In participating in this post-election study, you are contributing to the accumulation of one of the finest collections of data about the American people. The Election Study series began in 1948 with the first national survey about the changing sentiments of the American public ever since. This time will mark the thirteenth election we have gone into the field to study, but just as importantly, will cap the panel component of a study which has contacted the same people since 1972.

This year's interview schedule, while basically oriented to explaining what happened during this year's election campaign, incorporates issues which will answer questions put by scholars with a wide range of interests. We will learn more about how the various members of the public approach elections in general, how individual citizens are affected by the media they pay attention to, and how they view their own relationships with the government.

The election specific portion of the interview will address such matters as reasons why some people go out to vote on election day and others stay behind, why some people split their tickets and others don't, whether people in 1976 were more interested in the personalities of the presidential candidates or in their issue positions, etc. We also want to isolate the effects of the debates on how the public made up its mind. In that part focusing on how people get their information are questions about how much attention they pay to newspapers and television (for both news and entertainment reasons), as well as a tap on what sorts of people they talk to about politically related matters. A sizeable chunk of time is devoted to exploring how people have come to feel about their government. (Scholars at the Institute, using the data you have been collecting for years, were the first in the country to note the massive down trend in people's trust in the government.) Among the questions designed to tap various aspects of how people feel are those which distinguish sentiments about the different levels and branches of government, and those which assess the sense of powerlessness at both the national and local levels. We also are continuing a series of items on how people identify with groups and act through such channels in the political field.

In addition to those main areas of interest, the interview explores some more specific topics. We are asking a number of questions about the personal values people hold highest and we will be interested in relating these with their feelings about political options. We assess the impact of the women's movement, tap people's sense of the inequities in this society and ask why they feel these problems came to exist. Further questions elicit the respondent's view of what his most important personal problems are as well as his view of what are the most important national and international concerns. We ask what part he thinks the political system plays in solving these problems. In this way we will get a feeling for what the public's priorities are. Another section will find out what each person's experience with the crime problem is, what his reactions have been, and how he has come to see the nature of the problem and some proposed solutions.

This particular wave of interviewing is notable in two other respects. As some of you already know, this will be the fifth time we will have talked with many of our respondents. Thus, having their opinions from previous years, we can look at their current views in order to understand how they have changed their minds about various things. This explains why so many of the questions will appear familiar to you, as it is crucial that we ask the same questions as we asked in 1972 and 1974 for any comparisons to be valid.
This particular feature of the study design, reinterviewing the same people (called a panel), is expensive and difficult to carry out because we have to work so very hard to track down previous respondents and use all our persuasive efforts to encourage them to continue with the study. The difficulties with a panel of such a major magnitude as ours are so great that this study is only the second of its kind that has been attempted.

The other aspect of this second wave that makes it unique is the new interview schedule format. The protocols are designed to be coded, for the most part, by an optical scanner which, when hooked up with a computer, will automatically set up the data properly without its having been touched by human hands. This process, if it works well, will save the Institute (and the National Science Foundation) a lot of money and help keep our budget down, an important thing in this day of tight money. You can help us with this new procedure by being very careful about where you mark the questionnaires, because any stray marks will confuse the optical scanner and prevent its automatically coding the interview. We realize this is a novel approach and we hope for your enthusiastic cooperation with this experiment.

If everything works as well as expected, this study will turn out to be a real gem. The 1976 election contrasts nicely with the 1972 event and we will learn a lot about how the country stands today. In addition, we will have the capstone to the panel study which will tell us much about how people change their minds about politics. All this is made possible by the crucial part you play in gathering the data. We want to express our appreciation of your past and future good work.

FIELD NOTES

Digest: November 1 - December 16

We want as many interviews to be taken soon after the election as possible in order to take advantage of the respondents' recollections of that event. The farther the interview gets from election day, the more the events of that day and of preceding days fade from memory.

The study period includes Thanksgiving and we know from experience that this is not a productive time for interviewing. Although we hope and expect all interviewing to be finished by December 16, we may grant extensions for certain hard-to-get-respondents or other extenuating circumstances. But do bear in mind that the quality of the data gathered, as well as the quality of your Christmas vacation, is much higher if you get an early, vigorous start.

The Sample

The sample consists of all those respondents who were interviewed on the 1976 pre-election study. The sample size estimate, given to your supervisor, and written on the checklist of materials accompanying your supplies, is only an estimate. At the time that we are making up your boxes of supplies, the pre-election study is still in the field; we can't know the total sample size. We believe our estimate is high, but due to the nature of the pre-election study, where certain situations generate more respondents, we may be off by quite a bit.

The bulk of the sample will be sent out with the other materials on October 22. Coversheets from the pre-election study received in the Field Office after October 20 will be sent to the Field Coordinators in small batches.

Materials you should have:

- Respondent Labels - a set of 3 for each blue, white and yellow cover sheet
- Cover Sheets - 1 per respondent interviewed on the pre-election study
- Instruction Book - 1 per interviewer
- Questionnaires - 1 per respondent plus extras
- Green Sheets (4 pages to complete) - 1 per respondent plus extras
- Blue Playing Cards (set of 10) - 5 sets per interviewer
- Respondent Booklet - 4 per interviewer
- Persuasion letters (Dear Sir, Dear Madam) - 5 of each kind per interviewer plus extras for large PA's
- Persuasion letter request forms (bright green) - ample supply
- Worksheet - 1 per interviewer
Interviewer's Cards. 1 per cover sheet
Non Interview Forms (blue) ample supply
Interviewer evaluation of questionnaire forms. 1 per interviewer
Sample Address Summary Forms (white) ample supply
Progress Report and Project Completion forms 1 set per Primary Area
Pre-Study Conference Report forms set of 3 per Primary Area

The above materials are being sent as follows:
- First class package of materials sent from Ann Arbor on October 21 or 22 to each interviewer working on the study containing:
  Instruction Book
  Green Sheet
  Set of Playing Cards
  Respondent Booklet
  Green and blue (or white) cover sheets
  Blue Non-Interview form
  Worksheet
- One questionnaire (for your practice interview) mailed first class from Minneapolis October 21 or 22 to each interviewer.
- Questionnaires for Primary Area sent from Minneapolis on or before October 22 to Field Coordinator, via the method indicated by your Supervisor.
- All other materials sent from Ann Arbor on October 22 to the Field Coordinator via the method indicated by your Supervisor.

Respondent Labels

You will receive several kinds of respondent labels:
1. Large (4" X 1 1/2") labels with code numbers, names and addresses, to go on the blue and white cover sheets.
2. Smaller (3 1/2" X 1") labels with names and addresses of respondents on the blue and white cover sheets (2 sets). These are for your Sample Address Summary forms.
3. Large labels with code numbers, segment and line numbers only (no names and addresses) to go on the yellow cover sheets.

4. Smaller labels with segment and line numbers only (2 sets, one for the interviewer, one for the F.C.) These are for the Sample Address Summary forms. You will have to fill in the address on the SAS forms from the pre-election portion of the yellow cover sheets.

There are no labels for pink and green cover sheets.

Cover Sheets and Whom to Interview

The cover sheets are the inside two pages of the pre-election study cover sheets. Although they come in the same assortment of lovely colors as those in the pre-election study, for the post-election study they are all considered panel members and they all get the same treatment.

For the benefit of those of you who did not work on the pre-election study, let me explain the significance of the various colors:

Blue and White cover sheets are for respondents who were interviewed up to three times before the 1976 pre-election study; some for the 1972 pre- and post-election studies as well as the 1974 post-election study; some only for the 1974 post-election study. These respondents were referred to as "panel members" in this fall's pre-election study.

The Yellow cover sheets are for those respondents who were not interviewed on the 1974 post-election study. (Some may have been interviewed in 1972.) They were selected for this fall's pre-election study by virtue of their living at a 1972 sample address and being in our current cross section for this study.

The Pink cover sheets are for respondents who live in a housing unit where a respondent with a blue cover sheet for the pre-election study formerly lived. (Does that sound a little complicated? Let's run through it again: If a blue cover sheet respondent on the pre-election study moved to another address, a pink cover sheet was made out for the address he moved from.) Pink cover sheets are also for respondents living in a newly constructed or newly discovered housing unit which fell into the sample.

Green cover sheets are for those respondents who live in the same housing unit as a respondent with a blue cover sheet and who had not been eligible to be interviewed in 1972, either because they weren't citizens of voting age then, or because they didn't live at that address then.

Thus, all these cover sheets are for respondents who have been interviewed in this fall's pre-election study. They are all to be interviewed again on this post-election study, whether they still live at the pre-election address or not. (See Section on "Following Movers" for how far to go).

If you find that the wrong person was interviewed for the pre-election study (due to an incorrect selection or some other error), call Jeanne Keresztesi in the Field Office for instructions on what to do.
For the blue and white cover sheets, you will have the name of the respondent you are to interview. For the pink and yellow sheets, you will have to determine the respondent by consulting the listing box and noting age, sex and relationship to the head of the household. Determining the respondent for the green cover sheets may be a little trickier, since there is no listing box on the green cover sheets. Here you will have to consult the blue cover sheet for the same address and note the age, sex and relationship to head of the household. Determine the respondent for the green cover sheet by looking at the address on the box in column (f) of the listing box.

We are reproducing here in the Instruction Book only the two pages from the white cover sheet (identical to the blue). So that you can see what we are talking about, you will receive examples of a green and blue or white cover sheet along with this Instruction Book in your first class packet of materials.

Cover Sheet Item by Item

Items 1 and 2: Affix your interviewer's label and fill out the name of your Primary Area.

Item 3: Your interview number is the number you assign sequentially to the interviews you take on this study. Start with number 1 for the post-election study. Do not assign a number to any non-interviews.

Item 4: Date the interview is taken.

Item 5: For the blue and white cover sheets, item 5 is the respondent label. (The item number and title for this box on the right of the SRC logo were omitted from the actual cover sheet in error.) This is the only part of the cover sheet procedure which varies slightly for the different colors.

1. Blue and White cover sheets (example opposite page). Affix the correct respondent label, with the respondent's name and address, to the cover sheet in the rectangle in the upper right corner. Use the larger label, the one with the code numbers across the top. It should fit the space exactly. NOTE: Any respondents with blue or white cover sheets who moved before the pre-election interview, will have the previous address printed on the label. We will up-date these addresses only after the post-election study. Thus, please check the pre-election portion of the cover sheet item 6, to see if the respondent moved. Even if he moved you are to place the label on his former address on the space provided on the cover sheet. (We need those code numbers to log the interview in.) Cross out the incorrect address and write the correct address on the label -- not at item 6. Item 6 on this post-election cover sheet should be used only for R's who move between the pre- and post-election studies this year.

2. Yellow cover sheets (exactly the same as the example on the opposite page). You will have the proper-size label for this cover sheet as well, but it will have only the code number and the segment and line number -- no name and address. You are to copy this address from the pre-election portion of the cover sheet onto the bottom portion of the label.
R1. Thank you very much. I want to be sure that I have your correct telephone number and address since you moved. Would you please give us your telephone number here?

GIVER

NO PHONE

REFUSED

R1a. EXPLAIN:

R2. And your address (so that we can mail you a report on this study)?

CITY

STATE

ZIP

R3. COPY R'S NAME FROM ORIGINAL RECONTACT SHEET

MR

MISS

MS

MRS

R4. R'S RELATIONSHIP TO HEAD                          AGE                          RACE

R5. In case you move again, would you give me the name and address of someone who would know where you will be then, like a close relative or friend?

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY

STATE

ZIP

R6. TELEPHONE NUMBER

R7. NOTE BELOW RELATIONSHIP OF CONTACT PERSON TO RESPONDENT.

R8. CONTENTS ON THE INTERVIEWING SITUATION WHICH MAY PROVE HELPFUL IN CONTACTING THIS R AGAIN:

R. Pink and Green cover sheets (example of a cover sheet enclosed with first class package). There are no labels for pink and green cover sheets. Copy the address from the pre-election portion of the cover sheet in the space provided.

Item 6

If the respondent has moved between the time of the pre-election study and the post-election study, try to get the new address and enter it in item 6.

Item 7

See the section in this Instruction Book on Following Movers — Definition of "Within Range" for how far to follow a mover.

Item 8

Be sure to fill out all the items in the call record for each call made. Include the date and time of the interview as the last call on cover sheets for completed interviews.

Recontact Information (Page 2 of cover sheet, back page for post-election study)

After you have finished taking an interview, you are to get the name, address, and telephone number of the respondent. The recontact page from the white and blue cover sheets give you the option of just copying the information from the previous recontact sheet for non-movers, rather than asking the information over again. (However, you may ask it again if you like.) For any blue or white cover sheet respondent who has moved since the original interview, and for all yellow, pink or green cover sheet respondents, you are to ask the information. Whether you "ask" or "copy" the information for this page must be completed.

Please enter the information carefully in the little space provided. Start with the left-most box of each line. This information is key-punched directly from these sheets. Look it over carefully before sending in the cover sheet. Any missing information, a city or state, etc. is exceedingly expensive to look up since the key-punch operator must interrupt her work to consult other documents which are in another room on another floor.

There are no plans at this time to recontact these respondents. We honestly don't know if any attempt will ever be made to contact these R's again. But we want the information in case we do decide to go back to them.

Item-by-Item Instructions for Non-Interview Forms

The information on the noninterview form is used in several ways. We study the reasons for refusals and other noninterviews. We look at what kinds of efforts have been made (unsuccessfully) to convert refusals and compare these efforts with more successful ones. For cross-section samples we try to determine if people with certain characteristics occur more frequently among the "noninterview" group than they do in the population as a whole, thus perhaps introducing a bias in the data collected.

Item-by-Item

a. If cover sheets are given to a different interviewer after an initial nonresponse, the first interviewer should fill out the nonresponse form and affix his/her label (or enter his/her name) in the designated box to the right. The follow-up interviewer should affix his/her label (or write his/her name) in the designated box to the left if he/she is unable to obtain an interview.
**Survey Research Center**

**Institute for Social Research**

**The University of Michigan**

**Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106**

**Follow-Up Interviewer's Label**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>NR1.</strong> Total number of calls</th>
<th><strong>NR2.</strong> Date of last call</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**NR3.** Primary Area

**NR4.** Address or description

**NR5.** Post Office

**State**

**Zip**

**NR6.** Name of Respondent, if known

**NR7.** Enter any additional information necessary to make above address a mailable address. (Family name in unnumbered apartments, family name and route number in rural areas, box number, etc.)

**NR8.** Enter here the 1976 pre-election interview number (the 4 digit number written in red pencil on the pre-election portion of the cover sheet in the box marked for office use only.)

**NR9.** Has respondent moved?

1. **YES**
2. **NO**
SEE INSTRUCTION BOOK ON FOLLOWING MOVERS

INSTRUCTED TO FOLLOW

INSTRUCTED NOT TO FOLLOW

RETURN THIS FORM WITH COVER SHEET TO FULL OFFICE

NR11. Is reason for noninterview a permanent condition?

1. YES

5. NO → GO TO NR12

NR11a. What is this condition?

☐ 1. R DECEASED

☐ 2. LANGUAGE (WHAT LANGUAGE?):

☐ 3. MENTAL OR PHYSICAL CONDITION (DESCRIBE):

☐ 4. MOVED OUT OF RANGE (If new address or phone number is known give in NR10.)

☐ 5. OTHER (DESCRIBE):

NR12. Describe in detail the reasons an interview was not taken.

**IF USEFUL TO GAIN ACCESS what attempts were made? (Try to obtain names, addresses and phone numbers of persons to contact re: gaining access.)

**IF REFUSAL, indicate who refused and reasons (either given or suspected) and what efforts (including letters) were made at persuasion.

**IF "BUSY," "SICK," ETC. indicate whether you think this is simply an excuse or a genuine difficulty.

**IF R AWAY state when R will return, and if R could be interviewed elsewhere.

If an interview is obtained, the noninterview form should be destroyed.

Any notes, especially at NR12, should be dated and initialed when more than one interviewer has worked on a cover sheet.

b. DO NOT WRITE IN THE SPACE ABOVE THE LINE.

c. All the information on this form MUST be completed fully and accurately for each nonresponse.

This Information comes from the call record on the cover sheet and includes calls made by all interviewers who worked on this cover sheet. BE SURE that you include the LAST CALL made at this address on the call record and in the count. The information will be used for cost and effort analyses.

For respondents who have moved, we are asking here for the address that is on the cover sheet. We will get the address to which he has moved later on.

In our effort to study non-response we have been sending questionnaires to refusals and other non-interviews. It is very frustrating to try sending things to "white house, green shutters, Remaland, Wyoming, when we are sure the interviewer knows the name of the local post office, probably knows the name of the respondent and/or the route or box number.

This ID number is the only information linking this non-interview form with the correct respondent. Copy it carefully.

Has R moved since the time of the 1976 pre-election interview?

Enter new address here as well as on the cover sheet. If you are unable to obtain R's new address, indicate what efforts you made to get it on the reverse side.

See this Instruction Book, the section on Following Movers, for when to follow and when not to follow a mover.

We want to sort out those nonresponse cases which we refer to as circumstantial noninterviews; that is, where additional efforts would not produce an interview, for example, perhaps the R is a stroke victim, moved to Mexico, or died.

A refusal is NOT considered to be a "permanent condition."

NOTE: In item 4 "MOVED OUT OF RANGE" is defined for the purposes of this study as moved 50 miles or more from your home.

Give us a FULL DESCRIPTION of the noninterview situation.

You are not asked to categorize the nonresponse--that will be done here in coding. What we do want is a verbal description of the reason for the nonresponse. We have indicated some of the kinds of things you are to include in this sketch so that a proper classification can be made by the staff here.
The SAS forms are for your own record-keeping. We have a record of your sample. You do not need to send any forms or lists in to the Field Office. Each Field Coordinator should have a master list of the entire sample for the Primary Area, with the name of the interviewer to whom each cover sheet is assigned. Each interviewer should have a list of her own sample on which she can keep track of the results of her calls. The date the interview or cover sheet was mailed to the Field Office, the date any persuasion letter was mailed, etc.

The two smaller sets of computer-generated labels for the blue, white and yellow cover sheets are to be used on the sample address summary forms for the F.C. and the interviewer. Since there are no labels for the pink and green cover sheets, the addresses for these cover sheets will have to be copied onto the Field Coordinator's list and onto each interviewer's list.

The Field Coordinator's copy of the SAS is to be sent to the supervisor when the study has been completed.

The smaller two of the computer-generated labels for the blue, white and yellow cover sheets are to be used on your sample address summary forms. Since there are no labels for the pink and green cover sheets you will have to copy the addresses for these cover sheets onto both the Field Coordinator's list and each interviewer's list.

Following the Movers - Definition of "Within Range"

If a respondent has moved, the interviewer should do everything possible to find the respondent's new address. Start with the Recontact Sheet, try to locate the person in item II who might know where the respondent has moved. Try the post office, neighbors, and anyone (or anywhere) else you can think of. There is a space provided on the cover sheet for writing in the new address.

We want you (or another interviewer in your Primary Area working on this study) to follow the panel member:

1. **If it would not involve more than a 100-mile round trip**
2. **If it would involve up to 150 miles round trip but:**
   a. You are able to make an appointment and feel certain of getting the interview.
   b. You can lay out an itinerary, calling on two or more panel members who have moved, so that the total mileage on the trip averages less than 100 miles per address
   c. You can combine the trip with other business (either personal or another project) in such a way that not more than 100 miles has to be charged to P. 495456.

3. **If it is still early in the study period (unless there are unusual circumstances).** Hold the cover sheet for a while on the chance that there might be another mover in the vicinity and you can combine trips.

Any mover that you do not follow according to the above instructions will be considered "out of range." Return the cover sheet with a noninterview form to the Field Office for possible reassignment.

For your records, you should make notes on how you took care of the situation (to whom did you send the cover sheet and when). Be sure to give this information to your Field Coordinator as well.

Always make an attempt to set up an appointment before following beyond your normal interviewing radius, if you are able to obtain a phone number.

Do not follow:

1. **If the new address is closer to another Primary Area**
2. **If you would need to stay overnight (except when specifically requested to do so by the Field Office).**
The Questionnaire -- Something New, Something Different!!!!

As you can see from looking at the questionnaire, we are dealing here with

A BRAND NEW THING!

When these questionnaires arrive in the Field Office, the open-ended ques-
tions are going to be pre-coded by trained editors here and then they are going
to be sent to Minneapolis where they will be machine read. This is an experi-
ment. We expect to save money by tabulating the results in this way. The
results of this experiment may be very significant for the future of the type
of interviewing we do. But to be successful we must make some significant
changes in the way we have been doing things.

You have been trained to write the respondent's responses verbatim, even for
closed questions -- that is, you have been marking a box and writing beside it
such things as "I think..." or "It certainly is!" etc. Because of the nature of
machine reading, this is absolutely forbidden! There must be absolutely no
mark on the questionnaire outside of the designated spaces. For closed ques-
tions, you are to mark the response by filling in the little circle and that's
all. This will take judgment on your part. A respondent may answer in between
two categories or give two answers where only one is required. You will have
to probe (without indicating your probe) and then decide yourself which cate-
gory comes closest to R's answer. The answers to open ended questions must be
written in the space provided only. Carry along a pad of paper to write more
when necessary.

You may not slash through a question that is inappropriate because of the skip
instructions. You don't need to indicate "jump" in any way. The machine reads
both sides of the paper at the same time. A stray pencil mark on one side of the
paper may disrupt the reading of the little circles on the other side.

Please be careful! We are very interested in the results of this experiment
and in your reaction to it as well.

Respondent Booklet, Playing Cards, Green Sheet

The use of these items will become self-evident as you study the questionnaire.
Be sure that you have them with you when you go to take an interview. Although
the respondent marks the green sheet himself, you are to transpose his responses
into the questionnaire when editing. Any copying carries a risk of error.

Please be very careful when marking the questionnaire from the green sheet.
Do be sure that you are matching the appropriate green sheet with the correct
questionnaire.

Worksheet and Practice Interview

You will receive a worksheet along with this Instruction Book. One copy of
the questionnaire is being sent to you directly from Minneapolis where it is be-
ing printed. After studying the Instruction Book, complete the worksheet and
take a practice interview. Try to take it with the same person you took your
practice interview with on the pre-election study, if you worked on that study.
You will have to change the tense of some of the questions in Section D, since
you will be taking your practice interview before the elections take place.
Thus, instead of asking "Who did you vote for?" you will ask "Who will you
vote for?" You will have to omit question E8 for your practice interview.

Both the worksheet and the practice interview should be taken to the pre-
study conference. Then, send your practice interview to your supervisor and
your worksheet to the Field Office. If you are working alone in your Primary
Area, send your practice interview to your supervisor and the worksheet to the
Field Office as soon as they are completed and carefully edited.

Tips on Fishing

Since this is an election study, it might be appropriate to inform our inter-
viewers about some of the candidates. Did you know that Robert Dole and
Fritz Mondale, both members of the Senate, are actually good friends and often
go fishing together?

On one occasion they were out early one morning in a rented row boat and began
really hauling the fish in, one after the other. They barely had time to bait
their hooks. Bob was so delighted he turned to Fritz and shouted: "You'd bet-
ter mark this place so we can come here again next time." Fritz obediently took
out a piece of chalk and marked a big "X" on the bottom of the row boat.

When Bob saw this he exclaimed in utter exasperation: "Oh, you idiot! Suppose
we get a different boat the next time?"

Outline for Pre-Study Conference

All of the points listed below should be covered at the prestudy conference:

1. Make sure you all understand that you are not to mark on the ques-
tionnaires anywhere but in the circles or in the space allotted for
open-ended questions or for comments. Reinforce each other on this.
Emphasize it emphatically!!!

2. Discuss the Instruction Book

3. Go through the Practice Interviews page by page, question by ques-
tion, in sequence. As you review, refer to the question-by ques-
tion instructions to make sure an appropriate answer has been obtained
for every question. Are they clear and complete? Can you read your
writing? Can anyone else? Is the thumbnail sketch informative?
The Field Coordinator should use her copy of the pre-study conference report form to keep a running tally of each problem and proposed solution, referring to specific question numbers.

Call the Field Office if there are important unresolved questions or you anticipate difficulties and need additional information about question objectives.

When the conference is over, the Field Coordinator should complete the pre-study conference report form. One copy is sent to the Field Office, one copy to the supervisor, and one goes into the FC's file.

**Editing the Interview**

See your Interviewer's Manual, pages 22 through 25 for tips on recording and editing the interview. But remember, this questionnaire must not be marked in the usual way for "inap" questions. If you had to use an extra sheet of paper for R's responses, be sure this piece of paper is identified with your interviewer's label, your interview number, and that the responses are referenced to the question number.

**Contacting Local Authorities**

Since this study is the second phase of the election study, we assume that the press release and the contacts you made with authorities before the pre-election interviewing will suffice. However, Field Coordinators should call local authorities with the names of any new interviewers who will be working on the study.

**Mailing Schedule**

Here is the mailing schedule for your interviews:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PERIOD</th>
<th>MINIMUM PERCENTAGE TO BE COMPLETED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nov. 2 - 11</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov. 12 - 18</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov. 19 - 26</td>
<td>52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov. 27 - Dec. 2</td>
<td>68%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec. 3 - 10</td>
<td>84%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec. 11 - 18</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Respondent Letters**

There are no respondent letters for this study.

**Persuasion Letters and Refusals**

If you get a refusal, it has proved effective to have another interviewer try. Just a different person calling at the address will impress the respondent with the importance of the interview or find the respondent in a better mood.

Also, remember that refusals generally should not be accepted from anyone other than the designated respondent.

In the interests of speed, included in your materials are a supply of standard persuasion letters which you are to use as you see fit. Please make a note on your Sample Address Summary of the date the persuasion letter was sent. This information should be relayed to the Field Coordinator and recorded on the F.C.'s SAS.

Please use the light green "Persuasion Letter--Immediate Action" form to request a persuasion letter, only if you feel that a personal letter from the office might reverse a refusal or be reassuring to a potential refusal. Remember that it will be at least ten days before your respondent can receive a special letter. In your request include all the information asked for on the green form.

We will send a carbon copy of the persuasion letter to you and to your supervisor on the same day we send the original to the respondent so you will know when to time the return visit.

**Interviewer Evaluation of the Questionnaire**

Please fill out the interviewer evaluation form. We are particularly interested in your reaction to the new questionnaire format. Include in your evaluation any suggestions you might have to make it easier for the interviewer to understand how to handle this type of questionnaire.

**Verifications**

We will be verifying a percentage of each interviewer's work by mailing a form to respondents. See pages 123 and 124 in the Interviewer's Manual for a copy of the letter and the verification form. Supervisors verify non-interviews in person after the study has been completed.

**Report to Respondents**

All respondents will be mailed a report on this study. There is no need to leave a report request card.
Experience Points

Interviewers will receive one experience point toward promotion for each interview that is completed with the correct respondent and in accordance with the instructions for this new questionnaire format.

Foreign Language Interpreters

Try to follow the same procedures for a foreign language respondent as were used for the pre-election study.

Mailing Rules

See your Interviewer's Manual, page 117 "Mailing Completed Work to the Field Office."

Progress Report and Project Complete Forms

See your Interviewer's Manual, pages 118, 119 and 120.

Time and Expense Tally

Enclosed with your materials you will find time and expense tally forms which are to accompany your green hourly time sheets. The purpose of this form is to help us analyze expenses in data collection of this sort. They will be used by the Field Office only. We are enclosing enough forms so that you will be able to keep a copy for your own records if you care to.

Administrative Assistant

The Administrative Assistant on this study is Jeanne Kereszties. If it is necessary to call the Field Office, simply dial collect -- station-to-station -- and ask for Jeanne, or leave a message for her after the Field Office secretary and the operator have finished their business.
1976 POST-ELECTION STUDY

QUESTION-BY-QUESTION INSTRUCTIONS
FOR THE QUESTIONNAIRE

Affix your interviewer's label and fill out items 2 through 4.

Length of interview does not include the time spent introducing yourself and the study to the respondent, nor interruptions.

The questionnaire that appears here in the Instruction Book does not have the circles, nor the shaded areas that appear on the finished copy of the questionnaire. Some of the questions were also changed slightly after the Instruction Booklet was duplicated so the questionnaire is not exactly the same as that presented here.

See note about these "grids" on next page.


**INSTRUCTIONS**

This questionnaire will be machine-read by an optical scanner and requires the following precautions:

- You must use a No. 2 black lead pencil to fill in the circles.
- Make heavy black marks inside the circles.
- These kinds of markings will work:
  - ● ● ●
- These WILL NOT work:
  - × ○ ○
- Erase cleanly any answers that are changed.
- **MAKE NO OTHER MARKINGS OR COMMENTS ON THE QUESTIONNAIRE EXCEPT IN THE SPACES SPECIFIED FOR THEM.** Any stray markings will interfere with the automatic reading of the interviews by the optical scanning machine, or worse, may be misread.
- Comment boxes have been provided on almost every page of the questionnaire. Your remarks or those of the respondent must be contained within the limits of the box. If you find we have not left enough space for you, bring along extra paper to write on. Remember to first jot down the question number to which the comments refer. **DO NOT DRAW ARROWS FROM the question to the comment.**
- Responses to open-ended questions must, likewise, be kept within their allotted space or be continued on extra paper.
- The series of "grids" (boxes numbered from 0 to 9) you will find throughout the questionnaire are to be ignored. They have been provided for the coding of open-ended responses which will take place at Ann Arbor, as usual, before the questionnaires are sent to Minneapolis to be machine-read by an optical scanner.

**Editing Instructions**

- If the code number inside a marked circle is still visible, darken it.
- **DO NOT WRITE "INAP" OR DRAW A LINE THROUGH ANY OF THE QUESTIONS.**
In this interview we want to talk with you about how the recent elections turned out, as well as a number of other things. First we'd like to find out about some of the things that people do to help a party or a candidate win an election.

A1. During the campaign, did you talk to any people and try to show them why they should vote for one of the parties or candidates?

  YES  NO

A2. Did anyone you know talk to you and try to show you why to vote for? (DO NOT INCLUDE PARTY CANVASSERS OR WORKERS)

  YES  NO → GO TO A3

A2a. Who did they tell you to vote for?

  FORD, REPUBLICANS  CARTER, DEMOCRATS  BOTH PARTIES OR CANDIDATES  OTHER: SPECIFY

A3. Did you go to any political meetings, rallies, dinners, or things like that?

  YES  NO

A4. Did you do any other work for one of the parties or candidates?

  YES  NO

A5. Did you wear a campaign button or put a campaign sticker on your car?

  YES  NO

A6. Are traditional and straightforward items on participation in this year's campaign. Make sure R is not answering in terms of activities he has performed in the past.

A1. A1-A6 are traditional and straightforward items on participation in this year's campaign. Make sure R is not answering in terms of activities he has performed in the past.

A2. See previous instructions

A7. Aside from this particular election campaign, here are some other ways people can be involved in politics. Have you ever written a letter to any public official giving them your opinion about something that should be done?

  YES  NO, NEVER  DON'T KNOW

A8. Have you ever written a letter to the editor of a newspaper or magazine giving any political opinions?

  YES  NO, NEVER  DON'T KNOW

A9. As you know, the political parties try to talk to as many people as they can, to get them to vote for their candidate. Did anyone from one of the political parties call you up or come around and talk to you about the campaign this year?

  YES  NO → DON'T KNOW → TURNOVER P. 4 A10

A9a. Which party was that?

  REPUBLICAN  DEMOCRATIC  BOTH  OTHER: SPECIFY

A10. See previous instructions

A11. Again, this question refers to the current election campaign.

A12. Do not let the wording of this question discourage you from recording any contribution R may have made to a specific candidate but did not think of as a gift to the entire party. In the case of the Presidential candidates in the primary campaigns, this may be a common response; if R gives a candidate ("Jackson," "Wallace," etc.) just mark the YES circle. Note the special category for the Income Tax check-off system. This is to be marked when R only checked the box in his tax return and gave no additional money. If R gave anything else mark YES and follow that pattern.

A7. See instruction for A1. Note that these activities may have taken place at any time in the past, not just during the election campaign.

A8. See previous instruction

A9. See previous instructions

A10. See previous instructions

A11. See previous instructions

A12. See previous instructions

COMMENTS:

DO NOT WRITE IN THIS SPACE
A10. After the presidency election, did you talk with anyone about how the election came out?  

- YES  
- NO  
- GO TO SECTION B

A10a. (RB-Page 1) Please look at this list and tell me who you talked with. (MARK ALL THAT APPLY):

- YOUR HUSBAND OR WIFE  
- OTHER FAMILY OR RELATIVES  
- PEOPLE AT WORK  
- OTHER FRIENDS AND NEIGHBORS  
- OTHER

A10b. Of those you talked to outside of your household, would you say that all of them, most of them, only some of them, or none of them voted in the presidential election?  

- ALL OF THEM  
- MOST OF THEM  
- SOME OF THEM  
- NONE OF THEM  
- DON'T KNOW

B. INSTITUTIONS

B1. (RB-Page 2) Now we'd like to ask you how good a job you feel some of the parts of our government are doing. As I read each item, please give me the number from the list that best describes how good a job you feel that part of government is doing for the country as a whole. How good a job is being done for the country as a whole by:

a. The Federal government in Washington...........  

b. State governments...................  

c. Local governments..................  

d. The Presidency....................  

e. Congress—that is,  
the U.S. Senate  
and House of Representatives...........  

f. The U.S. Supreme Court................

B2. (RB-Page 3) Some people think that there ought to be changes in the amount of influence and power that certain parts of our government have. For each part of government I read, tell me whether you think it should have more influence, less influence, or about the same amount of influence as it has now by giving me the number from the list that best describes your feelings.

How much influence and power should........... have?

a. The Federal government in Washington...........  

b. State governments...................  

c. Local governments..................  

d. The Presidency....................  

e. Congress—that is,  
the U.S. Senate  
and House of Representatives...........  

f. The U.S. Supreme Court................

A10.

We are trying to find out who R talks with about politics. Be sure to mark all the responses that apply—please expect that many people will have talked with several types of people and that more than one category will be checked. A friend at work should be marked as a 3, while all other friends will be a 4.

In A10b note the exclusion of household members. R should not be referring to people with whom he now lives (his spouse, children and so on).

If R says that none of the categories of A10a apply and then mentions some other person or persons, mark 7-Other, and write in who R names in the COMMENT box below. Do NOT write his response next to the question.

B1-B1b.

This question is designed to get at how good a job the respondent thinks a number of institutions are doing. We view it as a measure of overall feeling, and thus the question is stated in very broad, general terms. We have asked about the job being done "for the country as a whole" because we are interested in the societial impact of these institutions. It is up to the respondent, of course, what constitutes doing a good job for the country as a whole; but whatever his view, he should be keeping this broad framework in mind when answering.

In regard to questions A1b and B1c, we would like the respondent to respond at the broadest level at which he has an opinion. We want his opinion about state governments and local governments in general; but if he only has an opinion about his own state or local government, then we want that opinion.

B2.

This question is designed to find out whether the respondent thinks each institution should be more or less influential than it presently is. R is not asked to rate amount of influence, but only whether he would like to see things changed—and in which direction.

As in B1d, the Presidency should be taken to mean the "office of President" not just President Ford. See the instruction for B1d if you are in doubt.
B3. Some people say the Federal government has to have certain powers to protect the interests of the country as a whole while others say that the rights of the individual should always come first. Which of the following do you think the government in Washington should be able to do and which do you think it should not do?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Should be able to do</th>
<th>Should not do</th>
<th>Don't Know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. Limit the amount of energy that can be used during an energy crisis.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Require everyone to carry a national identification card.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Regulate local businesses to meet job safety standards.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. Look into your background if you were to apply for unemployment benefits, welfare, or a passport.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. Require pollution equipment on new cars even if it increases the price you will have to pay.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. Wiretap phones for national security reasons.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

d. Southerners

e. Blacks

f. Workingmen

g. Catholics

h. Big business

i. Women's Liberation Movement

j. Liberals

k. Chicanos, Mexican-Americans

l. Whites

m. Young people

n. Women

o. Protestants

p. Republicans

q. People on welfare

r. Men

s. Older people

t. Democrats

u. Middle-class people

v. Conservatives

w. Black Militants

x. Businessmen

B4. (RB Page 4) Some people think that certain groups have too much influence in American life and politics, while other people feel that certain groups don't have as much influence as they deserve. Here are three statements about how much influence a group might have. For each group I read to you, just tell me the number of the statement that best says how you feel. The first group is Labor Unions.

1. Too much influence
2. Just about the right amount of influence
3. Too little influence
4. Don't know

a. Labor unions
b. Poor people
c. Jews

d. Southerners
e. Blacks

f. Workingmen
g. Catholics

h. Big business

i. Women's Liberation Movement

j. Liberals

k. Chicanos, Mexican-Americans

l. Whites

m. Young people

n. Women

o. Protestants

p. Republicans

q. People on welfare

r. Men

s. Older people

t. Democrats

u. Middle-class people

v. Conservatives

w. Black Militants

x. Businessmen

B5. Here we are trying to get an idea of how much government intrusion into their personal lives people are willing to tolerate in order to achieve desirable ends. In 33f we mean legitimate national security reasons. (Some respondents may chuckle and talk of Nixon's use of the national security umbrella.)

If R says he doesn't care one way or the other, mark "don't know."

B4. Make sure that R is not answering strictly in terms of groups he likes or dislikes. We expect likes or dislikes and we expect to find that R will think that groups he dislikes (on the thermometer—yet to come) have too much influence, and that's a perfectly good response. But if R actually says, "Well, I don't like them too much, I guess they have too much influence," explain to him that those aren't necessarily the same thing.
DO NOT WRITE IN THIS SPACE

B5a. Which of the others do you next most often trust to do what’s right?

- CONGRESS
- SUPREME COURT
- PRESIDENT
- POLITICAL PARTIES

B5b. Which do you least often trust to do what’s right?

- CONGRESS
- SUPREME COURT
- PRESIDENT
- POLITICAL PARTIES

B6. We find that people differ in how much faith and confidence they have in various levels of government in this country. In your case, do you have more faith and confidence in the national government, the government of this state, or in the local government around here?

- NATIONAL GOVERNMENT
- STATE GOVERNMENT
- LOCAL GOVERNMENT

B6a. Why is that?

B6b. Why is that?

B7. Which level do you have the least faith and confidence in—the national government, the government of this state, or the local government around here?

- NATIONAL GOVERNMENT
- STATE GOVERNMENT
- LOCAL GOVERNMENT

B7a. Why is that?

85-87a. In this section, we are trying to obtain what are called “complete rank-orderings” of four branches of government (85-85b) and then three levels of government (86-87a). We have tried to foresee all of the possible responses to the stem of each question that would make complete rank-orderings impossible (i.e., “all,” “none,” and “DC”) and to supply skip instructions that will both make the remainder of the question sound intelligent and allow us to get at least a partial rank-ordering. Don’t be put off by the apparent complexity of these questions—about 90% of the respondents will give you a straight answer to the stem and you’ll be on your way.
C1. Some people seem to follow what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time, whether there's an election going on or not. Others aren't that interested. Would you say you follow what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time, some of the time, only now and then, or hardly at all?

- MOST OF THE TIME
- SOME OF THE TIME
- ONLY NOW AND THEN
- HARDLY AT ALL
- DON'T KNOW

C2. We're interested in this interview in finding out whether people paid much attention to the election campaign this year. Take radio for instance—did you listen to any speeches or discussions about the campaign on the radio?

- YES
- NO
- DON'T KNOW

C3. How about magazines—did you read about the campaign in any magazines?

- YES
- NO
- DON'T KNOW

C4. Did you watch any programs about the campaign on television?

- YES
- NO
- DON'T KNOW

C4a. How many television programs about the campaign would you say you watched—a good many, several, or just one or two?

- GOOD MANY
- SEVERAL
- JUST ONE OR TWO
- DON'T KNOW

C5. Did you watch any of the televised debates between the presidential or vice-presidential candidates?

- YES
- NO
- DON'T KNOW

C6. How many of the debates did you watch? (If R gives range, mark lower value)

- ONE
- TWO
- THREE
- FOUR
- FIVE OR MORE
- ALL OF THEM
- DON'T KNOW

COMMENTS:
C7. Would you say you were very interested, somewhat interested, or not at all interested in the debates you watched?

- VERY INTERESTED
- SOMEWHAT INTERESTED
- NOT AT ALL INTERESTED
- DON'T KNOW

C8. Was there anything you learned about the issues or the candidates for the first time because of the debates?

- YES
- NO → GO TO C9

C8a. What was that?

C10. Is there anything (else) from the debates that you remember about Mr. Ford?

C11. Is there anything (else) from the debates that you remember about Mr. Carter?

C9. Was there anything in particular you remember from the debates that impressed you either favorably or unfavorably about any of the candidates? (What was that?) (If necessary - Did you think of that favorably or unfavorably?)

C8-C11.

The emphasis here should be on "because of the debates." It may be hard to get R back into thinking about the debates rather than his general impressions of the campaign. If R responds in terms which are not clearly linked to the content of the debates, go ahead and write down his response. We expect this sort of confusion. Just be sure R understands the question. Probe R's responses as much as necessary to get a full picture of what he has to say, but be obviously do not want to make him feel uncomfortable or push him beyond the point where he has real opinions.

C9.

We want to be sure we understand whether R was favorably or unfavorably impressed by what he heard. If R says, for example, "Carter turned out to be a lot more aggressive than I thought he was," ask the probe. "Did you think of that favorably or unfavorably?"
C12. (RB-Page 6) Now I'm going to ask you how often you watch certain types of TV shows. Just tell me if you watch them frequently, sometimes, rarely, or never.

How often do you watch...

a. Entertainment shows during the day

b. National news broadcasts in the early evening (like Cronkite, Chancellor, Brokaw, or Reasoner and Walters)

c. Evening entertainment programs about police and crime

d. Local news broadcasts in the late evening

C13. How about newspapers. Do you read a daily newspaper?

YES

NO

DON'T KNOW

GO TO C15

C14.a. Who was the newspaper for?

YES, ENPLOYED

NO, DID NOT ENPLOYED

DON'T KNOW

GO TO C15

C15. Did you read about the campaign in any newspaper?

YES

NO

DON'T KNOW

GO TO P. 10, C16

C15.a. How much did you read newspaper articles about the election—regularly, often, from time to time, or just once in a great while?

REGULARLY

OFTEN

TIME TO TIME

ONCE IN A GREAT WHILE

DON'T KNOW

C16. This quotation attempts to get at the amount and type of television the respondent watches.

If R has no TV or his set is broken, mark the "NEVER" circles right down the list—don't write anything else—as this is all the information we need. Any stray marks will just hinder our computerized coding.

C12a. "ENTERTAINMENT" and "DAY" should be emphasized. If R is unclear about either of these terms you can explain that "entertainment" means the regular programming of ongoing series, such as game shows, soap operas, talk shows, etc. "Day" means the daylight hours—up to the early evening.

C12b. Be sure to emphasize "NATIONAL" and "EARLY EVENING." If R is unclear what we mean you can mention that we mean those newcasts reported by Walter Cronkite (CBS), or John Chancellor, David Grinkley (NBC), or Harry Reasoner and Barbara Walters (ABC).

C12c. Be sure to emphasize "POLICE AND CRIME." Such programs include "Kojak," "Hawaii Five-o," "Street of San Francisco," and so on.

C12d. Be sure to emphasize "LOCAL" and "LATE EVENING." If R is unclear you can mention that the local news is the newscast produced by the local station and not the national networks. There is usually no late evening national newscast so this should not present a large problem. By "late evening" we mean the newscast that usually airs at 11 p.m. or after the 9 o'clock movie.

C13. Emphasize DAILY in this question. We do not want weekly papermen.

C13a. It is obviously important that you get the FULL NAME OF THE PAPER if R can supply it. "The Tribune" won't help much—there must be 500 papers in this country called "The Tribune."
D1. In talking to people about elections, we often find that a lot of people aren't able to vote because they weren't registered, or they were sick, or they just didn't have time. How about you—did you vote in the election this fall?

YES, VOTED
NO, DIDN'T VOTE
DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 11, D2
GO TO D1a
D2. Who did you vote for in the election for President?

- FORD
- CARTER
- McCARTHY
- MADDOX
- OTHER: SPECIFY

- R REFUSED TO SAY
- DON'T KNOW
- R VOTED BUT NOT FOR PRESIDENT

GO TO CHECKPOINT A

D2a. How long before the election did you decide that you were going to vote the way you did?


CHECKPOINT A

- NO ELECTION FOR U.S. SENATOR IN STATE
- ELECTION FOR U.S. SENATOR IN STATE

D3. How about the election for United States Senator? Did you vote for a candidate for Senator?

- YES
- NO
- DON'T KNOW

GO TO D4

D3a. Who did you vote for?

D3b. Which party is that?

- REPUBLICAN
- DEMOCRATIC
- OTHER: SPECIFY
- DON'T KNOW

D4. How about the election for Congressman—that is, for the House of Representatives in Washington. Did you vote for a candidate for Congress?

- YES
- NO
- DON'T KNOW

GO TO CHECKPOINT B

D4a. Who did you vote for?

D4b. Which party is that?

- REPUBLICAN
- DEMOCRATIC
- OTHER: SPECIFY
- DON'T KNOW

CHECKPOINT B

- NO ELECTION FOR GOVERNOR IN STATE
- ELECTION FOR GOVERNOR IN STATE

D5. How about the election for Governor—did you vote for a candidate for Governor?

- YES
- NO
- DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 12. D6

D5a. Who did you vote for?

D5b. Which party is that?

- REPUBLICAN
- DEMOCRATIC
- OTHER: SPECIFY
- DON'T KNOW

Checkpoint A. The following states did not have gubernatorial races this year, and R's in these states should not be asked D3. Just skip D3, DO NOT cross through it.

Alabama
Alaska
Arkansas
Colorado
Georgia
Idaho
Illinois
Iowa
Kansas
Kentucky
Louisiana
Maine
Maryland
Massachusetts
Michigan
Minnesota
Mississippi
Nebraska
Nevada
New Jersey
New Mexico
New York
Ohio
Oklahoma
Oregon
Pennsylvania
South Carolina
South Dakota
Tennessee
Texas
Virginia
Washington, D. C.

Alabama
Arkansas
Colorado
Georgia
Idaho
Illinois
Iowa
Kansas
Kentucky
Louisiana
New Hampshire
New Jersey
New Mexico
New York
Ohio
Oklahoma
Oregon
South Carolina
South Dakota
Washington, D. C.
E. IMPORTANT PROBLEMS

Now let's talk about some current issues.

E1. What do you think are the most important problems facing this country?

Now mark all the problems which you think are very important. Be sure to mark as many items as R mentions. If R says "none," mark the NOT MENTIONED circle for all items (a-e). If R only mentions some other response that does not fit our list, mark NOT MENTIONED for all items (a-e) and write R's response in a COMMENT Section.

Every item (a-e) should be marked as either MENTIONED or NOT MENTIONED.

E1a. Anything else?

D7. Do you happen to know which party had the most members in the House of Representatives in Washington before the elections (this/last) month? (IF NECESSARY: Which one?)
- REPUBLICANS
- DEMOCRATS
- NO, DON'T KNOW

D8. Do you happen to know which party elected the most members to the House of Representatives in the elections (this/last) month? (IF NECESSARY: Which one?)
- REPUBLICANS
- DEMOCRATS
- DON'T KNOW

CHECKPOINT C

- R HAS NOT MENTIONED ANY PROBLEMS ⏯ TURN TO P. 13, E7
- R HAS MENTIONED ONE PROBLEM ⏯ TURN TO P. 13, E2
- R HAS MENTIONED MORE THAN ONE PROBLEM ⏯ TURN TO P. 13, E1b

D6. We are trying to find out what sorts of inconveniences people are willing to put up with in order to vote. Be sure to mark as many items as R mentions. If R says "none," mark the NOT MENTIONED circle for all items (a-e). If R only mentions some other response that does not fit our list, mark NOT MENTIONED for all items (a-e) and write R's response in a COMMENT Section.

Every item (a-e) should be marked as either MENTIONED or NOT MENTIONED.

E1. In this question, nearly all the answers to the item will be political or governmental to start with. So, when you have R pinned down to what he considers the biggest national problem (in E1b or in E1a if he mentions only one problem), please probe to find out what R means if the response is not clear.

DON'T MISS THE CHECKPOINT C BETWEEN E1a AND E1b.

D8. See previous instruction

DO NOT WRITE IN THIS SPACE
E6a. Who was that?  E6b. Does this person usually pay more attention to public affairs than you, less than you or about the same? (ASK FOR EACH TYPE OF PERSON R TALKED TO)

E6c. Your wife/husband...
E6d. Another family member...
E6e. Someone at work...
E6f. Other friend or neighbor...
E6g. Anyone else?

E7. TURN TO P. 14.

E6. We want R to think of past month or two. What have you talked with any of these people (RB-Page 10) about (R’s MOST IMPORTANT PROBLEM)?

YES    NO    TURN TO P. 14.

E3. How good a job is the government doing in dealing with this problem—a good job, only fair, or a poor job?

GOOD JOB    ONLY FAIR    POOR JOB    DON'T KNOW

E4. Which political party do you think would be most likely to get the government to do a better job in dealing with this problem—the Republicans, the Democrats, or don't know?

REPUBLICANS    DEMOCRATS    NO DIFFERENCE    DON'T KNOW

E5. How much responsibility should the government in general have in solving this problem—a great deal, some, or none at all?

GREAT DEAL    SOME    NONE AT ALL    DON'T KNOW
E7. (10 PLAYING CARDS) Now we'd like you to read through the list of these cards and tell me the letter of any issue that is not at all important to you so we can put it away.

ALL ARE IMPORTANT → GO TO E8

NONE IS IMPORTANT → TURN TO P. 15, SECTION F

Not Important Important

a. HONESTY IN GOVERNMENT
b. HIGH TAXES
c. INFLATION
d. ENERGY SHORTAGES
e. UNEMPLOYMENT
f. U.S. RELATIONS WITH FOREIGN COUNTRIES
g. RACIAL ISSUES, INCLUDING BUSING
h. COMBATING CRIME AND DRUGS
i. CONSUMER PROTECTION
j. POLLUTION

E8. Be sure to remove from the deck of cards any issues that are not at all important to you before going to E9. If the respondent is not certain if the issue is important to him or her use it in E8. Remove only those that R is sure are not important. Mark the NOT IMPORTANT circle for those playing cards that R puts aside. Then mark the IMPORTANT circle for the rest of the issues before asking E9.

Every item (a-j) should be marked as either IMPORTANT or NOT IMPORTANT.

E9. Using the (remaining) cards, tell me the letter of the issue which is most important to you. The second most important? The third? The fourth? (Record number of rank by marking appropriate circle)

a. HONESTY IN GOVERNMENT
b. HIGH TAXES
c. INFLATION
d. ENERGY SHORTAGES
e. UNEMPLOYMENT
f. U.S. RELATIONS WITH FOREIGN COUNTRIES
g. RACIAL ISSUES, INCLUDING BUSING
h. COMBATING CRIME AND DRUGS
i. CONSUMER PROTECTION
j. POLLUTION

COMMENTS:
F1. 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?
   - PLAN AHEAD
   - TOO MUCH LUCK TO PLAN
   - DON'T KNOW

F2. 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?
   - THINGS WORK OUT AS EXPECTED
   - HAVE TO CHANGE PLANS
   - DON'T KNOW

F3. 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?
   - PRETTY SURE
   - HAVEN'T BEEN SURE
   - DON'T KNOW

F4. Some people feel they can run their lives pretty much the way they want to; others feel the problems of life are sometimes too big for them. Which are you most like?
   - CAN RUN OWN LIFE
   - PROBLEMS OF LIFE TOO BIG
   - DON'T KNOW

F5. 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?
   - COMPLETELY SATISFYING
   - PRETTY SATISFYING
   - NOT VERY SATISFYING
   - DON'T KNOW

F6. 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?
   - A GOOD DEAL
   - SOME
   - NOT MUCH
   - DON'T KNOW

F7. 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?
   - A GOOD DEAL
   - SOME
   - NOT MUCH
   - DON'T KNOW

F8. 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?
   - A GOOD DEAL
   - SOME
   - NOT MUCH
   - DON'T KNOW

F9. How much attention do you think most Congressmen pay to the people who elect them when they decide what to do in Congress—a good deal, some, or not much?
   - A GOOD DEAL
   - SOME
   - NOT MUCH
   - DON'T KNOW

F10. Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted, or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people?
    - MOST PEOPLE CAN BE TRUSTED
    - CAN'T BE TOO CAREFUL
    - DON'T KNOW

F11. Would you say that most of the time people try to be helpful, or that they are mostly just looking out for themselves?
    - TRY TO BE HELPFUL
    - JUST LOOK OUT FOR THEMSELVES
    - DON'T KNOW
F12. Do you think most people would try to take advantage of you if they try to be fair?  
- WOULD TAKE ADVANTAGE OF YOU  
- WOULD TRY TO BE FAIR  
- DON'T KNOW  

G. ISSUES  

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

G1. As to the economic policy of the government—do you think it's being handled better by the Democrats, by the Republicans, or about the same by both?  
- BETTER BY DEMOCRATS  
- BETTER BY REPUBLICANS  
- SAME BY BOTH  
- DON'T KNOW

G2. Do you think that the problems of inflation and unemployment would be handled better by the Democrats, by the Republicans, or about the same by both?  
- BETTER BY DEMOCRATS  
- BETTER BY REPUBLICANS  
- SAME BY BOTH  
- DON'T KNOW

G3. People often blame different parts of the government or society for economic problems. Please look at the list on the next page of your booklet (RB-Page 11) and tell me who you think is most responsible for the economic problems of the past few years: the Congress, the President, the Labor Unions, or Big Business.  
- CONGRESS  
- THE PRESIDENT  
- LABOR UNIONS  
- BIG BUSINESS  
- OTHER: NONE  
- DON'T KNOW

G4. (RB-Page 12) As you know, even though America is a wealthy nation, there are still many people living here who are poor. I'm going to read you some reasons people have offered to explain why this is so. For each, I'd like you to tell me whether you agree a great deal, agree somewhat, disagree somewhat or disagree a great deal by giving me the number from the list that best expresses how you feel.

a. The poor are poor because the wealthy and powerful keep them poor  
- OK  
- OK  
- OK

b. People are poor because there just aren't enough jobs for everybody  
- OK  
- OK

c. Poor people don't have a chance to get a good education, schools in poor neighborhoods are much worse than other schools  
- OK  
- OK

d. The seniority system in most companies works against poor people—  
- OK  
- OK

e. Good skilled jobs are controlled by unions and most poor people can't get into the skilled unions  
- OK  
- OK

f. Maybe it is not their fault but most poor people were brought up without drive or ambition  
- OK  
- OK

g. The poor are poor because the American way of life doesn't give all people an equal chance  
- OK  
- OK

G4. In this question you are to read the separate items and have R give you one of the four Agree-Disagree categories in the response booklet. We are trying to get R's perceptions about the causes of poverty.

G1. The question asks about economic policy related to inflation and unemployment. If R talks about other policies (race relations, pollution, etc.) of the government, repeat the question unless R sees a connection between these issues and either inflation or unemployment. If R says the government is doing a good job, repeat the question. If R still doesn't give a scalable answer, write down R's answer in the comment box and let us handle it.

G2.

G3.

Here we are talking about blame for causing the economic recession, not the responsibility for solving it. If R volunteers some other response than those indicated, mark the OTHER circle and write the response in a COMMENT box, not next to the question. If he chooses several to blame, emphasize that we want the one he judges "most responsible."
G5. (RB—Page 13) Some people feel that the government in Washington should see to it that every person has a job and a good standard of living. Suppose that these people are at one end of this scale—at point number 1. Others think the government should just let each person get ahead on his own. Suppose that these people are at the other end—point number 7. And, of course, some other people have opinions somewhere in between.

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

G6. (RB—Page 14) Over the past few years there has been much discussion about the best way to deal with the problem of urban unrest and rioting. Some say it is more important to use all available force to maintain law and order—no matter what results. Others say it is more important to correct the problems of poverty and unemployment that give rise to the disturbances.

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

G6-G54. 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 past 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) ask R to give, if possible, a single number out of that range. If this is not possible for R, mark the point nearest the center of the scale. For example, "5" or 3" would be "5" and "6 or 7" would be "6". As you will note, all of these questions have "Haven't thought much about this" circles. While we want as much information as possible, if the respondent has definitely not thought about the issue, mark the circle and follow the skip instruction.

G55. If you’ve worked on election studies before, you’re familiar with this "proximity format" for getting at where R stands on issues in relationship to where he thinks other objects in the political system stand. Thus, 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. (Note that if R responds either DK or haven’t thought much with regard to his own placement, we don’t want any of the information for the other objects on that particular scale—go on to the next scale.)

G55-h. After G55, R is to try to place the parties and the political leaders and groups 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 given a "Don't know" or "No opinion" for the political leaders or parties, it is a perfectly acceptable response. It is also important that R understand that he should place the parties and political leaders on the scale in terms of where he thinks they stand now, NOT in terms of where he
G7. (RB-Page 15) Say you think that the use of marijuana should be legal. Others think that the penalties for using marijuana should be set higher than they are now. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?

- Make use of marijuana legal
- Set penalties higher than they are now
- DK

* HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH — GO TO G8

Where would you place yourself on this scale?

a. Yourself
b. Gerald Ford
c. Jimmy Carter
d. The Democratic party
e. The Republican party
f. Most young people
g. Most older people

G8. (RB-Page 16) 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. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?

- Increase the tax rate for high incomes
- Have the same tax rate for everyone
- DK

* HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH — GO TO P. 19, C9

Where would you place yourself on this scale?

a. Yourself
b. Gerald Ford
c. Jimmy Carter
d. The Democratic party
e. The Republican party
f. Most workingmen
g. Most poor people
h. Most businessmen

COMMENTS:

-18-
G9. (RB—Page 17) 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.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Women and men should have an equal role</th>
<th>Women’s place is in the home</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. Yourself</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. I haven’t thought much</td>
<td>Go to G10</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Where would you place . . . on this scale?

b. Gerald Ford

c. Jimmy Carter

d. The Democratic party

e. The Republican party

f. Most women

g. Most men

h. Most young people

i. Most older people

G10. (RB—Page 18) 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 page 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.

Other: Specify:

* Don’t know

G11. In general, which party do you think would be most likely to support a constitutional amendment to make abortions illegal—the Republicans, the Democrats, or wouldn’t there be much difference between the two?

1. Republicans
2. Democrats
3. Not much difference
4. Don’t know

G12. 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

Other

* Don’t know
G13. An effort is being made to pass an amendment to the U.S. Constitution which would guarantee equal rights for all, regardless of sex. Do you approve or disapprove of the Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution?

- APPROVE
- DISAPPROVE
- DON'T KNOW

G13a. Do you know whether your state considered passage of the Amendment?

- YES, CONSIDERED
- NO, DID NOT CONSIDER — GO TO G14
- DON'T KNOW

G13b. Did your state pass or reject the Amendment?

- PASSED
- REJECTED
- DON'T KNOW

G14. We'd like to ask you a few questions now about some of the differences between groups in our society. People have different ideas about these things. Please hand green sheet. For each set of statements in this booklet, we would like you to check the one that you agree with most. If you have difficulty reading, interviewer should read questions.

Which of these two?

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

G15. And these?

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

G16. And these?

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

G17. It's lack of skill and abilities that keep many Black people from getting a job. It's not just because they're Black. When a Black person is trained to do something, he is able to get a job.

- Many qualified Black people can't get a good job; White people with the same skills wouldn't have any trouble.
- Many Black people who don't do well in life do have good training, but the opportunities just always go to Whites.

G18. Black people may not have the same opportunities as Whites, but many Blacks haven't prepared themselves enough to make use of the opportunities that come their way.

G19. The best way for Blacks to overcome discrimination is through pressure and social action.

- The best way to overcome discrimination is for each individual Black to be even better trained and more qualified than the most qualified White person.

G20. It's more natural for men to have the top responsible jobs in a country.

- Sex discrimination keeps women from the top jobs.

COMMENTS:

Indicate at checkpoint CI whether R filled it out himself or you read it to him.
H. POLITICAL EFFICACY

Now I'm going to read some of the kinds of things people tell us when we interview them. Just tell me whether you agree or disagree with them.

Agree  Disagree  DK

H1. People like me don't have any say about what the government does.

H2. Voting is the only way that people like me can have any say about how the government runs things.

H3. Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on.

H4. I don't think public officials care much what people like me think.

H5. Generally speaking, those we elect to Congress in Washington lose touch with the people pretty quickly.

H6. Parties are only interested in people's votes but not in their opinions.

G22-G25. As indicated in the general instructions above, questions G22-G25 are to be answered by R's who fill out the green sheet themselves, but are not to be asked by you when there is a reading problem and you read the questions to R.
J1. We'd also like your feelings about some groups in American society. When I read the name of a group, would you like to rate it with what we call a feeling thermometer. It is on Page 19 of your booklet. (RB-Page 19) Ratings between 50° and 100° mean that you feel favorably toward the group; ratings between 0° and 50° mean that you don't feel favorably toward the group and that you don't care too much for that group. If you don't feel particularly warm or cold toward a group you would rate them at 50°. If we come to a group you don't know much about, just tell me and we'll move on to the next one. Our first group is Big Business—how warm would you say you feel towards them?

(WRITE NUMBER OF DEGREES OR DK IN BOXES PROVIDED BELOW.)

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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Republicans</th>
<th>Labor Unions</th>
<th>Young People</th>
<th>Conservatives</th>
<th>Women's Liberation Movement</th>
<th>People Who Use Marijuana</th>
<th>Black Militants</th>
<th>Jews</th>
<th>Civil Rights Leaders</th>
<th>Protestants</th>
<th>Workingmen</th>
<th>Whites</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Middle-Class People</th>
<th>Businessmen</th>
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Jia-h.

These are the thermometer questions—

and they require the KB. In this study we are using the thermometer to measure feelings towards a number of groups. If R says he doesn't know anything about a particular group do not assign a number, but record "DK" in the box.

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

We want the ratings entered in degrees on the interview schedule. If R wants to select a degree level which is not entered on the feeling thermometer, i.e., 95°, in order to indicate more accurately his feeling toward a group, by all means let him do so and record his response to the exact degree. When entering R's response please use the two rightmost boxes for all numbers except 100. A response of thirty-eight degrees would be marked "blank-three-eight" and not "three-eight-blank." Of course "100" takes all three boxes. This procedure will make our coding task much easier.

There were a couple of problems we found in our last pretext. First, some R's say "I don't have anything against GROUP X, give them 100." Remind R that 100 is for groups he very much likes; if all he can say is that he has nothing against them, maybe his rating should be closer to 50. Second, be careful to distinguish "I don't have any special feeling about them" (for which you should record 50) from "I don't know much about them" (for which you should write in DK).
J2. (RB—Page 21.) Here is a list of some of the groups we just asked you about. Please read over this list and tell me the letter for those groups you feel particularly close to—people who are most like you in their ideas and interests and feelings about things. (MARK THE APPROPRIATE CIRCLE FOR EACH GROUP.)

a. Businessmen
b. Liberals
c. Southerners
d. Poor people
e. Catholics
f. Protestants
g. Jews
h. Young people
i. Whites
j. Blacks
k. Conservatives
l. Women
m. Middle class people
n. Workingmen
o. Farmers
p. Older people

CHECKPOINT D

* MORE THAN ONE GROUP MENTIONED → GO TO J.
* ONLY ONE GROUP MENTIONED → TURN TO P. 24. J.
* NO GROUPS MENTIONED AND
  * R IS WHITE → TURN TO P. 25. J.
  * R IS BLACK → TURN TO P. 27. J.

J3. Look at the list again (RB—Page 21), and tell me which one you feel closest to of those you mentioned.
J6. Do you read any newspaper or magazine that particularly represents the interests and viewpoints of (R's CLOSEST GROUP)?
   * YES
   * NO
   * DON'T KNOW

J7. How much influence do you think (R's CLOSEST GROUP) have in American life and politics? Do (R's CLOSEST GROUP) have a great deal of influence, some, not very much, or none?
   * GREAT DEAL
   * SOME
   * NOT VERY MUCH
   * NONE
   * DON'T KNOW

J7a. Are there things (R's CLOSEST GROUP) can do to increase their influence, or is there not much they can do?
   * CAN INCREASE
     * NOT MUCH CAN DO
     * DON'T KNOW

J7b. What kinds of things can they do?

J5c. In most instances all we need here is the name of the organization, or statement of the activity, since the general connection to the group will be clear. For example there is no need to probe if an R who chose "workingmen" mentions belonging to a union, or if an R who chose "blacks" mentions CORE. Probe here only if the connection between the group and the activity or organization is unclear. We don't want a discussion of what the organization does.
J7c. Why is that?

J8. Do you think the influence of R's CLOSEST GROUP is increasing or decreasing—is it more or less than it used to be?

* MORE
* LESS
* SAME
* DON'T KNOW

J9. (RB-Page 22) Some people feel that R's CLOSEST GROUP should organize, work together, and bring pressure as a group in order to have influence and get things done. Others feel that their leaders should not organize in this way. They should work as individuals, doing such things as voting, writing letters to officials, and generally making their opinions known.

Suppose people who think R's CLOSEST GROUP should organize as a group are at point number 1 on the scale. And suppose those who feel R's CLOSEST GROUP should work as individuals are at the other end of the scale.

Where would you place yourself on this scale?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organize as a group</th>
<th>Work as individuals</th>
<th>DK</th>
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<tr>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6</td>
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a. YOURSELF

J10. How about if people in this group want to improve their economic position. Some people feel (R's CLOSEST GROUP) should organize as a group; others feel that each individual should work to get ahead on his/her own.

Where would you put yourself on this scale?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organize as a group</th>
<th>Work as individuals</th>
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<tr>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6</td>
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</table>

a. YOURSELF

J11. (RB-Page 23) Here is a list of things some groups do to increase their influence or get something done.

Some of these things people can do individually—some are things the group can do together. Have you done any of these things in your local community that affect the interests of (R's CLOSEST GROUP)? Just read me the letter of any activity you may have taken part in during the past few years.

(MARK EACH ITEM APPROPRIATELY)

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Organize as a group</th>
<th>Work as individuals</th>
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<td>1 2 3 4 5 6</td>
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</table>

a. GET MEMBERS TO VOTE AS A BLOC; SUPPORT A CANDIDATE ENendorsed by the group.

b. REGISTER OTHER MEMBERS TO VOTE; GET MEMBERS TO THE POLLS ON ELECTION DAY.

c. ATTEND A PUBLIC MEETING OR DEMONSTRATION TO GET A LAW CHANGED OR PROTEST A POLICY YOUR GROUP OPPOSES.

d. GET YOUR GROUP TO WORK WITH OTHER GROUPS WITH SIMILAR INTERESTS.

e. MOVE TO ANOTHER COMMUNITY THAT BETTER REFLECTS YOUR GROUP'S INTERESTS.

f. WORK ON GROUP PROJECTS THAT HELP THE GROUP EXPRESS OR KEEP ALIVE ITS OWN VALUES.

J8.
The objective in this question is to get R's perception of his group's influence. We have found in the pretest that phrasing the question in these terms—i.e., recent increases or decreases in the group's influence—often sharpens the issue of group power for R and gets responses not elicited in question J7. Responses of "increasing" should be equated with MORE and "decreasing" with LESS.

J10.

See instructions for J9. Note that this question focuses on economic ends in particular.

J11.

We expect multiple responses here. Mark all the items R mentions in the MENTIONED column and those that are not mentioned in the NOT MENTIONED column. Every item should be marked.

J9.

We noted in the instructions to J7 that we are particularly interested in whether R feels that his group should organize to exert its influence, or whether the way toward group advancement and influence is for individuals in the group to do their bit as individuals. Question J9 gets at this issue directly.
J12. Look at the list (RB-Pg 23) and tell me the letter of the activities you think are good to do, things that are effective and that (R's CLOSEST GROUP) should do, even if you haven't done them yourself.

a. GET MEMBERS TO VOTE AS A BLOC; SUPPORT A CANDIDATE ENDSORED BY THE GROUP.

b. REGISTER OTHER MEMBERS TO VOTE; GET MEMBERS TO THE POLLS ON ELECTION DAY.

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f. WORK ON GROUP PROJECTS THAT HELP THE GROUP EXPRESS OR KEEP ALIVE ITS OWN VALUES.

J13. IF R IS BLACK —— TURN TO P. 27, J20

In addition to the group we have talked about, many Americans also have an ethnic or nationality group. What do you consider your main ethnic or nationality group?

(IF NONE OR AMERICAN —— TURN TO P. 27, J20)

J14. Is this a group you feel particularly close to?

YES       NO       DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 27, J20

We'd like to ask you some questions about that group.

J15. Do you belong to any organizations or take part in any activities that represent the interests and viewpoints of (R'S ETHNIC GROUP)?

YES       NO   —— GO TO J16

J15a. What activities or organizations?

J16. Do you read any newspaper or magazine that particularly represents the interests and viewpoints of this group?

YES       NO       DON'T KNOW

J17. How much influence do you think (R'S ETHNIC GROUP) has in American life and politics? Do they have a great deal of influence, some, not very much or none?

GREAT DEBT       SOME       NOT VERY MUCH       NONE

DON'T KNOW

J18. Are there things this group can do to increase their influence, or is there not much they can do?

CAN INCREASE       NOT MUCH CAN DO

DON'T KNOW

J19. Do you think the influence of this group is increasing or decreasing—is it more or less than it used to be?

MORE       LESS       SAME

DON'T KNOW


Remember that every item (a - f) must be marked as either MENTIONED or NOT MENTIONED.

J15. See instruction for J5.


J17. The actual question J15 begins just under the skip instructions for Blacks. We are interested in such groupings as Irish or Polish, if R says "white, Anglo-Saxon Protestant," consider that response to be "American" and follow the skip pattern for NONE or AMERICAN. Again, don't mark through inappropriate questions—your marks will foul up our computer coding.

J18. If R is black you will skip questions J13-J19. Don't skip through the instructions so fast that you do just the opposite!


K. LOCAL EFFICACY

I'm going to read some of the kinds of things people tell us about their local town or community government when we interview them and ask you whether you agree or disagree with them.

K1. People like me don't have any say about what the local government does.
K2. Sometimes local politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on.
K3. Generally speaking, those we elect to the local government have a lot of touch with the people pretty quickly.

K4. How much of the time do you think you can trust your local government to do what is right—just about always, most of the time, or only some of the time?

- JUST ABOUT ALWAYS
- SOME OF THE TIME
- NEVER
- DON'T KNOW

K5. Would you say the local 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?

- FEW BIG INTERESTS
- FOR BENEFIT OF ALL
- DON'T KNOW
L.3. In general, do you feel that the courts treat criminals too harshly, too easy, or just about right?

* TOO HARSH  * TOO EASY  * ABOUT RIGHT
* DON'T KNOW

L.4. Now we'd like to ask you about how crime affects you personally. Some people find it necessary to take certain precautions in order to be safe from crime. (RB-Page 24) Please tell me if you've done any of the following things to protect yourself against crime. You can put a mark in the box for any of the things you have done. (MARK EACH ITEM APPROPRIATELY)

- a. Bought a dog for protection.
- b. Put new locks on windows or doors.
- c. Put an alarm system in your car, home, or apartment.
- d. Kept a gun for protection.
- e. Stayed away from certain areas in a town or city.

L.5. (RB-Page 25) Please tell me if any of the following things have happened to you or anyone in your immediate family within the last year. (MARK EACH ITEM APPROPRIATELY)

- a. Witnessed a crime.
- b. Had your home or apartment broken into.
- c. Had your car broken into or stolen.
- d. Was physically attacked or had something taken from you by force.

L.6. The government in Washington not only deals with problems in the United States, it is also faced with problems in its relations with other countries. What do you think are the most important problems in our relations with other countries throughout the world that the United States is facing today?

L.7. I am going to read you two statements about U.S. foreign policy and would like you to tell me whether you agree or disagree with each statement.

- a. This country would be better off if we just stayed home and did not concern ourselves with problems in other parts of the world.
  * AGREE
  * DISAGREE
  * DON'T KNOW

- b. The United States should give help to foreign countries even if they don't stand for the same things that we do.
  * AGREE
  * DISAGREE
  * DON'T KNOW

L.6. This question is a "most important problem" question (see EI) for the international sphere. Please probe enough to get a good feel for what R means in his response—but of course don't push beyond the point of R's comfort and useful responses.

L.7. This question measures R's experience with criminal acts. By immediate family, we mean to include parents and children and anyone else in the household. Be sure to mark all R's experiences that he mentions and those not mentioned in the appropriate circles.

Every item (a-d) should be marked.

DO NOT WRITE IN THIS SPACE

- 23 -
L8. People who say this country must reduce the amount of energy it uses suggest different ways of doing this. Some say we should limit the amount of energy use, others say it is better to charge higher prices for energy to discourage people from using more. Which do you prefer?

- LIMIT THE AMOUNT OF ENERGY
- CHARGE HIGHER PRICES
- BOTH
- NEITHER
- DON'T KNOW

L9. Let's change the subject for a moment. We like to have people tell us what sorts of problems they have to deal with in their daily lives. Can you tell me what some of the problems are that you face these days in your own life?

L10. (RB-Page 26) We would like you to tell us which of these items are most important to you as a guiding principle in your life. Please read the list and tell me whether each is important or not important. Let's start with A: "To be ambitious (a hard working, aspiring person)." Is that important or not important to you?

a. TO BE AMBITIOUS
   (A HARD WORKING, ASPIRING PERSON)  

L10a. Would you please look at the card again and tell me which of these is most important to you, which comes next in importance, which is third, and so forth? (KEEP ASKING UNTIL ALL VALUES HAVE BEEN RANKED; RECORD NUMBER OF RANK BY MARKING APPROPRIATE CIRCLE)

L10b. By "limit the amount of energy use we mean some sort of direct control, such as rationing, but we don't want to use the term "ration" because it has become emotion-laden beyond its meaning. The notion of higher prices discouraging consumption relies in the proposition that fewer people will purchase energy supplies as the price goes beyond most people's means.

L9a. Anything else?

L10c. The first question gives us a cut off point of importance for R. Many will choose your or all items as important. Be sure each item (a-e) is marked.

L10a is the core—we need a complete rank ordering if it is possible (including the items judged "not important") in question L10. Be sure to mark the number of the rank in the circle under RANK. So if item a is most important to R you would mark the 1 in the row of circles for b. If item e is second most important it should get a rank of 2 and so on until all five items are ranked.

After reading R the question, prompt his answer by reading off the letters "a," "b," "c," and so on. The first prompt is in the question. Follow with "How about b?" Go on through e.

If R thinks that two or three items are equally important give them all the same rank. If, for example, items a, c, and e are mentioned as most important, first try to get R to decide on which is really the most important. If R insists on all these, give a, c, and e a rank of 1 and go on to the next item which would be ranked 2 (not 4). Try to get R to give a complete ranking.
L11. (RB-Page 28) Please list the major goals in your life. Then mark which is most important, least important, or not important to you. 

a. A PROSPEROUS LIFE (Making a good income and being able to afford the good things in life). 
   [ ] Important \[ ] Not Important \[ ] DK

b. AN IMPORTANT LIFE (A life of achievement that brings me respect and recognition). 
   [ ] Important \[ ] Not Important \[ ] DK

c. A SECURE LIFE (Making sure that all basic needs and expenses are provided for). 
   [ ] Important \[ ] Not Important \[ ] DK

d. AN EXCITING LIFE (A stimulating, active life). 
   [ ] Important \[ ] Not Important \[ ] DK

L11a. Now tell me which of these is most important to you, which comes next in importance, which is third, and which is least important.

   [ ] A PROSPEROUS LIFE 
   [ ] AN IMPORTANT LIFE 
   [ ] A SECURE LIFE 
   [ ] AN EXCITING LIFE

   RANK: \[ ] DK

L12. (RB-Page 28) For a nation, it is not always possible to obtain everything one might wish. On this card, several different goals are listed. If you had to choose among them, which one seems most desirable to you?

   [ ] MAINTAINING ORDER IN THE NATION
   [ ] GIVING THE PEOPLE MORE SAY IN IMPORTANT POLITICAL DECISIONS
   [ ] FIGHTING RISING PRICES
   [ ] PROTECTING FREEDOM OF SPEECH

   DON'T KNOW \[ ] GO TO L13

L12a. Which one would be your second choice?

   [ ] MAINTAINING ORDER IN THE NATION
   [ ] GIVING THE PEOPLE MORE SAY IN IMPORTANT POLITICAL DECISIONS
   [ ] FIGHTING RISING PRICES
   [ ] PROTECTING FREEDOM OF SPEECH

   DON'T KNOW

L13. Thank you for the interview.

   GET RECONTACT INFORMATION

   TIME AT END OF INTERVIEW

   Observation

1. RESPONDENT'S SEX IS
   [ ] MALE
   [ ] FEMALE

2. RESPONDENT'S RACE IS
   [ ] WHITE
   [ ] BLACK
   [ ] OTHER: 

   DO NOT WRITE IN THIS SPACE

-30-
PERSUASION LETTER TYPE "A" (YELLOW, PINK AND GREEN COVER SHEETS)

Date

Member of Household or Name
Address
City, State Zip

Dear...

One of our interviewers, (YOUR NAME) called on you recently in connection with our post election study. I understand that you did not wish to be interviewed at that time. Of course, the final decision rests with you, but I thought that if you knew more about the importance of our talking with you again, you might reconsider and grant an interview.

The Center for Political Studies, here at the University of Michigan, has been conducting election studies since 1948. A great deal of important information about the changing sentiments of the American people has been gathered during this time. This year we are interviewing people both before and after the election since we are particularly interested in learning about how people's attitudes change as a result of the political campaigns. Since we talked with you before the election we need to talk with you again now.

As we have said before, the identity of the persons with whom we talk is never disclosed to anyone, and every interview is held in strictest confidence. The results of all the interviews taken are combined in a report, a copy of which will be sent to you.

In light of this additional information, we hope you will allow an interview as soon as possible. We are asking (Mr/s., Initial LAST NAME) to call on you again within a few days after you receive this letter.

Thank you for your time and consideration.

Sincerely,

Stephen B. Withey
Director

P.49456
Dear ...  

One of our interviewers, (YOUR NAME) called on you recently in connection with our post election study. I understand that you did not wish to be interviewed at that time. Of course, the final decision rests with you, but I thought that if you knew more about the importance of our talking with you again, you might reconsider and grant an interview.

The Center for Political Studies, here at the University of Michigan, has been conducting election studies since 1948. Since 1972 we have been contacting a panel of the same people to learn more about how and why people change in their approach to elections in general, in the way they are affected by the newspapers and television, and the way they view their government. This last and final interview is very important in measuring both the changing and the constant sentiments of the American people.

As we have said before, the identity of the persons with whom we talk is never disclosed to anyone, and every interview is held in strictest confidence. The results of all the interviews taken are combined in a report, a copy of which will be sent to you.

In light of this additional information, we hope you will allow an interview as soon as possible. We are asking (Mr/s., Initial LAST NAME) to call on you again within a few days after you receive this letter.

Thank you for your time and consideration.

Sincerely,

Stephen B. Withey  
Director

The University of Michigan  
Survey Research Center

Field Coordinator for this study:

P. 495456  

The content of this letter was sent to all respondents in the study sample.

MAIL THIS FORM TO YOUR SUPERVISOR ON
We are interested in your reactions to this questionnaire. The information we receive from these evaluations and from those we send to a number of respondents from the study will be invaluable in designing future questionnaires.

Please return this form to the Field Office by **NOVEMBER 24, 1976**

1. Did you find any confusing skip patterns?  
   (IF YES) Which ones?  
   [ ] [ ]

2. Were there any questions which did not provide enough space for recording respondent’s answer?  
   (IF YES) Which questions?  
   [ ] [ ]

3. Sometimes respondents will want to give you more than a one-word answer. Were there closed questions which were usually qualified by respondents and might have been better as open-ended questions?  
   (IF YES) Which ones and why?  
   [ ] [ ]

4. Were there any words or phrases that respondents did not understand?  
   (IF YES) Please specify the question numbers and words:  
   [ ]

5. Were there any questions the respondent had difficulty answering in the frame of reference specified?  
   (IF YES) Which ones and what was the difficulty?  
   [ ] [ ]

6. Did the respondents feel that any of the questions were too personal?  
   (IF YES) Which questions?  
   [ ] [ ]
S45. Were you brought up mostly in the country, in a town, in a small city, or in a large city?

1. COUNTRY  2. TOWN  3. SMALL CITY  4. LARGE CITY  7. OTHER, SPECIFY:

S45a. Where did you live when you were about 14 years old?

___________ (CITY), ____________ (STATE)

S46. How long have you lived here in (CITY/TOWN/COUNTY)? ____________ (YEARS)

S47. How long have you lived in this house (apartment)? ____________ (YEARS)

(If all of life or more than 20 years: Turn to P. 55, Interviewer Checkpoint)

S48. How would you compare this neighborhood with the one you left?

S48a. Is this one: 1. never  5. older  3. about the same?

S48b. Is it: 1. less expensive  5. more expensive  3. about the same?
**S49.** If necessary, make sure respondent understands that (1) this information is strictly confidential; (2) this information makes the information in the rest of the interview more valuable to us.

**NOTE:** That the figure we want is total family income from all sources before taxes, for the calendar year, 1975, not just respondent’s own earnings. The question is designed so that respondent will not have to name a specific figure, or even to give a narrow range.

By family, we mean those living with R at the present time.

---

**S49a.** Now excluding the rest of your family, please look at this page again and tell me the income group that includes the income you had in 1975 before taxes.

( _BEFORE TAXES_ )

---

**S49a.** This includes only respondent’s own earnings for the calendar year 1975.

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<tr>
<td>B. $2,000 - $2,999</td>
<td>02</td>
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<tr>
<td>C. $3,000 - $3,999</td>
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<td>D. $4,000 - $4,999</td>
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<tr>
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