1970

Post-Election Study

General Background of the Study

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

Due to the hard work of the staff, we have built up an invaluable collection of survey data on the political attitudes and behavior of American people. This arch, which is highly regarded by students of American government, was established in Ann Arbor partly for the purpose of making our political data readily available to other students of American politics besides those who are responsible for these studies. Today more than 135 American and foreign universities and colleges are members of this Consortium.

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

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

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

The primary objective of this study is an analysis of the current attitudes and voting patterns of a cross-section of American citizens, particularly in comparison with attitudes and voting patterns found in our past cross-section studies. In addition to our continuing emphasis on the role of the political parties and candidates, we are investigating the reactions of the American people to contemporary social issues. We feel that such issues as crime,
urban unrest, campus disorders, and the Vietnam War have aroused the interest of our citizenry to a degree unparalleled since the 1930's. We have included a large number of issue questions and we believe that the interview will be a rewarding and challenging experience both to you and R. We are also interested in recording the continuing reactions of the American people to the movement for racial equality. As we did in 1964 and 1968, to enhance our descriptions and analysis of the movement, we are taking a supplementary sample of Black citizens.

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

**SAMPLING PROCEDURES**

**A. Two Samples for the Post Election Study**

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

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

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

**The Supplement Sample** (Light Green Cover Sheets)

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

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

**B. Three Kinds of Segments**

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

1. **Type A, or area method**

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

2. **Type B, or building listing method**

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

3. **Type C, or country or road section method**

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

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

**C. Updating Listings for Take-part Segments**

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

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

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

**D. Listing New Segments**

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

**E. Sampling Procedures in Large Segments of all Three Types**

1. **TAKE-ALL SEGMENTS**

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

2. TAKE-PART SEGMENTS

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

F. Sample Address Summary Forms

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

1. When making your entries, place the copyset (green sheet, carbon paper and cream sheet) on a hard, smooth surface and write clearly and firmly, using a ballpoint pen. Be sure that the cream-colored copy is readable. If it is not, trace over the entry again.

2. For each segment in the sample fill out the heading items on one of the green sheets. Put the project number, 69517, after "PROJ.," the name of the PSU after "PSU," and the sample place name as indicated on the segment folder after "PLACE." Do not put more than one segment on a summary form even if there is room.

3. Enter the segment number and letter in the unlabeled, double-ruled column between the "ADDRESS" column and the "INTERVIEWER ASSIGNED" column. You needn't write the segment number anew for each address but may write it for just the first address and draw a line down to indicate the number is the same for the other addresses on the sheet. Reserve some space in this column to add the questionnaire form number and selection table letter. See cover sheet instructions, paragraph b.

4. Enter the capital letter "U," with the line number below it, in the margin to the left of each address. See the heading and first two columns of the example on page 10-9 of the INTERVIEWER'S MANUAL.

5. When you have completed your listing or updating of a segment and determined which lines are included in the current study, copy the addresses or descriptions from the sample lines verbatim onto the green summary sheet. Use one ruled space per address. (In take-part segments be careful to copy only F. 69517 sample lines.)

6. If you need to use more than one sheet for a segment, be sure that you list in the heading information and segment number on the second sheet.

F. Sample Address Summary Forms (Cont.)

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

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

G. Return of Blue Folders to Ann Arbor

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

H. Instructions for the Cross-Section Sample

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

1. Materials to be Furnished

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

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

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

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

   e. Unaddressed Peach and Dark Green Cover Sheets
      Cover sheets have been assembled in sets of five.

2. Cover Sheet Instructions - Cross-Section

   a. Assigning Peach and Dark Green Cover Sheets
      After listing a segment or updating a segment which was previously listed,
      assign a cover sheet to each sample address.
2. **Cover Sheet Instructions - Cross-Section (Cont.)**

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

Peach and dark green cover sheets have two uses:

1. Within a sample segment, peach and dark green cover sheets are to be assigned systematically to addresses in the order in which they appear on the segment listing sheet. Peach cover sheets go with peach Form 1 questionnaires; dark green cover sheets go with dark green Form 2 questionnaires.

2. A peach or dark green cover sheet is to be assigned to each previously unlisted dwelling found at a sample address at the time of interviewing.

b. Record Selection Table Letter on Segment Listing Sheet and Sample Address Summary Form. (Also record Questionnaire Form Number on Sample Address Summary Form.) For each sample line, in the right-hand margin of the segment listing sheet and to the right of the project number, 495H, record the identification letter of the selection table stamped on page 1 of the cover sheet assigned to that listing sheet address. In the case of previously unlisted dwellings found at the time of interviewing, the selection table letter is to be noted just following the dwelling identification that you record on the segment listing sheet. Also record the questionnaire form number and the selection table letter on the Sample Address Summary Form. Use the double lined column which is also used to record the segment number. (Peach cover sheet means Form 1; dark green, Form 2.)

3. **Whom to Interview**

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

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

1. **Instructions for the Supplement Segments**

1. **Recognition of the Supplement Segments**

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

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

b. You will receive a supply of light green cover sheets.

c. You will receive a check sheet which calls for the racial composition of the supplement segment and instructions for use of the checksheet.

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

2. **Materials to be Furnished**

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

a. Light green cover sheets are furnished for the supplement instead of peach and dark green. The light green cover sheets may be used with either form of the questionnaire. Alternate between Form 1 and Form 2 questionnaires, if you can.

b. The Racial Composition Checksheet and instructions for completion of the Racial Composition Checksheet accompany supplement segments.

3. **Racial Composition Checksheet**

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

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

a. No Negroes in Supplement Segment

If you determine that there are no Negroes in the segment, do not prepare a listing, do not prepare cover sheets. Simply return the checksheet and blue folder to Ann Arbor. (Unless the blue folder is needed for another segment.)

b. All Negroes, Some, or Can't Tell

If you know there are Negroes in the segment or if it is even reasonably possible that there are some Negroes in the segment, list the segment. The instructions for work which proceeds the first contact, i.e. listing, sample address summary form, and segments with more than 12 dwellings contributing to the sample, are the same as the instructions for the cross-section sample, except that you use light green cover sheets.
b. All Negroes, Some, or Can't Tell (Cont.)

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

Step 1. If the DU is occupied by Negro residents, continue with the respondent selection procedure on page 1 of the cover sheet.

Step 2. If the sample address is that of a vacant dwelling, or if there is no dwelling at the address, complete the nonresponse form on page 2 of the light green cover sheet.

Step 3. If you have personal knowledge that the dwelling is not occupied by a Negro household, check "NRR" on page 2 of the light green cover sheet and complete the nonresponse form on page 2.

Step 4. If there is any doubt about the race of the residents of a sample dwelling, then visit the dwelling to obtain household composition (item 12 of light green cover sheet) from any responsible adult who is at home.

a. If the household is not Negro, complete the household composition listing and terminate the interview saying something like: "I'm doing some preliminary work on a survey for The University of Michigan and we just need to know the composition of the household at this address. Thank you very much." Check "Other than Negro" in item 12 and "NRR" on page 2 of the cover sheet.

b. In the case of a Negro household, continue with the respondent selection procedure on page 1 of the light green cover sheet.

Step 5. If your contact(s) in the segment convincingly inform(s) you for specific DUs in the segment that all of the persons who live in the DUs are other than Negro, then you may simply complete the nonresponse part of the cover sheet ("NRR") for the specific dwellings in the sample for which the contact gave you information.

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

A. Whom to Interview - Supplement Segments

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

Study Dates

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

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

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

Practice Interview

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

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

Materials You Should Have for P. 49517

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

Materials (Cont.)

Progress Report and Project Completion Forms ........................ 1 set per PSU (for Office Contact's use) Set includes:
- 2 forms ........ Nov. 4 - 11
- 2 forms ........ Nov. 12 - 18
- 2 forms ........ Nov. 19 - 25
- 2 forms ........ Nov. 26 - Dec. 2
- 2 forms ........ Dec. 3 - 9
- 3 Project Completion Forms (includes Dec. 10 - Dec. 16)
Press Release .......................... 2 per PSU (for Office Contact's use)
Sample Address Summary (Green) ........ 1 per segment
Sample Address Summary (White) ........ enough to cover total assignment for PSU Respondent Information Sheet Form 1 (Pink) .......................... 1 per Form 1 Questionnaire Respondent Information Sheet Form 2 (Blue) .......................... 1 per Form 2 Questionnaire Envelope of Sampling Materials ........................ contains cover sheets and segment folders

Call Procedures

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

e. Regardless of how many black respondents you expect, contact your supervisor as soon as you have a definite idea where black respondents will be found in your segments. Your supervisor will make the appropriate arrangements for bringing in a black interviewer.

f. Where interviewers of both races are available, but an address which is expected to have a respondent of the interviewer's race turns out to have a respondent of a different race, the interviewer making the first contact will nevertheless attempt to complete the interview on that call. If she is unsuccessful, the local staff should determine the advisability of reassigning the address to an interviewer of the respondent's race on subsequent calls.

2. On your first visit to a segment to update, or list, you should plan to interview at least one respondent in the segment. Be sure to allow enough time on your first visit to the segment to both check or make a listing and take an interview. This procedure will get you off to a good start and keep sampling costs down.

3. Since the study questions the respondents about the "recent" election, it is imperative that all respondents be contacted as early in the study period as possible. The later it gets, the less people will remember about the election!

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

4. Return a cover sheet to the office if it is RA (Respondent Absent) or NAH (Not At Home) after four calls in urban or rural non-face areas, or after three calls on a rural farm address if:

a. Calls were made at all parts of the day - morning, afternoon, and evening.

b. Calls were made on weekend days as well as weekdays.

c. Your PSU has reached a minimum response rate of 85%.

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

Call Procedures (Cont.)

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

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

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

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

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

Use of Response Letter

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

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

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

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

Mailing Schedule:

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

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

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

THERE WILL BE NO EXTENSIONS OF THE DECEMBER 16 DEADLINE!

Mailing Rules:

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

Progress Report Forms:

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

Progress Report Forms (Cont.)

Here are the procedures for using the Progress Report Forms:

1. As soon as you receive your sample, write each assigned address on the white Sample Address Summary Form. Keep these Summary Forms up to date throughout the study. Every time you return a DU, find a DU that is N1 or N5, or find an unlisted DU, note this on the Sample Summary Form. Bring your Form up to date after each trip to a segment.

2. The office contact and the interviewers should agree on a time when the interviewer should call the office contact to give her information for the Progress Report Form. This time should be mutually convenient but, once it has been set, it is the interviewer's responsibility to call the office contact about that time, and the office contact's responsibility to be available for the call. Naturally, we do not suggest any definite rules about this. We only suggest setting an approximate time for the convenience of all and to insure adequate communication.

3. When the interviewer calls the office contact it is the interviewer's responsibility to provide information for every item on the Progress Report Form. The interviewer should be prepared to report a figure for every item on the form, including her response rate (item 7). If the office contact notices a discrepancy in the figures, she should, of course, ask the interviewer about it. However, it should not be necessary for the office contact to figure out each interviewer's response rate, not to check all figures.

4. By consulting her Sample Address Summary Form, the interviewer can fill in blank spaces in one column of a Progress Report Form. The blank form provided at the back of this instruction book can be used for that purpose. The first column, now labeled "Office Contact," can be used for the first week of the study, the second column for the second week, etc. Each column, of course, are cumulative; that is, the figures in the column for November 4-11 will also include the figures in the column through November 11.

5. The office contact will then mail the copy of the Progress Report Form for her entire PSU to her supervisor on the indicated day each week of the study period. If the office contact has not heard from each interviewer in her PSU by the specified time, and is unable to contact the interviewer, then the office contact should leave the column for the interviewer blank and mail the form anyway.

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

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

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

1. **Legibility**

2. Inappropriate questions are clearly marked "Inap" or "X're". (Make sure the questions you "Inap" are really inappropriate according to the question-by-question objectives. "Omitted" or "skipped" should be used to account for questions that are not asked for any other reason.)

3. Full thumbnail sketch to give editors and coders a good idea of the interviewing situation.

4. All probes (and any other remarks by you) indicated by parentheses.

5. All unclear responses clarified (by your parenthetical notes).

6. Your name label appears on the questionnaire, the cover sheet, and the respondent information sheet.

Press Release

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

Contacting Local Authorities

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

1. A brief statement about the study (similar to what you will be telling your respondents);

2. The names of all the local interviewers working on the study;

3. A general indication of the interviewing dates, and the neighborhoods where interviews will be taken.

If you are interviewing in several towns, you'll need to do this for each one. Feel free to show your ID card, the "Why We Ask You" folder, and the Respondent letter. If the person wants a direct confirmation from Ann Arbor, let us know immediately and we'll send a letter; or, if necessary, the person may contact us directly. In such a case he should write Dr. John C. Scott in the Field Office, or call him at area code 313, 764-6356.

Show Cards

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

"Why We Ask You" Folders

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

Report to Respondents

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

Respondent Information Sheet

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

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

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

- **Questionnaire Form 1 (peach)**
- **Respondent Information Sheet, Form 1 (pink)**
- **Questionnaire Form 2 (dark green)**
- **Respondent Information Sheet, Form 2 (blue)**

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

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

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

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

Notes on Format

1. Inasmuch as many of the questions have been used before, we have done a considerable amount of "reordering" on the questionnaire itself. This means that in many cases we have inserted a number, as well as a key answer word in the box which you are to check. As far as your interviewing is concerned, you should disregard these numbers (except on Q.20); the answer words will always be stated, and that is all you need be concerned with. Check each appropriate box, whether it has a number in it or not.

2. In most cases you should try to get R to pick only one response to a question, and record any qualifications he may have. However, if he insists on choosing two responses, you may go ahead and check two boxes, being sure to note why. Of course there are a few questions in which more than one response may be expected (e.g., P8a. union membership), but those are indicated by a special instruction.

3. One way to avoid problems in checking boxes would be to mark with an "X" rather than a check mark. Using an X helps to define the intended box more accurately because we can assume it is the box nearest the intersection in the X.

4. Usually for questions which are not open-ended we have tried to provide boxes for all possible answers. However, there are some instances in which the respondent may answer "Don't know" but there is no box provided for such a response. Whenever a respondent answers "Don't know," indicate this on the questionnaire, even if there is no specific box for you to check. If you fail to record such an answer, we must code the question as "Not ascertained," because we have no way of telling whether or not you asked the question and received an answer.

5. Optional probes are sometimes indicated in parentheses. Please show when you have used them by abbreviating them in parentheses. Of course we are always interested in as full a report of R's responses as possible, including objections, qualifications, comments, etc., to the closed questions as well as to the open-ended questions.

6. There are two forms for this study. While both forms contain the same questions, not all the questions on each form will be asked of everyone. Only instructions are provided in the interview.
Notes on Format (Cont.)

7. The Use of the Term Black or Negro. In determining whether or not to use the term Black or Negro, the key factor should always be whichever term makes the R most comfortable and cooperative in the interview situation. Here are some hints about how to find this out:

   (1) Pay attention to which term R might use in Q. 1 - 9.
   (2) If it is still not clear by then, you can try the following probe:
       Some people prefer the term Negro, others the term Black.
       Please tell me which you prefer we use during the interview.
   (3) Then please use whichever term R prefers when reading the questions regardless of what term is used in the questionnaire. There are only two exceptions to this rule. Read Questions 58 and 75 as they appear in the questionnaire. Please indicate on the questionnaire if you used the term Black rather than Negro.

8. We are using Form 1 in the Instruction Book here, and it is just like Form 2 except for the order of items asked in two questions and several skip instructions.

   a. BOX A - FORM 1: this occurs on page 4 after Q.9. BOX A - FORM 2 is on page 2 after Q2c. Skip Q.10 - 20 in Form 1. Skip Q.3 - 8 in Form 2.
   c. BOX C - FORM 2 only: this occurs on page 18 after Q.37. Skip Q.38 - 41.
   d. Q.73 on p.29: asked of Black respondents only in Form 2.
   e. Q.74-75: the order of items is reversed on Form 2.

Summary

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

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

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

**Survey Research Center**
Institute for Social Research
The University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106

1. **Interviewer's Label**

2. **PSU**

3. **Your Interview No.**

4. **Date**

5. **Length of Interview (Minutes)**

6. **Segment No.**

7. **Line No.**

8. **Address (or description)**

9. **City**

10. **State**

11. **Determine if there is more than one DU at the Listing Sheet address referred to in Item 8 above and check one:**
   - [ ] DU
   - [ ] There are (SUPPLY NUMBER) dwellings at the listed address

Make out cover sheets for any unlisted DUs. Add to Item 8, a specific designation of the DU for which this cover sheet is used. On each cover sheet be sure to identify the dwelling specifically.

12. **Race of respondent:**
   - [ ] Negro
   - [ ] Other than Negro

13. **List below all persons living in the DU who are 18 years old or older.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(a) Relationship to, or connection with HEAD</th>
<th>(b) Sex</th>
<th>(c) Age</th>
<th>(d) Yes/No</th>
<th>(e) Number</th>
<th>(f) Interview the adult</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of adults in the dwelling is</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Selection Table R1**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interview the adult number</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6 or more</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of adults in the dwelling is</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. **Check reason for nonresponse below and explain more fully as necessary.**

2. **For each nonresponse supply as much of the information below as possible, without asking neighbors. (For DU or AND supply only a.)**

   a. **Type of Structure:**
      - [ ] Trailer
      - [ ] Detached Single-family House
      - [ ] Townhouse
      - [ ] Apartment House (5 or more units; free access to DU)
      - [ ] Apartment House (5 or more units; locked entrance or guarded by doorman or both)
      - [ ] Apartment in a partially commercial structure
      - [ ] Other

   b. **Race:**
      - [ ] Caucasian
      - [ ] Negro
      - [ ] Other

   c. **Estimated Income:**
      - [ ] Under $7,000
      - [ ] $7,000-$12,000
      - [ ] Over $12,000

   d. **Are there children under 18 in the DU?**
      - [ ] Yes
      - [ ] No
      - [ ] Don't Know

   e. **Supply if listing box not completed:**
      1. **Estimated number of adults in DU**
      2. **Is there a married couple in the DU?**
         - [ ] Yes
         - [ ] No
         - [ ] Don't Know
COVER SHEET FOR POST ELECTION STUDY

SUPPLEMENT
1970

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

[light green cover sheet]

(Don't write in above space)

1. Interviewer's Label

2. PSU

3. Your Interview No.

4. Date

5. Length of Interview (Minutes)


7. Line No.

8. Address (or description)

9. City

10. State

11. Determine if there is more than one DU at the Listing Sheet address referred to in Item 8 above and check one:

[ ] 1 DU

[ ] There are ___ (SUPPLY NUMBER) dwellings at the listed address

Make out cover sheets for any unlisted DUs. Add to Item 8, a specific designation of the DU for which this cover sheet is used. On each cover sheet be sure to identify the dwelling specifically.

12. Race of respondent: Negro [ ] Other than Negro [ ]

13. List below all persons living in the DU who are 18 years old or older.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(a) Relationship to, or connection with HEAD</th>
<th>(b) Sex</th>
<th>(c) Age</th>
<th>(d) Citizen?</th>
<th>(e) Yes/No</th>
<th>(f) Number of adults in the dwelling in which interviewed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Citizen?</td>
<td>Yes/No</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of adults in the dwelling in which interviewed</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a-c). Fill in above columns.

d. Ask: "Are any of these persons not U.S. citizens?" (Write "No" for ones who are not, and "Yes" for those who are.)

e. Assign a number to each citizen in the following order: males from oldest to youngest, then females from oldest to youngest.

f-g. Use the selection table to determine whom to interview. Use the first column on the selection table identifies the person to be interviewed. Check (x) this person as your respondent in column "f."

2. For each nonresponse supply as much of the information below as possible, without asking neighbors. (For HV or AND supply only "a")

   a. Type of Structure:
      [ ] Trailer
      [ ] Detached Single-Family House
      [ ] Rental House (3 or more units in attached row)
      [ ] Row House (3 or more units in attached row)
      [ ] Apartment House (5 or more units; locked entry or guarded by doorman or both)
      [ ] Apartment in a partially commercial structure
      [ ] Apartment House (5 or more units; free access to DU)
      [ ] Apartment House (5 or more units; free access to DU)

   b. Race:
      [ ] Caucasian
      [ ] Negro
      [ ] Other

   c. Estimated Income:
      [ ] Under $7,000
      [ ] $7,000-$12,000
      [ ] Over $12,000

   d. Are there any children under 18 in the DU? [ ] Yes [ ] No [ ] Don't Know

   e. Supply if listing box not completed:

   1) Estimated Number of Adults in DU:

   2) Is there a married couple in the DU? [ ] Yes [ ] No [ ] Don't Know

NOTE: For DU addresses containing 2 or more housing units, the DU interview should be completed with respect to the most recent occupant to respond. Where there is no occupant to respond, the listing sheet is exhausted. In such cases, the interviewer should mark the column "Number of adults in the dwelling in which interviewed" with the DU number, and enter "X" in column "f."
FORM 1
As you well know, there are many serious problems in this country and in other parts of the world. We'd like to start out by talking with you about some of them.

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

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

   /1. A good deal/  /3. Some/  /5. Not much/

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

   /1. Yes, did right thing/  /3. No, should have stayed out/  /5. Don't know/

b. Which of the following do you think we should do now in Vietnam:

   (HAND R CARD #1)  

   /1. Pull out of Vietnam entirely/  
   /2. Keep our soldiers in Vietnam but try to end the fighting/  
   /3. Take a stronger stand even if it means invading North Vietnam/  
   /5. Don't know/

   OTHER; DEPENDS:

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

   /1. Democrats/  /3. Republicans/  /5. No difference/  /7. Don't know/

Q. 1 This question asks about problems which the respondent thinks the Government in Washington should try to take care of. If R's answer is not clear, you may probe to clarify what he means. If the respondent gives less than three problems, use the "any others" probe, but only once. We do not want to force responses. We want the respondent to mention only the problems which are of genuine concern to him; he should not feel that he must cast about in his imagination or yesterday's newspaper for topics to add to what he has already told us.

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

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

If R says "DON'T KNOW" on 2a and 2b, SKIP 2c.
3. How did the chances of our country getting into a bigger war? Compared to a few years ago, do you think we are more likely, less likely, or have about the same chances to get into a bigger war?


4. Looking ahead, do you think the problem of keeping out of a bigger war would be handled better in the next two years by the Democrats, by the Republicans, or about the same by both?


4a. Why is that? ____________________________________________

5. Now, about something different—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?


6. Why is that? ____________________________________________

7. How looking ahead—do you think that a year from now you people will be better off financially, or worse off, or just about the same as now?


8. Did the outcome of the Congressional elections make any difference on how you feel about this?

/1. Yes /5. No → (GO TO Q, 9)

8a. How is that? ____________________________________________

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

Q.6 The sense of this question is, of course, which party would be more likely to keep us out of a bigger war.

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

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

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

Q.8 Straightforward. Usual caution to get responses which are as specific as possible about the potential financial impact of the elections on R's family.
In our studies over the years we have collected some ideas different people have about the sorts of things the government in Washington should or should not be doing. I will read you some questions about these ideas.

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

1. Yes

5. No

( go to Box A )

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

1. The government is getting too powerful

or do you think

5. The government has not gotten too strong

8. Don't know

( go to Box A )

OTHER: DEPENDS:

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

1. Democrats

5. Republicans

3. No difference

8. Don't know

FORM L: Box A

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

1. If R is black continue

2. R is not black, go to Q.21, page 8.
10. Some people say that the government in Washington should see to it that White and Negro children are allowed to go to the same schools. Others claim that this is not the government's business. Have you been concerned enough about this question to favor one side over the other?

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

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

OTHER: DEPENDS: __________________________

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

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

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

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

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

OTHER: DEPENDS: __________________________

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

/1. Democrats/ /5. Republicans/ /3. No difference/ /8. Don't know/
12. Which of these statements would you agree with:

/1. White people have a right to keep Negroes out of their neighborhoods if they want to/  
/2. or/  
/3. Negroes have a right to live wherever they can afford to, just like anybody else/  
/8. Don't know; depends; can't decide/  → (GO TO Q.13)

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

/1. Strongly/  
/5. Not too strongly/  

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

/1. A lot/  
/3. Some/  
/5. Not much at all/  

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

/1. Too fast/  
/5. Too slowly/  
/3. About right/  

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

/1. Most been violent/  
/5. Most been peaceful/  
/8. Don't know/  

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

/1. Helped/  
/5. Hurt/  
/8. Don't know/
17. In general, how many of the Negroes in this area would you say are in favor of desegregation—all of them, most of them, about half, less than half, or none of them?

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

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

1. All
2. Most
3. About half
4. Less than half
5. None
6. No Whites in area

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

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

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

1. Desegregation
2. Segregation
3. In between

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

20a. Is this neighborhood you now live in:

1. All White
2. Mostly White
3. About half and half
4. Mostly Negro
5. All Negro
6. Don't know

20b. Is the grade school nearest you:

20c. Is the junior high school nearest you:

20d. Is the high school nearest you:

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

1. All White
2. Mostly White
3. About half and half
4. Mostly Negro
5. All Negro
6. Don't know

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

20g. Are your friends:
And now I would like to talk to you about some problems which are important in America today.

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

Solve problems of poverty and unemployment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Use all available force

These questions use Cards 42 - 49. We realize that these questions are demanding on both you and R; however, much valuable research information has already been derived from this technique, which was used in the 1968 election study. Definitely try to get R to specify his response in terms of a number on the scale. If R gives a range (e.g., 5-7) record this but also ask R to give, if possible, a single number out of that range. As you will note Q.23a, 26a, 25a, 26a, 27a, 28a, have a skip instruction, if it is clear that R has not thought much about the questions. We believe that almost everyone has given some thought to questions 21 and 22 and if prodded gently, but firmly, can place himself and the other elements on the scale. We also believe that Q.23 - 28 have been given considerable attention by the public, even though they are somewhat more specific. While we want as much information as possible, if the respondent has definitely not thought about the issue, follow the skip instruction.

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

21b. Where would you place the Democratic party?

21c. Where would you place the Republican party?

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

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

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

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

/ 1./ Very important
/ 2./ Somewhat important
/ 3./ Not very important
/ 4./ Not important?

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

Finally, please read all four of the alternatives for item "k" of questions 21 - 28 (where applicable).
22. There is much talk about "hawks" and "doves" in connection with Vietnam, and considerable disagreement as to what action the United States should take in Vietnam. Some people think we should do everything necessary to win a complete military victory, no matter what results. Some people think we should withdraw completely from Vietnam right now, no matter what results. And, of course, other people have opinions somewhere between these two extreme positions. Suppose the people who support an immediate withdrawal are at one end of this scale (SHOW CARD #3 TO R) at point number 1. And suppose the people who support a complete military victory are at the other end of the scale at point number 7.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Immediate withdrawal</th>
<th>Complete military victory</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

22b. Where would you place the Democratic party?

22c. Where would you place the Republican party?

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

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

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

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

1. Very important
2. Somewhat important
3. Not very important
4. Not important?
23. Some people are pretty upset about rioting and disturbances on college campuses and in high schools. Some feel sympathetic with the students and faculty who take part in these disturbances. Others think the schools should use police and the national guard to prevent or stop disturbances. And others fall somewhere between these extremes. (SHOW CARD #4 TO R)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sympathetic with students and faculty</th>
<th>Use force to stop disturbances</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

23b. Where would you place the Democratic party?

23c. Where would you place the Republican party?

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

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

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Government help minority groups</th>
<th>Minority groups help themselves</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

24b. Where would you place the Democratic party?

24c. Where would you place the Republican party?

24d. Where would you place Richard Nixon?

24e. Where would you place Edmund Muskie?

24f. Where would you place George Wallace?

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

1. Very important
2. Somewhat important
3. Not very important
4. Not important
25. There is a great deal of talk these days about rising prices and the cost of living in general. Some feel that the problem of inflation is temporary and that no Government action is necessary. Others say the Government must do everything possible to combat the problem of inflation immediately or it will get worse. (SHOW CARD #6 TO B)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total Government action against inflation</th>
<th>No Government action against inflation</th>
<th>Q.25a-Q.25g</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Same as objectives on page 8.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

25b. Where would you place the Democratic party?

25c. Where would you place the Republican party?

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

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

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

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

1. Very important
2. Somewhat important
3. Not very important
4. Not important?
26. Some are primarily concerned with doing everything possible to protect the legal rights of those accused of committing crimes. Others feel that it is more important to stop criminal activity even at the risk of reducing the rights of the accused. (SHOW CARD #7 TO R)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Protect rights of accused</th>
<th>Stop crime regardless of rights of accused</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

26b. Where would you place the Democratic party?

26c. Where would you place the Republican party?

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

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

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

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

- [ ] Very important
- [ ] Somewhat important
- [ ] Not very important
- [ ] Not important?
27. There are many sources of air and water pollution; one of them is private industry. Some say the Government should force private industry to stop its polluting. Others believe industries should be left alone to handle these matters in their own way. Given these two approaches... (SHOW CARD 88 TO R)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Government force private industry to stop polluting</th>
<th>Industries should handle pollution in their own way</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

27b. Where would you place the Democratic party?

27c. Where would you place the Republican party?

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

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

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

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

1. Very important
2. Somewhat important
3. Not very important
4. Not important?
28. There is much concern about the rapid rise in medical and hospital costs. Some feel there should be a government health insurance plan which would cover all medical and hospital expenses. Others feel that medical expenses should be paid by individuals and through private insurance like Blue Cross. (SHOW CARD #9 TO R)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Government insurance plan</th>
<th>Private insurance plans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

28b. Where would you place the Democratic party?

28c. Where would you place the Republican party?

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

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

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

28g. How important would you say this issue is to you:
   1. Very important
   2. Somewhat important
   3. Not very important
   4. Not important?
There are many possible ways for people to show their disapproval or disagreement with governmental policies and actions. I am going to describe three such ways. We would like to know which ones you approve of as ways of showing dissatisfaction with the government, and which ones you disapprove of.

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


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


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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

33. Do you think that people in the government waste a lot of the money we pay in taxes, waste some of it, or don't waste very much of it?
   [5.A lot/3.Some/1.Not much]

34. How much of the time do you think you can trust the government in Washington to do what is right -- just about always, most of the time, or only some of the time?
   [1.Always/3.Most of the time/5.Some of the time]

35. Would you say the government is pretty much run by a few big interests looking out for themselves or that it is run for the benefit of all the people?
   [5.Few big interests/1.For benefit of all]
36. Do you feel that almost all of the people running the government are smart people who usually know what they are doing, or do you think that quite a few of them don't seem to know what they are doing?

/1. Know what they're doing/ /5. Don't know what they're doing/

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

/5. Quite a lot/ /3. Not many/ /1. Hardly any/

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

/1. A good deal/ /3. Some/ or /5. Not much/ /8. Don't know/

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

/1. A good deal/ /3. Some/ or /5. Not much/ /8. Don't know/

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

/1. A good deal/ /3. Some/ or /5. Not much/ /8. Don't know/

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

/1. A good deal/ /3. Some/ or /5. Not much/ /8. Don't know/

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

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

/1. Plan ahead/ /5. Too much luck to plan/ /8. Don't know/
43. When you do make plans ahead, do you usually get to carry out things the way you expected, or do things usually come up to make you change your plans?
   /1. Things work out as expected/ /5. Have to change plans/ /8. Don't know/

44. Have you usually felt pretty sure your life would work out the way you want it to, or have there been times when you haven't been sure about it?
   /1. Pretty sure/ /5. Haven't been sure/ /8. Don't know/

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

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

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

OTHER: DEPENDS: ________________________________

We want to know how much R personally cares about the outcome of the election, not whether he thinks it was a good or bad thing, etc.
48. During the election campaign, did anyone ask you for your suggestions about which party or candidate to vote for?

/1. Yes/  /5. No/  → (GO TO Q.49)

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

/1. Family/  /2. Friend/  /3. Someone at work/  

OTHER: (specify) ____________________________

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

/1. Yes/  /5. No/  → (GO TO Q.50)

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

/1. Family/  /2. Friend/  /3. Someone at work/  

OTHER: (specify) ____________________________

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

/1. Yes/  /5. No/  → (GO TO Q.51)

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

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

/1. Yes/  /5. No/  

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

/1. Yes/  /5. No/  

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

/1. Yes/  /5. No/
54. Would you say that one of the parties is more conservative or more liberal than the other at the national level?

1. Yes

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

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

54c. Would you say the (R)'s (D)'s are a lot more conservative than the (D)'s (R)'s or only a little more conservative?
/1. Lot more conservative/ /5. Little more/ 0.54

2. No

54d. Do you think that people generally consider the Democrats or the Republicans more conservative, or wouldn't you want to guess about that?
/1. Dems more conserv./ /5. Reps more conserv./ /3. No guess/ (Go to Q.55)

54e. What do people have in mind when they say the (D)'s (R)'s are more conservative than the (R)'s (D)'s?
55. Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or what?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Republican</th>
<th>Independent</th>
<th>No preference</th>
<th>Other:</th>
<th>Democrat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

(GO TO QUESTION 55j, PAGE 23)

55a. Would you call yourself a strong Republican or a not very strong Republican?

1. Strong 2. Not very strong

55c. Was there ever a time when you thought of yourself as a Democrat rather than a Republican?

1. Yes 2. No, never

(GO TO Q.55g)

55e. When did you change?

55f. Why did you change?

CONT. WITH Q.55g

55g. Now when you say you are a (R)(D), are you thinking only of politics here in (STATE), or national politics, or both?


(GO TO Q.56, PAGE 24)

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

1. Democrat 2. Republican 3. Independent

(GO TO Q.56, PAGE 24)

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

1. Democrat 2. Republican 3. Independent

(GO TO Q.56, PAGE 24)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

If R does not give clear response to 55e and 55o probe to determine if change was influenced by (1) a particular candidate; (2) some issue or issues he felt strongly about; (3) because of the position taken by the parties on certain issues or posture towards certain groups; (4) the influence of other people such as a husband, wife, some other family relative or friend.
Q.55j-Q.55r Refer to objectives on page 22.

55j. Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican or to the Democratic party?

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

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

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

55n. When did you change?

55o. Why did you change?

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

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

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

CONT. WITH Q.55p
56. Do you remember when you were growing up whether your father thought of himself mostly as a Democrat, as a Republican, or what?

1. Democrat / 5. Republican / 7. Other (Specify) / 8. Don't know

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

1. Democrat / 5. Republican / 7. Other (Specify) / 8. Don't know

(FOR BLACK RESPONDENTS ONLY)

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


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

1. Yes / 3. Depends, not sure / 5. No
59. In the elections for President since you have been old enough to vote, would you say you have voted in all of them, most of them, some of them, or none of them?

3. All/ 2. Most/ 1. Some/ 5. None/ 0. Inexp. - Not of voting age in 1968/ (GO TO Q.60) (GO TO Q.60)

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

(IF SAME)

59b. Which party was that?

1. Democratic/ 5. Republican/ 7. Other

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

1. Yes, did vote/ 5. No, did not vote/ 7. Don't remember if voted/ (GO TO Q.60) (GO TO Q.60)

59d. Which one did you vote for?


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

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

/1. Yes/  
/5. No/  → (GO TO Q.62)

61a. Who are they?

61b. Which party is (he/she)?

NAME

PARTY

61c. INTERVIEWER CHECK:  
☐ ONE PARTY MENTIONED ASK Q.62
☐ MORE THAN ONE PARTY MENTIONED, GO TO Q.63

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

/1. Dem only/  
/3. Rep only/  
/5. Both/  
/8. Don't know/

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

/1. Democrats/  
/5. Republicans/  
/8. Don't know/

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

/1. Democrats/  
/5. Republicans/  
/8. Don't know/

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

/1. Yes, voted/  
/5. No, didn't vote/  
(CONTINUE WITH Q.66)

GO TO Q.67

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

Q.62 Straightforward.

Q.63-66 Question 63 refers to which party had a majority before the election, whereas Q.64 deals with the outcome of the election in November.

Q.65-67 These questions on respondent's voting participation are a crucial part of this political study. We tend to get higher proportions of our respondents saying they voted in November than would be expected from the national turnout figures, so it is important to ask this question in as casual a way as possible. The purpose of the introductory statement is to make it easier for the respondent to admit that he didn't vote without a feeling of embarrassment or guilt for not performing his civic duty. If, as you proceed with the voting questions, it appears that perhaps the respondent really had not made it to the polls, a further gentle probe in this regard would be in order. But this should be done cautiously with full awareness that some people, who actually voted, don't remember a few weeks later who they voted for. Because this is the first time a political study has included 18-20 year olds as eligible respondents we have added an optional statement ("were too young") with regard to age. Read this option only to those under 21, except in Georgia and Kentucky.
### Page 27

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

- **[1. Yes]**
- **[5. No]**
- **[8. Don't know]**

GO TO Q.67

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

- **[ (NAME) ]**
- **[ (PARTY) ]**

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

- **[1. Yes]**
- **[5. No]**
- **[8. Don't know]**

GO TO Q.68

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

- **[ (NAME) ]**
- **[ (PARTY) ]**

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

- **[1. Yes]**
- **[5. No]**
- **[8. Don't know]**

GO TO Q.69

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

- **[ (NAME) ]**
- **[ (PARTY) ]**

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

- **[1. Yes, voted]**
- **[5. Didn't vote]**

GO TO Q.70

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

- **[1. Straight ticket]**
- **[5. Different parties]**

69b. **Which party?**

- **[1. Dem]**
- **[5. Rep]**

69c. **How did you split your vote?**

- **[1. Mostly Dem]**
- **[5. Mostly Rep]**
- **[3. Almost even Rep and Dem]**

### Page 28

70. **If your state does not appear in this list, turn to the list of candidates for Governor and Senator (p. 1) and familiarize yourself with the correct spellings; but record whatever name the R gives.**

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

71. **There were no Senatorial races in the following 15 states:**

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

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

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

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

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

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

74. **In these questions on voting for Senator, Congressman, and Governor we want to know if the R can give the correct candidate name. Of course, if he gives you an incorrect name, you should not correct him but record the name as given and then ask "Which party is that?" In editing please make sure the names recorded are legible. Whether or not the R provides the candidate's name, we always want to know the candidate's party. The names of the Senator and Governor candidates are given in the State List of Senator and Governor Candidates beginning on page 41.**

75. **This is a question about state and local offices other than those just covered.**
70. In addition to voting for candidates for office, many states also have people vote on other problems at the same time. How about here? Were there any statewide propositions on the ballot for the people to vote on?

1. Yes
2. No
3. Don't know

(GO TO Q.71)

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

1. Yes
2. No
3. Don't know

(GO TO Q.71)

70b. Which were they?


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

1. I voted on all propositions
2. I voted on most propositions
3. I voted on some propositions
4. I didn't vote for any propositions
5. Don't know

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

1. Yes
2. No
3. Don't know

(GO TO Q.73)

72a. Is there anything in particular you had in mind?
73. We're also interested in learning what kinds of work Americans respect most highly. Which of these occupations do you respect the most? (HAND CARD #10 TO RESPONDENT) What would be your second choice? Third choice?

United States Senator
Bishop or other church official
General or admiral
Famous doctor
Justice of the U. S. Supreme Court
Atomic scientist
Professor at a large university
President of the United States
Well known athlete
President of a large corporation like General Motors
Governor of your state

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

FORM 2: ASK BLACK RESPONDENTS ONLY.
74. Several political leaders have already been mentioned as possible candidates for President in 1972. We would like to get your feelings toward some of these people.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

FORM 2:

The only difference between Forms 1 and 2 is the order in which the persons and/or groups are listed. The lists in Q.74-75 are reversed on Form 2.
75. As you know, there are many groups and persons in America that try to get the Government or the American people to see things more their way. Please use the thermometer again -- this time to indicate your feelings toward these groups or persons. Our first group is civil rights leaders. Where would you put them on the thermometer?

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

Q.75 Refer to objectives on page 30.
76. How I would like to ask you about how the Government in Washington spends the money it gets in taxes. Do you happen to know about how many cents of your federal tax dollar are going to the Defense Department these days?
   0/8, Don't know

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

77a. How is that?

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

Times

0/Don't know

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

Years

0/Don't know

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

Years

0/Don't know

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

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

We do want the number of years in these questions. Please record the number given regardless of whether it is correct or not.
We would now like a little background information on you and your family.

P1. What is your date of birth? 

(MONTH) (DAY) (YEAR) 

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

/1. Married and living with spouse (or spouse in service)/
/2. Single/
/3. Widowed/
/4. Divorced/
/5. Separated/

(GO TO Q.P3)

P2a. Do you have any children?

/1. Yes/
/5. No/ (GO TO Q.P3)

P2b. How many? 

P2c. What are their ages?
(ASK Q.3 FOR RESPONDENT AND AGAIN FOR HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD IF R IS NOT HEAD.
IF R IS HEAD ASK AGAIN FOR HIS WIFE)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RESPONDENT</th>
<th>HEAD, OR HIS WIFE, IF NOT R</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 2 3 4</td>
<td>1 2 3 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 6 7 8</td>
<td>5 6 7 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 10 11 12</td>
<td>9 10 11 12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

/1. Yes/ /1. Yes/
/GO TO SECOND COLUMN/ /GO TO Q.4/

(IF R ATTENDED COLLEGE/)

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

| (1) | (1) |
| (COLLEGE) | (COLLEGE) |
| (LOCATION) | (LOCATION) |
| (2) | (2) |
| (3) | (3) |

P3c. Do (you) have a college degree?

/1. Yes/ /1. Yes/
/GO TO SECOND COLUMN/ /GO TO Q.4/

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

Q.3-3.4

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

In P3 "grades of school" refers to elementary and secondary school, not to college or technical school. In P3a under "other schooling" we want to be able to distinguish between non-college courses which are primarily technical or vocational and college courses which include liberal arts requirements. Please record enough information about the schooling to make this distinction clear.
P4. Are you presently employed, or are you unemployed, retired, (a housewife), (a student), or what?


(EMPLOYED)

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

P4b. What kind of business is that?

P4c. Do you work for yourself? /1. Yes/ /5. No/ (GO TO Q. P4d)

P4d. Do you work full time or part time? /1. Full time/ /3. Part time/ (GO TO Q. P4e)

P4e. Have you been out of a job anytime in the past two years? /1. Yes/ /5. No/ (GO TO Q. P5)

P4f. When was that?

FROM: (MONTH) 19 TO: (MONTH) (YEAR) (GO TO Q. P5)

(UNEMPLOYED OR RETIRED)

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

P4h. What kind of business was that?

P4i. Did you work for yourself? /1. Yes/ /5. No/ (GO TO Q. P6a)

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

(DAYS) OR (MONTHS) OR (YEARS) (GO TO Q. P5)

Q. P4a-Q. P6

This is a change in our usual occupation format. Instead of just asking R's occupation we now begin with a screening question to determine his employment status. Then, depending on the employment status, we provide alternative sets of questions in the boxes (P4a-P4d; P4e-P4j; P4k-P4p) and when appropriate (P6a-P6f; P6g-P6j; P6k-P6p).

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

It's difficult to phrase the employment status question in a way that is suitable to all Rs. Thus the category "housewife" is placed in parentheses to indicate that you should ask it only when talking to a female R. Other changes may also be made in this question as seen appropriate, such as dropping the student category with an elderly R, or skipping the question if R has already indicated in some way that he is currently employed. But please make sure that you really know R's employment status before you go on to the appropriate box. Please make sure you have checked the appropriate response or responses for Q. P4a and Q. P6a. Note that more than one alternative may be checked, if, for example, an R says she is mainly a housewife but she also does some part-time work. "On strike" is another category which you may receive as a response to the lead question. Note this or any other different responses in the blank box.

Q. P4a-Q. P4d

These are three slightly different sets of questions concerning the kind of work R does or did. However, we don't care much about the exact wording of the questions which you use, as long as you obtain the basic desired information about his job - kind of work and business, self-employment or not and time fraction. Whenever R mentions two jobs, either for himself, the family head or his spouse, get occupation information only for: 1) what R considers to be his main job; or if R doesn't say which is his main job, 2) the job from which R earns the largest total income. If R does not consider one job to be his main job, or both contribute an equal amount to total income, record both occupations, write the information in the margin of the back of the page if you need more space.
P4k. Do you do any kind of work for pay?

[1. Yes] [2. No] (GO TO Q.P4o)

P41. What kind of work is that? (IF NECESSARY) What exactly do you do on your job?

P4m. What kind of business is that?

P4n. Do you work for yourself?

[1. Yes] [2. No] (GO TO Q. P5)

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

[1. Yes] [2. No] (GO TO Q. P5)

P4p. When was that?

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

Web pages from Page 36 of the document.

P5. INTERVIEWER: CHECK ONE

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

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


(EMPLOYED)

[1.Full time] [2. Part time]

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

P6b. What kind of business is that?

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

[1. Yes] [2. No]

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

[1. Full time] [2. Part time]

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

[1. Yes] [2. No] (GO TO Q. P7)

P6f. When was that?

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

Q.P6a-b
Q.P6-b
Q.P6-c
Q.P6-d
Q.P6-e
Q.P6-f

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

--- R says he is a "salesman." Is he a traveling salesman, or is he a clerk in a department store? If he travels, does he sell magazines from door to door or is he traveling representative for a farm machinery manufacturer? Is he selling retail or wholesale?

--- R says she is a "nurse." Is she a trained or registered nurse, or a "practical nurse"? Does she work for a private doctor, a government hospital, a manufacturing plant or a public school system?

--- R says he "does carpentering." Is he a fully skilled carpenter, a carpenter's helper, an apprentice, or what?

--- R says he is an "engineer." Does this mean that he tends an apartment house boiler, or is he an engineering consultant for a large corporation?

--- R says that he works for the local newspaper. Is he editor, reporter, business manager, copy boy, or janitor?

--- R says he is "in the Army." Is he an officer or an enlisted man? If he is "on the police force," is he a police captain, a detective, or a patrolman?

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

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

P6h. What kind of business was that?

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

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

(DAYS) OR (MONTHS) OR (YEARS)

(GO TO Q.Q)

(HOUSEWIFE, STUDENT, OTHER)

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

/1.Yes/ /S.No/ → (GO TO Q.P6o)

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

P6m. What kind of business is that?

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

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

/1.Yes/ /S.No/ → (GO TO Q.P1)

P6p. When was that?

FROM: (MONTH) 19 TO (MONTH) 19

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

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

/1. Yes/ \ /5. No/ \ (GO TO Q.P8)

P7a. What kind of work is that? ________________________________

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

___________ hours per week  for  _________ weeks per year

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

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

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

---

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

/1. Yes/ \ /3. No/ \ (GO TO Q.P9)

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

/Respondent/  /Head (not R)/  /Someone else/  /in household/  

P8b. What union is that?  

(What unions are those?)  (e.g., UAW, UMWA, AFT, ILGU)

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

This sequence of questions will be asked of any R who lives in the same household with a union member. In Q.P8a, we are anxious to get more than the simple distinction between AF of L and CIO unions; we would like to know the name of the international union to which the household member belongs. Therefore, we need enough probes to uncover the full name of the international, although we are not greatly interested in the number of R's local union. Where more than one union member lives in the same household, get the specific international union and the length of membership for each member.
P9. There's been some talk these days about different social classes. Most people say they belong either to the middle class or to the working class. Do you ever think of yourself as belonging in one of these classes?

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

Q.P9a. Which one?
(RECORD BELOW)

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

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

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

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

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

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

Q.P10
Straightforward.

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

Q.P11
If R did not grow up with his own family, but with some family, we would like him to respond in terms of the people who brought him up.

Q.P11a. Which one?

Q.P11b. Well, if you had to make a choice, would you call yourself middle class or working class?

Q.P11c. Would you say that you are about average middle class, or that you are in the upper part of the middle class?

Q.P11d. Would you say you feel pretty close to middle class people, or that you don't feel much closer to them than to people in other classes?

Q.P11e. Would you say that you are about average working class, or that you are in the upper part of the working class?

Q.P11f. Would you say you feel pretty close to working class people, or that you don't feel much closer to them than to people in other classes?
P12. Is your religious preference Protestant, Catholic, Jewish or something else?

(SPECIFY)

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

P13. Would you say you go to church --

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

/week / month / a year /

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

P15. Were both your parents born in this country?

/5.No/ /1.Yes/ /8.Don't know

P15a. Which country was your father born in?

P15b. Which country was your mother born in?

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

P15d. ...on your mother's side?

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

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

0.P13 Straightforward.

0.P14 Straightforward.

0.P15a-d Straightforward.

0.P15c This question is asked only when two different country names appear in P15a and P15b or P15e and P15d.
P16. What kind of work did your father do for a living while you were growing up?

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

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

1. Well off
2. Average
3. Trouble
4. Don't know

P19. Where was it that you grew up? (If United States) Which state or states?

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

P21. How long have you lived here in [NAME OF COMMUNITY]?

P21a. (If less than all of life) Where did you live before you moved here?

P22. How long have you lived in this house (apartment)?

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

a. Is this one: /1. Newer/ /2. Older/ /3. About the same?

b. Is it: /1. Less expensive/ /2. More expensive/ /3. About the same?
c. Is it: /1. Closer to center/ /2. Further out from/ /3. About the/ /center of city/ /same/ ?

Q. P16-Q. P18 In some cases R will say that his father died early or was not around for some other reason. Here we are more interested in what kind of environment R grew up in than in his father as an individual. Therefore, the occupation of the relative or other foster parent who raised him may be appropriate.

Q. P19 By "grow up" here we mean the time from birth until R was roughly 18-20 years old. If R lived in more than one place during this period, information as to the proper sequence of states lived in, along with a rough estimate of the period involved, would be appreciated.

Q. P20 Straightforward.

Q. P21 Straightforward.

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

Q. P22 Straightforward.

Q. P23 Ask only of R who has not lived in same residence all of his life.
Q.F24. Many people don't know their exact 1970 income yet; but would you tell me as best you can what you expect your 1970 total family income to be—before taxes? You may just tell me the letter of the group on this card into which your family income will probably fall. (HAND R CARD #12)

E.$4000-4999/ F.$5000-7499/ G.$7500-9999/ H.$10,000-14,999/
/ I.$15,000-24,999/ J.$25,000 and over/

Q.F25. Do you own your own home here, or rent, or what?

1.Own/ 2.Rent/ 3.Other: (EXPLAIN)

INTERVIEWER: GO TO RESPONDENT INFORMATION SHEET

Q.F26. If necessary, make sure respondent understands that (1) this information is strictly confidential; (2) this information makes the information in the rest of the interview more valuable to us.

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

Q.F27. We are interested in obtaining as accurate a description of minority race membership as possible. The "Other" category is provided for R's who are Puerto Rican, Mexican-American (Chicano), American Indian, Oriental, etc. Please check "Other" and give the appropriate designation.

Q.F28-P37 Straightforward.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Candidates for Senator</th>
<th>Candidates for Governor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alabama</td>
<td>George C. Wallace (D)</td>
<td>A.C. Shelton (Ind.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>John Cashin (NDA)</td>
<td>Menter G. Walker (Ind.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alaska</td>
<td>Wendell P. Kay (D)</td>
<td>William A. King (D)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Theodore R. Stevens (R)</td>
<td>Keith H. Miller (R)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arizona</td>
<td>Sam Grossman (D)</td>
<td>Paul H. Castro (D)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Floy J. Fennin (R)</td>
<td>Jack Williams (R)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arkansas</td>
<td>Dale Bumpers (D)</td>
<td>Winthrop Rockefeller (R)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Walter L. Craig (Al)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>California</td>
<td>John V. Tunney (D)</td>
<td>Jesse Burr (D)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>George Murphy (R)</td>
<td>Ronald Reagan (R)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Charles C. Ripley (Al)</td>
<td>William K. Shearer (Al)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Robert Scheer (PP)</td>
<td>Ricardo Romeo (PP)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colorado</td>
<td>Mark Hogan (D)</td>
<td>John A. Love (R)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Albert Gurule (LRU)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Connecticut</td>
<td>Joseph D. Duffey (D)</td>
<td>Emilio Q. Daddario (D)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lowell P. Weicker (R)</td>
<td>Thomas J. Meskill (R)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Thomas J. Dodd (Ind.)</td>
<td>Berenice N. Napper (Ind.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delaware</td>
<td>Jacob Zimmerman (D)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>William V. Roth (R)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Donald C. Gies (A)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Florida</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Georgia</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawaii</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Idaho</td>
<td>Cecil D. Andrus (D)</td>
<td>Don Samuelson (R)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Wallace L. Hirt (A)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illinois</td>
<td>Adlai E. Stevenson III (D)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ralph T. Smith (R)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Party key located on page 46
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Senator</th>
<th>Governor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>New Hampshire</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>Roger J. Crowley Jr. (D)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Walter R. Peterson (R)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Jersey</td>
<td>Harrison A. Williams (D)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nelson Gross (R)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Julius Levin (SL)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Joseph S. Mans (Ind.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>William J. O'Grady (NC)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Joseph F. Job (Ind.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Mexico</td>
<td>Joseph M. Montoya (D)</td>
<td>Bruce King (D)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Anderson Carter (R)</td>
<td>Pete V. Domenici (R)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Richard L. Ottinger (D)</td>
<td>Arthur J. Goldberg (D)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Charles E. Goodell (R)</td>
<td>Nelson A. Rockefeller (R)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>James L. Buckley (C)</td>
<td>Paul L. Adams (C)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Carolina</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Dakota</td>
<td>Quentin N. Burdick (D)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Thomas S. Klempe (R)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ohio</td>
<td>Howard Metzenbaum (D)</td>
<td>John J. Gilligan (D)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Robert Taft Jr. (R)</td>
<td>Roger Cloud (R)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Richard B. Key (AI)</td>
<td>Edwin G. Lawton (AI)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oklahoma</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>David Hall (D)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Dewey F. Bartlett (R)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Reuel Little (A)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oregon</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>Robert W. Straub (D)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Tom McCall (R)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pennsylvania</td>
<td>William Sasser (D)</td>
<td>Milton J. Shapp (D)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hugh Scott (R)</td>
<td>Raymond Broderick (R)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Frank W. Gaydos (Const.)</td>
<td>Andrew J. Watson (Const.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhode Island</td>
<td>John O. Pastore (D)</td>
<td>Frank Licht (D)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>John Mclaughlin (R)</td>
<td>Herbert F. Bemis (R)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>David N. Fenton (PP)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Carolina</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>John West (D)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Albert W. Watson (R)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>A.W. Reven (Ind.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Dakota</td>
<td>Albert Core (D)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Richard F. Knipe (D)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>W.E. Brock III (R)</td>
<td>Frank L. Farr (R)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cecil Pittard (A)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tennessee</td>
<td>Albert Core (D)</td>
<td>John J. Hooker Jr. (D)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>W.E. Brock III (R)</td>
<td>Winfield Dunn (R)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cecil Pittard (A)</td>
<td>Douglas Heinsohn (A)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Rudolf Pusser (Ind.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Senator</th>
<th>Governor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Texas</td>
<td>Lloyd Bentsen (D)</td>
<td>Preston Smith (D)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>George Bush (R)</td>
<td>Paul Pfeiffer (R)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utah</td>
<td>Frank E. Moss (D)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lawrence J. Burton (R)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Clyde B. Freeman (AI)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vermont</td>
<td>Philip H. Hoff (D)</td>
<td>Lee O'Briens Jr. (D)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Winston L. Poulter (R)</td>
<td>Deane C. Davis (R)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virginia</td>
<td>George C. Readings (D)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ray L. Garand (R)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Harry F. Byrd Jr. (Ind.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington</td>
<td>Henry M. Jackson (D)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Charles W. Flink (R)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Virginia</td>
<td>Robert C. Byrd (D)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Elmer Hudson (R)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wisconsin</td>
<td>William Proxmire (D)</td>
<td>Patrick J. Lucey (D)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>John E. Erickson (R)</td>
<td>Jack B. Olson (R)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Edmund E. Hoosay (A)</td>
<td>Betty A. Boardman (Ind.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wyoming</td>
<td>Cole McGee (D)</td>
<td>John J. Rooney (D)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>John S. Hall (R)</td>
<td>Stanley E. Hathaway (R)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Senator</th>
<th>Governor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AZ</td>
<td>-- American Party</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AR</td>
<td>-- American First Party</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AL</td>
<td>-- American Independent Party</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CO</td>
<td>-- Conservative Party</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Const</td>
<td>-- Constitutional Party</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DC</td>
<td>-- Democratic Party</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FL</td>
<td>-- For the People Party</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IA</td>
<td>-- Independent American Party</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IC</td>
<td>-- Industrial Goverment Party</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ind</td>
<td>-- Independent</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IN</td>
<td>-- Liberal Party</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LK</td>
<td>-- La Raza Union</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NC</td>
<td>-- National Conservative Party</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALDA</td>
<td>-- National Democratic Party of Alabama</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PF</td>
<td>-- Peace and Freedom Party</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rep</td>
<td>-- Republican Party</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SL</td>
<td>-- Boatmen's Labor Party</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SW</td>
<td>-- Socialist Workers Party</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UT</td>
<td>-- Urban Tax Reform Party</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Party Key**