GENERAL BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

As the 200th Anniversary of our nation approaches, the role of the electorate in maintaining the stability of our society is of particular interest. Although the election studies of the Survey Research Center have been conducted for little more than two decades, they represent a significant contribution to the better understanding of the wants and aspirations of our citizens.

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 and in relation to attitudes and voting patterns in our contemporary society. 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, busing, inflation, abortion, and the Vietnam War have aroused the interest of our citizenry to a degree unparalleled since the 1930's. In addition, as a result of findings from our 1970 study we are expanding on the general themes of trust in government, allegiance, and efficacy. We are trying to determine the causes of the decrease in public support of the political system that we have observed, and if possible to determine what effects these phenomena will have on the American political system. And, as in the past, we are interested in recording Americans' continuing reactions to the movement for social equality.

Due in large part to our hard-working field staff, we have built up an invaluable collection of survey data on the political attitudes and behavior of the American people. This archive of data is regarded as highly by students of American government that in 1962 the Inter-University Consortium for Political Research was established in Ann Arbor partly for the purpose of making our political data readily available to other students of American politics besides those of us who are responsible for these studies. Today more than 170 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. In addition, literally scores of doctoral dissertations and scholarly articles in the field of American government and politics have made use of this data.

With our data base now extending over 20 years, historians as well as students of contemporary government are beginning to show an interest in the interview data we have been collecting so patiently.

As with our previous presidential-year election studies, the 1972 study will be in two parts, Pre-Election and Post-Election. We will be returning to ask the same respondents some further questions after November 7. But please do not tell the respondent about the reinterview during the Pre-Election interview, as this might lead him to prepare for the next interview and thus make him less typical in some way.

This study is financed by a grant from the National Science Foundation as part of its continuing interest in research on public affairs. The study made possible by this grant is the second national survey to be conducted...
by the Center for Political Studies, the recently formed 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 international comparative research.

We believe that this study will be challenging and rewarding to both you and the respondent. From the data we gather in both waves, we hope to have one of the best resources ever for explaining political habits and behavior in terms of social and psychological factors.

1. The sample for the Pre-Election Study is divided in some segments to be interviewed September 5 - October 5 and some to be interviewed October 6 - November 6. "1st Half" or "2nd Half" is designated for each assigned segment in column 6 of the Blue Folder cover.

2. There are two questionnaire forms which are to be used at alternate addresses. This will be accomplished by using the cover sheets in the alternating (1-III, I-II, etc.) order in which the segments are already assembled in packs and then by your following through by using the correct questionnaire form I or II to match the cover sheet designation.

3. The specific criteria that you are to use to determine who in a household is eligible for possible selection as the respondent are:

   (1) An eligible person must be 18 years of age or older anytime on or before Election Day, November 7, 1972.

   AND

   (2) The person must be a U.S. citizen.

4. Notice that since the last study we have revised the HU definition somewhat; that means you will need to spend some time studying the revised format. The HU definition follows the "Sampling Instructions" section of this instruction book.

5. As is our usual practice, whenever a Selection Table procedure is used, we are asking that you transcribe the Selection Table letter from the cover sheet to both the segment listing sheet and the sample address summary form. In addition, on this study we are asking you to record not only the Selection Table letter but also the questionnaire form number I or II.

6. We are also asking you to note on the sample address segment form for each segment whether it's assigned to the "1st Half" or "2nd Half" interviewing period.

7. The cover sheet is designed to be turned inside out and used on the Post-Election Study. Do not at this time make any marks on the inside right-hand page which is designated "FOR POST-ELECTION ONLY". Notice that the Nonresponse Form for the Pre-Election Study is on the inside left-hand page.
SAMPLING INSTRUCTIONS

Division Into Two Halves

Recently we have had some unexpected and unusual national events. Other significant happenings occurring during the interviewing period could strongly affect the voting intentions of respondents. To be able to study changes in voting intentions and shifts in attitudes toward major issues, it is necessary that interviews taken during each half of the interviewing period should compose a national cross-section sample of citizens of voting age.

Therefore, the total sample has been divided into two half-samples by assigning each segment to one of two groups. The segments are identified by an entry of "1st Half" or "2nd Half" in column 6 of the Blue Folder. The identification entries are to be interpreted as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Entry in Col. 6 of Blue Folder</th>
<th>PREFERRED interviewing period</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Half</td>
<td>Begin interviewing as soon as possible; try to complete interviewing by October 5.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Half</td>
<td>Begin interviewing October 6; complete interviewing by November 6.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notice that the preceding time periods for each half-sample are preferred. If, however, an interview cannot be obtained from a "1st Half" respondent by October 5, please continue your efforts to obtain an interview during the second half of the interviewing period. Similarly, if a "2nd Half" segment is in a location that is likely to be inaccessible after October 5 (because of poor roads, bad weather, probable early snowfall, etc.) we would rather have interviews taken during the first interviewing period than to accept nonresponses; or if there are other reasons why you feel you will be unable to complete interviewing in "2nd Half" segments after October 5, report the situation to the Field Office immediately.

At the top of the first page of the cover sheet, check the "1st Half" or "2nd Half" box to indicate the interviewing period to which the sample has been assigned according to the instructions stamped in column 6 of the Blue Folder.

Two Questionnaire Forms

In addition to being divided by time, the sample is divided by questionnaire form also. One half of the respondents will be asked Form I and the other half will be asked Form II (actually, the questionnaires differ in only about 20% of their content). This split will enable us to ask more questions than usual and still have a national cross-section responding to each question.
The sample division is accomplished by the cover sheet assignment. One half of the cover sheets (white) have the designation I, the other half (buff colored) have the designation II. You are then to follow through by selecting the matching form of the questionnaire to go with the cover sheet. Because of the design of the survey it is important that you follow properly the instructions on assignment of cover sheets.

Sampling Materials for this Study

1. 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.

2. 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 the PSU files.

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

4. Listing Sheets
   A supply of listing sheets (Form S210), assembled in duplicate, will accompany blue folders.

5. Cover Sheets
   There is a white cover sheet to go with Questionnaire Form I and a buff-colored one to go with Questionnaire Form II. These two types of cover sheets are alternated and assembled in sets of five. For instructions on the use of cover sheets, please refer to the section on Assignment of Cover Sheets.

Three Kinds of Segments

There are three kinds of segments. Although the principles of listing are the same, detailed procedures will vary. The three types are identified by codes stamped near the top of the blue folder.

Type B or "Area" Method

Procedures for listing Type A segments are in the INTERVIEWER'S MANUAL in Section 9, "General Listing Procedures" (and Section 10, "Sampling Procedures When Interviewing in Segments"). Aside from the change from the use of " Dwelling Unit" to " Housing Unit", there is no change in these procedures.

Type B or C

You should have copies of the instructions "Segment Identification" others will receive. If you do not have them, please request them.

Some PSU's have only Type A segments. In other PSU's there are also Type B or C, or both B and C. Be sure you use the appropriate instructions for each type.

Updating Listings of Take-part Segments (Type A, B, C)

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. To find out if a segment has been listed on a previous study, look on the front of the blue folder. If the segment number appears in column 1 for any project previous to 695402, it has been used on a previous study, and a completed listing sheet is included in the folder.

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 STRUCTURES THAT DO NOT APPEAR ON THE LISTING SHEET:

Some structures having housing units in them may be unlisted because they are newly constructed, while others may have been overlooked at the time of the original listing. Be on the lookout, during updating, for those units which may have not been listed originally because they did not meet the definition of a dwelling unit, but now do meet the definition of a housing unit. These may be such things as a room in a house without cooking facilities, a building in a trailer court, etc. Housing units (HUs) in previously unlisted structures are to be listed on the next available line or lines of the listing sheet. Previously unlisted HUs at a sample address already listed are to be entered on the same listing sheet line as that sample address. Briefly stated, the rule is: If the unlisted housing unit 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 to the listing on the first available line of the listing sheet.

Listing New Segments (Type A, B, C)

Before listing new segments, review "General Listing Instructions" in Chapter 9 of the INTERVIEWER'S MANUAL and pay special attention to the new definition of housing unit at the end of "Sampling Instructions" in this instruction book. Notice that when listing HUs in multiple-HU structures where housing units are not clearly identified by number or letter, you are to inquire of a responsible person about the number and locations of HUs within the structure and provide a unique identification for eachHU.

Note: PLEASE put the Project Number 695402 on the proper sample lines in the right column of the listing sheet, Form 210 (see page 10-11 of the INTERVIEWER'S MANUAL). Also, when listing a road segment using Type C sampling procedures, write the proper road segment number in the left column of the listing sheet.
Sampling Procedures in Large Segments

1. TAKE-ALL SEGMENTS

As in other studies, we want a temporary suspension of interviewing in segments which are found to contain unexpectedly large numbers of housing units. As previously, for take-all segments, we ask that the Blue Folder and a sketch of the HV locations be sent to Ann Arbor immediately if more than 12 HUs are found.

If a take-all segment is found to contain more than 12 HUs, do not interview in the segment. Return the Blue Folder containing the complete listing and sketch showing HV locations to us immediately. Attach an Immediate Action Form to the outside of the folder and call our attention to the fact that you have more than the maximum number of HUs in a segment. We will then make a decision about the procedure to be used and return the Blue Folder to you as quickly as possible.

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 to the outside of the folder), with the listing and a rough sketch showing all HV locations, to the Field Office. After reviewing the materials, we will send instructions to you.

Assignment of Cover Sheets

Cover sheets, assembled in sets of five alternating between Form I and Form II with a selection table stamped on each one, are to be used in the order in which they are assembled; the top sheet from a 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.

A. Assigning Cover Sheets

1. As soon as you have completed the listing (or updating) of a sample segment, cover sheets are to be assigned in the order in which addresses appear on the listing sheet. You are to prepare a cover sheet for each sample line designated for P. 495402 even though you may find that the listed address no longer exists, is no longer a housing unit, is vacant, or identifies a structure under construction. THERE IS TO BE AN ACCOUNTING FOR EVERY SAMPLE LINE DESIGNATED FOR P. 495402.

2. A cover sheet is to be assigned to each previously unlisted housing unit found at a sample address at the time of interviewing. Use the first available cover sheet. Do not try to "match" it with the cover sheet for the original address.

B. Record Selection Table Letter on Segment Listing Sheet and on Sample Address Summary Form

On each sample line, in the right-hand margin of the segment listing sheet to the right of the project number 495402, and in the upper right corner of the address column on the sample address summary form, record the identification letter of the selection table assigned to that line as well as I or II to designate the questionnaire form assigned. In the case of previously unlisted housing units found at the time of interviewing, send the new listing in to the Field Office on an Immediate Action Form, including the segment and line numbers, as well as the selection table letter and the questionnaire form number. We will add the information to the Blue Folder and sample address summary form here.

Return of Blue Folders to Ann Arbor Office

As soon as a segment has been visited and listed or updated, cover sheets assigned, and the sample address summary form made out, return the Blue Folders to us along with the stuff cream-colored sample address summary form for that segment. Work from the Yellow Folder. Do not keep the Blue Folders any longer than necessary. Cover sheets and interviews cannot be processed until the Blue Folders have been reviewed in Ann Arbor office.

In the case of a chunk which has both 1st Half and 2nd Half segments, where you need to keep the Blue Folder until you have listed or updated during the 2nd Half, please send ahead the sample summary forms for the 1st Half segments with a note explaining that you are keeping the Blue Folder to use for 2nd Half segments.

The interviewer is to have the Yellow Folder with her every time she goes into a segment. She is to check for unlisted structures; HUs in previously unlisted structures are to be added to the listing sheet. (See preceding section on Updating Listings for Take-part Segments.) Also, send a memo telling us about any unlisted structures and/or HUs so that we can add them to the Blue Folder listing sheet.

Whom to Interview

An interview is to be attempted with one objectively selected eligible person in each occupied housing unit. Eligible persons are U.S. citizens 18 years of age or older on or before Election Day, November 7.

Unlisted Housing Units at Listing Sheet Addresses

At item 11 of the cover sheet you are asked to determine the number of housing units at the listing sheet address referred to in item 8. If one or more unlisted HUs are discovered, make out a cover sheet for each. Be sure to record on both the cover sheet and the listing sheet the unique identification (up, down, front, back, and so on) for each HU. Use the same listing line for all of these HUs.

When the total number of HUs at a single listing sheet address is four or fewer, go ahead and interview at each HU. When there are five or more HUs at a single listing sheet address, notify the office and wait for instructions,
Sample Address Summary Forms (Green Copy Set) - how to fill out for Field Office sample book use

The sample address summary form is packaged as a copy set with a green top sheet, 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. Refer to the example of a completed form on the next page.

1. For each segment in the sample fill out the heading items on one of the green sheets. Put the project number, 495-5042, after "PROJ:" the name of the PSU after "PSU:" and the sample place name as indicated on the Blue Folder after "PLACE:" but put more than one segment on a summary form even if there is room. Occasionally, a take-part segment will have two selections in the sample. For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>504A</th>
<th>lines 1, 3, 5</th>
<th>1st Half</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>504A</td>
<td>lines 2, 4, 6</td>
<td>2nd Half</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although there will be only one listing in the Blue Folder, you should write a separate sample address summary form for each one.

2. Somewhere in the space at the top of the sheet, record the "1st Half" or "2nd Half" designation of this segment from the Blue Folder cover.

3. Enter the segment number and letter in the unlabeled, double-rulled column between the "ADDRESS" column and the "INTERVIEWER ASSIGNED" column.

4. Copy the addresses (or descriptions) from the listing sheet verbatim (see the Line 5 and 6 entries on the sample address summary example on the next page) onto the green sample address summary sheet. (In take-part segments be careful to copy only P. 495-5042 sample lines.)

5. Enter the capital letter "P" with the line number below it, in the margin to the left of each address. See the example on the next page.

6. Record the selection table letter and the questionnaire form number in the upper right corner of the address column. (See section on Assignment of Cover Sheets.)

7. If you have more than 9 HUs in a segment use a second sample address summary form. Fill in the heading information exactly as it appears on the first summary sheet for that segment.
8. Previously unlisted HUs found during listing, updating, or interviewing and failing in the sample are treated the same way on the sample address summary forms as they are on the segment listing sheets. That is, if the HU is covered by an existing line it is to be given that same line number; if it is not covered by an existing line, it is to be added to the next available line. (If the Blue Folder and sample address summary forms have already been sent to the Field Office, send the information on the new listing to the Field Office on an immediate Action Form and we will add the information here.)

9. RETURN THE CREAM-COLORED SHEET TO THE FIELD OFFICE AT ONCE (first being sure that all entries are readable.) Your interviews from that segment cannot be logged in until we have received the cream-colored sheet for our Sample Book.

Green Sample Address Summary Form - how HC is to use to keep track of PSU progress

The green form, retained by the office contact after the study cream-colored sheet is mailed to the Field Office, is to be used to keep track of all addresses in the PSU.

The name of the interviewer assigned to each address should be recorded in the appropriate column. If for some reason the address is reassigned to another interviewer, this should be noted with the date of reassignment. The office contact should keep track of the results of interviewer's calls at each address. If persuasion letters are requested or unusual difficulties occur, these should be recorded in the column provided for comments.

By keeping an accurate record of the date on which all interviews and cover sheets are mailed, it can determine if some have been "lost" in the mail or en route to the Field Office. This information is especially important to have when an interviewer becomes ill or goes on vacation and someone else must take over the remaining sample. In order to keep an up-to-date record, interviewers and office contacts must be in touch with each other at least once a week during the study period.

Cover Sheet Procedure

Notice that the cover sheet is designed to be used on both the Pre- and Post-Election studies. It will just be turned inside out for Post-Election. Do not write on the Post-Election page now.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>by Item</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-5</td>
<td>Be sure to affix your interviewer's label and to fill out items 2-5. Length of interview means from the beginning of the actual interview to the end. It does not include interruptions or socializing, nor does it include doorstep introductions or leave-taking.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: It is also necessary to fill in items 1 and 2 for noninterview cover sheets.

6-7 | Record the segment and line numbers from your segment listing sheet.

8-10 | Copy the address (or description) also from the segment listing sheet. This can be done at the same time that you are making out the green sample address summary form copy sets.

11 | If there is only one HU at the sample address, check the left-hand box. If a previously unlisted HU is discovered, check the box on the right and supply the total number of HUs at the listed address. Be sure to make out a new cover sheet for each HU so discovered—adding a description to the address that makes it unique—such as "front apartment," "upstairs," "basement apartment," etc.

12 | Please keep an accurate and complete record of your calls, as this information is coded and analyzed. Please use the appropriate nonresponse categories as much as possible opposite "Results" in the call record. Note that you would use NDC to describe the results of a particular call (rather than NDC(AIT)). The interviewer making each contact should record her initials beneath the "Results" for each call.

Nonresponse Form - Inside Left-Hand Page

If you are unable to obtain an interview with the respondent, please record information about the nonresponse situation and complete as much of the Listing Box on the back of the cover sheet as possible.

Please notice the categories. We want to differentiate between a House Vacant and a Seasonal Unit Vacant, whenever possible. We have a category "SLH" which should cover all improper listings, whether the address is a housing unit or if it is outside the segment boundary or whatever. We also want you to differentiate between refusals by the selected respondent and refusals by
FORM I  □ 1st Half  □ 2nd Half

COVER SHEET
1972 PRE-ELECTION STUDY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Interviewer's Label</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. P.S.U.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Your Interview No.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Date</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Length of Interview (Minutes)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Line No.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Address (or description)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. City</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. State</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

- [ ] 1 HU
- [ ] There are ___ (SUPPLY NUMBER) HUs at the listed address.

Make out another cover sheet for each unlisted HU. Add to Item 8 a specific designation of the HU for which this cover sheet is used. On each cover sheet for an unlisted HU, be sure to identify the HU specifically.

12. Call record (In areas with large numbers of seasonal HUs, do not make an initial contact on a weekend - see Interviewer's Manual, p. 11-1.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Call Number</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>More (specify)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hour of the Day (plus AM or PM)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Day of Week</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Results</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interviewer's Initials</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

BE SURE TO FILL IN THE LISTING BOX ON THE BACK PAGE BEFORE INTERVIEWING.
FORM I

1972 POST-ELECTION STUDY

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

Project 495402
Winter 1972

2. PSU
3. Your Interview No.
4. Date
5. Length of Interview (Minutes)

6a. R's New Address (if any):
Address (or description)
City State
Street and Number
City State Zip

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

8. Call Record

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Call Number</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>More (specify)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hour of the Day (plus AM or PM)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Day of Week</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Results</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interviewer's Initials</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

COMMENTS:

Please supply as much of the following information as you can without making inquiries of neighbors.

a. Type of structure:
☐ Trailer
☐ Apartment House (5 or more units)
☐ Single-family House
☐ Apartment in a partially commercial structure
☐ Duplex/Triplex Structure
☐ Other (specify) ________________________
☐ Row House (3 or more units in attached row)

b. Race: ☐ White ☐ Negro ☐ Other (specify) ________________________
☐ Don't Know

c. Estimated Income:
☐ Low (under $5,000)
☐ Medium ($5,000-$20,000)
☐ High (over $20,000)
☐ Can't Tell

d. Fill in if listing box not completed:
1) How many adults (18 or older) in HU? ☐ One ☐ Two ☐ Three or More ☐ Don't Know
2) Is there a married couple in the HU? ☐ YES ☐ NO ☐ Don't Know
3) Sex of household head ☐ Male ☐ Female ☐ Don't Know

COMMENTS ON THE NONRESPONSE SITUATION:

Please supply as much of the following information as you can without making inquiries of neighbors.

☐ HU------Year-round housing unit vacant.
☐ SV------Seasonal unit vacant. (See Interviewer's Manual, p. 11-1, mid-right column.)
☐ SLIP------Sample Listing Isn't Proper. Describe below (no such address, outside segment boundary, address not a housing unit, commercial structure with no HU, etc.).
☐ NER------No Eligible Respondent. Describe below (because of age or non-citizenship)
☐ Ref(R)------Refusal by selected R. Describe below.
☐ Ref(O)------Refusal by someone other than R. Describe below.
☐ NOC(AT)------No Occupant Contacted Any Time. Describe below.
☐ RU------Respondent Unavailable; someone in HU contacted but R unavailable for entire study period. Describe below.
☐ NI-Other--Noninterview for other reasons; R cannot be interviewed because of permanent condition, illness, language, moved after call, or anything not covered by one of the above. Describe below.

Please supply as much of the following information as you can without making inquiries of neighbors.

Comments on the nonresponse situation:
List ALL household members by relationship to Head

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(a) Household members by relationship to Head</th>
<th>(b) Sex</th>
<th>(c) Age</th>
<th>(d) If 17: Will he/she be 18 on or before Nov 7?</th>
<th>(e) Citizen? &quot;Yes&quot; or &quot;No&quot;</th>
<th>(f) Eligible Persons &quot;Yes&quot; or &quot;No&quot;</th>
<th>(g) Person Number</th>
<th>(h) Enter &quot;Y&quot; For Resp.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cons</td>
<td>Years</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SELECTION TABLE A**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>If the number of eligible persons is</th>
<th>Interview person number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>6 or more</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
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</table>

For d. For 17 year olds, you must ascertain whether they will be 18 on or before November 7 and write "yes" or "no" in this column.

For e. Ask "Are any of these persons not U. S. Citizens?" (Write "no" for those who are not and "yes" for all others.)

For f. Enter a check mark (✓) for each person eligible for selection. Eligible persons are U. S. Citizens 18 years of age or older (and 17 year olds who will be 18 on or before November 7).

For g. Assign a sequential number to each eligible person checked in column (f). Number checked Males in household from oldest to youngest, THEN number checked Females in household from oldest to youngest.

For h. Use the selection table on the lower right of the listing box to determine the number of the person to be interviewed. The first column of the selection table, circle the number of eligible persons. The number across from this circled number in the second column of the selection table identifies the person to be interviewed. In column (h), enter the letter X to identify that person as your respondent.

Someone else or a refusal before you have determined who is to be the respondent. The category NSC (AT) - No One Contacted - Any Time replaces the former NAI - Not At Home. You will check NSC (AT) when you have never succeeded in contacting anyone at the housing unit. You are not to check this category when you have talked to someone at the housing unit on some previous call but were unable to contact anyone on subsequent calls. "Respondent Unavailable" and "NonInterview - Other" should cover every other situation. Please write down the details of the nonresponse situation in the space provided.

Family and Neighborhood Information for Nonresponse - Inside Left-Hand Page

The purpose of this information about nonresponse is so that we can compare some of the characteristics of the people whom we do interview to those of people whom we do not get to interview. We then gain some impression of the types of people underrepresented by the interviews. That is, if we are getting an unusually high number of refusals from low income big-city dwellers we will know that this group is underrepresented. Or if high-income people are not at home because they are all vacationing in Europe we will know that this group is underrepresented. For these purposes we are using only very broad categories and your best guess is good enough.

Respondent Selection Procedure

Before taking your practice interview and before doing your practice worksheet, please study the respondent selection procedure, on the back of the cover sheet. WHEN AN INTERVIEWER MAKES A MISTAKE IN SELECTING THE RESPONDENT, WE CANNOT USE THE INTERVIEW.
TYPES OF LIVING QUARTERS DEFINED AND ILLUSTRATED

For our purposes, living quarters in the United States fall into three general classifications:

(1) housing units;
(2) excluded quarters; and
(1) unclassified quarters, where the appropriate classification of living quarters is not obvious and details are to be sent to the Field Office for a decision.

DEFINITION OF HOUSING UNIT

Before we can select a sample of housing units, we need to list all such units within designated sample segments. To do that listing properly, it is essential that the working definition of housing unit be thoroughly understood. The classification of housing unit depends on two general criteria: the separate use of living quarters by their occupants, and the physical characteristics of those quarters.

A housing unit (HU) is a room or group of rooms occupied or intended for occupancy as separate living quarters. In practice, living quarters are considered separate and therefore a housing unit when:

(1) The occupants live and eat* apart from any other group in the structure, and

(2) There is either

(a) direct access from the outside or through a common hall,

or

(b) complete kitchen facilities for the exclusive use of the occupants, regardless of whether they are used.

A housing unit may be occupied by a single family, or by two or more family units.

A vacant room or group of rooms which is intended for occupancy as separate living quarters is also regarded as a housing unit.

*Living and Eating Apart

Occupants are considered to be living apart from any other group in the structure when they own or rent different living quarters. They are considered to be eating apart when they provide and prepare their own food or have complete freedom to choose when and where they eat, and they do not have to pay a fee for meals whether or not they are eaten.

Separate Groups in a Single Structure

If a single structure is occupied by persons or groups of people who live and eat apart from each other, the living quarters of each separate person or group is to be evaluated against the other HU criterion of direct access or complete kitchen facilities.

**Direct Access

Living quarters have direct access if there is either

(a) an entrance directly from the outside of the structure, or

(b) an entrance directly from a common hall, lobby, or vestibule, used by the occupants of more than one unit or by the general public.

Access is not direct if, as the only means of access to the unit, you must pass through another person's living quarters.

***Complete Kitchen Facilities

A unit has complete kitchen facilities when it has all three of the following: (a) an installed sink with piped water; (b) a range or cook stove; and (c) a mechanical refrigerator. Portable cooking equipment does not qualify as a range or stove, nor is an ice box a mechanical refrigerator. All kitchen facilities must be located in the structure. They need not be in the same room.

Kitchen facilities are for the exclusive use of the occupants when the living quarters are rented (or bought) with the understanding that the renter (or buyer) is not required to share kitchen facilities with other tenants.

Examples of Housing Units

Most types of living quarters that meet the HU definition are easily identified. These are single family houses, row houses, town houses, duplexes, flats, garden-type apartments, apartments over commercial structures, high-rise apartments, and mobile homes.

DEFINITION OF EXCLUDED QUARTERS

Living quarters which are never to be listed are called excluded quarters. They are certain types of institutional and transient facilities.

Institutional

The types of institutional quarters which are excluded are those occupied or intended for occupancy by the persons for whom the facility is operated.

Examples

Institutional quarters to be excluded are: patient's quarters in hospitals, rest or nursing homes; inmates' quarters in mental or penal institutions; quarters for the religious in convents or monasteries; student dormitories in schools or colleges; and fraternities or sororities.

Transient or Seasonal

The types of transient or seasonal quarters to be excluded occur:

(1) When five or more units (whether beds, rooms, suites, cabins, trailers, tent or trailer sites, or boat moorings) are operated under a single management; and

(2) When the living quarters are either

(a) transient, that is, more than 50% of the units are normally occupied or intended for occupancy by persons who usually stay less than 30 days or who pay at a daily rate, or

(b) seasonal, that is, the facility is closed during at least one season of the year.
Examples

Transient or seasonal quarters to be excluded are: non-staff accommodations in missions, flophouses, or Salvation Army shelters; accommodations for guests in transient hotels, motels, Y's, residential clubs, or resort establishments; vacation accommodations in campgrounds, transient trailer parts or marinas; and bunkhouses or other quarters for migratory or seasonal workers.

Exceptions to the above are: institutional, or seasonal quarters occupied or intended for occupancy by the residents of a facility or institution, and their families. Any such quarters which meet the HU criteria are to be listed.

In addition, student housing not operated by the educational institution as an institutional student housing which meets the HU definition, such as married student apartments or trailers.

DEFINITION OF UNCLASSIFIED QUARTERS

Unclassified quarters are living quarters that neither clearly are to be excluded nor clearly meet the HU criteria. In such unconventional situations, a determination is to be made by the Ann Arbor staff.

LISTING PROCEDURES

Most types of living quarters that meet the HU definition are easily identified. At the time of listing, the interviewer generally records HU identifications on the basis of observed physical characteristics. At the time of interviewing, the listings are confirmed or corrected after inquiry from occupants of living quarters.

Small Multi-Unit Structures

Even though a structure might appear to be a single family house, you are to be on the lookout for evidence of more than one HU in a structure, such as an extra apartment in the attic, basement or a rear dwelling. There are a number of clues to look for in order to discover if a single structure contains more than one HU. For example: look for: several mailboxes or doorbells; more than one gas or electric meter; more garbage cans than a single HU would likely require; more than one main entrance to the structure; or more than one TV antenna on the roof.

Write the Field Office About Any Unclassified Quarters

Any unclassified quarters you find as you list or update a segment are to be reported to the Field Office immediately. Provide as much information as you can about the type of living quarters, number of units, living and eating arrangements, access, and kitchen facilities. You will be notified when a decision on classification has been made.

Some common listing situations are outlined below:

HOUSING UNITS:

- Single family houses, apartments, mobile homes, etc.
  - List each HU
- Vacant HUs:
  - a) sound condition
    - List each HU
  - b) deteriorated (appears habitable with minor or moderate repair)
    - List each HU
  - c) dilapidated (repair costs clearly preclude future human habitation)
    - Do not list
  - d) scheduled for demolition (regardless of condition)
    - Do not list; send memo with blue folder describing what will replace it
- Building under construction
  - List each intended HU within building under construction
- Former HU now in non-residential use
  - List if temporarily for other use; if permanently converted for other use, do not list
- Non-institutionally operated student housing
  - List each HU

EXCLUDED QUARTERS:

- Quarters for persons for whom institution is operated
  - Do not list
- Quarters in facilities which meet the transient or seasonal definition
  - Do not list
- Staff quarters that meet HU definition
  - List each HU
- Institutionally operated student housing that meets HU definition
  - List each HU

UNCLASSIFIED QUARTERS:

Write the Field Office for a decision on classification

Procedures At The Time of Interviewing

After initially listing all potential housing units, a final classification of living quarters must be made at the time you call to interview. At this time, you may discover a previously unlisted HU. Conversely, you may find that the living or eating arrangements of the occupants disqualify their living quarters as an HU. In such a case, that listing line and its cover sheet become a SLIP (see Definitions of Nonresponse Categories). This does not mean that the original listing was not done properly. On the contrary, it is very important that the quarters were listed, since conditions which can only be determined at the time of interviewing may make a line ineligible.
IMPORTANT FIELD INSTRUCTIONS

1. This study must be finished by Election Day, November 7. Also, it is particularly important that the response rate be as high as possible because it will become a panel study with respondents being reinter- viewed after the election, and we have to end up with enough people in the final panel to make it an accurate sample from which to generalize to the entire population.

2. You must do some advance research in order to be able to know how to ask Question P2 in Questionnaire Form I. See instructions for Question P2 in the "Question-by-Question Instructions."

3. Don't forget to do the Household Listing and Respondent Selection Worksheet and send it along with your practice interview to your supervisor.

4. Remember to take along a blue booklet for the respondent to fill out whenever you are going to take a Form II interview.

5. Please put your initials above the return address when you send respondent letters so we can see those that are returned to us as undeliverable to the right interviewer.

6. Be sure the local authorities have been notified before you start interviewing. See "Contacting Local Authorities" under "Field Instruction Instructions" in the Instruction book.

7. If you can get K's name without asking, it would be helpful to jot it on the cover sheet for use in locating K for the Post-Election Interview.

FIELD INSTRUCTIONS

Study Dates: Tuesday, September 5, 1972 through Monday, November 6, 1972

The official starting date of this study is September 5, but you may start earlier if you are able to study, do your practice interview and worksheet, and get together for your prestudy conference early enough. All interviewing must obviously be completed before Election Day, November 7. This means all interviews and cover sheets should be in the mail by November 7.

Practice Interview and Worksheet:

At the same time that the PSR materials are mailed to the office contact, we will send a packet of prestudy materials to each interviewer who was listed by the office contact on the Availability Form for this project. That way you can study, do the practice worksheet and interview, and prepare for your PSR prestudy conference. First, study the instruction book, questionnaire, and associated materials carefully and thoroughly; then, use the Household Listing and Respondent Selection Worksheet to further hone listing and respondent selection skills; finally, take a practice interview to familiarize yourself with the interview instrument and the special procedures for this study in a real interview situation. Take your practice interview with someone that you can also use as a practice respondent on the Post-Election Study. This practice respondent should not be a relative or someone you know well because it is then not like a real interview situation and also can be downright awkward. Use either form of the questionnaire for your practice interview (because they are the same in 80% of their content) and then carefully study the questions that are unique to the form that you do not use for your practice interview. Edit the practice interview just as you would a regular production interview. To avoid its ever getting mixed up with a sample interview, write "PRACTICE" clearly on the cover of the interview. Use this same interview at the PSR prestudy conference. Then send your practice interview together with the practice worksheet to your supervisor for her review. You may begin production interviewing without waiting for her comments. If you are working alone in your PSU, send your practice interview and worksheet to your supervisor as soon as they are completed and carefully edited.
PRESTUDY CONFERENCE - (FOR PSUs WITH TWO OR MORE INTERVIEWERS  
WORKING ON P. 695402)

Before September 5, each interviewer must do the following:

1. Study all materials carefully.
2. Complete Household Listing and Respondent Selection Worksheet.
3. Take a practice interview and edit it.
4. Attend the PSU pre-study conference (except where there is only one  
interviewer working on this project). If possible, hold the pre-study  
conference during a time when you can call the office if there are  
unresolved questions or problems. All interviewers working on this  
study are required to attend the pre-study conference (if there are  
at least two interviewers working in that PSU) BEFORE THEY MAY BEGIN  
PRODUCTION INTERVIEWING. This meeting should be used to go over the  
question-by-question instructions and the practice interview and  
worksheet. Everyone should be completely familiar with all the new  
procedures for this study.
5. Send the practice worksheet and interview to your supervisor.

Outline for Prestudy Conference

All the points listed below should be covered at the pre-study conference:

1. Discuss thoroughly the sampling procedures, giving special attention  
to the revised definition of Housing Unit, the assignment of time  
slaves and questionnaire forms, respondent eligibility and selection  
procedures.
2. Go over the field notes. Since this study must be completed before  
Election Day it is most important that everyone keep up an even flow  
of work throughout the study. This necessitates getting a good early  
start. Arrange reporting times with the office contact.
3. Go THROUGH THE PRACTICE INTERVIEWS page by page, question by question,  
in sequence. As you review, refer to the question-by-question instruc-  
tions to make sure an appropriate answer has been obtained for every  
question. Try to imagine you are coding the responses. Are they clear  
and complete? Do they meet the question objectives? Are they legible  
and annotated? Is the thumbnail sketch informative? Did you remember  
to use your new PSU name (if you have one)?
4. Office Contacts should use their copy of the pre-study conference report  
form to keep a running tally of each problem and proposed solution,  
referring to specific question numbers.
5. Call the Field Office if there are important unresolved questions.
6. Send all practice interviews and worksheets to your supervisor.
7. When the conference is over, the office contact should complete the Pre-
study Conference Report Form. One copy is sent to the office, one copy  
supervisor, and one goes into the office contact’s file.

Materials You Should Have:

Packet of pre-study materials sent directly to each interviewer:

- Instruction book .......................... 1 per interviewer
- Questionnaire (Form I & Form II) .... 1 of each per interviewer
- Show cards ................................ 1 set per interviewer, 15 cards per set
- Blue booklet for questions C1-C26 in questionnaire Form II .... 1 per interviewer
- Religion information form (to be filled out from questions K49-K51) ........ 1 per interviewer
- Household listing and respondent selection worksheet ........ 1 per interviewer
- Pre-study conference report form ........ 1 per office contact in PSUs with more than one interviewer working on this study

PSU Materials sent to Office Contacts:

- Instruction books .......................... extras for large PSUs
- Questionnaires (Forms I and II) ........ 1 per sample address, plus extras
- Blue booklet for Questions C1-C26 in Questionnaire Form II ........ 1 per each Form II
- Religion information form .............. 1 per every 2 addresses
- Show cards ................................ 2 additional sets per interviewer
- Respondent letters ......................... 1 per sample address, plus extras
- Envelopes for respondent letters ....... 1 per sample address
- "Why We Ask You" folders ............... 1 per sample address
- Interviewer's cards ...................... 1 per sample address
- Spanish respondent letters ............. where appropriate
- Spanish "Why We Ask You" folders .... where appropriate
- Spanish show cards ...................... where appropriate
- Sample address summary forms (green) 1 set per sample segment, plus extras - green copy for DE, color-coded copy for Field Office
- Sample address summary forms (white) liberal supply for each interviewer
- Interviewer evaluation forms ........... 1 per interviewer
- Progress report and project completion forms ........ 1 set per interviewer, 2 copies per PSU
- Press release ................................ 2 copies per PSU
- Envelope(s) of sampling materials .... contains segment folders and cover sheets
Respondent Letters and “Why We Ask You” Folders

Please put your initials or name over the return address in the upper left-hand corner of the envelope so we will be able to return any undeliverable letters to the interviewers who sent them.

Address the envelope to “Head of Household” - never to “occupant.”

We’ve included enough letters and franked envelopes for you to send a letter to every assigned sample address and have plenty of extras to show to or to leave with respondents who may not remember having received a letter or who may want another as a souvenir. A copy of this respondent letter appears at the back of the instruction book.

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

Spanish letters and “Why We Ask You” folders have been included for the PSUs where we anticipate Spanish-speaking respondents. If other PSUs feel they need them, please let us know.

Interviewer’s Cards

The interviewer’s card was designed to give you as much leeway as possible in its use. Two possibilities are to write a message on it when you find no one at home at an address, and/or use it as a calling card by writing your name and a “Thank You” on it after an interview and handing it to the respondent. Many respondents find it reassuring to know the name of the person who has interviewed them.

Press Release

Two copies of a brief press release are sent to each PSU for use by office contacts (copy is at the back of this instruction book). This release will not be sent to local newspapers from here. Past experience has indicated that the only time this news is printed is when it is taken personally to local editors. The office contact should edit and retape the release to include the names of local interviewers working on the study and approximate areas involved in the survey.

Interviewer Evaluation Forms

Please do fill out your evaluation of the questionnaire. Although new questions are presented before a national survey goes into the field, there are sometimes difficult or awkward places which only you interviewers can make us aware of. Your comments are not only welcome but essential to us in trying to improve questions and questionnaire format. We need your help!

Show Cards

Show cards are to be used, as usual, when they are called for in the questionnaire. Don't let your respondent write on the cards - you have only three sets. This is the first study for which we have prepared Spanish show cards to go with our Spanish respondent letter and “Why We Ask You.”

Note that some show cards are for use with only one of the forms of the questionnaire. This means that at some points you will need to flip over inappropriate cards in order to get to the right card for the form you are administering.

Progress Report and Project Completion Forms

We will use the Progress Report Forms in the usual manner. There are two forms for each week of the study. The office contact should send one form to her supervisor, promptly, on the date specified on the bottom of the form; the other she should keep for her files.

There are three Project Completion Forms for the last week of the study; one is to be sent to the supervisor, one to the Field Office, and one is for the office contact’s files.

Two copies of the Progress Report Form are included in the back of this instruction book for use by interviewers in keeping track of their own progress. When you are using this form yourself, use one column for EACH WEEK of the study rather than for each interviewer.

It is each interviewer’s responsibility to notify the office contact each week about individual sample assignments so that the office contact can make out a complete weekly report for the supervisor and keep her own record of PSU progress on her green sample address summary forms.

Report to Respondents

We are not sending report request cards because we are planning to send a report to all respondents who complete both Pre- and Post- interviews. We will have names because you will be getting them at the end of the Post-Election interview.
Contacting Local Authorities

We feel it is very 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 them 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 neigh-
borhoods 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. It is often useful and reassuring to respondents to tell them that
we are indeed registered with local authorities and they can feel free to call
the police or Chamber of Commerce for confirmation. If the person wants a
direct confirmation from Anne Arbor, let us know immediately and we'll send
a letter; or, if necessary, the person may contact us. In such a case he should
write to Dr. John C. Scott in the Field Office, or call him at area 313/764-8356.

Experience Points

You will receive 1 experience point for each interview taken on this study.

Call Procedure

1. On your first visit to a segment to list or update, you should be prepared
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.

2. Send out your letters about 3 to 5 days before you expect to call and
start your calls early in the study period. This will allow you time
to make repeated callbacks for respondents you are unable to contact
the first time. You will determine the respondent by using the selection
table, then, if you happen to 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 where no occupant is contacted (NOC) or the designated
respondent is unavailable (RU) should range over the entire study period
showing a spread between weekdays and weekends, as well as between
mornings, afternoons and evenings.

3. Return a cover sheet to the office if it is RU (Respondent Unavailable)
or NOC (At) (No Occupant Contacted Any Time) after four calls in urban
or rural nonfarm areas or after three calls on a rural farm address if:
   a. Calls were made during all parts of the day - morning, afternoon
      and evening, and
   b. Calls were made on weekend days as well as weekdays.

Continue to call at these addresses until both conditions are met
or until you have made eight calls. 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 NOS for the duration of the study, since
it is perfectly possible for the people who moved in to have come from
another address in the sample. The rule can also be applied in reverse,
that is, if you find an RU occupied on your first contact but the
people move out before you can interview them, the address becomes an
RU rather and you will not have to make additional callbacks. In the
case of seasonal units, make your first call on a regular weekday
(Monday noon to Friday noon). If there is no one there and it appears
that no one sleeps there, consider the unit to be vacant and send
the cover sheet in as an SV.

4. If you get a refusal, it has proved effective to have another inter-
viewer try. Often just a different person calling at the address will
impress the respondent with the importance of him being interviewed.

Please write and request a persuasion letter, if you feel a personal
letter from the office might reverse a refusal or potential refusal.
In a request for a persuasion letter include the following information:

1) mailing address, plus segment and line number;
2) person in ill 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 specific respondent, let us know so that we may
adapt the letter to the respondent and the situation;
4) any information you might have about the respondent and/or household
which might be useful in adapting the letter to the individual circum-
stances;
5) the name of the interviewer who attempted the interview in the
first place and the name of the interviewer who will call back
after the respondent has received the persuasion letter.

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 type of information listed above so that we will at least send a
letter which is inappropriate in any way. And, 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.
Editing Interviews

It is easy to put off editing an interview, but the best time to edit is right after the interview is taken, while you can still remember the situation and the respondent vividly. Read through each interview as though you had never seen it before to make sure that the responses will be clear to those of us not present during the interview. Keep the following points in mind while you are editing:

1. Write out a full thumbnail sketch to give editors and coders a good idea of the interviewing situation. Coders read the thumbnail sketch before starting to code the interview to get an idea of the type of person you spoke with. When you write a thumbnail, think of it as an introduction to the interview - use it to acquaint the coder (who of course was not present during the interview) with this particular respondent. If you have a question or request, NEVER write it in the thumbnail sketch. Instead, write it out on an Immediate Action Form and attach it to the outside of the questionnaire. This is the only way you can be sure that someone in the Field Office will receive your memo.

2. Clarify all unclear responses. Be sure to put parentheses around these notes to indicate that they are your additions and not the respondent's words.

3. Indicate all probes and any other remarks you made during the interview. Again, please put parentheses around these probes and comments.

4. Make sure the questions you mark "Inap" are really inappropriate according to the questionnaire instructions. Clearly mark inappropriate questions with "Inap" or "X." "Omitted" should be used when you have intentionally not asked an appropriate question; always give your reason for omitting the question. "Skipped" should be used when you discover during editing that an appropriate question was unintentionally not asked.

5. We don't want you to worry about handwriting while you are interviewing. Keep in mind, however, that the information you record is useless if the coders cannot read your writing. While editing please rewrite any unclear letters or words.

Some confusion seems to exist concerning "erasing." You may certainly erase letters or words to rewrite them for legibility. However, please never erase any recording of what a respondent has said. We want to know everything a respondent said during the interview, and it is extremely difficult to make out erased passages. If you should realize that a question shouldn't have been asked, etc., simply "X" out or "Inap" the response (or the check mark). There is always a possibility that we may get some revealing information from a question that was asked by mistake.

6. Make sure that the cover sheet is completely filled out and your interviewer's label and interview identification items are on the questionnaire, the cover sheet, the blue booklet and the Religion Information Form. If you have a nonresponse, fill out as much of the Nonresponse Form as possible. Remember that your label and the PSU name should go on nonresponse cover sheets, too.

**IMPORTANT POINTS TO CHECK FOR BEFORE MAILING AN INTERVIEW**

1. "1st Half" or "2nd Half" box on cover sheet is checked.

2. You have interviewed the correct person in the household - recheck to see if you have listed and used the selection table properly.

3. You have used the correct questionnaire form for the cover sheet assigned to the address.

4. For Form II interviews, you have a blue booklet filled out by the respondent for Questions CI-C2.

5. You have filled out a Religion Information Form (from Questions K1-K51) whenever the respondent goes to church/synagogue once or twice a month or more frequently. Remember that we need a mailing address of the church/synagogue either from the respondent or from your own research after the interview.

Mailing Rules

Please mail all materials (interviews, cover sheets, blue folders, etc.) to us in FIRST CLASS manila envelopes preaddressed to the Field Office.

Mail all interviewers yourself at main Post Offices or boxes that you are certain have regular pickups. NEVER, NEVER, NEVER give interviews to another person to mail for you; other people are not as concerned about these interviews as you are.

REMEMBER: Do not put any correspondence, emergency or otherwise, inside a cover sheet, blue folder, or questionnaire, as the chances of finding them in time to do something about the problem are miniscule. Paper clip memos to the OUTSIDE of questionnaires or folders if you wish to call attention to a problem within.

Mail interviews and cover sheets (including noninterviews) in groups of three unless you have not completed three within the seven-day period following your last mailing. If you have not completed three during that seven-day period, mail however many you have completed, one or two. Simply insert the questionnaire along with any blue booklets and Religion Information Forms into the cover sheet for mailing.

****PLEASE NEVER HOLD COMPLETED INTERVIEWS LONGER THAN ONE WEEK AND DO NOT COLLECT MORE THAN THREE INTERVIEWS BEFORE MAILING!!!!!!
Reading Schedule

Please plan your work so that you can complete the MINIMUM percentages indicated below during the nine weeks of the study:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Week</th>
<th>Minimum percentage of assignment to be coded and mailed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st - September 9 - September 11</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd - September 12 - September 18</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd - September 19 - September 25</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th - September 26 - October 2</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5th - October 3 - October 9</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6th - October 10 - October 16</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7th - October 17 - October 23</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8th - October 24 - October 30</td>
<td>90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9th - October 31 - November 6</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

IMPORTANT QUESTION-BY-QUESTION INSTRUCTIONS

1. Form II, Cl-C26:

   Don't forget to have R do the blue booklet and to get it back from him - also to put all identifying information on it and send it in inside the cover sheet with the interview.

2. You must do some advance preparation before you start interviewing in order to know how to ask F2 in Form I. (See the specific instruction for F2.) What you must do is call the appropriate city or county clerk(s) for the addresses where you will be interviewing and find out whether formal registration is required and, also, if it is, when the deadline for registration is. Note this information on the questionnaire before you call on an address.

3. Take special note of the instructions for questions K47 through K51 because you will be furnishing us with information that will be the base of a possible supplemental study of clergyman's influence on respondents' attitudes and behavior. The important things to note are: (1) that we will need a "Religion Information Form" for any R who goes to church/synagogue at least once or twice a month, and (2) that we will expect you to supplement R's recollection of the address of his church/synagogue and the name of his clergyman whenever he cannot give you exact information.
FORM 1

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. Time at Beginning of Interview ____________

A NOTE ABOUT QUESTIONNAIRE CONVENTIONS

A convention we have used throughout this questionnaire is that parentheses within a question mean you must choose the wording to use at that point on the basis of information you know about the particular respondent. If the words in parentheses are printed in capital letters, it means that we were not able to give you exact wordings that you could choose between but you must instead decide yourself what specific words are appropriate for R.

Examples of these two types of parenthesized words in questions are: D13 & K14, K19 & K21, etc.

As usual, any words in capital letters are not to be read.

Another convention is that we have printed the code numbers right in the boxes with response categories in most cases. Don't let this confuse you - just check the correct box as usual.

Be especially careful at interviewer check points to check the appropriate box as well as to follow the instructions and arrows that tell you where to go. Those places in the questionnaire are: Check Box A on page 15, Check Box B on page 45, Check Box C on page 47 & 48 and Check Box D on page 49 & 50. (We are concerned that the code number in the box might make it look as though it is not a box intended to be checked, but that is not true - ALWAYS CHECK THE BOX YOU USE.) Also, be sure to check one of the lettered boxes at the income question, #45.

1-6. Don't forget to fill in this information

2. Use your PSU name, if you have one.

3. This space is for the number you assign sequentially to an interview. If you take an interview with the wrong respondent by mistake and realize this before you send it in to the Field Office, do not put an interview number on it. The same goes for incomplete interviews.

5. Include in the length of interview the total time but do not include time you may spend socializing, interruptions, etc.

6. We have provided this item as a convenient place for you to write the time when the interview actually began, to use in later figuring the length of the interview.

1972 PRE-ELECTION STUDY
A: PARTIES AND CANDIDATES

I'm mainly interested in talking to you about the election this fall and what you think about it.

A1. Who do you think will be elected President in November?

1. NIXON  2. McGOVERN  7. OTHER SPECIFY:  8. DK

GO TO A3

A2. Do you think it will be a close race, or will (ANSWER TO A1) win by quite a bit?

1. CLOSE RACE  3. WILL WIN BY QUITE A BIT

A3. Which candidate for President do you think will carry your state?

1. NIXON  2. McGOVERN  7. OTHER SPECIFY:  8. DK

GO TO A5

A4. Do you think it will be a close race here in (R's state), or will (ANSWER TO A3) win by quite a bit?

1. CLOSE RACE  3. WILL WIN BY QUITE A BIT

A5. Generally speaking, would you say that you personally care a good deal which party wins the presidential election this fall, or that you don't care very much which party wins?

1. CARE A GOOD DEAL  3. DON'T CARE VERY MUCH  8. DK

A1. Note that we are interested in how R thinks the election will go, not in how he hopes it will go.

A2. We are interested in how much R thinks one candidate will win by, not how certain he is to win.

A3. In this question we are concerned with getting R's perception of who will win R's state, and not who will be elected President. What is important to stress again is that we are interested in who he thinks will win and not who he hopes will win.

A4. See A2 instruction above.

A5. You do not need to probe for reasons why the election is or is not important to R. Note that R must answer in terms of how much he cares, not how important it is to the country. The question asks how much he cares about which party wins. However, do not emphasize the word party. If the respondent draws a distinction between caring about a party and caring about a candidate, please record this completely.
Now I'd like to ask you what you think are the good and bad points about the two parties.

A6. Is there anything in particular that you like about the Democratic party?

1. YES
2. NO
3. DK

GO TO A7

A6a. What is that?

A6b. Anything else?

A7. Is there anything in particular that you don't like about the Democratic party?

1. YES
2. NO
3. DK

TURN TO P. 3, A8

A7a. What is that?

A7b. Anything else?
A8. Is there anything in particular that you like about the Republican party?

1. YES  5. NO  8. DK

GO TO A9

A8a. What is that? _____________________________

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

A8b. Anything else? _____________________________

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

A8-A9. See preceding instruction.

A9. Is there anything in particular that you don't like about the Republican party?

1. YES  5. NO  8. DK

TURN TO P. 4, A10

A9a. What is that? _____________________________

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

A9b. Anything else? _____________________________

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________
A10. How I'd like to ask you about the good and bad points of the two major candidates for president. Is there anything in particular about McGovern that might make you want to vote for him?

1. YES
2. NO
3. DK

GO TO A11

A10a. What is that?

--------------
--------------

A10b. Anything else?

--------------
--------------

A10-111. The instruction here is the same as that for A6-A9 with the exception that this series asks about candidates instead of parties.

A11. Is there anything in particular about McGovern that might make you want to vote against him?

1. YES
2. NO
3. DK

TURN TO P. 5, A12

A11a. What is that?

--------------
--------------

A11b. Anything else?

--------------
--------------
A12. Is there anything in particular about Nixon that might make you want to vote for him?

1. YES
2. NO
3. DK

GO TO A13

A12a. What is that?

A12b. Anything else?

A13. Is there anything in particular about Nixon that might make you want to vote against him?

1. YES
2. NO
3. DK

TURN TO P. 6, A14

A12-A13. See preceding instruction.
A14. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Nixon is handling his job as President?

1. APPROVE  5. DISAPPROVE  8. DK

A15. Do you remember anything about the controversy over the selection of the Democratic Party's candidate for Vice President?

1. YES

2. NO ➔ TURN TO P. 7, B1

A15a. At the time, what did you think of the way McGovern handled the whole question of Eagleton as his Vice-Presidential candidate?


A15. Straightforward.

A15a. We are looking here for any hint of how the Eagleton affair affected R's feelings toward McGovern. Therefore, if R begins to talk about how wonderful or how awful Eagleton is, try to gently steer him back to the question of how he thinks McGovern handled the whole Eagleton affair.
B: ISSUES

Now I'd like to ask you a few questions about some issues facing the United States.

B1. 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
   2. NO, SHOULD HAVE STAYED OUT
   3. DEPENDS
   4. DK

B2. How about 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 about the same chances to get into a bigger war?
   1. MORE LIKELY
   2. LESS LIKELY
   3. ABOUT SAME CHANCES
   4. DEPENDS
   5. DK

B3. Looking ahead, do you think the problem of keeping out of a bigger war would be handled better in the next four years by the Democrats, by the Republicans, or about the same by both?
   1. BETTER BY DEMOCRATS
   2. BETTER BY REPUBLICANS
   3. SAME BY BOTH
   4. DK

B4. Looking ahead again, do you think that your family would get along better financially in the next four years if the Democrats or the Republicans win the election, or wouldn't it make much difference?
   1. BETTER BY DEMOCRATS
   2. BETTER BY REPUBLICANS
   3. NOT MUCH DIFFERENCE
   4. DK


B2-64 FORM 1 ONLY

B2. 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.

B3. The sense of this question is, of course, which party would be more likely to keep us out of a bigger war.

B4. Straightforward.
D: Racial

I'd like to ask you some questions about relations between the races.

D1. Some people feel that if black people are not getting fair treatment in jobs the government in Washington ought to see to it that they do. Others feel that this is not the federal government's business. Have you had enough interest in this question to favor one side over the other?

1. YES
2. NO

D1a. How do you feel? Should the government in Washington...

1. See to it that black people get fair treatment in jobs
2. Leave these matters to the states and local communities
3. Other; Depends:

D2. Some people say that the government in Washington should see to it that white and black children are allowed to go to the same schools. Others claim that this is not the government's business. Have you been concerned enough about this question to favor one side over the other?

1. YES
2. NO

D2a. Do you think the government in Washington should...

1. See to it that white & black children go to the same schools
2. Leave out of this area as it is not its business
3. Other; Depends:
D2b. In some places, school boards are taking some children out of their closest neighborhood schools and sending them by bus to other schools farther away. Has anything like this happened around here?

5. NO  8. DK  1. YES

TURN TO P. 10, 93

D2c. Have you heard any talk that this might happen around here in the future?

1. YES  5. NO

D2b-c. Straightforward.
D3. As you may know, Congress passed a bill that says that black people should have the right to go to any hotel or restaurant they can afford, just like anybody else. Some people feel that this is something the government in Washington should support. Others feel that the government should stay out of this matter. Have you been interested enough in this to favor one side over another?

1. YES
5. NO  \rightarrow GO TO D4

D3a. Should the government support the right of black people to . . .

1. Go to any hotel or restaurant they can afford or should it 5. Stay out of this matter?

7. OTHER: DEPENDS:

D4. In the past few years we have heard a lot about civil rights groups working to improve the position of black people in this country. How much real change do you think there has been in the position of black people in the past few years: a lot, some, or not much at all?

1. A LOT
3. SOME
5. NOT MUCH AT ALL

D4-D6. Straightforward.

D5. 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

D6. During the past year or so, would you say that most of the actions black people have taken to get the thing they want have been violent, or have most of these actions been peaceful?

1. MOST BEEN VIOLENT
5. MOST BEEN PEACEFUL
8. DK
D7. Do you think the actions black people have taken have, on the whole, helped
their cause, or, on the whole, hurt their cause?

1. HELPED
5. HURT
8. BK

D8. Which of these statements would you agree with:

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

or

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

8. BK; OPPEANS; CAN'T DECIDE

D9. In general, how many of the black people in this area would you say are in favor of desegregation— all of them, most of them, about half, less than half of them, or none of them?

1. ALL
2. MOST
3. ABOUT HALF
4. LESS THAN HALF

5. NONE
0. NO BLACKS IN AREA

D10. How about 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 of them, or none of them?

1. ALL
2. MOST
3. ABOUT HALF
4. LESS THAN HALF

5. NONE
0. NO WHITES IN AREA

D11. What about you? Are you in favor of desegregation, strict segregation, or something in between?

1. DESSEGREGATION
5. SEGREGATION
3. IN BETWEEN

D9-D11. R may want to know what we mean by desegregation or segregation; we mean removing or maintaining the laws and customs which separate the races bringing the races together or keeping the races apart.

D9-D10. Sometimes R may ask what is meant by "area." Since we are interested in R's own definition, we don't want to give a precise, physical explanation such as the name of a town. So if R asks, tell him to think in terms of where he and his family carry on the activities of their everyday lives. As usual, if R asks for a definition or explanation of "area," note this.
D12. Thinking about the country as a whole, would you say relations between white people and black people have been getting better, getting worse, or staying pretty much the same?

1. BETTER  5. WORSE  4. SAME

INTERVIEWER CHECK BOX A

1. R IS NON BLACK  → SKIP TO P.16, D25
2. R IS BLACK

D13. On the whole, do you think most white people in (CITY/TOWN/COUNTY) want to see black people get a better break, or do they want to keep black people down, or don't they care one way or the other?

1. BETTER BREAK  5. WANT TO KEEP DOWN  3. DON'T CARE  8. DK

D14. Do you think only a few white people in (CITY/TOWN/COUNTY) dislike black people many dislike black people, or almost all white people dislike black people?

1. ONLY A FEW  3. MANY  5. ALMOST ALL  8. DK

D15. How about the reverse? Do you think only a few black people dislike white people, many dislike white people, or almost all black people dislike white people?

1. ONLY A FEW  3. MANY  5. ALMOST ALL  8. DK

D12. Straightforward.

Check Box A. This is our first skip instruction. Please check the appropriate box and follow the directions indicated. Don't forget to check the appropriate square before proceeding on. We have intentionally used the terminology "Not Black" here instead of "White" because we want to include all races and colors that are not black (for example, Orientals, Indians, Mexicans, etc.).

D13-D14. We want you to fill in the name of the city, town, or county that R lives in. You would use the county only when R lives in a rural area away from any town.

D15. Straightforward.
D16. Here are some statements of what "black power" can mean. After I read each one, would you tell me whether you approve of that idea, or disapprove of it?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Approve</th>
<th>Disapprove</th>
<th>Not Sure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>D16a. There should be more black businesses, banks, and stores</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D16b. Black people should shop in black-owned stores whenever possible</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D16c. Black people should take more pride in black history</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D16d. Black people should not have anything to do with whites if they can help it</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D16e. There should be a separate black nation here</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D16f. Black school children should study an African language</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

D17. As you see it, what's the best way for black people to try to gain their rights--use laws and persuasion, use non-violent protests, or be ready to use violence if necessary?

1. LAWS AND PERSUASION  2. NON-VIOLENT PROTESTS  3. VIOLENCE IF NECESSARY  4. OTHER (SPECIFY):  5. OK

D17-D24. Do not make the mistake of reading aloud to the respondent "Don't know" as a response option for questions D17-D24. It is a very legitimate response and should be recorded but it should not be suggested.

D18. Is this neighborhood you now live in all black, mostly black, about half and half, mostly white, or all white?

1. ALL BLACK  2. MOSTLY WHITE  3. HALF AND HALF  4. MOSTLY BLACK  5. ALL WHITE  6. OK
D19. Would you personally prefer to live in a neighborhood with all black people, mostly black people, mostly white, or a neighborhood that's mixed half and half?

1. ALL BLACK  
2. MOSTLY BLACK  
3. MOSTLY WHITE  
4. MIXED  
7. MAKES NO DIFFERENCE  
8. DK

D20. Is the grade school nearest you all black, mostly black, about half and half, mostly white or all white?

5. ALL BLACK  
4. MOSTLY BLACK  
3. HALF AND HALF  
2. MOSTLY WHITE  
1. ALL WHITE  
8. DK

D21. Is the high school nearest you all black, mostly black, about half and half, mostly white or all white?

5. ALL BLACK  
4. MOSTLY BLACK  
3. HALF AND HALF  
2. MOSTLY WHITE  
1. ALL WHITE  
8. DK

D22. Are you working now? (IF NECESSARY: Do you now have a job?)

1. YES  
3. NO  → TURN TO P. 15, D23

D22a. Are the people who work where you work all black, mostly black, about half and half, mostly white, or all white?

5. ALL BLACK  
4. MOSTLY BLACK  
3. HALF AND HALF  
2. MOSTLY WHITE  
1. ALL WHITE  
8. DK

D19. Note that D19 is different from the rest of the racial contact items. D19 specifically asks what R personally would prefer the racial mix of his neighborhood to be; this must be distinguished from D18 where we are attempting to find out what the racial composition of the neighborhood is.

D20-D21. "Grade school" and "high school" can mean either public or parochial.

D22. Straightforward.
D23. Are the people who shop and trade where you do all black, mostly black, about half and half, mostly white or all white?

1. ALL BLACK  4. MOSTLY BLACK  3. HALF AND HALF

2. MOSTLY WHITE  1. ALL WHITE  8. DK

D24. Are your friends all black, mostly black, about half and half, mostly white or all white?

1. ALL BLACK  4. MOSTLY BLACK  3. HALF AND HALF

2. MOSTLY WHITE  1. ALL WHITE  8. DK

SKIP TO P. 19. E1

IF R IS NOT BLACK, ASK THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS:

D25. Which of these three statements would you agree with?

1. On the average, black people are born with more intelligence than white people,

2. On the average, white people and black people are born with about equal intelligence, or

3. On the average, white people are born with more intelligence than black people.

7. OTHER; DEPENDS; CAN'T DECIDE

D26. Is this neighborhood you live in all white, mostly white, about half and half, mostly black, or all black?

1. ALL WHITE    2. MOSTLY WHITE    3. ABOUT HALF AND HALF

4. MOSTLY BLACK    5. ALL BLACK

8. DK

D27. Would you personally prefer to live in a neighborhood with all white people, mostly white people, mostly blacks, or a neighborhood that's mixed half and half?

1. ALL WHITE    2. MOSTLY WHITE    3. MOSTLY BLACKS

4. MIXED    7. MAKES NO DIFFERENCE

8. IN
**D28.** Is the grade school nearest you all white, mostly white, about half and half, mostly black or all black?

1. ALL WHITE  
2. MOSTLY WHITE  
3. ABOUT HALF AND HALF  
4. MOSTLY BLACK  
5. ALL BLACK  
8. DK

**D29.** Is the high school nearest you all white, mostly white, about half and half, mostly black or all black?

1. ALL WHITE  
2. MOSTLY WHITE  
3. ABOUT HALF AND HALF  
4. MOSTLY BLACK  
5. ALL BLACK  
8. DK

**D30.** Are you working now? (IF NECESSARY: Do you now have a job?)

1. YES  
2. NO \rightarrow GO TO D31

**D30a.** Are the people who work where you work all white, mostly white, about half and half, mostly black, or all blacks?

1. ALL WHITE  
2. MOSTLY WHITE  
3. ABOUT HALF AND HALF  
4. MOSTLY BLACK  
5. ALL BLACK  
8. DK

**D31.** Are the people who shop and trade where you do all white, mostly white, about half and half, mostly black, or all black?

1. ALL WHITE  
2. MOSTLY WHITE  
3. ABOUT HALF AND HALF  
4. MOSTLY BLACK  
5. ALL BLACK  
8. DK

D31. See D17-D24 instructions.
D32. Are your friends all white, mostly white, about half and half, mostly black or all black?

1. ALL WHITE  2. MOSTLY WHITE  3. ABOUT HALF AND HALF

4. MOSTLY BLACK  5. ALL BLACK  6. DK

D32. See D17-D24 instructions.
E: PARTY IDENTIFICATION

Now I would like to talk to you again about the political parties.

1a. Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, Democrat, an Independent, or what?

1. REPUBLICAN  2. INDEPENDENT  3. NO PREFERENCE  4. OTHER  5. DEMOCRAT

TURN TO P. 20, E1j

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

1. STRONG  5. NOT VERY STRONG

Elb. Was there ever a time when you thought of yourself as a Democrat or an Independent rather than a Republican?

1. YES  5. NO, NEVER

TURN TO P. 21, E2

Elc. Was that a Democrat or an Independent?

1. DEMOCRAT  5. INDEPENDENT

Elf. Was there ever a time when you thought of yourself as a Republican or an Independent rather than a Democrat?

1. YES  5. NO, NEVER

TURN TO P. 21, E2

Elg. Was that a Republican or an Independent?

1. REPUBLICAN  5. INDEPENDENT

Elh. When did you change to a Republican?

__________________________

SKIP TO P. 21, E2

EI-Elt. Here we are attempting to measure the respondent's party identification. By party identification we mean a person's feeling of attachment or belonging to a party. The question is intended to pin down the respondent's "usual" or customary sense of party affiliation, not particularly how he intends to vote in this election or how he has voted in the primary. This means that a response such as "Oh, I have been a Democrat but I really don't know about this year" classifies the respondent as a Democrat (probably, in Elf, 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.

If the R calls himself a member of the American Independent Party (Wallace's party) note that under "other" rather than classifying him as an "Independent."

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

We hope that the new format for this question is easily understandable. Note that the possible answers to El 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 Ela, Ele and Elj 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 Elb, Elf, Elh, E1b and Elq 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 Hoover 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?
(11) ANSWER TO EL WAS INDEPENDENT, NO PREFERENCE, OR OTHER, ASK THE FOLLOWING:

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

1. REPUBLICAN
2. NEITHER
3. DEMOCRATIC

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

1. YES 5. NO, NEVER

TURN TO P. 23, E2

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

1. YES, DEMOCRAT
2. YES, REPUBLICAN
3. NO, NEVER

TURN TO P. 23, E2

Elm. When did you change?

Elp. When did you change?

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

1. YES 5. NO, NEVER

TURN TO P. 24, E2

Elr. When did you change?

El-r. 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.
E2. Do you remember when you were growing up whether your father was very much interested in politics, somewhat interested, or didn't he pay much attention to it?

1. VERY MUCH INTERESTED
2. SOMEWHAT INTERESTED
3. NOT MUCH ATTENTION
4. DK
5. NA

E3. Did he think of himself mostly as a Democrat, as a Republican, as an Independent, or what?

1. DEMOCRAT
2. REPUBLICAN
3. INDEPENDENT
4. NA
5. OTHER (SPECIFY):__
6. DK

E4. Now how about your mother? When you were growing up was she very much interested in politics, somewhat interested, or didn't she pay much attention to it?

1. VERY MUCH INTERESTED
2. SOMEWHAT INTERESTED
3. NOT MUCH ATTENTION
4. DK

E5. Did she think of herself mostly as a Democrat, as a Republican, as an Independent, or what?

1. DEMOCRAT
2. REPUBLICAN
3. INDEPENDENT
4. NA
5. OTHER (SPECIFY):__
6. DK
Ea. 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?

1. ALL  2. MOST  3. SOME  4. NONE  5. NOT OF VOTING AGE IN 1968

TURN TO P. 23, E7

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

1. SAME PARTY  2. DIFFERENT PARTIES

GO TO Edc

Edc. Which party was that?

1. DEMOCRATIC  2. REPUBLICAN  3. OTHER; SPECIFY:

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

1. YES, DID VOTE  2. NO, DID NOT VOTE  3. DON'T REMEMBER IF VOTED

TURN TO P. 23, E7

Edd. Which one did you vote for?

2. NIXON  1. HUMPHREY  3. WALLACE

5. OTHER  6. BK

Edb. If R is only old enough to have voted starting with 1968, his answer to Ed may be "All-one." In that case Eda and Ed are really not appropriate but it is important that Ed be asked.
FOR BLACK RESPONDENTS ONLY:

E7. Some people say blacks should form their own political party and work mainly through it; others say blacks should concentrate on making changes through the two major parties. How do you feel?

1. WORK IN OWN PARTY  3. WORK IN TWO MAJOR PARTIES  2. BOTH  4. DK

E8. Would you support an independent black political party?

1. YES  3. DEPENDS. NOT SURE  5. NO  8. DK
F: CURRENT CAMPAIGN

F1. Some people don't pay much attention to the political campaigns. How about you, would you say that you have been very much interested, somewhat interested, or not much interested in following the political campaigns so far this year?

1. VERY MUCH INTERESTED  3. SOMEWHAT INTERESTED  5. NOT MUCH INTERESTED

F2. Now, how about the election this November? Are you registered (eligible to vote) so that you could vote in the November election if you wanted to?

1. YES  2. NO  4. DK

TURN TO P. 25, F4

F2a. Are you registered as being a Republican or a Democrat or anything else?

1. REPUBLICAN  5. DEMOCRAT  7. NO PARTY

6. OTHER; SPECIFY:  8. DK

F3. How about the primary election this year. Did you vote in a Presidential primary election this spring or summer?

1. YES  2. NO

TURN TO P. 25, F4

F3a. Which party's primary did you vote in?

F3b. Which presidential candidate did you support in that contest?
F4. So far as you know now, do you expect to vote in November or not?

1. YES, WILL

F4a. Who do you think you will vote for in the election for president?

2. NO, WILL NOT

F4b. If you were going to vote--who do you think you would vote for in the election for president?

3. DON'T KNOW

F4.* Straightforward.

*This question appears on Form II as F2.
G: Issues

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

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

(HAND R CARD G1--BRO) Suppose people who believe that the government should see to it that every person has a job and a good standard of living are at one end of this scale—at point number 1. And suppose that the people who believe that the government should just let each person get ahead on his own are at the other end—at point number 7.

Government See to Job and Good Standard of Living: Government Let Each Person Get Ahead on His Own:

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

(Interviewer Record Number)

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

8. DK 0. HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH

GIb. Where would you place Richard Nixon?

8. DK

Gic. Where would you place George McGovern?

8. DK

Gid. Where would you place George Wallace?

8. DK

Gie. (Where would you place) the Democratic Party?

8. DK

Gif. (Where would you place) the Republican Party?

8. DK

GI. Please note that for FORM 1 cards GI, 2, 5, 6, and 8-12 are used and for FORM II cards GI-7, 8-12 are used. The directions below apply to 4 questions on both forms.

We realize that these questions are demanding of both you and R; however, much valuable research information has already been derived from this technique, which was used in the 1968 and 1970 election studies. 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, all of these questions have "HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH ABOUT THIS" boxes. While we want as much information as possible, if the respondent has definitely not thought about the issue, check the box and follow the skip instruction.

Our first task for the respondent is to place himself on the scale between, or at, one of the extreme positions of the particular issue. After accomplishing this, R is to try to place the parties and the political leaders on the scale. We have found that in general if R understands the questions and can place himself on the scale, the other parts of the questions are much easier for him to accomplish. 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 political leaders and the parties on the scale in terms of what he thinks they stand for, not in terms of where he would like them to be. Wherever 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 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 means to you." -- otherwise, too much interpretation for one R without interpretation for all of them would create problems of comparability between interviews.
G2. (RABI: K. CARR G2--BROWN) As you know, in our tax system, people who earn a lot of money already have to pay higher rates of income tax than those who earn less. Some people think that those with high incomes should pay even more of their income into taxes than they do now. Others think that the rates shouldn't be different at all—that everyone should pay the same portion of their income, no matter how much they make.

Increase the tax rate for high incomes

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |

Have the same tax rate for everyone

---

**INTERVIEWER RECORD KIRKEND**

G2a. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?

[ ] 8. DK

[ ] 0. HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH

[ ] BURN TO P. 28, G3

G2b. Where would you place Richard Nixon?

[ ] 8. DK

G2c. Where would you place George McGovern?

[ ] 8. DK

G2d. Where would you place George Wallace?

[ ] 8. DK

G2e. (Where would you place) the Democratic Party?

[ ] 8. DK

G2f. (Where would you place) the Republican Party?

[ ] 8. DK
G3. See G1 for instructions.

G3a. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?

8, DK

G3b. Where would you place Richard Nixon?

8, DK

G3c. Where would you place George McGovern?

8, DK

G3d. Where would you place George Wallace?

8, DK

G3e. (Where would you place) the Democratic Party?

8, DK

G3f. (Where would you place) the Republican Party?

8, DK

G3. (Rand E Case 25 - Orange) Some people think that the use of marijuana should be made legal. Others think that the penalties for using marijuana should be set higher than they are now.

Make Use of Marijuana Legal

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |

Set Penalties Higher Than They Are Now

(INTERVIEWER: RECORD NUMBER)
G4. (BASED ON G2 AND G3) There is much discussion about the best way to deal with racial problems. Some people think achieving racial integration of schools is so important that it justifies busing children to schools out of their own neighborhoods. Others think letting children go to their neighborhood schools is so important that they oppose busing.

---

**How to Achieve Integration**

1  2  3  4  5  6  7

**Keep Children in Neighborhood Schools**

---

**INTERVIEWER RECORD SHEET**

G4a. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?

8. DK 0. HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH

G4b. Where would you place Richard Nixon?

8. DK

G4c. Where would you place George McGovern?

8. DK

G4d. Where would you place George Wallace?

8. DK

G4e. (Where would you place) the Democratic Party?

8. DK

G4f. (Where would you place) the Republican Party?

8. DK
G5. (HAND R CARD G8 - YELLOW) There is much concern about the rapid rise in medical and hospital costs. Some feel there should be a government insurance plan which would cover all medical and hospital expenses. Others feel that medical expenses should be paid by individuals, and through private insurance like Blue Cross.

Government Insurance Plan

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Private Insurance Plans

(Interviewer Record Number)

G5a. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?

8. DK
9. Haven't thought much
Then to P. 31, G8

G5b. Where would you place Richard Nixon?

8. DK

G5c. Where would you place George McGovern?

8. DK

G5d. Where would you place George Wallace?

8. DK

G5e. (Where would you place) the Democratic Party?

8. DK

G5f. (Where would you place) the Republican Party?

8. DK
G6. Now I'd like you to think about a set of statements I'll make about some important political figures. For each statement, I want you to tell me how strongly you agree or disagree, using the seven-point scale I'm giving you.

(HAND R CARD G9 - WHITE) If you agree completely, you'd pick position number 1; if you disagree completely, you'd pick position number 7. Of course, you could also pick any of the numbered positions in between.

The first set of statements concerns Richard Nixon.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</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>

(INTerviewer RECORD NUMBER)

G6a. Nixon, as President, could be trusted.

R. DK

G6b. Nixon has the kind of personality a President ought to have.

R. DK

G6c. Nixon, as President, would control crime.

R. DK

G6d. Nixon, as President, would bring peace in Vietnam.

R. DK
G7. The next set of statements concern George McGovern.

G7a. McGovern, as President, could be trusted.
[8. DK]

G7b. McGovern has the kind of personality a President ought to have.
[8. DK]

G7c. McGovern, as President, would control crime.
[8. DK]

G7d. McGovern, as President, would bring peace in Vietnam.
[8. DK]

G8. Finally, I have some statements about George Wallace.

G8a. Wallace, as President, could be trusted.
[8. DK]

G8b. Wallace has the kind of personality a President ought to have.
[8. DK]

G8c. Wallace, as President, would control crime.
[8. DK]

G8d. Wallace, as President, would bring peace in Vietnam.
[8. DK]
G9. (HAND R CARD G10-ORANGE) Recently there has been a lot of talk about women's rights. Some people feel that women should have an equal role with men in running business, industry, and government. Others feel that women's place is in the home.

Women and Men Should Have

an Equal Role

Women's Place is

in the Home

1 2 3 4 5 6

(INTErVIEwER RECORD SEcTion)

G9a. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought about this?

8. DK

G9b. Where would you place Richard Nixon?

8. DK

G9c. Where would you place George Meade?

5. DK

G9d. Where would you place George Wallace?

8. DK

G9e. (Where would you place) the Democratic Party?

8. DK

G9f. (Where would you place) the Republican Party?

8. DK

G10. Straightforward

Still on the subject of women's rights, there has been some discussion about abortion during recent years. Which one of the opinions on this card (1500 R CARD G11 - 00061) best agrees with your view? You can just tell me the number of the opinion you choose.

1. Abortion should never be permitted.
2. Abortion should be permitted only if the life and health of the woman is in danger.
3. Abortion should be permitted if, due to personal reasons, the woman would have difficulty in caring for the child.
4. Abortion should never be forbidden, since one should not require a woman to have a child she doesn't want.
5. Other; specify:
6. OK

G11. Straightforward

Sometimes a company has to lay-off part of its labor force. Some people think that the first workers to be laid-off should be women whose husbands have jobs. Others think that male and female employees should be treated the same. Which of these opinions do you agree with?

1. Lay-off women first
2. Treat male and female employees the same
3. OK
In general, women in our society have not been as successful as men in business, politics, the leadership positions in our country.

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

(HAND R CARD G12 - GREEN) First...

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>REASONS</th>
<th>Agree a Great Deal</th>
<th>Agree Somewhat</th>
<th>Disagree Somewhat</th>
<th>Disagree a Great Deal</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) Men are born with more drive to be ambitious and successful than women . . .</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) Women have less opportunity than men to get the education for top jobs . . .</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) Women are usually less reliable on the job than men, because they tend to be absent more and quit more often . . . . . . . .</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) Our schools teach women to want the less important jobs . . . . . . . . .</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e) By nature women are happiest when they are making a home and caring for children . . .</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f) Many qualified women can't get good jobs; men with the same skills have much less trouble . . . . . . . .</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g) In general, men are more qualified than women for jobs that have great responsibility</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h) Our society discriminates against women . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i) Women have just as much chance to get big and important jobs; they just aren't interested</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
G11. Taking things all together, which do you think has a better life in the United States today—men or women?
(IF NECESSARY: On the average?)

1. MEN  2. WOMEN  3. SAME  4. DK → GO TO G14

G13a. Why is that?

---

Do you agree or disagree with each of these two statements?

G14. Women should stay out of politics.

1. AGREE  5. DISAGREE

G15. What young people need most of all is strict discipline by their parents.

1. AGREE  5. DISAGREE

G14 & G15. Be sure to read the introductory phrase: "Do you agree or disagree with each of these two statements?" The problem arises in that the introductory phrase was not numbered and it could therefore be missed especially when the interviewer is instructed to go directly to G14 from DK at G13.
H1. As you know, there were many people mentioned this past year as possible candidates for President or Vice President by the political parties. We would like to get your feelings toward some of these people.

I have here a card (HAND R CARD H1-FILLIN ) on which there is something that looks like a thermometer. We call it a "feeling thermometer" because it measures your feelings toward some of 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 degrees.

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>H1a. George Wallace</td>
<td>H1b. Shirley Chisholm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H1b. George McGovern</td>
<td>H1j. John Ashbrook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H1c. Richard Nixon</td>
<td>H1k. Thomas Eagleton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H1d. John Lindsay</td>
<td>H1m. Paul &quot;Pete&quot; McGovern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H1e. Ed Muskie</td>
<td>H1n. Hubert Humphrey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H1f. Edward &quot;Ted&quot; Kennedy</td>
<td>H1p. Spiro Agnew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H1g. Henry &quot;Scoop&quot; Jackson</td>
<td>H1q. R. Sargent Shriver</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
H2. Do you believe that any of these candidates best reflects high moral or religious standards?

3. YES

5. NO → TURN TO P. 39, JL

H2a. Which candidate(s)?

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________
J: POLITICAL EFFECS

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

J1. People like me don't have any say about what the government does.  
   1. AGREE  5. DISAGREE

J2. Voting is the only way that people like me can have any say about how the government runs things.  
   1. AGREE  5. DISAGREE

J3. Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on.  
   1. AGREE  5. DISAGREE

J4. I don't think public officials care much about what people like me think.  
   1. AGREE  5. DISAGREE

J5. Generally speaking, these are elected to represent the people, but very quickly lose touch with the people pretty quickly.  
   1. AGREE  5. DISAGREE

J6. Parties are only interested in people's votes but not in their opinions.  
   1. AGREE  5. DISAGREE

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.

J17. How about taking part in protest meetings or marches that are permitted by the local authorities? Would you approve or disapprove, or would it depend on the circumstances?
   1. APPROVE  5. DISAPPROVE  3. DEPENDS  8. DK

   ( )  ( )
J8. How about refusing to obey a law which one thinks is unjust, if the person feels so strongly about it that he is willing to go to jail rather than obey the law? Would you approve of a person doing that, disapprove, or would it depend on the circumstances?

1. Approve  5. Disapprove  3. Depends  8. DK

J9. Suppose all other methods have failed and the person decides to try to stop the government from going about its usual activities with sit-ins, mass meetings, demonstrations, and things like that? Would you approve of that, disapprove, or would it depend on the circumstances?

1. Approve  5. Disapprove  3. Depends  8. DK

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

J10. Do you think it's better to plan your life a good way ahead, or would you say life is too much a matter of luck to plan ahead very far?

1. Plan Ahead  5. Too Much Luck to Plan  8. DK

J11. When you do make plans ahead, do you usually get to carry out things the way you expected, or do things usually come up to make you change your plans:

1. Things Work Out as Expected  5. Have to Change Plans  8. DK
J12. Have you usually felt pretty sure your life would work out the way you want it to, or have there been times when you haven't been sure about it?

1. PRETTY SURE  5. HAVEN'T BEEN SURE  8. DK

J13. In general, how satisfying do you find the way you're spending your life these days? Would you call it completely satisfying, pretty satisfying or not very satisfying?

1. COMPLETELY  3. PRETTY  5. NOT VERY  8. DK

J14. Do you think you have had a fair opportunity to make the most of yourself in life, or have you been held back in some ways?

5. HAVE BEEN HELD BACK  1. HAVEN'T HAD FAIR OPPORTUNITY  8. DK

TURN TO P. 42, J15

J14a. What are the main things that stood in your way?

____________________________________________________________________________________
____________________________________________________________________________________
____________________________________________________________________________________
____________________________________________________________________________________
J15. Up to now, have you been able to satisfy most of your ambitions in life or have you had to settle for less than you had hoped for?

9. HAVE HAD TO SETTLE FOR LESS
1. SATISFIED MOST OF ASPIRATIONS

8. DK

GO TO J16

J15a. How is that?

I'd like you to tell me whether you agree or disagree with each of these next six statements:

J16. It isn't so important to vote when you know your party doesn't have any chance to win.

1. AGREE
5. DISAGREE

J17. So many other people vote in the national elections that it doesn't matter much to me whether I vote or not.

1. AGREE
5. DISAGREE

J18. If a person doesn't care how an election comes out he shouldn't vote in it.

1. AGREE
5. DISAGREE

J19. A good many local elections aren't important enough to bother with.

1. AGREE
5. DISAGREE

J20. This country would be better off if we just stayed home and did not concern ourselves with problems in other parts of the world.

1. AGREE
5. DISAGREE

J21. The United States should give help to foreign countries even if they don't stand for the same things that we do.

1. AGREE
5. DISAGREE
K1: DEMOGRAPHIC DATA

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

K1. What is your date of birth? [ ] (Month) [ ] (Year)

K2. Are you married now and living with your spouse? [ ] Yes [ ] No - or are you widowed, divorced, separated, or have you never married?

1. MARRIED AND LIVING WITH SPOUSE (OR SPOUSE IN SERVICE)
2. WIDOWED
3. DIVORCED
4. SEPARATED
5. NEVER MARRIED

INTERVIEWER CHECK BOX B

1. DO CHILDREN BETWEEN 5 AND 18 IN HOUSING UNIT—REFER TO P. 44, 55
5. ONE OR MORE CHILDREN BETWEEN 5 AND 18 IN HOUSEHOLD

K3. (Does the child / How many of the children) in this household go to school here in (NAME OF COMMUNITY)?

K4. (Does he / Does she / Do they) attend public, parochial, or private schools?

1. PUBLIC
2. PAROCHIAL
3. PRIVATE

(CHECK AS MANY AS APPLICABLE)
(ASK K5 FOR RESPONDENT AND AGAIN FOR HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD IF R IS NOT HEAD, OR FOR SPOUSE IF R IS HEAD AND HAS SPOUSE IN HOUSEHOLD.)

**K5.** How many grades of school did (you) finish? (IF LESS THAN 12) Do (you) have a high-school equivalency diploma or certificate?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RESPONDENT</th>
<th>HEAD OR SPOUSE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. YES  
5. NO

GO TO SECOND COLUMN IF APPROPRIATE, OR TURN TO P. 45, CHECK BOX C

(COLLEGE, SECRETARIAL, BUSINESS SCHOOL, ETC.)

**K5a.** Have (you) had any other schooling? (What was that?) (Any other?)

IF R ATTENDED COLLEGE

**K5b.** Do (you) have a college degree?

1. YES  
5. NO

Degrees:

(1)  
(2)  
(3)  

**K5c.** What degree(s) have (you) received?

**K5d.** From which college(s)? Where is that/are they located?

**K5e.** What was the last college you attended? Where is that located?

1. YES  
5. NO

Degrees:

(1)  
(2)  
(3)  

Note that these education questions must be repeated for the head of household when R is not head, or 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 father," "has he," "your wife," "has she."

In K5 "grades of school" refers to elementary and secondary school, not to college or technical school. In K5a 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.
K8. Be sure to note that the response categories for this question go completely across two pages. If the respondent feels he is in more than one of these categories, e.g., a working housewife, then check both categories. In this question it is possible to check both "working" and either "retired," "permanently disabled," "housewife" or "student," one combination we will not accept is "working now" and "looking for work." The category "unemployed" refers to a person not now employed but who is "looking for work" or "seeking employment."

K12a. The respondent's occupation is the job which he spends the most time on, or, if he spends an equal amount of time on two jobs, it is the one from which he earns the most money.

In general, we want to classify the respondent's occupation according to a series of occupational groups. We use a detailed classification based on the U.S. Census Classification for our analysis, so very specific information is required. Please observe the following instructions carefully.

1. Probe for a clear, complete answer.

2. The name of the place at which R actually works is usually an insufficient response to the occupation question (e.g., if R works in a bank he may be the manager, a teller, or the janitor). If his answer is less descriptive than this, or if he does not give a specific occupation, probe for a more detailed description.

3. Job titles at the lower end of the occupational scale are likely to be less descriptive than they are for professionals. Try to avoid vague job titles which may apply to a wide range of occupations.

a) For example, if R tells you that he is an engineer, he may:
   i) design bridges or airplanes
   ii) operate a railroad locomotive
   iii) tend an engine in a power plant
   iv) shovel coal into a furnace.

We obviously need more specific information than "engineer" here, so that a distinction between skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled workers can be made.

b) In the case of a factory worker, a useful hint would be "what kind of machine do you operate?"
EMPLOYMENT SECTION

K15. Have you ever done any work for pay?

K16. What kind of work did you do when you worked? (Check one: your occupation.)

K17. During the last twelve months did you do any work for pay?

K18. In the last twelve months did you do any work for pay?

K18a. Are you doing any work for pay at the present time?

K18b. What kind of work are you doing?

K18c. If you worked in the last twelve months but not working now:

K18d. What kind of work did you do in that time?

K18e. Did you work for someone else, yourself, or what?

K18f. What kind of business is that in?

K18g. Did you work for someone else, yourself, or what?

K18h. About how many hours a week did you work in the occupation you were engaged in?

K18i. About how many days a week did you work in the average week when you were working?

If, for instance R then says he works on an assembly line, we can deduce that he is unskilled.

c) R says he is a road construction worker but if:

1) he supervises the road gang, he is classified as a foreman
2) he operates a bulldozer, he is classified as a machine operator
3) he is a common laborer, he will be classified as such.

d) Ascertain whether a "Nurse" is a registered nurse, a practical nurse.

e) The distinction which we have to make between college and elementary school teachers is less obvious, but as important. A suggested probe here is:

1) "What level do you teach?"
2) "What type of school or college do you teach in?"

K8 & K12b.

The answers to this question are fitted into an industrial code and are sometimes vital in determining which code a particular occupation should fit into. For instance, a laborer or warehouse worker will do quite different kinds of things according to the associated industry type. Please bear the following points in mind:

1. It is unnecessary to find out the name of the company for which a person works, but we do want to know whether, for instance, it is a manufacturing or a selling enterprise and what kind of product or service is manufactured or sold, and, for a business that sells things, whether it sells wholesale, retail, or what.

Responses such as "Auto Assembly Plant," "Retail Grocery Store," "Steel Mill" or "Insurance Company" are thus quite acceptable, but responses such as "Oil Business," "Shoe Business" are not.

2. For a salesman, especially, please find out whether he is engaged in wholesale or retail trade and what he sells.
K19. We'd also like to know about the head of the family/your husband/wife.

K20. What is his/her main occupation? (What sort of work does he/she do? If not clear: Tell me a little more about what he/she does.)

K21. What kind of (business/industry) is that in?

K22. Does he/she work for someone else, himself/herself, or what?

1. SOMEONE ELSE

2. BOTH SOMEONE
   ELSE & SELF

3. SELF ONLY

K23. About how many hours does he/she work on his/her job in the average week? **HOURS A WEEK**

K24. Was he/she out of work at any time during the last twelve months?

1. YES

2. NO

K25. Has he/she ever done any work for pay?

1. YES

2. NO ➤ SKIP TO P. 49, K32

K25a. What sort of work did he/she do on his/her last regular job? (What was his/her occupation?)

K25b. What kind of (business/industry) was that in?

K25c. Did he/she work for someone else, himself/herself, or what?

1. SOMEONE ELSE

2. BOTH SOMEONE
   ELSE & SELF

3. SELF ONLY

K26. Has he/she had a job in the past twelve months?

1. YES ➤ 2. NO ➤ SKIP TO P. 49, K32

K26a. About how many hours did he/she work on his/her last job in the average week? **HRS. A WEEK**

K14-K18c. The questions on this page parallel questions K7-K12; the instructions that were given for that page apply here as well.
Employment Section

1. IS NOT FAMILY HEAD--ASK ABOUT HEAD

2. Retired

6. Permanently Disabled

E.28. Has he/she ever done any work for pay?

YEAR

1. YES

5. NO

(Those who are 75 years old or older, also include any person 16 years of age or older who is working now, looking for work, retired, (a housewife), (a student), or what?

6. PERMANENTLY DISABLED

7. HOUSEWIFE

8. STUDENT

K31. In the last twelve months did he/she do any work for pay?

1. YES

2. NO

TURN TO P. 49, K32

K31a. Is he/she doing any work for pay at the present time?

1. YES

2. NO

GO BACK TO "WORKING NOW"

IF WORKED IN THE LAST TWELVE MONTHS BUT NOT PRESENTLY WORKING:

K31b. What kind of work did he/she do? (What was his/her occupation?)

K31c. What kind of business was that in?

K31d. Did he/she work for someone else, himself/herself, or what?

1. SOMEONE ELSE

2. BOTH SOMEONE ELSE AND SELF

3. SELF ONLY

K31e. About how many hours a week did he/she work in the average week when he/she worked?

HOURs A WEEK

TURN TO P. 49, K32

Check Box D.

Please note that if K is the family head and has no spouse you are to skip to Page 49, K32. If K is the family head and living with spouse you are to go to K19 and ask about spouse. While if K is not the family head, you are to go to K19 and ask about family head.

K19-K31e.

For the objectives here refer back to 86-K18e instructions.
ASK IF HEAD IS FARMER OR RANCHER—EITHER FULL OR PART TIME—OTHERS GO TO K33

K32. (Do you/does head) do any other kind of work besides (farming/ranching)—for pay, I mean?

1. YES  5. NO  \( \rightarrow \) Go to K32c

K32a. What kind of work is that?  

K32b. About how much time (do you/does head) usually put in on that?
   ___ hours per week  for  ___ weeks per year

K32c. Do you 1. own your farm, 2. manage it, 3. rent it or what?

K33. Does anyone in this household belong to a labor union?

1. YES  5. NO  \( \rightarrow \) Turn to p. 50, K34

K33a. Who is it that belongs?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RESPONDENT</th>
<th>HEAD (SOT R)</th>
<th>SOMEONE ELSE IN HOUSEHOLD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

K33b. What union is that?
(What unions are these?)

K32-K32c. This series of questions deals with other types of work done by R or by head of household, who has either a full-time or part-time farm occupation.

In K32c, if R's answer does not clearly fit in the categories, "own", "manage," or "rent," please record any explanation he gives.

K33-K34. In Q. K33b, 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. 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. Therefore, do not ask the number of the union. Where more than one union member lives in the same household, get the specific international union for each member. Retired workers who draw union pensions, or receive union newsletters, are also to be considered union members. If R asks whether a teacher's professional association such as the state education association is considered as a union, tell him that it is if it bargains like a union for him.
K34. Here is a list of some kinds of organizations to which people may belong.

(MARK A CARD A--ORACLE) Just tell me the letter on the card of any type of organization that you belong to. If you belong to any that are not on this list, tell me about those too.

(AFTER CHEWING ORGANIZATIONS & CHECKING TO, SAY)

Also, select the statement at the bottom of each card that best tells how active you are in each of the organizations you belong to.

(READ EACH CHECKED TYPE OF ORGANIZATION.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Not Very Active</th>
<th>Fairly Active</th>
<th>Very Active</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Fraternal lodges</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Business groups</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Professional groups</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>Farm organizations</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Church or religious groups</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>Neighborhood associations</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>Social or card-playing groups</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>Athletic clubs or teams</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J</td>
<td>Cooperatives</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K</td>
<td>Political clubs or organizations</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>Charity or social-welfare organizations</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>Veterans' organizations</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>Civic groups</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>Special interest groups or hobbies</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q</td>
<td>Ethnic, racial, or nationality associations</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td>Labor unions</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>OTHER(S): SPECIFY</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td>NO ORGANIZATIONS</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

K35. Check the organizations that R mentions he belongs to and then, for each checked one, don't forget to ask how active R is and check the appropriate column on the right.
K35. There's been some talk these days about different social classes. Most people say that belong either to the middle class or to the working class. Do you ever think of yourself as belonging to one of these classes?

1. YES
2. NO
3. OTHER

K35a. Which one?
(RECORD BELOW)

K35b. Well, if you had to make a choice, would you call yourself middle class or working class?
(RECORD BELOW)

1. MIDDLE CLASS
2. WORKING CLASS
3. OTHER

K35c. Would you say that you are about average middle class, or that you are in the upper part of the middle class?

4. AVERAGE MIDDLE
5. UPPER MIDDLE

K35d. Would you say that you are about average working class, or that you are in the upper part of the working class?

1. AVERAGE WORKING
2. UPPER WORKING

K35e. Would you say you feel pretty close to middle class people, or that you don't feel much closer to them than to people in other classes?

1. CLOSE
2. NOT CLOSE

K35f. 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?

1. CLOSE
2. NOT CLOSE

K35c, K35d & K35e. These seek to measure the degree to which R feels identified with his class grouping.

K36. What would you say your family was when you were growing up?

1. Middle class
2. Working class

K36. 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.
K37. In addition to being an American, what do you consider your main ethnic or nationality group?

K38. Where were you born? (IF UNITED STATES) Which state?

K39. Were both your parents born in this country?

   5. No

   1. Yes

K39a. Which country was your father born in?

K39b. Which country was your mother born in?

K39c. Do you remember which country your family came from originally on your father's side?

K39d. Do you remember which country your family came from originally on your mother's side?

K40. What kind of work did your father do for a living while you were growing up?

K41. Other than being a housewife, did your mother have a job while you were growing up?

   1. Yes

   5. No

   TURN TO P. 53, K42

K41a. What kind of work did she do?

K42. Write down exactly what nationality group or groups R considers himself to be. If R says he considers himself to be only American, probe once by repeating the question, but, if he still insists he is "only American," accept that response and go on.

K38. Straightforward.


K40. 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 is appropriate. Ask what the person who raised R as a father did.

K41-K41a. Since it is becoming more common that married women have careers, we are interested in getting exactly what sort of jobs they have. This, of course, does not mean that being a housewife is not a job or career. R may point this out. Simply say, "that is, did she have another occupation."

Again if R says his mother died early or he did not live with her for some reason, ask if there was a person who raised R as a mother and, if so, ask about her occupation.
K42. Where was it that you grew up? (If different states or cities, indicate.

(If grew up in different states, first state/first residence)

K42a. How old were you when you came to this place? (YEARS)

K43. One your mother or father bring up in the country, in a town, in a small city, or

1. COUNTRY

2. TOWN

3. SMALL CITY

4. LARGE CITY

K44. How long have you lived here in (CITY/TOWN/COUNTY)? (YEARS)

K45. Please look at this card (CARD 362 - GO, USA) and tell us the letter

of the income group that includes the income of all members of your family

in 1973 before taxes. This income should include dividends, interest,

salaries, tips, pensions, and all other income. (If F3000, then

would be your last place?)

K46. Do you (does your family) own your home, pay rent, or what?

1. OWN

2. RENT

3. OTHER (EXPLAIN)
K47. Is your religious preference Protestant, Roman Catholic, Jewish, or something else?

[PROTESTANT] [200, ROMAN CATHOLIC] [300, JEWISH] [OTHER (SPECIFY)]

K47a. What church or denomination is that?

K47b. (IF BAPTIST) Is that Southern Baptist or something else?

(IF ANY RELIGIOUS PREFERENCE)

K48. Would you say you go to (church/synagogue) every week, almost every week, once or twice a month, a few times a year, or never?

1. EVERY WEEK 2. ALMOST EVERY WEEK 3. ONCE OR TWICE A MONTH

4. A FEW TIMES A YEAR 5. NEVER

END INTERVIEW END INTERVIEW

K49. What is the exact name of the (church/synagogue) you attend most frequently?

K50. Where is that located? (Can you give me an exact address?)

K51. What is the name of your (minister/pastor/rabbi)?

DON'T FORGET TO FILL OUT A GREEN "RELIGION INFORMATION FORM" FOR R WHEN QUESTIONS K49-K51 ARE ASKED.

K47. Straightforward.

K47a-b. Note that these probes for the exact denomination apply only to Protestants.

K48. Select the word "church" or "synagogue," according to whether R has indicated he is Protestant or Catholic, on the one hand, or Jewish on the other. If R is of some other faith, and indicates that his place of worship is to be referred to as something other than a church or synagogue, then by all means use the term he offers and record it for us.

K49. Note that K49-K51 are to be asked only of those R's who have indicated both that they have a religious preference and that they go to church at least "once or twice a month" in the previous two questions.

K50. Since we plan to gather some information from these respondents' clergymen by mail questionnaires, it is crucial to identify exactly the name and location of the place of worship. Obtain whatever information, with regard to location, that you can without pushing R to the point of resistance. If this does not yield an exact mailing address, please try to get it from another source--the telephone book should do it--and write it into the questionnaire at this spot as soon as you can. Also, if R says he attends more than one church, please get the name of the one he attends most often.

Also, don't forget later when you are editing to fill out a green "Religion Information Form" for R when Questions K49-K51 are asked.

K51. Again, we need an exact name for the clergymen. If R offers some title for his clergymen other than "minister," "pastor," or "rabbi," by all means record it for us. Many churches have more than one minister or priest. If R answers that this is the case, explain that we want the clergymen he personally has the most frequent exposure to or contact with. If R insists that he cannot narrow it down to one person, then take any names that R says he has contact with. If R cannot recall the name of his clergymen, try, by phoning the church or checking the sign outside it, to get the name of the chief or regular clergymen at R's place of worship.
INTERVIEWER'S SUPPLIES

1. Respondent's sex is: [ ] Male [ ] Female

2. Respondent's race is: [ ] White [ ] Negro [ ] Other:

3. Relationship of R to head: [ ] 1. It head [ ] 2. Wife [ ] Other:

4. Other persons present at interview were: (Check those that are or were...it necessary)
   [ ] Home [ ] Children under 6 [ ] Older children [ ] Spouse
   [ ] Other relatives [ ] Other adults

5. Respondent's cooperation was:
   [ ] Excellent [ ] Good [ ] Fair [ ] Poor [ ] Very poor

6. Respondent's general level of information about politics and public affairs
   secured:
   [ ] Very high [ ] Fairly high [ ] Average [ ] Fairly low [ ] Very low

7. Rate R's apparent intelligence?
   [ ] Very high [ ] Average [ ] Fairly high [ ] Above average [ ] Very low

8. How suspicious did R seem to be about the study, before the interview?
   [ ] Not at all [ ] Somewhat [ ] Very suspicious

9. Overall, how great was R's interest in the interview?
   [ ] Very high [ ] Above average [ ] Average [ ] Fairly low [ ] Very low

10. Rate R's physical appearance:
   [ ] Slimly handsome or beautiful
   [ ] Handsome (above average for age and sex)
   [ ] Average looks for age and sex
   [ ] Quaint (below average for age and sex)
   [ ] Homely

11. Approximate temperature of the day:

12. How sincere did R seem to be in his answers?
   [ ] Completely sincere
   [ ] Usually sincere
   [ ] Often seemed to be insincere

13. Were there any particular parts of the interview for which you doubted
    R's sincerity? If so, name them by section or question numbers:

14. TYPE OF STRUCTURE IN WHICH FAMILY LIVES:

10. APARTMENT HOUSE (1 OR MORE UNITS, 3 OR MORE)
11. APARTMENT HOUSE (1 OR MORE UNITS, 2 OR LESS)
12. APARTMENT HOUSE (1 OR MORE UNITS, 1 OR LESS)
13. APARTMENT HOUSE IN A PARCEL COMMUNITY STRUCTURE
14. OTHER (SPECIFY)

15. NUMBER OF STORIES IN THE STRUCTURE, NOT COUNTING BASEMENT:
   [ ] 1 [ ] 2 [ ] 3 [ ] More than 3 (specify)

B2. How do you feel? Should farmers and businessmen:

1. Allowed to do business with Communist countries
2. Forbidden to do business with Communist countries
3. Other; depends: _____________________________

8. DK

B3. 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 is not getting too strong. Have you been interested enough in this to favor one side over the other?

1. YES
2. NO
3. Other; depends: _____________________________
4. DK

B3a. What is your feeling, do you think...

1. The government is getting too powerful
2. The government is not getting too strong
3. Other; depends: _____________________________
4. DK

B3b. Which party do you think is more likely to favor a stronger government in Washington—the Democrats, the Republicans, or wouldn't there be any difference between them on this?

1. DEMOCRATS
2. REPUBLICANS
3. NO DIFFERENCE
4. DK

B4. Now I have some questions on mainland China. Have you paid any attention to what kind of government China has—that is, do you remember whether it is a democracy, communistic, or something else?

1. DEMOCRACY
2. COMMUNIST
3. SOMETHING ELSE
4. DK

B5. As far as you know, is mainland China a member of the United Nations?

1. YES
2. NO
3. DK

B6. Do you think that mainland China should be a member of the United Nations, or do you think it should not?

1. SHOULD
2. SHOULD NOT
3. DK

B7. Should the United States recognize mainland China?

1. YES
2. NO
3. DK
B2 FORM II ONLY

B3. See instructions for D1-D2, FORM I.

B2. See instructions for D1-D2, FORM I.

B4-B7. Straightforward.
C: PERSONAL EFFICACY AND SYSTEM SUPPORT

Now I have some questions on how you feel about things in general, not just political things. (HAND R BLUE BOOKLET) For each set of statements in this booklet, we would like to have you check the one that comes closest to the way you feel things actually are in life. Don't check the way you would like them to be, but the way you think things actually are.

INTERVIEWER: IF R HAS A READING OR SEEING PROBLEM, USE THE QUESTIONNAIRE AS USUAL: READ EACH SET OF STATEMENTS AND CHECK R'S CHOICE

C1. Which of these first two statements is closest to the way you feel things actually are?

1. Many of the unhappy things in people's lives are partly due to bad luck.
   -or-
2. People's misfortunes result from the mistakes they make.

C2. Which of these two?

1. One of the major reasons why we have wars is because people don't take enough interest in politics.
   -or-
2. There will always be wars, no matter how hard people try to prevent them.

C3. And these?

1. In the long run people get the respect they deserve in this world.
   -or-
2. Unfortunately, an individual's worth often passes unrecognized no matter how hard he tries.

C4. Which of these?

1. Without the right breaks one cannot be an effective leader.
   -or-
2. Capable people who fail to become leaders have not taken advantage of their opportunities.

C5. And these?

1. No matter how hard you try some people just don't like you.
   -or-
2. People who can't get others to like them don't understand how to get along with others.

CI-C5. These items are identical to those in a blue booklet handed to R. In most cases the respondent will be able to fill this out himself with no trouble and probably more quickly than if you had to read all the statements to him. If the respondent seems to have a reading or seeing problem, you may have to administer this section instead of having the respondent do it himself. Just ask, "Would you rather I would read them for you?" Some respondents may resist choosing from the pair of alternatives given. In these cases simply ask him to check the item that comes closest to the way he feels. Also some respondents might say they are answering a question already asked. In these cases tell the respondent that the questions are designed to get at many similar feelings about things in life and ask him to choose the item that is closest to the way he feels things actually are in life. BE SURE TO IDENTIFY THIS BOOKLET WITH YOUR INTERVIEWER'S LABEL AND YOUR INTERVIEW NUMBER.

Tell R not to be concerned about the numbers in the squares - just to check over the top of them -(they are code numbers).
C6. How about these?

1. Heredity plays the major role in determining one's personality. --or--
2. It is one's experiences in life which determine what they're like.

C7. And these?

1. I have often found that what is going to happen will happen. --or--
2. Trusting to fate has never turned out as well for me as making a decision to take a definite course of action.

C8. Becoming a success is a matter of hard work; luck has little or nothing to do with it. --or--

2. Getting a good job depends mainly on being in the right place at the right time.

C9. The average citizen can have an influence in government decisions. --or--

2. This world is run by the few people in power, and there is not much the little guy can do about it.

C10. When I make plans, I am almost certain that I can make them work. --or--

2. It is not always wise to plan too far ahead because many things turn out to be a matter of good or bad fortune anyhow.

C11. In my case, getting what I want has little or nothing to do with luck. --or--

2. Many times we might just as well decide what to do by flipping a coin.

C12. Who gets to be the boss often depends on who was lucky enough to be in the right place first. --or--

2. Who gets to be boss depends on who has the skill and ability; luck has little or nothing to do with it.

C13. As far as world affairs are concerned, most of us are the victims of forces we can neither understand, nor control. --or--

2. By taking an active part in political and social affairs, the people can control world events.
C14. [ ] Racial discrimination is here to stay. --or--

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

C15. [ ] Most people don't realize the extent to which their lives are controlled by accidental happenings. --or--

[ ] There really is no such thing as "luck."

C16. [ ] It is hard to know whether or not a person really likes you. --or--

[ ] How many friends you have depends upon how nice a person you are.

C17. [ ] In the long run, the bad things that happen to us are balanced by the good ones. --or--

[ ] Most misfortunes are the result of lack of ability, ignorance, laziness, or all three.

C18. [ ] With enough effort we can wipe out political corruption. --or--

[ ] It is difficult for people to have much control over the things politicians do in office.

C19. [ ] Many times I feel that I have little influence over the things that happen to me. --or--

[ ] It is impossible for me to believe that chance or luck play an important role in my life.

C20. [ ] People are lonely because they don't try to be friendly. --or--

[ ] There's not much use in trying too hard to please people; if they like you, they like you.

C21. [ ] What happens to me is my own doing. --or--

[ ] Sometimes I feel that I don't have enough control over the direction my life is taking.

C22. [ ] Most of the time I can't understand why politicians behave the way they do. --or--

[ ] In the long run, the people are responsible for bad government on a national as well as on a local level.
C23. Knowing the right people is important in deciding whether a person will get ahead. --or--

5 People will get ahead in life if they have the goods and do a good job; knowing the right people has nothing to do with it.

C24. Leadership positions tend to go to capable people who deserve being chosen. --or--

7 It's hard to know why some people get leadership positions and others don't; ability doesn't seem to be the important factor.

C25. The racial situation in America may be very complex, but with enough money and effort, it is possible to get rid of racial discrimination. --or--

9 We'll never completely get rid of discrimination. It's part of human nature.

C26. People who don't do well in life often work hard, but the breaks just don't come their way. --or--

3 Some people just don't use the breaks that come their way. If they don't do well, it's their own fault.

Now here is something different. 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:

C27. Do you think that people in the government waste a lot of money we pay in taxes, waste some of it, or don't waste very much of it?

5. A LOT 3. SOME 1. NOT MUCH 8. DK

C28. How much of the time do you think you can trust the government in Washington to do what is right—just about always, most of the time, or only some of the time?

1. ALWAYS 3. MOST OF THE TIME 5. SOME OF THE TIME 8. DK

C29. Would you say the government is pretty much run by a few big interests looking out for themselves or that it is run for the benefit of all the people?

5. FEW BIG INTERESTS 1. FOR BENEFIT OF ALL 8. DK

C30. Do you feel that almost all of the people running the government are smart people who usually know what they are doing, or do you think that quite a few of them don't seem to know what they are doing?

1. KNOW WHAT THEY'RE DOING 5. DON'T KNOW WHAT THEY'RE DOING 8. DK

C31. 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 8. DK
C32. Over the years, how much attention do you feel the government pays to what the people think when it decides what to do...a good deal, some, or not much?

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

C33. How much do you feel that political parties help to make the government pay attention to what the people think...a good deal, some, or not much?

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

C34. And how much do you feel that having elections makes the government pay attention to what the people think...a good deal, some, or not much?

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

C35. How much attention do you think most Congressman pay to the people who elect them when they decide what to do in Congress...a good deal, some, or not much?

1. A GOOD DEAL  3. SOME  5. NOT MUCH  8. DK
C36. Some people believe a change in our whole form of government is needed to solve the problems facing our country, while others feel no real change is necessary. Do you think a big change is needed in our form of government, or should it be kept pretty much as it is?

1. NEED BIG CHANGE  2. NEED SOME CHANGE  3. KEEP AS IS  4. OTHER; SPECIFY

C37. Do you believe that the present form of American government is capable of solving the race problem in America?

1. YES  2. NO  3. DK

C38. I'm going to read you a pair of statements about our form of government, and I'd like you to tell me which one you agree with more. Would you say...

1. I am proud of many things about our form of government,
2. I can't find much in our form of government to be proud of?

3. DK

C39. All in all, would you say that the country is in very good shape, fairly good shape, poor shape, or that something is very wrong?

1. VERY GOOD SHAPE  2. FAIRLY GOOD SHAPE  3. POOR SHAPE

4. SOMETHING VERY WRONG  5. OTHER; SPECIFY:

6. DK

C36-C37. This question is pretty straightforward, but the Respondent may balk at the term "form of government." Try to direct R away from political personalities and toward more of a feeling of the governmental system as a whole.

C40. Looking ahead to the next 5 years, do you think that things in this country will get much better, somewhat better, somewhat worse, or much worse?

1. GET MUCH BETTER
2. GET SOMewhat BETTER
3. GET SOMEWHAT WORSE
4. GET MUCH WORSE
5. STAY ABOUT THE SAME
6. OTHER; SPECIFY:
7. DK
F: CURRENT CAMPAIGN

F1. Some people don't pay much attention to the political campaigns. How about you, would you say that you have been very much interested, somewhat interested, or not much interested in following the political campaigns so far this year?

1. VERY MUCH INTERESTED  
3. SOMEWHAT INTERESTED  
5. NOT MUCH INTERESTED

F2. So far as you know now, do you expect to vote in November or not?

1. YES, VOTE  
5. NOT VOTE  
8. IE

F2a. Who do you think you will vote for in the election for president?

F2b. If you were going to vote-- who do you think you would vote for in the election for president?
G1. With regard to Vietnam, some people think we should do everything necessary to win a complete military victory, no matter what results. Some people think we should withdraw completely from Vietnam right now, no matter what results. And of course, other people have opinions somewhere between these two extreme positions.

(HA80 & CARD C3=WHITE) Suppose the people who support an immediate withdrawal are at one end of the scale—at point number 1. And suppose the people who support a complete military victory are at the other end of the scale—at point number 7.

---

(I-NTERVIEWER RECORD SHEET)

_______ G1a. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?

[8, BK]

_______ G1b. Where would you place Richard Nixon?

[8, BK]

_______ G1c. Where would you place George McGovern?

[8, BK]

_______ G1d. Where would you place George Wallace?

[8, BK]

_______ G1e. (Where would you place) the Democratic Party?

[8, BK]

_______ G1f. (Where would you place) the Republican Party?

[8, BK]
G2. (HHS B CARD 4—BLP) There is a great deal of talk these days about rising prices and the cost of living in general. Some feel that the government must do everything possible to combat the problem of inflation immediately or it will get worse. Others say that the problem of inflation is temporary and that no government action is necessary.

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<th>Total Government Action Against Inflation</th>
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(INTerviewER RECORD NUMBER)

G2a. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?

8. DK [0, HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH] → THEN TO P. 30, G3

G2b. Where would you place Richard Nixon?

8. DK

G2c. Where would you place George McGovern?

8. DK

G2d. Where would you place George Wallace?

8. DK

G2e. (Where would you place) the Democratic Party?

8. DK

G2f. (Where would you place) the Republican Party?

8. DK
G5. (CARD C7 - BROWN) 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 those matters in their own way.

Government Should
Force Private Industry to Stop Polluting.

Industries Should Handle Pollution in Their Own Way.

1 2 3 4 5 6

.INTERVIEWER RECORD SHEET:

G5a. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?

[ ] 8. DK
[ ] 9. HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH
[ ] 10. NEITHER

G5b. Where would you place Richard Nixon?

[ ] 8. DK

G5c. Where would you place George McGovern?

[ ] 8. DK

G5d. Where would you place George Wallace?

[ ] 8. DK

G5e. (Where would you place) the Democratic Party?

[ ] 8. DK

G5f. (Where would you place) the Republican Party?

[ ] 8. DK
September, 1972

Dear Sir or Madam:

One of our local interviewers will be calling at your home soon in connection with our current survey of public opinion.

The Survey Research Center is a national research organization whose reputation is based on 25 years of interviewing for scientific purposes. This survey is based on personal interviews taken at addresses scientifically selected to represent a national cross-section.

We wanted to let you know in advance about the visit so that you would not mistake our interviewer for a salesperson. Each of our interviewers carries a University of Michigan employee identification card and is happy to show it.

We think you will find the interview enjoyable and interesting. The information you give will be kept in complete confidence.

Our interviewer will gladly answer any further questions you may have.

Sincerely,

Robert L. Kahn
Director

INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH
THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN 48106
RELIGION INFORMATION FORM
PRE-ELECTION STUDY

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

2. P.S.U.
3. Your Interview No.
4. Date
5. Length of Interview (Minutes)

7. Line No.
8. Address (or description)

9. City
10. State

11. R’s RELIGION:

Specific Denomination if Protestant

12. MAILING ADDRESS OF R’s CHURCH/SYNAGOGUE:

Name

Street and Number

City State Zip Code

13. R’s CLERGYMAN:

Title Name
The University of Michigan  
Survey Research Center and  
Center for Political Studies  

PRESS RELEASE

During the next few weeks, University of Michigan political scientists will be conducting a study of the attitudes, opinions, and voting preferences of United States citizens in this area and elsewhere throughout the United States. This is the eleventh in a series of Presidential and Congressional election studies conducted since 1948 by the Survey Research Center, a research division of The University of Michigan.

Survey Research Center interviewers will be asking questions about such current subjects as the Vietnam War, the cost of living, and perceptions and attitudes toward the political parties and their presidential candidates. Results of previous election studies have been published in books, in nationally distributed magazines, and in professional journals.

The Survey Research Center collects information on political, social, and economic opinions in 75 areas scattered throughout the United States. Interviewers will contact residents at about 2,600 addresses which are chosen scientifically to provide an accurate cross section of the American people. The overall planning and direction of the study are the responsibility of Professor Warren Miller of the University of Michigan's Center for Political Studies.

Results of the interviews will be analyzed and published in statistical form. Findings are never identified with any individual person or address. Such reports have proven of great value to government officials, businessmen, economists, and educators who seek a better understanding of the conditions and opinions existing in the United States today.