COVER SHEET FOR
NONPANEL RESPONDENT
1976 PRE-ELECTION STUDY
P. 495453
Fall, 1976

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

1. Interviewer's Label

[yellow coversheet]

2. Primary Area __________________

3. Your Interview No. ______________

4. Date __________________________

5. Length of Interview (minutes) ____________

6. Determine if there is more than one HU at the Listing Sheet address referred to on label above and check one:

   [ ] 1 HU  [ ] There are ____ (SUPPLY NUMBER) HU's at the listed address.

   Make out a Pink cover sheet for each unlisted HU up to 4. Add to address label a specific designation of the HU for which this cover sheet is used. On each cover sheet for an unlisted HU be sure to identify the unit specifically. If there are 5 or more unlisted HU's notify Field Office and await instructions.

7. Call Record

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IF NO INTERVIEW OBTAINED FILL OUT YELLOW NONINTERVIEW FORM.
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 me your telephone number here?

GIVEN

NO PHONE

REFUSED

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. COMMENTS ON THE INTERVIEWING SITUATION WHICH MAY PROVE HELPFUL IN CONTACTING THIS R AGAIN:
COVER SHEET FOR
PANEL RESPONDENT
1976 PRE-ELECTION STUDY

2. Primary Area ________________________
3. Your Interview No. ____________________
4. Date ____________________________
5. Length of Interview ________ (Minutes)

[blue coversheet]

6. Has panel member moved?
   - YES
   - NO → GO TO 6b

MAKE OUT A PINK COVER SHEET FOR ADDRESS ON LABEL AND ATTEMPT INTERVIEW WITH SELECTED RESPONDENT, IF ANY. ENTER PANEL MEMBER'S NEW ADDRESS BELOW:

6b. Determine if there is more than one HU at address for panel respondent. (CHECK ONE.)

   - □ 1 HU
   - □ There are (SUPPLY NUMBER) HU's at the listed address.

Make out Pink Cover Sheet for each unlisted HU up to 4. Add to respondent label a specific designation of the HU for which this Blue Cover Sheet is used.

On each Pink Cover Sheet for an unlisted HU be sure to identify the unit specifically.

If there are 5 or more unlisted HU's, notify the Field Office and await instructions.

7. Call Record

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<tr>
<th>Call Number</th>
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IF NO INTERVIEW OBTAINED, FILL OUT YELLOW NONINTERVIEW FORM.
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 me your telephone number here?

[Diagram]

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

[Blank lines for address information]

R3. COPY R'S NAME FROM ORIGINAL RECONTACT SHEET

[Columns for 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. COMMENTS ON THE INTERVIEWSITUATION WHICH MAY PROVE HELPFUL IN CONTACTING THIS R AGAIN:

[Blank line for comments]
SURVEY RESEARCH CENTER
INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH
THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN 48106

P. 495453
Fall, 1976

I. Interviewer's Label

2. Primary Area

3. Your Interview No.

4. Date

5. Length of Interview (minutes)

FROM BLUE FOLDER


8. Address:

9. CHECK ONE: (See col. 6 of Blue Folder)
   ☐ FIRST HALF
   ☐ SECOND HALF

10. Determine if there is more than one HU at the Sample Address referred to in Item 8 above, and check one:

   [ ] 1 HU  [ ] There are (SUPPLY NUMBER) HU's at the sample address.

   Make out another Pink cover sheet for each unlisted HU up to 4. Add to Item 8 a specific designation of the HU for which this cover sheet is used. On each cover sheet for an unlisted HU be sure to identify the unit specifically. If there are 5 or more unlisted HU's, notify Field Office and await instructions.

11. Call Record

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   Result
   Interviewer's Initials

IF NO INTERVIEW OBTAINED FILL OUT YELLOW NONINTERVIEW FORM.
R. 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 me your telephone number here?

[Given]

[No phone]

[Refused]

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. Comments on the interviewing situation which may prove helpful in contacting this R again:
COVER SHEET FOR
PANEL RESPONDENT
1976 Pre-Election Study
P. 495453
Fall, 1976

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

1. Interviewer's Label

2. Primary Area

3. Your Interview No.

4. Date

5. Length of Interview (Minutes)

6. Has panel member moved?

   YES  NO  GO TO ITEM 8 BELOW

   ENTER NEW ADDRESS:

7. CHECK ONE:

   [ ] NEW ADDRESS OUT OF RANGE  RETURN COVER SHEET AND NONINTERVIEW FORM TO FIELD OFFICE

   [ ] NEW ADDRESS WITHIN RANGE  INTERVIEW PANEL MEMBER ONLY

8. Call Record

<table>
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IF NO INTERVIEW OBTAINED FILL OUT YELLOW NONINTERVIEW FORM.
2. □ R HAS MOVED SINCE ORIGINAL (1972 or 1974)  
   [White C.S.]  
   □ R HAS NOT MOVED SINCE ORIGINAL INTERVIEW

   Copy below recontact information from original "Respondent Information Sheet"

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 me your telephone number here?

   GIVEN
   □ 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. COMMENTS ON THE INTERVIEWING SITUATION WHICH MAY PROVE HELPFUL IN CONTACTING THIS R AGAIN:
COVER SHEET FOR
SECONDARY RESPONDENT IN BLUE HOUSEHOLD
1976 PRE-ELECTION STUDY
P. 495453
Fall, 1976

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

1. Interviewer's Label

2. Primary Area

3. Your Interview No.

4. Date

5. Length of Interview (minutes)

FROM RESPONDENT LABEL ON BLUE COVER SHEET FILL OUT ITEMS 6, 7, 8, 9 AND 10

6. Number of Panel R

7. CHECK ONE: □ FIRST HALF □ SECOND HALF

8. Segment No.

9. Line No.

10. Address (or description)

11. Call Record

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IF NO INTERVIEW OBTAINED, FILL OUT YELLOW NONINTERVIEW FORM
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 me your telephone number here?

- GIVEN
- NO PHONE
- REFUSED

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

HR  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. COMMENTS ON THE INTERVIEWING SITUATION WHICH MAY PROVE HELPFUL IN CONTACTING THIS R AGAIN:
1. Interviewer's Label

2. Primary Area

3. Your Interview No.

4. Date

5. Length of Interview (minutes)

6. Time at Beginning of Interview

7. (FROM COVER SHEET OR COLUMN 6 OF BLUE FOLDER)

CHECK ONE:

- [ ] FIRST HALF
- [ ] SECOND HALF

1976 PRE-ELECTION STUDY
A: PARTIES AND CANDIDATES

In this interview we will not only ask you about politics but a number of other topics as well. These topics will range from your feelings about the economy to questions about you and your family background. Let's start with the election this fall and what you think about it.

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

1. FORD  2. CARTER  7. OTHER, SPECIFY:  8. DK

GO TO A3

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

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

A3. How about here in (R's STATE)? Which candidate for President do you think will carry this state?

1. FORD  2. CARTER  7. OTHER, SPECIFY:  8. DK

GO TO A5

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

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

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

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

A6. Some people don't pay much attention to the political campaigns. How about you, would you say that you have been very much interested, somewhat interested, or not much interested in following the political campaigns so far this year?

1. VERY MUCH INTERESTED  3. SOMewhat INTERESTED  5. NOT MUCH INTERESTED
A7. Now, how about the election this November? Are you registered (eligible to vote) so that you could vote in the November election if you wanted to?

1. YES

A7a. Are you registered as being a Republican or a Democrat or anything else?

1. DEMOCRAT
5. REPUBLICAN
6. NO PARTY OR NONE REQUIRED
7. OTHER, SPECIFY:

8. DK

A7b. How about the primary election this year. Do you happen to recall if there was a presidential primary election here in (NAME OF STATE) this spring or summer?

1. YES
5. NO
8. DK

A8. How about the primary election this year. Do you happen to recall if there was a presidential primary election here in (NAME OF STATE) this spring or summer?

1. YES

A8a. Did you vote in the Presidential primary election?

1. YES

A8b. Which party’s primary did you vote in?

A8c. Which presidential candidate did you support in that contest?
There are some things other than voting that some people did during the presidential primaries. Please tell me if you did any of these:

A9a. Worked for one of the candidates

A9b. Attended a meeting or a rally for a presidential candidate

A9c. Talked to any people about why they should have voted for one of the candidates

1. YES  5. NO

Now thinking about all of the presidential candidates who ran in the primaries across the country, did you contribute any money for the campaign of any candidate?

1. YES  5. NO

Al0a. Who was that? ____________________________

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

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

Al1a. Who do you think you will vote for in the election for President?

1. CARTER  5. FORD

7. OTHER, SPECIFY: ____________________________

8. DK

Al1b. If you were going to vote—who do you think you would vote for in the election for President?

1. CARTER  5. FORD

7. OTHER, SPECIFY: ____________________________

8. DK
A12. Besides voting, people sometimes take part in several other types of political activities that are related to national politics and the government in Washington. Please look at this list (RB, PAGE 1) of activities and tell me if you have done any of them in the last two or three years. I'll read the letter of each statement and you say yes or no. Let's start with A.

a. **WRITTEN A LETTER TO THE EDITOR OF A MAGAZINE OR NEWSPAPER ABOUT SOME NATIONAL PROBLEM.**

b. **WORKED WITH OTHERS OR JOINED AN ORGANIZATION TRYING TO DO SOMETHING ABOUT SOME NATIONAL PROBLEM.**

c. **SPOKEN TO OR WRITTEN YOUR CONGRESSMAN OR SOME OTHER NATIONAL LEADER.**

d. **SIGNED A PETITION EITHER FOR OR AGAINST ACTION BY THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.**

e. **TAKEN PART IN A SIT-IN, DEMONSTRATION, OR PROTEST CONCERNED WITH SOME NATIONAL PROBLEM.**
1. R ANSWERED "NO" TO ALL ACTIVITIES —-- > TURN TO P. 6, A16
2. R ANSWERED "YES" TO ONE OR MORE ACTIVITIES

FOR EACH ITEM ANSWERED "YES" IN A12 ASK APPROPRIATE ITEM BELOW. FOR EACH "NOT SUCCESSFUL" OR "DK" RESPONSE ASK A14 IMMEDIATELY AFTER A13.

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<th>WORTH DOING</th>
<th>NOT WORTH DOING</th>
<th>DK</th>
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<tr>
<td>1. Would you say that writing a letter to the editor was generally successful or not successful?</td>
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<td>2. Would you say that working with others or joining an organization was generally successful or not successful?</td>
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<td>3. Would you say that speaking or writing to a national leader was generally successful or not successful?</td>
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<td>4. Would you say that signing a petition was generally successful or not successful?</td>
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<td>5. Would you say that demonstrating or protesting was generally successful or not successful?</td>
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<td>Even if it was not successful (or if it turns out not to be successful), do you think it was worth doing or was it really not worth doing?</td>
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A15a. Have you been in a sit-in, protest, or demonstration concerned with some national problem only once or twice, or more often than that during the past 2 or 3 years?

1. ONCE OR TWICE

2. MORE OFTEN

A15b. What was the (most recent) demonstration or protest all about?

_________________________________________________________

_________________________________________________________

_________________________________________________________

A16. Now, how about activities in your local community? Please look at the next page (RB, PAGE 2) and tell me if you have been involved in any of these local activities in the last two or three years? Let's start with A.

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<th>YES (1)</th>
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<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>ATTENDED MEETINGS OF CITY COUNCIL OR SCHOOL BOARD</td>
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1. R ANSWERED "NO" TO ALL ACTIVITIES ——> TURN TO P. 8, A20
2. R ANSWERED "YES" TO ONE OR MORE ACTIVITIES

FOR EACH ITEM ANSWERED "YES" IN A16 ASK APPROPRIATE ITEM BELOW. FOR EACH "NOT SUCCESSFUL" AND "DK" RESPONSE ASK A18 IMMEDIATELY AFTER A17.

A18. Even if it was not successful (or if if turns out not to be successful), do you think it was worth doing or was it really not worth doing?

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- a. Would you say that attending meetings was generally successful or not successful?
- b. Would you say that writing a letter to the editor was generally successful or not successful?
- c. Would you say that working with others or joining an organization was generally successful or not successful?
- d. Would you say that speaking or writing an official was generally successful or not successful?
- e. Would you say that signing a petition was generally successful or not successful?
- f. Would you say that demonstrating or protesting was generally successful or not successful?
A19. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT (SEE ACTIVITY A16f)

☐ 1. R ANSWERED "NO" TO A16f → GO TO A20
☐ 2. R ANSWERED "YES" TO A16f

A19a. Have you been in a sit-in, protest or demonstration concerned with some local problem only once or twice, or more often than that during the last 2 or 3 years?

1. ONCE OR TWICE 3. MORE OFTEN

A19b. What was the (most recent) demonstration or protest all about?

_________________________________________________________________________
_________________________________________________________________________
_________________________________________________________________________

A20. Now, back to national politics, I'd like to ask you what you think are the good and bad points about the two parties.

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

1. YES 5. NO 8. DK

TURN TO P. 9, A21

A20a. What is that?

_________________________________________________________________________
_________________________________________________________________________
_________________________________________________________________________

A20b. Anything else?

_________________________________________________________________________
_________________________________________________________________________
_________________________________________________________________________
A21. Is there anything in particular that you don't like about the Democratic party?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DK

GO TO A22

A21a. What is that?

A21b. Anything else?

A22. Is there anything in particular that you like about the Republican party?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DK

TURN TO P. 10, A23

A22a. What is that?

A22b. Anything else?
A23. Is there anything in particular that you don't like about the Republican party?

[Flowchart: 1. YES 5. NO 8. DK]

A23a. What is that?

A23b. Anything else?

A24. Now I'd like to ask you about the good and bad points of the two major candidates for president. Is there anything in particular about Mr. Carter that might make you want to vote for him?

[Flowchart: 1. YES 5. NO 8. DK]

A24a. What is that?

A24b. Anything else?
A25. Is there anything in particular about Mr. Carter that might make you want to vote _against_ him?

1. YES  5. NO  8. DK  

GO TO A26

A25a. What is that? ____________________________________________

________________________________________

________________________________________

A25b. Anything else? __________________________________________

________________________________________

A26. Is there anything in particular about Mr. Ford that might make you want to vote _for_ him?

1. YES  5. NO  8. DK

TURN TO P. 12, A27

A26a. What is that? ____________________________________________

________________________________________

________________________________________

A26b. Anything else? __________________________________________

________________________________________

________________________________________
A27. Is there anything in particular about Mr. Ford that might make you want to vote against him?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DK

GO TO A28

A27a. What is that?

______________________________
______________________________
______________________________

A27b. Anything else?

______________________________
______________________________
______________________________

A28. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Mr. Ford is handling his job as President?

1. APPROVE

5. DISAPPROVE

8. DK

A29. Shortly after taking office, President Ford pardoned Richard Nixon for any wrong-doings he may have committed while he was President. Do you think that Ford should have pardoned Nixon?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DK
SECTION B: ECONOMIC ATTITUDES

Now I'd like to ask you a few questions about the economy.

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

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

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

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

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

1. BETTER NOW  3. SAME  5. WORSE NOW

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

1. BETTER A YEAR FROM NOW  3. ABOUT SAME  5. WORSE A YEAR FROM NOW

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

1. MORE UNEMPLOYMENT  3. SAME  5. LESS UNEMPLOYMENT

86. Thinking about the steps that have been taken to fight inflation--would you say that the government has been doing a good job, only fair, or a poor job?

1. GOOD JOB  3. ONLY FAIR  5. POOR JOB
B7. Do you think inflation would be handled better by the Democrats, by the Republicans, or about the same by both?

1. BETTER BY DEMOCRATS  5. BETTER BY REPUBLICANS  3. SAME  8. DON'T KNOW

B8. Now how about the government's economic policy dealing with unemployment—would you say the government has been doing a good job, only fair, or a poor job?

1. GOOD JOB  3. ONLY FAIR  5. POOR JOB

B9. Do you think the problems of unemployment would be handled better by the Democrats, by the Republicans, or about the same by both?

1. BETTER BY DEMOCRATS  5. BETTER BY REPUBLICANS  3. SAME  8. DON'T KNOW
During the last couple of years the country experienced an economic recession which affected people in different ways. Looking at the next page (RB, 3), tell me if any of these things happened to you or anyone in your family living here because of economic bad times. (Check "YES" for each item if MENTIONED, check "NO" for items NOT MENTIONED.)

| a. WAS UNEMPLOYED      | YES | NO |
| b. WAS TEMORARILY LAID OFF |    |    |
| c. HAD WORKING HOURS REDUCED |    |    |
| d. HAD TO WORK A DIFFERENT SHIFT |    |    |
| e. TOOK A CUT IN PAY |    |    |
| f. HAD TO TAKE A JOB BELOW QUALIFICATIONS |    |    |
| g. RELIED ON FOOD STAMPS OR OTHER GOVERNMENTAL ASSISTANCE TO MAKE ENDS MEET |    |    |

h. NONE OF ABOVE → TURN TO P. 17, SECTION C

Which of these happened to you?

| a. WAS UNEMPLOYED      | YES | NO |
| b. WAS TEMPORARILY LAID OFF |    |    |
| c. HAD WORKING HOURS REDUCED |    |    |
| d. HAD TO WORK A DIFFERENT SHIFT |    |    |
| e. TOOK A CUT IN PAY |    |    |
| f. HAD TO TAKE A JOB BELOW QUALIFICATIONS |    |    |
| g. RELIED ON FOOD STAMPS OR OTHER GOVERNMENTAL ASSISTANCE TO MAKE ENDS MEET |    |    |

h. NONE OF ABOVE
SECTION C: SYSTEM SUPPORT

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

C1. Do you think that people in the government waste a lot of money we pay in taxes, waste some of it, or don’t waste very much of it?

1. NOT MUCH  3. SOME  5. A LOT  8. DON’T KNOW

C2. How much of the time do you think you can trust the government in Washington to do what is right—just about always, most of the time, or only some of the time?

1. ALWAYS  3. MOST OF THE TIME  5. SOME OF THE TIME  8. DON’T KNOW

C3. Would you say the government is pretty much run by a few big interests looking out for themselves or that it is run for the benefit of all the people?

1. FOR BENEFIT OF ALL  5. FEW BIG INTERESTS  8. DON’T KNOW

C4. Do you feel that almost all of the people running the government are smart people, or do you think that quite a few of them don’t seem to know what they are doing?

1. ARE SMART PEOPLE  5. DON’T KNOW WHAT THEY ARE DOING  8. DON’T KNOW

C5. Do you think that quite a few of the people running the government are crooked, not very many are, or do you think hardly any of them are crooked?

1. HARDLY ANY  3. NOT MANY  5. QUITE A FEW  8. DON’T KNOW

C6. There has been a good deal of talk these days about Watergate, sex scandals and corruption in the government in Washington. Do you think that these problems are just the result of what individual politicians have done or is it because there’s something more seriously wrong with government in general and the way it operates?

1. INDIVIDUAL POLITICIANS  5. GOVERNMENT IN GENERAL  8. DON’T KNOW
Now I would like to talk to you again about the political parties.

D1. Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an independent, or what?

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

**TURN TO P. 19, D2**

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

1. STRONG   5. NOT VERY STRONG

**TURN TO P. 19, D2**

Dib. Aside from times when you may have voted for a candidate of another party, was there ever a time when you thought of yourself as a Democrat or an Independent rather than a Republican?

1. YES   5. NO, NEVER

**TURN TO P. 20, D3**

Dlc. Was that a Democrat or an Independent?

1. DEMOCRAT   5. INDEPENDENT

**TURN TO P. 20, D3**

Dld. When did you change to a Republican?

**TURN TO P. 20, D3**

Dle. Would you call yourself a strong Democrat or a not very strong Democrat?

1. STRONG   5. NOT VERY STRONG

**TURN TO P. 20, D3**

Dlf. Aside from times when you may have voted for a candidate of another party, was there ever a time when you thought of yourself as a Republican or an Independent rather than a Democrat?

1. YES   5. NO, NEVER

**TURN TO P. 20, D3**

Dlg. Was that a Republican or an Independent?

1. REPUBLICAN   5. INDEPENDENT

**TURN TO P. 20, D3**

Dlh. When did you change to a Democrat?
IF ANSWER TO D1 WAS INDEPENDENT, NO PREFERENCE, OR OTHER, ASK THE FOLLOWING:

D2. Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican or to the Democratic party?

1. REPUBLICAN
   2. Do you think of yourself as much closer to the Republican party than to the Democratic party, or only a little closer?
      1. MUCH CLOSER
      3. A LITTLE CLOSER
   3. NEITHER
   5. DEMOCRATIC
      2. Was there ever a time when you thought of yourself as closer to the Democratic party than to the Republican party, or only a little closer?
         1. YES, DEMOCRAT
         3. NO, NEVER
         5. A LITTLE CLOSER
         D2e. When did you change?
   D2f. Do you think of yourself as much closer to the Democratic party than to the Republican party, or only a little closer?
      1. YES, DEMOCRAT
      3. NO, NEVER
      5. A LITTLE CLOSER
   D2g. Aside from times when you may have voted for a candidate of another party, was there ever a time when you thought of yourself as closer to the Democratic party instead of the Republican party?
      1. YES
      5. NO, NEVER
      TURN TO P. 20, D3
   D2h. When did you change to your present party feelings?
      1. YES
      5. NO, NEVER
      TURN TO P. 20, D3
13. In the elections for President since you have been old enough to vote, would you say you have voted in all of them, most of them, some of them, or none of them?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. ALL</th>
<th>2. MOST</th>
<th>3. SOME</th>
<th>5. NONE</th>
<th>0. NOT OF VOTING AGE IN 1972</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>Go to D4</td>
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</table>

**D3a.** Have you always voted for the same party or have you voted for different parties for President?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. SAME PARTY</th>
<th>3. DIFFERENT PARTIES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Go to D3c</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**D3b.** Which party was that?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. DEMOCRATIC</th>
<th>5. REPUBLICAN</th>
<th>7. OTHER, SPECIFY:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**D3c.** Now, in 1972 you remember that Mr. Nixon ran on the Republican ticket against Mr. McGovern for the Democrats. Do you remember for sure whether or not you voted in that election?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. YES, DID VOTE</th>
<th>5. NO, DID NOT VOTE</th>
<th>7. DON'T REMEMBER IF VOTED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Go to D4</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**D3d.** Which one did you vote for?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. NIXON</th>
<th>2. MCGOVERN</th>
<th>5. OTHER</th>
<th>8. DK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**D4.** Do you think there are any important differences in what the Republicans and Democrats stand for?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. YES</th>
<th>5. NO</th>
<th>8. DK</th>
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<tbody>
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<td></td>
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<td>Turn to P. 21, 05</td>
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</table>

**D4a.** What are those differences?

______________________________
D5. Would you say that one of the parties is more conservative than the other at the national level?

1. YES

D5a. Which party is more conservative?

1. DEMOCRATIC  2. REPUBLICAN

D5b. Do you have anything in particular in mind when you say that the (R's, D's) are more conservative than the (D's, R's)? (What is that?) (Anything else?)

5. NO

D5c. Do you think that people generally consider the Democrats or the Republicans more conservative, or wouldn't you want to guess about that?

3. DEMOCRATS MORE CONSERVATIVE

4. REPUBLICANS MORE CONSERVATIVE

5. NO GUESS

D6. Do you remember when you were growing up whether your father (or stepfather) was very much interested in politics, somewhat interested, or didn't he pay much attention to it?

1. VERY MUCH INTERESTED  3. SOMewhat INTERESTED  5. NOT MUCH ATTENTION  8. DK

D7. Did he think of himself as a Democrat, as a Republican, as an Independent, or what?

1. DEMOCRAT  5. REPUBLICAN  3. INDEPENDENT

7. OTHER, SPECIFY:

8. DK
D8. Now how about your mother (or stepmother)? When you were growing up was she very much interested in politics, somewhat interested, or didn't she pay much attention to it?

1. VERY MUCH INTERESTED  3. SOMewhat INTERESTED  5. NOT MUCH INTERESTED  8. DK

D9. Did she think of herself mostly as a Democrat, as a Republican, as an Independent, or what?

1. DEMOCRAT  5. REPUBLICAN  3. INDEPENDENT  7. OTHER, SPECIFY:

8. DK
SECTION E: RACIAL ATTITUDES

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

E1. Let's start with the issue of busing. The courts have ordered busing for some school children in several cities in the United States. What do you think of busing as a way to integrate the schools? (PROBE: Can you tell me why you feel that way?)

E2. Has there been any busing for racial integration in this community or in any community around here?

1. YES
   GO TO E3

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW

E2a. Have you heard any talk that this might happen in the future?

1. YES

5. NO

E3. Some people say that the government in Washington should see to it that white and black children are allowed to go to the same schools. Other claim that this is not the government's business. Have you been concerned enough about this question to favor one side over the other?

1. YES

5. NO

E3a. Do you think the government in Washington should...

See to it that white and black children go to the same schools

or

Stay out of this area as it is not its business?

7. OTHER; DEPENDS:  __________________________
4. In the past few years we have heard a lot about improving the position of black people in this country. How much real change do you think there has been in the position of black people in the past few years: a lot, some, or not much at all?

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

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

1. TOO FAST 3. ABOUT RIGHT

5. TOO SLOWLY

6. Which of these statements would you agree with:

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

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

☐ 8. DON'T KNOW; DEPENDS; CAN'T DECIDE

7. (RB, PAGE 4) In general, how many of the black people in this area would you say are in favor of desegregation—all of them, most of them, about half, less than half of them, or none of them?

1. ALL 2. MOST 3. ABOUT HALF 4. LESS THAN HALF 5. NONE 6. NO BLACKS IN AREA 8. DK

8. How about white people in this area? How many would you say are in favor of strict segregation of the races—all of them, most of them, about half, less than half of them, or none of them?

1. ALL 2. MOST 3. ABOUT HALF 4. LESS THAN HALF 5. NONE 6. NO WHITES IN AREA 8. DK

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

1. DESEGREGATION 3. IN BETWEEN

5. SEGREGATION
### E11. Is this neighborhood you now live in all white, mostly white, about half white and half black or mostly black?

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. <strong>ALL WHITE</strong></td>
<td>2. <strong>MOSTLY WHITE</strong></td>
<td>3. <strong>HALF WHITE HALF BLACK</strong></td>
<td>4. <strong>MOSTLY BLACK</strong></td>
<td>8. <strong>DON'T KNOW</strong></td>
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</table>

### E12. Would you personally prefer to live in a neighborhood that is all white, mostly white, about half white and half black or mostly black?

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### E13. Is the grade school nearest you all white, mostly white, about half white and half black, mostly black or all black?

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. <strong>ALL WHITE</strong></td>
<td>2. <strong>MOSTLY WHITE</strong></td>
<td>3. <strong>HALF WHITE HALF BLACK</strong></td>
<td>4. <strong>MOSTLY BLACK</strong></td>
<td>5. <strong>ALL BLACK</strong></td>
<td>8. <strong>DON'T KNOW</strong></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

### E14. Are your friends all white, mostly white, about half white and half black, mostly black or all black?

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. <strong>ALL WHITE</strong></td>
<td>2. <strong>MOSTLY WHITE</strong></td>
<td>3. <strong>HALF WHITE HALF BLACK</strong></td>
<td>4. <strong>MOSTLY BLACK</strong></td>
<td>5. <strong>ALL BLACK</strong></td>
<td>8. <strong>DON'T KNOW</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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TURN TO P. 27, SECTION F
(ASK BLACK R'S ONLY)

**E15.** Is this neighborhood you now live in all black, mostly black, about half black and half white or mostly white?

- 5. **ALL BLACK**
- 4. **MOSTLY BLACK**
- 3. **HALF BLACK HALF WHITE**
- 2. **MOSTLY WHITE**
- 1. **DON'T KNOW**

**E16.** Would you personally refer to live in a neighborhood that is all black, mostly black, about half black and half white or mostly white?

- 1. **ALL BLACK**
- 2. **MOSTLY BLACK**
- 3. **HALF BLACK HALF WHITE**
- 4. **MOSTLY WHITE**
- 8. **DON'T KNOW**
- 7. **NO PREFERENCE**

**E17.** Is the grade school nearest you all black, mostly black, about half black and half white, mostly white or all white?

- 5. **ALL BLACK**
- 4. **MOSTLY BLACK**
- 3. **HALF BLACK HALF WHITE**
- 2. **MOSTLY WHITE**
- 1. **ALL WHITE**
- 8. **DON'T KNOW**

**E18.** Are your friends all black, mostly black, about half black and half white, mostly white or all white?

- 5. **ALL BLACK**
- 4. **MOSTLY BLACK**
- 3. **HALF BLACK HALF WHITE**
- 2. **MOSTLY WHITE**
- 1. **ALL WHITE**
- 8. **DON'T KNOW**
Now I'd like to ask you a few questions about some issues facing the United States.

F1. During this year the United States has been celebrating its 200th birthday. Does the thought of America's 200 year history make you feel very proud, somewhat proud, not very proud, or doesn't it really make much difference to you?

1. VERY PROUD  2. somewhat PROUD  3. NOT VERY PROUD  4. DOESN'T MAKE MUCH DIFFERENCE

F2. Some people are afraid the government in Washington is getting too powerful for the good of the country and the individual person. Others feel that the government in Washington is not getting too strong. Do you have an opinion on this?

1. YES  5. NO  → TURN TO P. 28, F3

F2a. What is your feeling, do you think the government is getting too powerful or do you think the government is not getting too strong?

1. TOO POWERFUL  5. NOT GETTING TOO STRONG  7. OTHER; DEPENDS:

F2b. Which party do you think is more likely to favor a stronger government in Washington—the Democrats, the Republicans, or wouldn't there be much difference between them on this?

1. DEMOCRATS  5. REPUBLICANS  3. NO DIFFERENCE  8. DON'T KNOW
Now I'd like you to think about a set of statements I'll make about the two major candidates for president. For each statement, I want you to tell me how strongly you agree or disagree, using this seven-point scale.

If you agree completely, you'd pick position number 1; if you disagree completely you'd pick position number 7. Of course, you could also pick any of the numbered positions in between. The first set of statements concerns Gerald Ford.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
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<td>5</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>(INTERVIEWER RECORD NUMBER)</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

F3a. Ford, as President, could be trusted. [8. DK]
F3b. Ford has the kind of personality a President ought to have. [8. DK]
F3c. Ford, as President, would bring moral and religious standards to government. [8. DK]
F3d. Ford, as President, would reduce unemployment. [8. DK]
F3e. Ford, as President, would make the government run better and make it more efficient. [8. DK]
F3f. Ford, as President, would reduce the power and size of government. [8. DK]
F3g. Ford, as President, would reduce inflation. [8. DK]

The next set of statements concerns Jimmy Carter.

F4a. Carter, as President, could be trusted. [8. DK]
F4b. Carter has the kind of personality a President ought to have. [8. DK]
F4c. Carter, as President, would bring moral and religious standards to government. [8. DK]
F4d. Carter, as President, would reduce unemployment. [8. DK]
F4e. Carter, as President, would make the government run better and make it more efficient. [8. DK]
F4f. Carter, as President, would reduce the power and size of government. [8. DK]
F4g. Carter, as President, would reduce inflation. [8. DK]
F5. 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—at point number 7. And, of course, some other people have opinions somewhere in between.

Government See to Job and Good Standard of Living

Government Let Each Person Get Ahead on His Own

(INTERVIEWER RECORD NUMBER)

F5a. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?

F5b. Where would you place Gerald Ford on this scale?

F5c. Where would you place Jimmy Carter on this scale?

F5d. Where would you place the Democratic party?

F5e. Where would you place the Republican party?

F5f. Where would you place most liberals?

F5g. Where would you place most conservatives?
F6. (RB, PAGE 7) Some people are primarily concerned with doing everything possible to protect the legal rights of those accused of committing crimes. Others feel that it is more important to stop criminal activity even at the risk of reducing the rights of the accused.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Protect Rights of Accused</th>
<th>Stop Crime Regardless of Rights of Accused</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<td>7</td>
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(INTerviewer Record Number)

F6a. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this? 

F6b. Where would you place Gerald Ford? 

F6c. (Where would you place) Jimmy Carter? 

F6d. (Where would you place) the Democratic party? 

F6e. (Where would you place) the Republican party? 

F6f. (Where would you place) most blacks? 

F6g. (Where would you place) most whites? 

F6h. (Where would you place) most liberals? 

F6i. (Where would you place) most conservatives? 

8. DK
F7. (RB, PAGE 8) There is much discussion about the best way to deal with racial problems. Some people think achieving racial integration of schools is so important that it justifies busing children to schools out of their own neighborhoods. Others think letting children go to their neighborhood schools is so important that they oppose busing.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bus to Achieve Integration</th>
<th>Keep Children in Neighborhood Schools</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
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<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(INTERVIEWER RECORD NUMBER)

F7a. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this? _____

F7b. Where would you place Gerald Ford? _____

F7c. (Where would you place) Jimmy Carter? _____

F7d. (Where would you place) the Democratic party? _____

F7e. (Where would you place) the Republican party? _____

F7f. (Where would you place) most blacks? _____

F7g. (Where would you place) most whites? _____
Some people feel that the government in Washington should make every possible effort to improve the social and economic position of blacks and other minority groups. Others feel that the government should not make any special effort to help minorities because they should help themselves.

Government Should Help Minority Groups

Minority Groups Should Help Themselves

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

(interviewer record number)

F8a. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?

F8b. Where would you place Gerald Ford?

F8c. Where would you place Jimmy Carter?

F8d. Where would you place the Democratic party?

F8e. Where would you place the Republican party?

F8f. Where would you place most businessmen?

F8g. Where would you place most poor people?

F8h. Where would you place most blacks?

F8i. Where would you place most whites?

HAVEN'T H. THOUGHT MUCH

TURN TO P. 33, F9
There is much concern about the rapid rise in medical and hospital costs. Some feel there should be a government insurance plan which would cover all medical and hospital expenses. Others feel that medical expenses should be paid by individuals, and through private insurance like Blue Cross.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Government Insurance Plan</th>
<th>Private Insurance Plans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(INTERVIEWER RECORD NUMBER)

F9a. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?  

F9b. Where would you place Gerald Ford?  

F9c. (Where would you place) Jimmy Carter?  

F9d. (Where would you place) the Democratic party?  

F9e. (Where would you place) the Republican party?  

F9f. (Where would you place) most businessmen?  

F9g. (Where would you place) most poor people?  

F9h. (Where would you place) most blacks?  

F9i. (Where would you place) most whites?  

8. DK
0. How we'd like to ask about how medical costs affect you personally?

Are you currently covered by any health insurance such as blue cross, medicare or medicaid which pays for all or part of your medical costs?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW

GO TO P11

F10a. Thinking about your medical coverage, do you think your insurance costs are about right, are they too high, or does your employer or somebody else pay for it?

1. ABOUT RIGHT

5. TOO HIGH

7. EMPLOYER OR SOMEBODY ELSE PAYS

8. DON'T KNOW

F10b. In case of an extended illness affecting you or your family, would your insurance cover most of the costs, would you have to dip into your savings, or would you have to borrow large sums of money?

1. COVERAGE ADEQUATE

3. DIP INTO SAVINGS

5. BORROW MONEY

8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 35, F12

1. In case of an extended illness affecting you or your family, would you have to dip into your savings or would you have to borrow large sums of money?

1. DIP INTO SAVINGS

3. BORROW MONEY

5. BOTH

8. DON'T KNOW
F12. (RB, PAGE 11) We hear a lot of talk these days about liberals and conservatives. Here is a seven-point scale on which the political views that people might hold are arranged from extremely liberal to extremely conservative.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Extremely Liberal</th>
<th>Liberal</th>
<th>Slightly liberal</th>
<th>Moderate, middle of the road</th>
<th>Slightly Conservative</th>
<th>Conservative</th>
<th>Extremely Conservative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(INTERVIEWER RECORD NUMBER)

F12a. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven’t you thought much about this?  

F12b. Where would you place Gerald Ford?  

F12c. (Where would you place) Jimmy Carter?  

F12d. (Where would you place) the Democratic party?  

F12e. (Where would you place) the Republican party?  

F12f. (Where would you place) Hubert Humphrey?  

F12g. (Where would you place) George Wallace?  

F12h. (Where would you place) George McGovern?  

F12i. (Where would you place) Ronald Reagan?  

F12j. (Where would you place) Walter "Fritz" Mondale?  

F12k. (Where would you place) Robert "Bob" Dole?  

F12l. (Where would you place) Robert "Bob" Dole?  

F12m. (Where would you place) Robert "Bob" Dole?  

F12n. (Where would you place) Robert "Bob" Dole?  

F12o. (Where would you place) Robert "Bob" Dole?  

F12p. (Where would you place) Robert "Bob" Dole?  

F12q. (Where would you place) Robert "Bob" Dole?  

F12r. (Where would you place) Robert "Bob" Dole?  

F12s. (Where would you place) Robert "Bob" Dole?  

F12t. (Where would you place) Robert "Bob" Dole?  

F12u. (Where would you place) Robert "Bob" Dole?  

F12v. (Where would you place) Robert "Bob" Dole?  

F12w. (Where would you place) Robert "Bob" Dole?  

F12x. (Where would you place) Robert "Bob" Dole?  

F12y. (Where would you place) Robert "Bob" Dole?  

F12z. (Where would you place) Robert "Bob" Dole?  

F12a. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven’t you thought much about this?
As you know, many people were mentioned this year as possible candidates for President or Vice-President by the political parties. We would like to get your feelings toward some of these people.

I'll read the name of each person and I'd like you to rate that person with what we call a feeling thermometer (RB, PAGE 12). Ratings between 50° and 100° mean that you feel favorably and warm toward the person, ratings between 0° and 50° mean that you don't feel favorably toward the person and that you don't care too much for that person. If you don't feel particularly warm or cold toward a person you would rate them at 50°. If we come to a person you don't know much about, just tell me and we'll move on to the next one.

Our first person is George Wallace. How would you rate him using the thermometer?

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rating</th>
<th>Candidate</th>
<th>Rating</th>
<th>Candidate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>George Wallace</td>
<td></td>
<td>Morris K. Udall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jimmy Carter</td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Jerry&quot; Brown, Jr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gerald Ford</td>
<td></td>
<td>Richard Nixon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hubert Humphrey</td>
<td></td>
<td>Walter &quot;Fritz&quot; Hondoal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ronald Reagan</td>
<td></td>
<td>George McGovern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Ted&quot; Kennedy</td>
<td></td>
<td>Henry Kissinger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Scoop&quot; Jackson</td>
<td></td>
<td>Eugene McCarthy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nelson Rockefeller</td>
<td></td>
<td>Robert Dole</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
G2. (RB, PAGE 13) Do you believe that any of these persons have higher moral or religious standards than the others?

1. YES

5. NO → GO TO G3.

G3a. Which ones?

G3. While all candidates are concerned about the country as a whole, people often feel that a particular candidate is better for some groups than for others. (RB, PAGE 14.) Here is a list of some groups that we find in American society. Read over the list and tell me which groups would be better off with Carter as president rather than with Ford.

(PLACE AN X AT THE LEFT OF EACH GROUP R SELECTS.)

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

ALL

NONE

DK
Now tell me which ones you think would be better off with Ford as president rather than with Carter.

(PLACE AN X AT THE LEFT OF EACH GROUP R SELECTS)

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

ALL

D. K

NONE
Now I'd like to read some of the kinds of things people tell us when we interview them and ask you whether you agree or disagree with them. I'll read them one at a time and you just tell me whether you agree or disagree.

H1. It isn't so important to vote when you know your party doesn't have any chance to win.

H2. So many other people vote in the national elections that it doesn't matter much to me whether I vote or not.

H3. If a person doesn't care how an election comes out he shouldn't vote in it.

H4. A good many local elections aren't important enough to bother with.

H5. In recent dealings with the Soviet Union, the United States has given up far more than we have received.

H6. The government should spend less even if it means cutting back on programs like health and education.

H7. (RB, PAGE 15) Now here is something slightly different. I will read some statements and you tell me the number on this scale which indicates your answer.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WARNING</th>
<th>7 A GREAT DEAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
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<td>5</td>
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<td></td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 NONE</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

H7a. How much do you feel that you and your friends are well-represented in our political system?

H7b. How much of the time do you think that the courts in the United States guarantee everyone a fair trial?

H7c. To what extent would you say that the leading politicians in the United States have had good intentions?
Some people believe that our armed forces are powerful enough and we should spend less money for defense. Others feel that military spending should at least continue at the present level. How do you feel—should military spending be cut, or should it continue at least at the present level?

1. CUT MILITARY SPENDING

5. CONTINUE SPENDING AT LEAST AT PRESENT LEVEL

8. DON'T KNOW

H8a. Would you still favor spending less money for defense if you were sure it meant that our military strength would fall behind that of the Soviet Union?

1. YES

5. NO

H8b. Would you favor spending less money for defense if you were sure it meant that our military strength would not fall behind that of the Soviet Union?

1. YES

5. NO

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

1. DEMOCRATS

5. REPUBLICANS

3. NOT MUCH DIFFERENCE

8. DON'T KNOW

(RB, PAGE 16) Some people think of political attitudes as being on the "left" or the "right." This is a scale stretching from the "left" to the "right." When you think of your own political attitudes, where would you put yourself?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

DK

LEFT

RIGHT
H11. Some people believe a change in our whole form of government is needed to solve the problems facing our country, while others feel no real change is necessary. Do you think a big change is needed in our form of government, or should it be kept pretty much as it is?

1. NEED BIG CHANGE
2. NEED SOME CHANGE
3. KEEP AS IS
7. OTHER, SPECIFY:
8. DK

GO TO H12

H11a. When you say we need a change, what exactly do you have in mind? What kind of change in our form of government are you thinking of?

H12. I'm going to read you a pair of statements about our form of government and I'd like you to tell me which one you agree with more. Would you say...

☐ 1. I am proud of many things about our form of government, or
☐ 5. I can't find much in our form of government to be proud of?
☐ 8. DON'T KNOW

H13. There has been some talk recently about how people have lost faith and confidence in the government in Washington. Do you think this lack of trust in the government is just because of the individuals in office or is there something more seriously wrong with government in general and the way it operates?

1. INDIVIDUALS IN OFFICE
5. SOMETHING WRONG WITH GOVERNMENT
8. DON'T KNOW
SECTION S: DEMOGRAPHIC DATA

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

S1. What is your date of birth?

MONTH ___________________ YEAR ___________________

S2. Are you married now and living with your (husband/wife)--or are you widowed, divorced, separated, or have you never married?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MARRIED AND LIVING</th>
<th>5. WIDOWED</th>
<th>3. DIVORCED</th>
<th>4. SEPARATED</th>
<th>2. NEVER MARRIED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. WITH SPOUSE (OR</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>TURN TO P. 44,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPOUSE IN SERVICE)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>S3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

S2a. Do you have any children?

1. YES  5. NO  TURN TO P. 44, S3

S2b. How many? ________________________________

S2c. What are their ages? ________________________________

S2d. Do any of your children attend public schools?

1. YES  5. NO  TURN TO P. 44, S3

S2e. Do any of your children ride a bus to school?

1. YES  5. NO  TURN TO P. 44, S3

S2f. Is this busing for the purpose of racial integration?

1. YES  5. NO
S3. What is the highest grade of school or year of college you completed?

**GRADES OF SCHOOL**

00 01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08 09 10 11 12

**COLLEGE**

13 14 15 16 17+

S3a. Did you get a high school diploma or pass a high school equivalency test?

1. YES  5. NO

S3b. Do you have a college degree?

1. YES  5. NO

GO TO S3g

S3c. What degree is that?

S3d. From what college is that and where is it located? (COMPLETE NAME.)

S3e. Have you had any other schooling?

1. YES  5. NO

S3f. What kind?

TURNT TO P. 45, CHECKPOINT S4

S3g. What was the last college you attended? Where is that located? (COMPLETE NAME)

TURNT TO P. 45, CHECKPOINT S4
And what is the highest grade of school or year of college that (the head of the family/your husband/your wife) completed?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GRADES OF SCHOOL</th>
<th>COLLEGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>00  01  02  03  04  05  06  07  08  09  10  11  12</td>
<td>13  14  15  16  17+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

S5a. Did (he/she) get a high school diploma or pass a high school equivalency test?

1. YES  5. NO

S5b. Does (he/she) have a college degree?

1. YES  5. NO

Go to S5g

S5e. Has (he/she) had any other schooling?

1. YES  5. NO

Turn to P. 46, S6

S5f. What kind?

__________________________________________________________

__________________________________________________________

__________________________________________________________

__________________________________________________________

Turn to P. 46, S6

S5c. What degree is that?

__________________________________________________________

__________________________________________________________

S5d. From what college is that and where is it located? (COMPLETE NAME.)

__________________________________________________________

__________________________________________________________

Turn to P. 46, S6

S5g. What was the last college (he/she) attended? Where is that located? (COMPLETE NAME.)

__________________________________________________________

__________________________________________________________
S6. We'd like to know if you are working now, or are you unemployed, retired, (a housewife),

2. TEMPORARILY LAID OFF  1. WORKING NOW  4. UNEMPLOYED

S7. What is your main occupation? (What sort of work do you do?) (IF NOT CLEAR: Tell me a little more about what you do.)

S8. What kind of (business/industry) is that?

S9. Do you work for someone else, yourself, or what?

1. SOMEONE ELSE  2. BOTH SOMEONE ELSE AND SELF

3. SELF ONLY

S10. About how many hours do you work on your job in the average week?

HOURS A WEEK

S11. Generally speaking, when you come home from work, are you very tired, somewhat tired, or not very tired?

1. VERY TIRED  3. SOMEWHAT TIRED  5. NOT TIRED

S12. (ASK ONLY OF WORKING NOW) Were you out of work at any time during the last twelve months?

1. YES  5. NO

TURN TO P. 48, CHECK BOX D

S13. Have you ever done any work for pay?

1. YES  5. NO → SKIP TO P. 48

S13a. What sort of work did you do on your last regular job? (What was your occupation?)

S13b. What kind of business/industry was that?

S13c. Did you work for someone else, yourself, or what?

1. SOMEONE ELSE  2. BOTH SOMEONE ELSE AND SELF

3. SELF ONLY

S14. Have you had a job in the past twelve months?

1. YES  5. NO → SKIP TO P. 48

CHECK BOX D

S14a. About how many hours did you work on your last job in the average week?

HOURS A WEEK

TURN TO P. 48, CHECK BOX D
S20. We'd also like to know about (the head of the family/your husband/wife)...

1. WORKING NOW
2. TEMPORARILY LAID OFF

S21. What is his/her main occupation? (What sort of work does he/she do? (IF NOT CLEAR: Tell me a little more about what he/she does.)

S22. What kind of (business/industry) is that in?

S23. Does he/she work for someone else, himself/herself, or what?
1. SOMEONE ELSE
2. BOTH SOMEONE ELSE AND SELF
3. SELF ONLY

S24. About how many hours does he/she work on his/her job in the average week?

S25. (ASK ONLY OF WORKING NOW) Was he/she out of work at any time during the last twelve months?
1. YES
5. NO

TURN TO P. 50, S33

S26. Has he/she ever done any work for pay?
1. YES
5. NO 

S26a. What sort of work did he/she do on his/her last regular job? (What was his/her occupation?)

S26b. What kind of (business/industry) was that?

S26c. Did he/she work for someone else, himself/herself, or what?
1. SOMEONE ELSE
2. BOTH SOMEONE ELSE AND SELF
3. SELF ONLY

S27. Has he/she had a job in the past twelve months?
1. YES
5. NO 

S27a. About how many hours did he/she work on his/her last job in the average week?

TURN TO P. 50, S33
(he/she) working now, unemployed, retired, (a housewife), (a student), or what?

5. RETIRED

6. PERMANENTLY DISABLED

1. When did he/she retire?
   **YEAR**

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

30a. What kind of (business/industry) was that?

S30b. Did he/she work for someone else, himself/herself, or what?
   1. SOMEONE ELSE
   2. BOTH SOMEONE ELSE AND SELF
   3. SELF ONLY

4. During the last twelve months did he/she do any work for pay?
   1. YES
   2. NO
   **TURN TO P. 50, S33**

S31a. Is he/she doing any work for pay at the present time?
   1. YES
   2. NO
   **GO BACK TO "WORKING NOW"**

S31b. About how many hours a week did he/she work in the average week when he/she worked?
   **HOURS A WEEK**
   **TURN TO P. 50, S33**

7. HOUSEWIFE

8. STUDENT

S32. In the last twelve months did he/she do any work for pay?

1. YES
   2. NO
   **TURN TO P. 50, S33**

S32a. Is he/she doing any work for pay at the present time?

S32b. What kind of work did he/she do? (What was his/her occupation?)

S32c. What kind of business was that?

S32d. Did he/she work for someone else, himself/herself, or what?
   1. SOMEONE ELSE
   2. BOTH SOMEONE ELSE AND SELF
   3. SELF ONLY

S32e. About how many hours a week did he/she work in the average week when he/she worked?
   **HOURS A WEEK**
   **TURN TO P. 50, S33**
(ASK IF HEAD IS A FARMER OR RANCHER--OTHERS GO TO S34)

S33. (Do you/Does head) do any other kind of work besides (farming/ranching)--for pay, I mean?

1. YES

5. NO → GO TO S34

S33a. What kind of work is that?

S33b. About how much time (do you/does head) usually put in on that?

_________ HOURS PER WEEK  OR  _________ HOURS PER YEAR

S33c. Do you own your farm, manage it, rent it, or what?

1. OWN  2. MANAGE  3. RENT  7. OTHER, SPECIFY:

S34. Does anyone in this household belong to a labor union?

1. YES

5. NO → TURN TO P.51, S35

S34a. Who is it that belongs?

(CHECK AS MANY AS APPLICABLE)

RESPONDENT  HEAD (NOT R)  SOMEONE ELSE IN HOUSEHOLD

S34b. What union is that?

(What unions are those)?

(GET COMPLETE NAME NOT JUST INITIAL).

|  |  |  |
ASK WORKING R's ONLY -- ALL OTHERS TURN TO P. 52, S37

S35. We would like you to compare how much you earn on your job with what other people in your line of work get. Do you feel the money you make is much less than your fair share, somewhat less than your fair share, about your fair share, or more than your fair share?

1. MUCH LESS  2. SOMewhat LESS  3. ABOUT FAIR  4. MORE  8. DK

S36. And how fair is what people in your line of work earn in comparison to how much people in other occupations earn? Do you feel that you get much less than you deserve, somewhat less than you deserve, about as much as you deserve, or more than you deserve in comparison to how much people in other occupations earn?

1. MUCH LESS  2. SOMewhat LESS  4. ABOUT AS MUCH AS DESERVE  5. MORE  8. DK
S37. There's been some talk these days about different social classes. Most people say they belong either to the middle class or to the working class. Do you ever think of yourself as belonging in one of these classes?

1. YES

S37a. Which one?

(RECORD BELOW)

5. NO
8. DK
7. OTHER

S37b. Well, if you had to make a choice, would you call yourself middle class or working class?

(RECORD BELOW)

1. MIDDLE CLASS

2. WORKING CLASS

7. OTHER

GO TO S38

S37c. Would you say that you are about average middle class, or that you are in the upper part of the middle class?

4. AVERAGE MIDDLE
6. UPPER MIDDLE

S37d. Would you say you feel pretty close to middle class people, or that you don't feel much closer to them than to people in other classes?

1. CLOSER
4. NOT CLOSER

S37e. Would you say that you are about average working class, or that you are in the upper part of the working class?

1. AVERAGE WORKING
3. UPPER WORKING

S37f. Would you say you feel pretty close to working class people, or that you don't feel much closer to them than to people in other classes?

2. CLOSER
5. NOT CLOSER

S38. What would you say your family was when you were growing up

1. middle class
or
2. working class?

( IF R BLACK TURN TO P. 53, S40)

S39. In addition to being an American, what do you consider your main ethnic or nationality group?
1. Were both your parents born in this country?

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

   S40a. Which country was your father born in?
   S40b. Which country was your mother born in?

   S40c. Do you remember which country your family came from originally on your father's side?
   S40d. Do you remember which country your family came from originally on your mother's side?

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

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

   - 1. YES
   - 5. NO ➔ GO TO S43

   S42a. What kind of work did she do?

4. Where were you born? (IF UNITED STATES) Which State?

5. Where was it that you grew up? (IF UNITED STATES) Which state or states?
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?
R ONLY FAMILY MEMBER 14 OR ABOVE — TURN TO P. 56, §50

R LIVES WITH OTHER FAMILY MEMBERS 14 OR ABOVE

S49. (RB PAGE 17) Please look at this page and tell me the letter of the income group that includes the income of all members of your family in 1975 before taxes. This figure should include dividends, interest, salaries, wages, pensions, and all other income. (IF UNCERTAIN: What would be your best guess)?

A. NONE OR LESS THAN $2,000  01
B. $2,000 - $2,999  02
C. $3,000 - $3,999  03
D. $4,000 - $4,999  04
E. $5,000 - $5,999  05
F. $6,000 - $6,999  06
G. $7,000 - $7,999  07
H. $8,000 - $8,999  08
I. $9,000 - $9,999  09
J. $10,000 - $10,999  10
K. $11,000 - $11,999  11
L. $12,000 - $12,999  12
M. $13,000 - $13,999  13
N. $14,000 - $14,999  14
O. $15,000 - $16,999  15
P. $17,000 - $19,999  16
Q. $20,000 - $22,999  17
R. $23,000 - $24,999  18
S. $25,000 - $34,999  19
T. $35,000 AND OVER  20

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)

TURN TO P. 56, §51
S50. (RB PAGE 17) Please look at this page and tell me the letter of the income group that includes the income you had in 1975 before taxes. This figure should include dividends, interest salaries, wages, pensions, and all other income.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Letter</th>
<th>Income Range</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>None or less than $2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>$2,000 - $2,999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>$3,000 - $3,999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>$4,000 - $4,999</td>
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<td>R</td>
<td>$23,000 - $24,999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>$25,000 - $34,999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td>$35,000 and over</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

S51. Do you (does your family) own your home, pay rent or what?

1. Own 2. Rent 7. Other, Specify: __________________________

S52. Is your religious preference Protestant, Roman Catholic, Jewish, or something else?


| NONE | END INTERVIEW | TURN TO P. 57, S53 | TURN TO P. 57, S53 | TURN TO P. 57, S53 |
S52a. What church or denomination is that?

S52b. (IF BAPTIST) Is that Southern Baptist or something else?

ANY RELIGIOUS PREFERENCE)

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

1. EVERY WEEK  2. ALMOST EVERY WEEK  3. ONCE OR TWICE A MONTH  4. A FEW TIMES A YEAR  5. NEVER

TIME AT END OF INTERVIEW:_______________
**INTERVIEWER'S SUPPLEMENT**

1. Respondent's sex is:
   - 1. Male
   - 2. Female
   - OTHER: __________

2. Respondent's race is:
   - 1. White
   - 2. Black
   - OTHER: __________

3. Relationship of R to head:
   - 1. Is head
   - 2. Is Wife
   - OTHER: __________

4. Other persons present at interview were: (CHECK MORE THAN ONE BOX IF NECESSARY)
   - None
   - Children under 6
   - Older children
   - Spouse
   - Other relatives
   - Other adults

5. Respondent's cooperation was:
   - 1. Very good
   - 2. Good
   - 3. Fair
   - 4. Poor
   - 5. Very poor

6. Respondent's general level of information about politics and public affairs seemed:
   - 1. Very high
   - 2. Fairly high
   - 3. Average
   - 4. Fairly low
   - 5. Very low

7. Rate R's apparent intelligence?
   - 1. VERY HIGH
   - 2. ABOVE AVERAGE
   - 3. AVERAGE
   - 4. BELOW AVERAGE
   - 5. VERY LOW

8. How suspicious did R seem to be about the study, before the interview?
   - 1. NOT AT ALL
   - 3. SOMEWHAT
   - 5. VERY SUSPICIOUS

9. Overall, how great was R's interest in the interview?
   - 1. VERY HIGH
   - 2. ABOVE AVERAGE
   - 3. AVERAGE
   - 4. BELOW AVERAGE
   - 5. VERY LOW
10. How sincere did R seem to be in his answers?

1. COMPLETELY SINCERE
2. USUALLY SINCERE
3. OFTEN SEEMED TO BE INSINCERE

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

_________________________________________________________________
_________________________________________________________________
_________________________________________________________________

12. TYPE OF STRUCTURE IN WHICH FAMILY LIVES:

01. TRAILER
02. DETACHED SINGLE FAMILY HOUSE
03. 2-FAMILY HOUSE, 2 UNITS SIDE BY SIDE
04. 2-FAMILY HOUSE, 2 UNITS ONE ABOVE THE OTHER
05. DETACHED 3-4 FAMILY HOUSE
06. ROW HOUSE (3 OR MORE UNITS IN AN ATTACHED ROW)
07. APARTMENT HOUSE (5 OR MORE UNITS, 3 STORIES OR LESS)
08. APARTMENT HOUSE (5 OR MORE UNITS, 4 STORIES OR MORE)
09. APARTMENT IN A PARTLY COMMERCIAL STRUCTURE
10. OTHER (SPECIFY):

13. NUMBER OF STORIES IN THE STRUCTURE, NOT COUNTING BASEMENT:

1 2 3 MORE THAN 3: (SPECIFY) ______________________