Inter-university Consortium for Political Research
Survey Research Center
The University of Michigan

1968 Election Study (H31)

Interviewer Instructions (Interviewing done only after the 1968 election)

Preparation for H31 Interviewing.

During the course of the interview, you will need certain pieces of information.

I. Local Political Background. It will be important to know several facts about the political scene in the areas where you interview. In general, these facts can be readily located in advance.

(a) You should locate each sample address within a particular Congressional District. We have included maps in your H31 materials which will make this a relatively simple task in most cases. However, metropolitan areas are finley cross-cut with many districts, and boundaries of these districts can be very irregular. In most instances, the map supplied, along with your knowledge of major streets in the district, will allow you to make accurate classification of addresses into districts. The map will lack sufficient detail for some borderline cases, however. When there is doubt, a call to the City Clerk's office should aid in final placement of the address. The proper number of the Congressional District for each sample address should be entered in the appropriate box on page 17 of the interview schedule.

(b) Once the proper Congressional District is specified, the reference list which we have supplied you ("1968 Congressional Candidates, by State and Congressional District") will give the names of the major-party candidates who ran in that district. These names should also be entered on p. 17 of the interview schedule. As you will see in reading Question 47, you will need to know the names correctly to administer the schedule.

SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS FOR CONNECTICUT AND NEW MEXICO INTERVIEWERS

In two states, CONNECTICUT and NEW MEXICO congressional balloting follows unusual procedures, and interviewers in these states must follow special instructions.

CONNECTICUT: There is, in addition to the normal congressional district, a Congressman-at-Large which all voters in the state may choose. The two candidates this year are Antoni Badgley, Republican (incumbent) and Frank Fowler, Democrat. Throughout the interview, you may ignore the fact that there is a Congressman-at-Large, and work entirely with the specific district and its candidates. However, we alert you to possible problems on items like vote for Congress (Question 41), where R may give you only his vote for the Congressman-at-Large. We specifically want to know his vote for Congress in his own district. Or again, in giving names of the contestents (Question 47) or the incumbent (Question 48) he may speak in terms of the at-large seat. If he does, probe further for the appropriate material in the specific district. Also, use the two local candidates in the sequences starting Question 49 and Question 50.

NEW MEXICO: Here there are two seats at-large (statewide) with no districts smaller than the state itself. For questions referring to events "in this district" (e.g., Questions 19, 45 and 65), you should refer instead to things "in this state."

Other questions are less easily adjusted. On the vote for Congress (Question 41) find out whom R voted for (or would have voted for) with regard to both seats, continuing with the contingencies (Questions 46-48) for each. A similar change must be made in Question 45. In Question 47 you will be searching for four names, instead of the usual two. The statement at the end of the question will be recorded to cover the four candidates.

In Question 49 only Joseph Montoya, among the four candidates, is an incumbent. Therefore, this question will only have to be asked once. But, Question 49 should be asked twice, once for each of the two Republican candidates; and Question 50 will also be asked for each Democrat in the race. After these questions are answered you will know whether it is necessary to proceed with the next series (51-58) twice (for two Republican candidates), once, or not at all; and similarly, whether Questions 59-66 must be asked twice, once or not at all. We are sending extra copies of pages 18-23 to cover situations in which more than two candidates must be explored. This section will be tedious if any respondent knows three or four of the four possible candidates; however, our advance information suggests it highly unlikely that you will encounter such a situation at all.

(a) Many names are starred (*) on the list of Congressional candidates. These are incumbents, who were holding the Congressional seat from that district prior to the time of the election. In asking Question 47 you find out whether or not the respondent knows which candidate is the incumbent. You will not need to know the correct answer to follow the contingencies. That is, you should not correct if he gives the wrong incumbent, but a star beside the incumbent's name as entered on p. 17 will keep you on top of the situation as you interview.

(d) Question 42 asks about R's vote for U.S. Senator. In the states listed below there was no election for Senate in 1968. Interviewers in these states can cross out this question on all schedules before starting to interview:

Alabama
Arkansas
Colorado
Georgia
Idaho
Illinois
Iowa
Kansas
Kentucky
Louisiana
New Hampshire
Oklahoma
Oregon
S. Carolina
S. Dakota

*Refers to respondent throughout the instructions.
(c) Question 13 asks about R's vote for Governor. In the states listed below there was no election for Governor in 1956. Interviewers in these states can answer this question on all schedules before starting to interview.

Florida           Mississippi          Utah
Illinois          Missouri            Virginia
Indiana           Montana             Washington
Kentucky          New Jersey          West Virginia
Louisiana         North Carolina

QUESTION OBJECTIVES

Question 1. Straight attitudinal question. Try to make sure that the frame of reference is the national scene and the victory or defeat of the national political parties, not involvement because of a local candidate alone.

Questions 2-5. In this series of questions we ask R about the things he likes and doesn't like about the two parties. Here, we want to get an accurate picture as possible of what R feels are the positive and negative characteristics of the two parties. Therefore, after the first response to each question (2 through 5), use such probes as "any other things you like (don't like) about the Democratic (Republican) party?" "anything else?", etc.

We need to get responses that are as specific as possible. Thus, if R says he likes party X because it is a "better" party, probe for what he means by this. For example, if he says X is a "more progressive," "conservative," "socialist," "liberal," or any other word that is often used to mean a lot of different things, use such probes as "Can you tell me more about this?" "Can you give me some examples of what you mean?", etc.

In probing on these questions, we are interested in getting at material that is meaningful to the respondents. We want to probe to the extent that the respondents will start talking about issues for which we want information. For example, if R talks about issues in general, give him an opportunity to talk about specific issues. If R talks about specific issues, give him an opportunity to talk about other issues.

Questions 19-21. This is a much abbreviated version of the questions on government policy which were included in the 1956 study. We have eliminated about two-thirds of the 1956 questions and have simplified the format. However, these questions will be a very important part of our panel and will form the basis for our analysis.

We have given this section very close attention and have, over the years, tried a whole series of approaches to the problem of getting the most meaningful responses to these questions and we don't want to bore or tire respondents who really don't have anything to say or who may feel that they have to say something or just appear ignorant, poorly informed, etc.

To meet these problems, each question is introduced with an open-ended question which indicates that no opinion is a permissible response. Then, making it very easy for a person who does not have an opinion on an issue to
tell us just that, we solve our other problems and, at the same time, save time in the interview (because we will not ask him any more about that particular issue) and avoid damaging our rapport with him (which might happen if you had to ask him more questions about an issue which doesn't mean anything to him).

Following the question, "Would you say you have an opinion on this or not?" we have (Agree and Disagree). If there is any indication that R has an opinion about the issue, even if he gives a 'qualified no', seek the Agreedisagreed part of the question, but be sure to record what he says about it in any side comments. Skip to the next issue only if the respondent gives you a straightforward "No Opinion."

When the respondent says anything other than "No" to the first part of a question, use your own judgment in deciding how to present the Agreedisagreed part. If on the basis of the R's responses to the earlier questions you feel that he is relatively alert, intelligent, literate and able to follow instructions, you might just explain to him that as you ask each of the next questions, if he has an opinion about an issue you want him to look at the card and tell you which answer best describes his own position on the issue. For such a person, after the first question or two you probably won't have to ask: "Do you agree that the government should do this, etc.?" Our previous experience indicates that most respondents catch on very quickly and will choose the response they desire without prompting. At the same time, watch carefully that R does not get into a routine and give you perfunctory and probably casual answers. If he is not interested in an issue we want him to drop out by saying he doesn't have an opinion or by selecting "don't know" from the card.

There will, of course, be some respondents for whom you will always have to repeat the "Do you agree...?" question and for whom you will have to indicate occasionally that they should be choosing the answers from the card. For less literate, those with poor vision, etc., you will undoubtedly have to use your own copy of the alternatives in the questionnaire and repeat the alternatives quite frequently.

The lines at the end of each issue scale are to be used only if R volunteers information which qualified his selected answer. The problem is to decide liberally left the scale of answers in terms of strength of feeling omitting the "agree with qualification" or "disagree with qualification" categories. If R disagrees strongly with an issue, but makes qualifications, mark him "Disagree strongly" and record the qualifications.

The second part (b) of each question is asked ONLY if the R answers something other than "No Opinion" or "Don't Know" to the first part.

On both parts of each issue question, our analysis problems will be greatly complicated if respondents evaluate the issue or approve a decision for one party whom they should really be dropping out as "don't know." On both parts it is quite all right for you to use your own discretion and, where you think it would help improve the meaningfulness of the answers, reassure the respondent that not many people you talk to have opinions on many of the items, or that most people don't know what positions the parties take on the issues. Throughout the series we want to make sure that we get all the Dk's.

That is, we know that when we ask issue questions that are as specific as these, the more people may have strong opinions on many of the issues and we want to know who these people are for each issue.

General comments on issue content in Questions 11-18.

(1) In some instances in the past the respondents have reacted to the general goal of the statements rather than to the question of whether the government should do something to achieve the goal. Thus, on the question of government aid for education, some respondents react in terms of "Oh, sure, we need more schools," on aid to Negroes in housing and jobs the response may be, "Everybody should get a fair break," with no indication that government should or should not insure getting a fair break. We have made a number of changes in question wording to minimize this problem, however, it may still exist. If R appears to gloss over the role of government in these instances repeat the question, making clear that the government's role is a crucial part of the question.

(2) Some respondents occasionally get mixed up on the direction of the question in the series. They may be in favor of government action of a given kind, hear a question stated in terms of the government should stay out, and react only to the phrase "the government should" without really hearing the crucial addition "stay out." This may be particularly true of issue 10. In our previous experience we had some respondents who apparently heard no more than "government" and "white and colored children in same schools," they voiced strong approval of the statement but, in commenting on the question, made it evident that they misunderstood the statement and really opposed segregation and were not at all in favor of the government staying out of this matter. To clear up this problem, we ask R specifically why he feels the way he does (12b). These content responses should remove any doubt about which half of the scale he fits. We also ask if his feelings have changed (12b), so we can clear up confusion in 1956 answers for our panel people.

But on the other issue items (other than Question 18) the general problem is one of phrasing a question one way (either for or against government action) and having a respondent whose belief runs counter to our statement, but who misunderstands the issue as we have stated it and, consequently, proceeds to give an answer not answer. In such instances the side comments recorded at the bottom of each issue in the question sequence will be of great importance in interpreting the answer.

In the issue about employment (12a) we are definitely not talking about "right-to-work" laws. We did not encounter any confusion of this sort in the 1956 study, but it turned up once or twice in the 1950 pre-tests. Since we are interested in change over time, we do not want to tamper with the wording of the question. Instead, we shall count on you to watch out for a confusion of this sort and to be prepared to keep R thinking of the correct issue. If there is any indication R is led to think of right-to-work laws here, tell him we are asking about what responsibility the government has to keep full employment, labor unions and the closed shop aside.

(3) Try to make certain that the respondent answers the questions in terms of the intended national or federal government frame of reference. The statements of belief all involve beliefs concerning what the government in
Washington, the national administration, should do. If the respondent answers in terms of what he thinks the state government or city government is doing or should be doing, repeat the question and, if necessary, insert the phrase "government in Washington."

(6) In the "X" part of the series, we are referring, of course, to the present administration in Washington. If we asked directly for an evaluation of "the Eisenhower administration," we would get a lot of responses (which we don't want) from people who don't know, or don't care what the government is doing on a particular issue but who have decided partisan attitudes toward the Eisenhower administration in general. If respondents ask what is meant by "government in Washington," you could point out that it means the present administration, the president and his cabinet, or the executive branch. Do not mention President Eisenhower or the Republican party by name unless you have to -- and then indicate that you have done so on the questionnaire. We don't mean Congress or the Supreme Court.

(5) The practicality of the government doing something is not involved in the series. If a respondent says: "It would be good if they could do that, but I don't see how they can," or, "I sure wish there was some way they could do that" -- such responses as agreeing with the statement of belief.

(6) The time reference is the present. If a respondent answers in terms of what should have been done, or should not have been done 50 years ago, repeat the question.

Question 19. Here we want to identify which if any of the eight issues are pertinent for people in the "X" own district. To help you remember the eight questions just talked about, we have printed a list of brief identifications on the back side of the answer card, exactly those in your checklist. As before, you may have to read these off to some illiterate or handicapped Rs.

We expect very few Rs to feel any of the issues were important. The significant item here is the topic of the issue and not our particular phrasing of it. Any indication that the Rs think school integration, for example, is an important issue should be noted -- even if the Rs rephrase the question to emphasize some particular aspect of the topic. However, a rather vague, "Well, they are taking a lot about foreign policy" should be followed up in an attempt to find out which of the three foreign policy topics (37, 7, or 8 in Question 19) best fits the local definition of the issue.

Questions 25-27. These are attempts to get a very generalized picture of a person's evaluation of the national state of well-being. We do want to separate foreign and domestic problems, as in 25-26 vs. 27, but we don't want to be any more specific if we can help it. The basic idea here is that many people react to policy in very general terms of "mood" rather than in an evaluation of specific policies and problems. They may not have specific opinions about aid to neutrals or military-aid-economic aid programs, but they will have a general sense that things are going all right -- or that somebody (probably Russia) is getting the best of us. Similarly, discontent on the domestic scene may not be a focused reaction to economic or racial problems and more a sense that "things in general have been going along better-or-worse than before.

Question 28. Here we are attempting to measure the respondent's "party identification." By party identification we mean a person's feeling of attachment or belonging to a party. The question is intended to pin down the respondent's "usual" or customary sense of party affiliation, not particularly how he intends to vote in this election. This means that a response such as "Oh, I have been a Democrat all my life, but I really don't know about this year," classifies the respondent as a Democrat (probably, in 28a, a not very strong Democrat), and not as an independent. The people who are derailing from a usual party will be identified by later questions, but at this point we want to know if they have a "usual" party.

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

A one-word answer may be perfectly adequate for Question 28. A line is available, however, for the comments of respondents who qualify their answer. For Rs who say "Republican" or "Democrat," ask Question 28a through 28c.

Question 28a. Again, the question refers to his customary or usual feelings about strength of party attachment. If it mentions a change in his feelings toward a party, be sure to record that information. In asking the question, use "Republican" or "Democrat" (parentheses in question) depending upon R's statement in Question 28.

Question 28b. This question, of course, is to determine whether R ever thought of himself as identified with the opposite party. This information is necessary since we're trying to get a rather full history of his party identification. In using the question, if he has said that he's a Republican, ask him if he ever thought of himself as a Democrat; if he has said that he's a Democrat, ask him if he ever thought of himself as a Republican.

Question 28c. This is another question on the history of his party identification. Here we are interested in getting the year as accurately as possible, but we will settle for more general information as to the period when the changes occurred, such as "right after the Hoover depression" or "after Dewey got beat the first time." If they talk in terms of a man who was active in more than one campaign, such as Hoover, Dewey, Roosevelt, etc., try to get the particular term or campaign they are thinking of if "when Hoover ran," try to pin down the date, was it 1928 or 1932? Note that we are specifically interested in the time of the most recent change. That is, a "born" Republican may have become a Democrat temporarily during the depression, and may want to tell you why he switched from Republican to Democrat at that time. However, we want to know when he switched to his present identification. By stressing "When did you change from Democrat (back to Republican)" you will get the time element out of these issues of most interest.

Question 28d. This is a follow-up to 28c, to find out R's main reason for changing his mind at the time he had given us. For example, if R answered 28d "during the depression" we still want to ask this, first, to make sure that it was some aspect of the depression itself that made him change his mind, and secondly to find out if possible just what that aspect was.
Questions 26b, f, and g. This sequence is to establish the national or local frame of reference used when respondents classify themselves in Question 26.

Question 26b. This question is asked if the R answered "Independent" or something other than Republican or Democrat to Question 26. Again, we want the respondent's usual or customary feelings toward the parties. If the R is usually independent in his feelings, we of course want to know that. (In this case, the party he feels closest to right now will be indicated elsewhere in the interview.)

Question 26m. We included this question to determine whether Independents and others at any time in the past thought of themselves as Republican or Democratic. If the answer to this is "yes" or equivalent, ask questions 26j and 26k.

Questions 26j-1. These get the same information as 26b and 26d, this time for Independents.

Questions 26a, m, and c. Same as for 26b, f, g, this is to establish the national or local frame of reference used when respondents classify themselves as Independents in Question 26.

Questions 29-32. These questions are directed at the political involvement and affiliation of the respondent's parents. If R grew up without one or the other of his parents, this should be noted. If he was raised by some other couple, ascertain the information for each of them (as for an aunt and uncle, or for grandparents). Note the relationship between them and R, and fill in the information as though for the parents. If R was raised in an orphanage or other institutional setting, write this information down.

Questions 33-35. If R has ever voted for president, ask Questions 34 and 35; if he has never voted for president, skip to Question 36. None of these questions should present any problems as they are old and time-tested.

Question 36. Try to pin R down to one of the three categories offered in the question. We are not interested in "why" his interest or lack of interest, but we do want to be able to locate him in one of the three (very much, somewhat, or not much interested).

Question 37. This is another item designed to assess R's involvement in things political.

Questions 38-45. NOTE TO SOUTHERN INTERVIEWERS: Over this sequence of questions, R may confuse the November general election with the primary held earlier. The ending of Question 38, "...in the November election," is intended to clarify this point. Where the primary is the more crucial contest, we it frequently is in the South, Question 45 will provide the information we need about it. In Question 47, please emphasize "November" for the same reason. We do not want to get the name of primary candidates in response to this question.

Question 38. This is a revised version of an old question. We are trying to avoid an "over-reporting" of the vote. There is a visible tendency in every post-election study for some non-voters to remember incorrectly that they voted. This gives us too many apparent voters when we compare our figures with national totals, and usually the people who make a mistake tell us that they voted for whoever won the election. Hence, the long and permissive introduction to the question. If you have any doubt about the accuracy of R's report, note reasons for your doubt in the margin. If R says he voted, but includes the slightest qualification suggesting lack of personal certainty, check box "3" rather than box "1."
Therefore, if R gives an incorrect name in Question 51, record his response and then say, before going on to Question 61,

"Mr. (Name Given) was.....
— one of the candidates for the Senate,
— one of the candidates for Governor,
— a candidate in another race this fall (if name is not familiar).

. . . . . . Here we are interested in who you voted for or for congressman to send to the House of Representatives in Washington.*

Please do not tell the R the correct names of the candidates, as we do not want to supply the proper names until the end of Question 61.

If R gives another incorrect name, you will have to repeat the process. Most probably, he will turn to the party after a first incorrect response. As soon as he turns to the party or gives a correct name, proceed with Question 61. The important point is that we do want R to answer Questions 51-61—

with the wrong political context in mind.

Questions 61 and 62 are general questions about state and local offices other than Senator, Congressman and Governor. By voting a "straight ticket," we mean voting for all candidates of one party, excluding still the vote for Senator, Congressman and Governor. If R is a Democrat and has voted for all Democratic candidates excepting one Republican, he has voted a split ticket according to our definition. If R says he has voted "mostly" for one party, get some indication of what this means — how many votes on each side, etc.

Question 65. This question serves two major objectives. The first part of the question is informational. The probe, for those who know that a primary was held, will provide essential information about R's political participation. In one district were one party completely dominates the politics of the area, voting in the primary is the only meaningful chance to participate — at least it is more important than the general election and more people will vote in the primary than in the general election. A full answer to the question "Who did you vote for?" should include the name of the candidate and his party; the latter information will come, if necessary, from your asking Question 55a.

Question 66. Note that this question is now about the general election — the primary — and it calls for an answer in terms of the usual winner. If R responds in terms of: "Well, the Republicans have won the elections recently," repeat the question emphasizing usually. Any difference between the usual election winner and the winners of the recent elections should be picked up in Questions 65a or 65b, which ask if any change is taking place in the district.

Question 67. This question again serves two objectives. It gives us some indication of R's information level; it also serves to clarify the identity of the candidates and thereby paves the way for asking the next set of questions. You should be prepared to give the proper name(s) at the end of this question, in the form of the comment indicated, where R has not known the name(s) or has been incorrect in naming them. (See comments above under "Preparation for 63 Interviewing").

As we indicate, knowing the name is not of crucial importance to being a good citizen. Many of us on the staff could not name the minority party candidate here in our district. We expect only the very best informed respondents to know them. However, many R's who do not know a candidate's name will nevertheless know something about him, and we tell those R's the names just to clarify who it is that we are asking about in the next questions.

If our list shows only one unopposed candidate in R's district, ask Questions 64, 65, and 66 anyway. This will give us valuable knowledge of the R's level of information. However, the closing statement under Question 67 should be modified to fit this case.

Question 68. This question is directed at disclosing instances in which a Congressman's actions are remembered by the respondent. In a sense this is a straightforward attempt to get information. However, in an attempt to appear interested and well-informed, some respondents may give vague affirmative answers. Probe in an attempt to verify the fact that the respondent really does remember some particular action and is not just reflecting a general positive attitude toward the Congressman.

Questions 49-66. This is a very important sequence of questions. As you can see, we are trying to discover just how much people know about congressional candidates — and particularly how much they know about the stands which the candidates take on certain issues. The information is vitally important to our plans for analysis, but we anticipate that it will be provided by only a minority of all our respondents.

The sequence is set up to minimize interviewing problems. The answers which R gives for Questions 49 and 50 determine whether or not you begin to ask more specific questions about each candidate. For example, if R says he has not heard or read anything about the Republican candidate (Question 49), then we assure that he does not know enough about the candidate to warrant asking the Congressmen of questions about the Republican candidates. Questions 51-54. Therefore, a "No" to Question 49 means that all questions, 51-54, drop out; you do not ask R any more questions about his Republican candidate.

Question 50 determines the fate of the series on the Democratic candidate (Questions 59-66), and is exactly parallel. A "No" to Question 50 means you do not start on the Question 59-66 sequence at all.

In practice, you will find that some R's will not know either candidate on Question 49 or 50; for them, the entire sequence Questions 51-66 drops out. Some R's will know both candidates, and therefore both sequences will be begun with them. Most R's will know only one candidate, either Democratic or Republican, and you will proceed with either Question 51 or Question 59.

After the first screening of the least-informed, a second screen appears part-way into each sequence (after Question 52 for Republican candidates, and after Question 60 in the Democratic version). Our major concern here is to allow you to skip questions that are not meaningful to the R. Questions 49 and 50 may not keep all such R's from being asked the more specific questions. Consequently, if R gives "Don't Know" answers to Questions 51 and 52, do not try to ask the rest of the sequence (Questions 53-56). Similarly, if there is no content on Questions 59-60, drop Questions 61-66. Of course, you will have
to use your own discretion here. If he gives very sparse answers to Questions 51-55 or Questions 56-60, or if he says he does not really know anything about a candidate, treat him as a "Don't Know" and skip the remaining questions of the sequence. Please cross out unasked questions with an "X," so that we will know you have not missed them by mistake. We are hoping that Rs who do not drop out on either the first or second screening will be well enough informed so that the rather full probing will not prove embarrassing or tiresome for them or for you.

However, watch for indications that people who really do know something about the candidates are too modest and tell us that they haven't read or heard anything.

Questions 51 (for Republican) and 59 (Democratic). This very general question is intended to tell us what ideas people have about the qualifications for being a congressman. We could have made up a set of qualifications ourselves and asked people how each candidate measured up to each item, but we feel we will have a better understanding of how people see a congressman (if they see him at all) by letting them give us their own definition of "the right sort of person to be a congressman." Try not to give any hints to respondents who ask for guidance here. If the R says "What do you mean by 'right sort of person,'" do not help him out by suggesting honesty or sincerity or ability. Try to be sympathetic, indicating we just want to know what the R thinks, and repeat the question as worded.

Questions 52 and 60. Here we are looking for indications that the respondents can identify themselves with the candidate. We are not primarily interested in knowing what kind of people R thinks are like himself, but we do want to know when R sees any evidence that the candidate understands people like himself. If R says the candidate does not know him, repeat "Well, how about people like yourself?"

Some of the possible frame of reference for both pairs of questions 51-52 and 59-60 are indicated by the specific contingency probes, 52b through 52e, or 60b-60e. These questions reflect our interest in the importance of class and group memberships and associations in voting behavior. We suspect that many votes particularly for a congressman, are cast because of the candidates' social class, their ties with particular economic groups, their religious affiliations or their ethnic origins. If such factors are spontaneously referred to in the 51-52 and 59-60 questions, you need not re-ask the parallel item requested specifically in 52b-e or 60b-e. We want to ask the b-e series when people don't mention these subjects earlier, because we suspect that many people are aware of these various factors but do not realize or will not admit that such factors are the basis for a part of their vote decision. In each of the items (b-e) we also want to know how closely R associates the characteristic with the candidate. If on the "a" question, for example, R can express his hesitation "He's an Irishman" it probably means that he is in the habit of thinking of the candidate as an Irishman. In this case, note the response as usual and then check the first box underneath it. But if R has to stop and think about it, or says something like "Well, most people with that name are Irish, so I suppose he is probably Irish, too," then he doesn't seem to be in the habit of associating the nationality with the man. Therefore, whenever there is any pause or other evidence of thought or confusion, or if R asks what you mean, note any content response but check the second box. Save the first box for cases in which R has the answer on the tip of his tongue. You don't need to probe hard on b-e; if R doesn't find a question very meaningful for a particular candidate, move right on to the next question.

Questions 53, 54, 55, and 61, 62, and 63. You will recognize these questions as counterparts to the issue questions which we ask the respondents in the early part of the interview. The chief difference, of course, lies in the fact that the present questions are about the candidates' stands on the issues and the respondents' evaluations of these stands. The probes for the evaluations (53a, 54a, etc.) will, of course, be asked only if R thinks the candidate does have a particular position on the issue and will not be asked if R does not know the candidate's stand.

Questions 56 and 64. If "Don't Know" to all three questions, Questions 53-55 or Questions 61-63, skip Question 56 (or 64). If R knows the candidate's position on any one of them (or more) ask Question 56 (or 64). In many instances people will know a candidate's stand on an issue only through knowing which party the candidate belongs to. That is, they may not actually know of any instance in which the candidate took a stand, but they infer from the fact that he is a Democrat or a Republican that he must take a Democratic or a Republican stand. Consequently, these two questions are asked to separate such persons from those who do really know the candidate's position -- people who have read about a candidate's vote or speech or other indication of commitment on the issue.

These questions should be asked if a person has any notion of a candidate's stand on any one of the three issues in question. Again, we assume that very few people will have such specific knowledge of a candidate's position, and we are quite certain that in most instances the R will be able to answer 56 or 64 with regard to only one of the three possible areas. We also are assuming that where R knows about a candidate's position on two or more of the three topics he will be so well informed, and so articulate, that this information will be provided in his response without confusion.

Questions 57, 58, 65 and 66. These open questions are intended to give R a chance to mention any other issues or policy questions that were important to him. This is also the opportunity for R to talk about the candidates in terms other than issues and governmental policy. These four questions are quite similar to the candidate questions we have asked in the presidential studies. We expect a great many references to the personal qualifications, personalities and character of the candidates, and also expect frequent mention of the candidates' party affiliations.

Questions 67-71. This short sequence is intended to find out how people think a congressman should act once he is in office. Our major problem in this series is that we are afraid that the most popular notion is the simple notion that a Congressman should be a free and independent agent who should do his job as best he can without being controlled by anyone else. We know, however, that when the right situation arises many people will change their attitudes and say, in effect, "Well, on this matter he should do what his voters want him to do," or, "On something like this he doesn't have any right to go against the President," or, "He is a Democrat and he ought to act like a Democrat instead of voting with the Republicans so often."
We have tried to avoid the singe-like response by posing a set of conflict situations in which the respondent has to make a choice. We have also tried to establish a number of different frames of reference. Thus, in 67 the conflict is between the Congressmen and the voters, and the question is what should be done in 68 it is a conflict between the Congressmen and his party and the question is what should be done. In 69 and 70 the conflict is between Congressmen and President, and the question is not who should have the most say, but who does have the most say. In 71 the frame of reference goes back to the question of who should decide.

Questions 72-74. In these questions we are interested in tapping some very general attitudes which are likely to be related to R's ideas about politics. In Question 72 we hope to measure R's feeling of cynicism about government; Question 73 is intended to assess R's feeling of competence about the conduct of his life; and Question 74 gets at the degree to which R is willing to accept changes and new things.

Often in the past we have asked questions of this type in simple agree-disagree form. This makes for rapid interviewing, since only one alternative is posed, and R simply agrees or disagrees. But we have found over the years that some people will agree with any commonly-heard statement, regardless of the content seems to be. For example, it is not infrequent that a person will agree with both of these statements:

"It is a good idea to stick with what you have and not try to change things."

"It is a good idea to look for ways to change things, to try and make them better."

We have come to the conclusion that it is necessary to focus the attention of R upon a choice between two content alternatives, either one of which, by itself, might look attractive or at least familiar. Therefore, we have been eliminating the simple "agree-disagree" type of question in our questionnaire. The replacement will not move as rapidly in the interview situation because the answers will not be as glib. The R will be forced to think more carefully, which is precisely what we wish. If R tries to get you to enlarge on the remarks, tell him that they are just general choices and that he is to choose the alternative which he finds more nearly attractive, if neither suits him. If he says that "it depends," ask him "Well, in general how do you feel?"

Questions 75 through 75a. Be sure to ask Question 75 and 75a for all Rs eligible to be asked Section II. If R answers "yes" to either (or both), ask Question 75b about each car the family expects to buy. Use the margin for answers about a second planned purchase (if any).

Questions 76c-76d. These questions are designed to check on people's awareness of 1956 models and changes which car manufacturers have introduced. If R has not seen or heard of the 1959 models, or doesn't know if they differ, record his "don't know" and omit 76a and 76b. Don't force R to express an opinion.

For respondents who are aware of 1959 models and who think they are different, Questions 76a and 76b are there to get the extent by which R thinks they differ and the specific ways he sees them as being different. When R is specific, give us the detail he mentions, but when R cannot think of specific differences you will have to accept vague answers or a "don't know."

Questions 77-79. These questions go to make up Section III and are asked only of 1956 respondents who have moved from their 1956 sample addresses. They cover some of the same ground which has been covered in Section II (for cross-section 1956 (H11) addresses only), but in some cases they cover it with slightly different items.

The first three questions (Questions 77-79) are R's worry about war, and represent another way of estimating the mood of the nation, as in earlier items (Questions 25-27).

Question 80 is a straightforward scale measuring general reactions to politics which we have used in earlier studies.

Questions 81-85 cover almost the same ground as Questions 72-74, however, the questions are in the form which we used to employ, that of simple agree-disagree items. We know how our panel people responded to these in 1956, and we want to get an idea how stable their responses will be after two years. Therefore, for the small group of movers, we did not want to change the form of the questions, as we have for people in the cross-section.

PERSONAL DATA

These are all quite simple and straightforward questions. With one or two minor exceptions, they have been used successfully on a great number of surveys. We need the information to classify respondents, according to various characteristics pertinent to this kind of study (age, sex, income, schooling, occupation, etc.). If you need to, explain to R that we used this information in order to tell whether men feel differently than women, whether older people answer the questions differently than younger people, people of higher income differently than people with lower income, etc. We will deal in detail here with only a few of the questions which demand special attention to avoid inadequate responses.

FD 3-6. This is information which you can enter from the listing box on cover sheet A or C. However, you will not get this information on cover sheet B, so we have included it as regular schedule items.

FD 11-12. These questions require particular care to make sure we get a full account of R's occupation. First, please note that the first set of occupation questions (FD 11) is asked of R, even though R is a housewife. FD 12 gets parallel information for the head of the household, where R is not head. We have included the probe "What kind of business is that in?" and others may be used as necessary. If R says he is a school teacher there is no way of checking how much of his time he spends on what he does. But many occupation responses are hard to code into their proper categories. Here are some examples of the kinds of coding difficulties we face when adequate occupation information is not obtained:
Questions PD 20-22. Here, in addition to picking up factual information about group membership (initial question, PD 21), we add more information concerning the member's identification with his group. These questions have been asked of minority group members in previous surveys without any indication of discomfort aroused.

Question PD 23. This sequence of questions is another which has become tried and true over the course of past surveys. In general, if R says what we mean by "class," try to get him to fill in whatever meaning the term has for him. For example, it would be all right to say, "We want what class do you generally think of as 'working class.'" In the first question (Question 23) we want to find out whether R does think in terms of class groups. But even if he says he does not, we are anxious to have him place himself in one class or the other. This is why we say "...if you had to make a choice" in Question 25a. We do not want R to feel that he does not need to make a choice, simply because he has said "No" to Question 23.

Question PD 26. In some cases R will say that his father died early or was not around for some other reason. Here we are more interested in what kind of economic homework his father did up in him than in his father as an individual. Therefore, ask for the occupation of "the people who brought you up," whether relatives or some other foster parents.

Question PD 27. By "grow up" here we mean the time from birth until R was roughly 18-20 years old. If R lived in more than one place during this period, information as to the proper sequence of states lived in, along with a rough estimate of the period involved, would be appreciated.

Question PD 29. This is a new question, but it is quite straightforward and should go smoothly. It is designed to help us keep track of various types of population movement -- from region to region and from city to suburb as well. In PD 30, it may be that R has moved to his current address from some other address in the same city or town, or he may have moved in from out of town. If he has just moved within the same town or city, we assume his response will
be another address. Note his response as usual, but it will not be important to get a very precise address, if he has trouble remembering. We will be most interested in his response to PD 29b in any event. You will have to be more careful, however, if he has moved in from out of town. In this case his response is likely to be a town or city name, without an address. This is perfectly all right, as we are still not too interested in the particular address. But it is important to make sure that you get both a place name and a state. If he has moved from a nearby town, he may not mention the state, assuming you know. Since many town names crop up in state after state, however, it is necessary to make clear the state. And, if the response to 29a is 'Washington,' of course, make sure you know whether it is Washington, D.C., or the State of Washington which is meant. When just a state is given, ask for a place name within the state.

Question PD 30. If R feels awkward because other people are present, or if he says he'd rather not answer, show him the categories on your schedule and get him to check one. On the other hand, R may want to check with other people in the house to get more accurate information, and this of course is very desirable. Where R isn't really sure what the total income is coming to this year, some notion of the size of weekly paychecks will allow you to compute an estimate of income, especially if you make sure whether the breadwinners have been employed all year, just part of the year, etc.
ELECTION STUDY

FACE SHEET

Interviewer’s Name: ____________________________  Date: ____________

Int. No.

Interview Number: ____________________________  Int. Type: ____________

PSU

Town or city: ____________________________  State: ____________

FI

SECTION I (ASK EVERYBODY)

S.R.

I’m mainly interested in talking to you about the congressional election this fall and how you feel about it. In some states there were elections in the United States Senate and to various state offices, but we want to talk mostly about elections to the House of Representatives in Washington.

SS.

1. Generally speaking, would you say that you personally cared a good deal about which party won the elections to the congress in Washington this fall or that you didn’t care very much which party won?

Cong.

Dist.

I’d like to ask you what you think are the good and bad points about the two parties.

Int. Type

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

Do not write in above spaces

(What is that?)