE ACTIVITY GIVEN IN X34a-u IF ONLY ONE ACTIVITY WAS MENTIONED).

SPECIFY ACTIVITY YOU WILL USE IN THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS:

IF NO ACTIVITY MENTIONED, TURN TO P. 61, X43

X35. How often do you (ACTIVITY)--more than once a week, about once a week, about once a month, or less often than that?

1. MORE THAN ONCE
A WEEK

2. ONCE A WEEK

3. ONCE A MONTH

4. LESS
OFTEN

8. DK

X36. In (ACTIVITY) who do you take advice from--yourself, friends, experts or other people?

1. SELF

2. FRIENDS

3. EXPERTS

4. OTHER (SPECIFY):

X37. Do you take part in (ACTIVITY) mainly for money or prizes or because it's fun?

1. MONEY OR PRIZES

5. FUN

X38. When you stop (ACTIVITY) do you often feel that if you had stayed with it a little longer you would start winning?

1. YES

3. SOMETIMES

5. NO

X39. Do you think people who lose at (ACTIVITY) are just unlucky, or they haven't acquired the skill?

1. UNLUCKY

5. HAVEN'T ACQUIRED SKILL

8. DK

CHECK POINT F

1	R SPENDS SOME MONEY ON ACTIVITY → GO TO X41
5	UNCLEAR WHETHER R SPENDS MONEY ON ACTIVITY

X40. Do you spend any money when you (ACTIVITY)--do you play for any stakes?

1. YES	5. NO →	X40a. (CARD X3--BLUE) Is there any other activity on the list that you spend some money on?			
		<table border="1"> <tr> <td>1. YES</td> <td>5. NO →</td> <td>GO TO X43</td> </tr> </table>	1. YES	5. NO →	GO TO X43
1. YES	5. NO →	GO TO X43			
		(SPECIFY MOST FREQUENT AND USE FOR X41 and X42)			

X41. When you do take part in (ACTIVITY) do you set limits on how much you plan to spend?

1. YES	5. NO →	GO TO X42
		X41a. Do you usually stick to the limits you set?
1. YES	5. NO	8. DEPENDS

X42. How much do you usually spend on (ACTIVITY)?

X43. Suppose you were betting on horses and were a big winner in the third or fourth race. Would you be more likely to continue playing or take your winnings?

1. CONTINUE PLAYING	5. TAKE YOUR WINNINGS
	X43a. What would you do with your winnings?

INFORMATION FOR LOCATING RESPONDENT

We are particularly interested in changes in people's opinions. We might want to talk with you again in two years to see what you think about things at that time. Therefore, may I please have your name and mailing address? (IF NECESSARY, ASSURE R THAT THE NAME GOES ON A SEPARATE SHEET OF PAPER AND WILL BE KEPT APART FROM THE INTERVIEW)

1. GIVEN

5. REFUSED

IF NAME GIVEN, FILL OUT INFORMATION SHEET AND END INTERVIEW

IF R REFUSES, EXPLAIN:

OBSERVATION

1. RESPONDENT'S SEX IS:

1. MALE

2. FEMALE

2. RESPONDENT'S RACE IS:

1. WHITE

2. BLACK

OTHER: _____

3. RELATIONSHIP OF R TO HEAD
OF HOUSEHOLD:

1. IS HEAD

2. IS WIFE

OTHER: _____

THUMBNAIL SKETCH

MAIL QUESTIONNAIRE
(FORM 3)

1. In talking to people about elections, we often find that a lot of people weren't able to vote because they weren't registered, or they were sick, or they just didn't have time. How about you--did you vote in the elections this fall?

YES NO (If you checked NO, skip to Question 4)

2. Who did you vote for in the election for President?

NIXON McGOVERN SOMEONE ELSE

3. How about the election for Congressman--that is, for the House of Representatives in Washington? Which party's candidate did you vote for, for Congressman?

REPUBLICAN DEMOCRAT SOME OTHER PARTY NONE

4. 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--
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?

WASTE A LOT WASTE SOME DON'T WASTE VERY MUCH

5. 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?

ALWAYS MOST OF THE TIME ONLY SOME OF THE TIME

6. 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?

RUN FOR A FEW BIG INTERESTS RUN FOR THE BENEFIT OF ALL THE PEOPLE

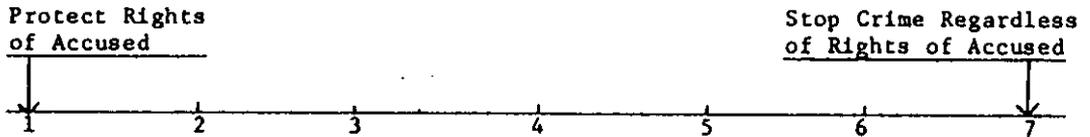
7. Do you feel that almost all of the people running the government are smart people who usually know what they're doing, or do you think that quite a few of them don't seem to know what they are doing?

KNOW WHAT THEY'RE DOING DON'T KNOW WHAT THEY'RE DOING

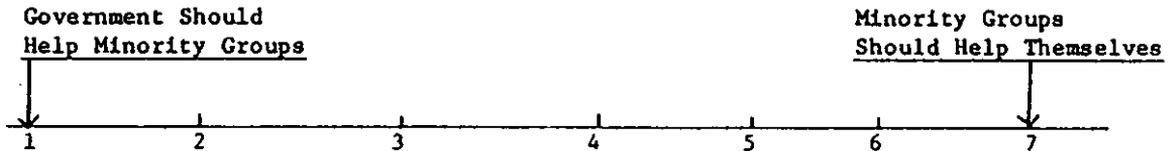
8. Do you think that quite a few of the people running the government are a little crooked, not very many are, or do you think hardly any of them are crooked at all?

QUITE A FEW NOT MANY HARDLY ANY

16. 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.



- a. Where on this scale would you place yourself? _____
- b. Where would you place Richard Nixon? _____
- c. Where would you place George McGovern? _____
17. Some people feel that the government in Washington should make very possible effort to improve the social and economic position of Blacks and other minority groups. Others feel that the government should not make any special effort to help minorities because they should help themselves.



- a. Where on this scale would you place yourself? _____
- b. Where would you place Richard Nixon? _____
- c. Where would you place George McGovern? _____

MAIL QUESTIONNAIRE
(FORM 4)

1. In talking to people about elections, we often find that a lot of people weren't able to vote because they weren't registered, or they were sick, or they just didn't have time. How about you--did you vote in the elections this fall?

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RUN FOR A FEW BIG INTERESTS RUN FOR THE BENEFIT OF ALL THE PEOPLE

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

KNOW WHAT THEY'RE DOING DON'T KNOW WHAT THEY'RE DOING

8. 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?

QUITE A FEW NOT MANY HARDLY ANY

Now, here are some problems that are important in America today.

9. Would you say it is safe to go out walking around here alone at night?

YES

NO

10. In general, which political party do you think would best see to it that the streets are safe--the Democrats, the Republicans, or wouldn't there be much difference between them?

DEMOCRATS

REPUBLICANS

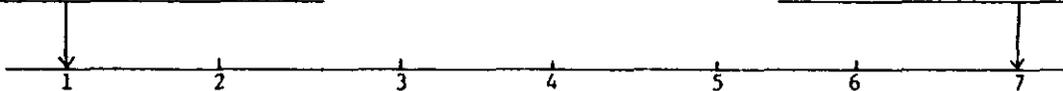
NOT MUCH DIFFERENCE

11. Some people feel that the government in Washington should see to it that every person has a job and a good standard of living. Others think the government should just let each person get ahead on his own. And, of course, other people have opinions somewhere in between.

Suppose people who believe that the government should see to it that every person has a job and a good standard of living are at one end of the scale you see below--at point number 1. And suppose that the people who believe that the government should let each person get ahead on his own are at the other end--at point number 7.

Government See to Job and
Good standard of Living

Government Let Each Person
Get Ahead on his Own



- a. Where on this scale would you place yourself--that is, which number best describes your opinion on this issue? _____
- b. Where would you place Richard Nixon--that is, which number do you think best describes his opinion? _____
- c. Where would you place George McGovern? _____

12. 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.

Solve Problems of
Poverty and Unemployment

Use all Available
Force



- a. Where on this scale would you place yourself? _____
- b. Where would you place Richard Nixon? _____
- c. Where would you place George McGovern? _____

13. 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.



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