

1968 PRE-ELECTION STUDY

	SURVEY RESEARCH CENTER INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN 48106	(Do not write in above space)
---	--	-------------------------------

1. Interviewer's Label	2. P S U _____ 3. Your Interview No. _____ 4. Date _____ 5. Length of Interview _____ (Minutes)
6. Town or City _____ 7. County _____ 8. State _____	

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

1. Who do you think will be elected president in November?

1.Humphrey/
 2.Nixon/
 3.Wallace/
 7.Other: _____ /
 8.Don't know/ (GO TO Q.2)

1a. Do you think it will be a close race, or will (ANSWER TO Q.1) win by quite a bit?

2. 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?

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

3. Is there anything in particular that you like about the Democratic party? (What is that?) (Anything else?)

P45523

- 4. Is there anything in particular that you don't like about the Democratic party?
(What is that?) (Anything else?)

- 5. Is there anything in particular that you like about the Republican party?
(What is that?) (Anything else?)

- 6. Is there anything in particular that you don't like about the Republican party?
(What is that?) (Anything else?)

P45523

- 7. 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 Humphrey that might make you want to vote for him? (What is that?) (Anything else?)

- 8. Is there anything in particular about Humphrey that might make you want to vote against him? (What is that?) (Anything else?)

- 9. Is there anything in particular about Nixon that might make you want to vote for him? (What is that?) (Anything else?)

10. Is there anything in particular about Nixon that might make you want to vote against him? (What is that?) (Anything else?)

11. As you probably know, George Wallace is also a candidate for President this year. Is there anything in particular about Wallace which might make you want to vote for him? (What is that?) (Anything else?)

12. Is there anything in particular about Wallace that might make you want to vote against him? (What is that?) (Anything else?)

13. As you know, there were several people mentioned this year as possible Republican presidential candidates. Of all the names mentioned since last January, who did you personally hope would win the Republican nomination?

/1.Nixon/ OTHER: _____ /0.No preference/
(GO TO Q.14)

13a. Were you particularly happy that Nixon got the nomination, or would some other candidate have been just about as good?

/1.Particularly happy/
/5.Other as good/

13b. Were you particularly unhappy that Nixon got the nomination, or did you think he was nearly as good as your man?

/1.Particularly unhappy/
/5.Nixon nearly as good/

13c. Who was your second choice among the Republican candidates? _____

14. Now on the Democratic side? Of all the names mentioned as possible candidates since last January, who did you personally hope would win the Democratic nomination?

/1.Humphrey/ OTHER: _____ /0.No preference/
(GO TO Q.15)

14a. Were you particularly happy that Humphrey got the nomination, or would some other candidate have been just about as good?

/1.Particularly happy/
/5.Other as good/

14b. Were you particularly unhappy that Humphrey got the nomination, or did you think he was nearly as good as your man?

/1.Particularly unhappy/
/5.Humphrey nearly as good/

14c. Who was your second choice among the Democratic candidates? _____

(IF JOHNSON NOT YET MENTIONED)

14d. Would you have favored President Johnson as the Democratic candidate, if he had decided to run again?

/1.Yes/ /5.No/

15. In general, how do you feel about how President Johnson has done his job? Would you rate his handling of America's problems over the past four years as:

/1.Very good/, /2.Good/, /3.Fair/, /4.Poor/, or /5.Very poor/ ? /8.DK/

P45523

16. As you well know, the government faces many serious problems in this country and in other parts of the world. What do you personally feel are the most important problems the government in Washington should try to take care of? (INTERVIEWER: LIST ALL PROBLEMS VERBATIM BELOW AND THEN PROCEED TO 16a.)
-
-
-
-
-

FIRST PROBLEM:

16a. Problem: (INTERVIEWER: LIST KEY WORD OR PHRASE TO DENOTE PROBLEM 1)

16b. You have mentioned (CITE PROBLEM 1). What would you like to see the government do about that?

16c. Just how strongly would you say you feel about this problem: are you extremely concerned about it, fairly concerned, or only a little concerned?

/1.Extremely concerned/ /3.Fairly concerned/ /5.A little concerned/

16d. Which party do you think would be most likely to do what you want on this, the Democrats, the Republicans, or wouldn't there be any difference between them?

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

P45523

- 16e. (IF TWO PROBLEMS ALREADY MENTIONED) You have mentioned (CITE PROBLEM 2).

(IF ONLY 1 PROBLEM ALREADY MENTIONED) Do you think of any other problems the government should try to take care of?

SECOND PROBLEM:

(NO SECOND PROBLEM → GO TO Q.17)

16f. Problem: (INTERVIEWER: LIST KEY WORD OR PHRASE TO DENOTE PROBLEM 2)

16g. What would you like to see the government do about this problem?

16h. Just how strongly would you say you feel about this problem: are you extremely concerned about it, fairly concerned, or only a little concerned?

/1.Extremely concerned/ /3.Fairly concerned/ /5.A little concerned/

16i. Which party do you think would be most likely to do what you want on this, the Democrats, the Republicans, or wouldn't there be any difference between them?

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

P45523

- 16j. (IF 3 PROBLEMS ALREADY MENTIONED) You have also mentioned (CITE PROBLEM 3).
 (IF ONLY 2 PROBLEMS ALREADY MENTIONED) Do you think of any other problems the government should try to take care of?

THIRD PROBLEM: (NO THIRD PROBLEM → GO TO Q.16o)

16k. Problem: (INTERVIEWER: LIST KEY WORD OR PHRASE TO DENOTE PROBLEM 3)

16l. What would you like to see the government do about that?

16m. Just how strongly would you say you feel about this problem: are you extremely concerned about it, fairly concerned, or only a little concerned?

/1.Extremely concerned/ /3.Fairly concerned/ /5.A little concerned/

16n. Which party do you think would be most likely to do what you want on this, or wouldn't there be any difference?

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

(IF R HAS MENTIONED TWO OR MORE PROBLEMS)

16o. Which of these problems do you feel is most important to you personally?

(IF R HAS MENTIONED THREE OR MORE PROBLEMS)

16p. Which of these problems do you feel is least important to you personally?

P45523

In our studies over the years we have collected some ideas different people have about the sorts of things the government in Washington should or should not be doing. I will read you a statement which contains two different ideas. If you aren't very interested in either of the ideas, we will go on to the next question.

Take the first question:

17. "Some people think the government in Washington should help towns and cities provide education for grade and high school children; others think this should be handled by the states and local communities." Have you been interested enough in this to favor one side over the other?

/Yes/

/0.No/ (GO TO Q.18)

17a. Which are you in favor of:

/1.Getting help from the/ or /5.Handling it at the/ /8.Don't know/
/govt. in Washington/ or state & local level/ ? (GO TO Q.18)

OTHER; DEPENDS: _____

17b. Which party do you think is more likely to want the government to help local communities provide education for our children, the Democrats, the Republicans, or wouldn't there be any difference between them on this?

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

18. "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 for the good of the country." Have you been interested enough in this to favor one side over the other?

/Yes/

/0.No/ (GO TO Q.19)

18a. What is your feeling, do you think

/1.The government is / or do you /5.The government is not/ /8.Don't know/
/getting too powerful/ think getting too strong / ? (GO TO Q.19)

OTHER; DEPENDS: _____

18b. Which party do you think is more likely to favor a stronger government in Washington or wouldn't there be any difference between them on this?

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

P45523

19. "Some say the government in Washington ought to help people get doctors and hospital care at low cost; others say the government should not get into this." Have you been interested enough in this to favor one side over the other?

/Yes/

/0.No/ → (GO TO Q. 20)

19a. What is your position? Should the government in Washington:

/1.Help people get doctors and/ or /5.Stay out/ /8.Don't know/
hospital care at low cost / of this/ ? (GO TO Q.20)

OTHER; DEPENDS: _____

19b. Which party do you think is more likely to want the government to help in getting doctors and medical care at low cost?

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

20. "In general, some people feel that the government in Washington should see to it that every person has a job and a good standard of living. Others think the government should just let each person get ahead on his own." Have you been interested enough in this to favor one side over the other?

/Yes/

/0.No/ → (GO TO Q.21)

20a. Do you think that the government:

/1.Should see to it that every person has/
a job and a good standard of living / or /8.Don't know/
/5.Should it let each person get ahead on his own/ ? (GO TO Q.21)

OTHER; DEPENDS: _____

20b. Which party do you think is more likely to favor the government seeing to it that each person has a job and a good standard of living?

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

P45523

21. Do you think it will make any difference in how you and your family get along financially whether the Republicans or Democrats win the election? (IF YES) Why is that?

(IF MAKES A DIFFERENCE AND NOT CLEAR WHICH PARTY WOULD BE BEST IN Q.21)

21a. Do you think you'll be better off or worse off financially if the Democrats win the election?

22. Now I would like to ask you about how the government in Washington spends the money it gets in taxes. If you had to guess, how many cents out of each dollar the government spends do you think goes for:

- a. National defense and military expenses _____¢
- b. Programs having to do with health, education, and other social welfare expenses _____¢
- c. Foreign aid: money sent to other countries but not including the money used in the Vietnam War _____¢

P45523

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

/Yes//0.No/ → (GO TO Q. 24)

23a. How do you feel? Should the government in Washington:

/1.See to it that / or /5.Leave these matters/ /8.Don't know/
/ Negroes get fair / to the states and /
/ treatment in jobs/ / local communities/ ?
 (GO TO Q.24)

OTHER; DEPENDS: _____

23b. Which party do you think is more likely to want the government to see to it that Negroes get fair treatment in jobs?

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

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

/Yes//0.No/ → (GO TO Q.25)

24a. Do you think the government in Washington should:

/1.See to it that white / or /5.Stay out of this / /8.Don't know/
/ & Negro children go to/ / area as it is not./
/ the same schools / / its business / ?
 (GO TO Q.25)

OTHER; DEPENDS: _____

24b. Which party do you think is more likely to want the government to see to it that white and Negro children go to the same schools?

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

P45523

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

/Yes//0.No/ → (GO TO Q.26)

25a. Should the government support the right of Negroes:

/1.To go to any hotel or / or should, /5.Stay out of / /8.Don't know/
/ restaurant they can afford/ it / this matter/ ?
 (GO TO Q.26)

OTHER; DEPENDS: _____

25b. Which party do you think is more likely to favor the government supporting the right of Negroes to go to any hotel or restaurant?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

/1.Helped//5.Hurt//8.Don't know/

30. Which of these statements would you agree with:

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

or

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

8. Don't know; depends; can't decide → (GO TO Q.31)

30a. Do you feel strongly about your position on this question or not too strongly?

1. Strongly

5. Not too strongly

31. In general, how many of the Negroes in this area would you say are in favor of desegregation--all of them, most of them, about half, less than half of them, or none of them?

1. All / 2. Most / 3. About half / 4. Less than half / 5. None / 0. No Negroes / in area

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

1. All / 2. Most / 3. About half / 4. Less than half / 5. None / 0. No whites / in area

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

1. Desegregation

5. Segregation

3. In between

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

34a. Is this neighborhood you now live in: _____

34b. Is the grade school nearest you: _____

34c. Is the junior high school nearest you: _____

34d. Is the high school nearest you: _____

34e. (IF EMPLOYED) Are the people who work where you work: _____

34f. Are the people who shop and trade where you do: _____

34g. Are your friends: _____

- | |
|------------------------|
| 1. All white |
| 2. Mostly white |
| 3. About half and half |
| 4. Mostly Negro |
| 5. All Negro |
| 8. Don't know |

35. We now come to a few questions about our dealings with other countries. "Some people say that we should give aid to other countries if they need help, while others think each country should make its own way as best it can." Have you been interested enough in this to favor one side over the other?

Yes

0. No → (GO TO Q.36)

35a. Which opinion is most like yours? Should we:

1. Give aid to / or should / 5. Each country / 8. Don't know /
other countries / make its own way / ? (GO TO Q.36)

OTHER; DEPENDS: _____

35b. Which party do you think is more likely to give aid to other countries, the Democrats, the Republicans, or wouldn't there be any difference between them on this?

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

36. "Some people think it is all right for our government to sit down and talk to the leaders of the Communist countries and try to settle our differences, while others think we should refuse to have anything to do with them." Have you been interested enough in this to favor one side over the other?

Yes

0. No → (GO TO Q.37)

36a. What do you think? Should we:

1. Try to discuss / or / 5. Refuse to have anything / 8. Don't know /
and settle our / to do with the leaders of /
differences / Communist countries / ? (GO TO Q.37)

OTHER; DEPENDS: _____

36b. Which party do you think is more likely to sit down and talk with the leaders of Communist countries?

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

P45523

37. "Some people say that our farmers and businessmen should be able to do business with Communist countries as long as the goods are not used for military purposes; others say that our government should not allow Americans to trade with the Communist countries." Have you been interested enough in this to favor one side over the other?

/Yes//0.No/ → (GO TO Q.38)

37a. How do you feel? Should farmers and businessmen be:

/1.Allowed to do business with Communist countries/ or should they be /5.Forbidden to do business with Communist countries/ ? /8.Don't know/ (GO TO Q.38)

OTHER; DEPENDS: _____

37b. Which party do you think is more likely to allow farmers and businessmen to trade with Communist countries?

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

38. How much attention have you been paying to what is going on in Vietnam:

/1.A good deal/, /3.Some/, or /5.Not much/ ?

38a. Do you think we did the right thing in getting into the fighting in Vietnam or should we have stayed out?

/1.Yes, did right thing/ /5.No, should have stayed out/ /8.Don't know/

38b. Which of the following do you think we should do now in Vietnam? (HAND R CARD #1)

/1.Pull out of Vietnam entirely/

/2.Keep our soldiers in Vietnam but try to end the fighting/

/3.Take a stronger stand even if it means invading North Vietnam/ /8.D.K./

OTHER; DEPENDS: _____

38c. Which party do you think is more likely to take a stronger stand even if it means invading North Vietnam?

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

P45523

39. Now I have a question on China. Have you paid any attention to what kind of government most of China has now; that is, do you remember whether it is democratic, Communist, or something else? (Which kind?)

/6.Democratic/
(GO TO Q.40)

/Communist/

/7.Something else:
(GO TO Q.40)

39a. As far as you know, is Communist China a member of the United Nations?

/1.No//5.Yes/ → (GO TO Q.40)/8.DK/ → (GO TO Q.40)

39b. Do you think Communist China should be admitted to the United Nations, or do you think it should not?

/Should not//1.Should/ → (GO TO Q.40)/8.DK/ → (GO TO Q.40)

39c. If Communist China were admitted to the United Nations, should we:

/2.Stay in/ or /5.Get out/ ? /3.Don't know/

OTHER; DEPENDS: _____

40. How about the situation in Cuba? Do you happen to remember whether its government is democratic, Communist, or something else? (Which kind?)

/6.Democratic/
(GO TO Q.41)

/Communist/

/7.Something else:
(GO TO Q.41)

40a. Some people feel we must do something to get the Communist government out of Cuba; others feel that it is up to the Cuban people to handle their own affairs. Have you been interested enough in this to favor one side over the other?

/Yes//0.No/ → (GO TO Q.41)

40b. What is your feeling? Should we:

/1.Get the Communist government out of Cuba/ or /5.Let the Cuban people handle their own affairs/ ? /8.DK/

OTHER; DEPENDS: _____

41. We have been talking about our troubles with Vietnam, Cuba, and Communist China. Which of these would you say you are most concerned about:

/Vietnam/, /Cuba/, or /Communist China/ ?

41a. Which are you least concerned about:

/Vietnam/, /Cuba/, or /Communist China/ ?

42. Would you say that in the past year or so the United States has done pretty well in dealing with foreign countries, or would you say that we haven't been doing as well as we should?

/1.Pretty well/ /5.Not well/ /3.Well in some ways: not in others/ /8.Don't know/
(GO TO Q.43)

42a. What do you have in mind? _____

43. Would you say that in the past year or so our position in the world has become stronger, less strong, or has it stayed about the same?

/1.Stronger/ /5.Less strong/ /3.About the same/ /8.Don't know/
(GO TO Q.44)

43a. What do you have in mind? _____

44. How about the chances of our country getting into a bigger war? Compared to a few years ago, do you think we are more likely, less likely, or have about the same chances to get into a bigger war?

/5.More likely/ /1.Less likely/ /3.About same chances/ /7.Depends/ /8.Don't know/

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

/1.Better by Democrats/ /5.Better by Republicans/ /3.Same by both/ /8.Don't know/
(GO TO Q.46) (GO TO Q.46)

45a. Why is that? _____

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

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

<u>/REPUBLICAN/</u>	<u>/DEMOCRAT/</u>
46a. Would you call yourself a <u>strong</u> Republican or a <u>not very strong</u> Republican? <u>/Strong/</u> <u>/Not very strong/</u>	46d. Would you call yourself a <u>strong</u> Democrat or a <u>not very strong</u> Democrat? <u>/Strong/</u> <u>/Not very strong/</u>
46b. Was there ever a time when you thought of yourself as a Democrat rather than a Republican? <u>/Yes/</u> <u>/No, never/</u> (GO TO Q.47)	46e. Was there ever a time when you thought of yourself as a Republican rather than a Democrat? <u>/Yes/</u> <u>/No, never/</u> (GO TO Q.47)
46c. When did you change from Democrat to Republican? _____	46f. When did you change from Republican to Democrat? _____

<u>/INDEPENDENT/</u>	<u>/NO PREFERENCE/</u>	<u>/OTHER: _____/</u>
46g. Do you think of yourself as closer to the <u>Republican</u> or to the <u>Democratic</u> party?		
<u>/Republican/</u>	<u>/Neither/</u>	<u>/Democratic/</u>
46h. Was there ever a time when you thought of yourself as closer to the Democratic party instead of the Republican party? <u>/Yes/</u> <u>/No, never/</u> (GO TO Q.47)	46j. Was there ever a time when you thought of yourself as a Democrat or as a Republican? (Which party was that?) <u>/Yes, Dem/</u> <u>/No, never/</u> <u>/Yes, Rep/</u> (GO TO Q.47)	46i. Was there ever a time when you thought of yourself as closer to the Republican party instead of the Democratic party? <u>/Yes/</u> <u>/No, never/</u> (GO TO Q.47)
461. When did you change? _____	46k. When did you change? _____	46m. When did you change? _____

P45523

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

/1.Very much interested/ /3.Somewhat interested/ /5.Not much attention/

48. Did he think of himself mostly as a Democrat, as a Republican, or what?

/1.Democrat/ /2.Republican/ Other (SPECIFY) _____

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

/1.Very much interested/ /3.Somewhat interested/ /5.Not much attention/

50. Did she think of herself mostly as a Democrat, as a Republican, or what?

/1.Democrat/ /2.Republican/ Other (SPECIFY) _____

51. In the elections for President since you have been old enough to vote, would you say you have voted in all of them, most of them, some of them, or none of them?

/1.All/ /2.Most/ /3.Some/ /5.None/ /0.Inap.-Not of voting age in 1964/
(GO TO Q.52) (GO TO Q.52)

51a. Have you always voted for the same party or have you voted for different parties for president?

(IF SAME)

51b. Which party was that? /Democratic/ /Republican/

51c. Now, in 1964 you remember that Mr. Goldwater ran on the Republican ticket against Mr. Johnson for the Democrats. Do you remember for sure whether or not you voted in that election?

/Yes, did vote/ /5.No, did not vote/ /7.Don't remember if voted/
(GO TO Q.52) (GO TO Q.52)

51d. Which one did you vote for?

/2.Goldwater/ /1.Johnson/ /3.Other/ /8.Don't know/

52. 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/

P45523

53. 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?

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

(IF R PLANS TO VOTE)

54a. Who do you think you will vote for in the election for president?

(IF MENTIONS CANDIDATE OR PARTY)

54b. What would you say is the most important reason why you are going to vote for (ANSWER TO Q.54a)?

(IF R DOESN'T PLAN TO VOTE OR IS UNCERTAIN)

54c. If you were going to vote--who do you think you would vote for in the election for president?

(IF MENTIONS CANDIDATE OR PARTY)

54d. What would you say is the most important reason why you would vote for (ANSWER TO Q.54c)?

55. Because George Wallace is running as a third-party candidate for president this year, there has been some discussion about how the electoral college system might affect the choice of the new president. Have you paid any attention to this question or heard any talk about it?

/Yes/

/0.No/ (GO TO Q.56)

55a. How likely do you think it is that no candidate will receive a majority of electoral college votes this year? Do you think it is:

/1.Very likely/, /3.Somewhat likely/, or /5.Not very likely/? /8.DK/
(GO TO Q.55c) (GO TO Q.55c)

55b. Why do you think it is likely?

55c. Has this problem made any difference to you in deciding whether you are going to vote or who you are going to vote for? How is that?

P45523

56. Now about the primary election this year. Did you vote in a primary election this past spring or summer?

/Yes/

/7.No/ → (GO TO Q.57)

56a. Which party's primary did you vote in? _____

56b. Was there any special contest in the primary that you were particularly interested in? (What was that?)

/Yes:

(SPECIFY CONTEST)

/7.No/ → (GO TO Q.57)

56c. Who did you vote for in that contest? _____

Now I'd like to ask you how you feel about some of the things people tell us when we interview them.

57. Would you say that most public officials care quite a lot about what people like you think, or that they don't care much at all?

/1.Care/

/5.Don't care/

58. Would you say that voting is the only way that people like you can have any say about the way the government runs things, or that there are lots of ways that you can have a say?

/5.Voting only way/

/1.Lots of ways/

59. Would you say that politics and government are so complicated that people like you can't really understand what's going on, or that you can understand what's going on pretty well?

/5.Can't understand/

/1.Can understand/

60. Would you say that people like you have quite a lot of say about what the government does, or that you don't have much say at all?

/1.Have a lot of say/

/5.Don't have much say/

P45523

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

P1. What is your date of birth? _____

(MONTH)

(YEAR)

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

/1.Married and living with spouse (or spouse in service)/

/2.Single/

(GO TO P3)

/5.Widowed/

/3.Divorced/

/4.Separated/

P2a. Are there any children under 18 years old in this family? (How many?)

/Yes/

(NUMBER)

/No/ → (GO TO P3)

P2b. What are their ages?

(OLDEST)															(YOUNGEST)				

(IF ANY OLDER THAN 5)

P2c. How many of the children go to school here in (NAME OF COMMUNITY)?

P2d. Do they attend public, parochial, or private schools?

/Public/

/Parochial/

/Private/

(CHECK AS MANY AS APPLICABLE)

(ASK Q.P3 FOR RESPONDENT AND AGAIN FOR HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD IF R IS NOT HEAD)

	RESPONDENT	HEAD, IF NOT R																								
P3. How many grades of school did (you) finish?	<table border="1"> <tr><td>1</td><td>2</td><td>3</td><td>4</td></tr> <tr><td>5</td><td>6</td><td>7</td><td>8</td></tr> <tr><td>9</td><td>10</td><td>11</td><td>12</td></tr> </table>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	<table border="1"> <tr><td>1</td><td>2</td><td>3</td><td>4</td></tr> <tr><td>5</td><td>6</td><td>7</td><td>8</td></tr> <tr><td>9</td><td>10</td><td>11</td><td>12</td></tr> </table>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1	2	3	4																							
5	6	7	8																							
9	10	11	12																							
1	2	3	4																							
5	6	7	8																							
9	10	11	12																							
P3a. Have (you) had any other schooling? (What was that?) (Any other?)	<table border="1"> <tr> <td><u>/Yes/</u></td> <td><u>/No/</u></td> </tr> <tr> <td>↓</td> <td>(GO TO P4 OR SECOND COLUMN IF R NOT HEAD)</td> </tr> </table>	<u>/Yes/</u>	<u>/No/</u>	↓	(GO TO P4 OR SECOND COLUMN IF R NOT HEAD)	<table border="1"> <tr> <td><u>/Yes/</u></td> <td><u>/No/</u></td> </tr> <tr> <td>↓</td> <td>(GO TO P4)</td> </tr> </table>	<u>/Yes/</u>	<u>/No/</u>	↓	(GO TO P4)																
<u>/Yes/</u>	<u>/No/</u>																									
↓	(GO TO P4 OR SECOND COLUMN IF R NOT HEAD)																									
<u>/Yes/</u>	<u>/No/</u>																									
↓	(GO TO P4)																									
	(COLLEGE, SECRETARIAL, BUSINESS SCHOOL, ETC.)	(COLLEGE, SECRETARIAL, BUSINESS SCHOOL, ETC.)																								
<u>/IF R ATTENDED COLLEGE/</u>																										
P3b. What college(s) did (you) attend? Where (is that/are they) located?	<table border="1"> <tr> <td>(1) _____ (COLLEGE)</td> <td>(1) _____ (COLLEGE)</td> </tr> <tr> <td>_____</td> <td>_____</td> </tr> <tr> <td>(LOCATION)</td> <td>(LOCATION)</td> </tr> <tr> <td>(2) _____</td> <td>(2) _____</td> </tr> <tr> <td>_____</td> <td>_____</td> </tr> <tr> <td>(3) _____</td> <td>(3) _____</td> </tr> <tr> <td>_____</td> <td>_____</td> </tr> </table>	(1) _____ (COLLEGE)	(1) _____ (COLLEGE)	_____	_____	(LOCATION)	(LOCATION)	(2) _____	(2) _____	_____	_____	(3) _____	(3) _____	_____	_____											
(1) _____ (COLLEGE)	(1) _____ (COLLEGE)																									
_____	_____																									
(LOCATION)	(LOCATION)																									
(2) _____	(2) _____																									
_____	_____																									
(3) _____	(3) _____																									
_____	_____																									
P3c. Do (you) have a college degree?	<table border="1"> <tr> <td><u>/Yes/</u></td> <td><u>/No/</u></td> </tr> <tr> <td>↓</td> <td>(GO TO P4 OR SECOND COLUMN IF R NOT HEAD)</td> </tr> </table>	<u>/Yes/</u>	<u>/No/</u>	↓	(GO TO P4 OR SECOND COLUMN IF R NOT HEAD)	<table border="1"> <tr> <td><u>/Yes/</u></td> <td><u>/No/</u></td> </tr> <tr> <td>↓</td> <td>(GO TO P4)</td> </tr> </table>	<u>/Yes/</u>	<u>/No/</u>	↓	(GO TO P4)																
<u>/Yes/</u>	<u>/No/</u>																									
↓	(GO TO P4 OR SECOND COLUMN IF R NOT HEAD)																									
<u>/Yes/</u>	<u>/No/</u>																									
↓	(GO TO P4)																									
P3d. (IF YES) What degree(s) have (you) received? From which college(s)?																										

(ASK P4 FOR RESPONDENT AND AGAIN FOR HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD IF R IS NOT HEAD)

P4. Are you presently employed; or are you unemployed, or retired, (or a housewife), or a student, or what? (RECORD BELOW ALL RESPONSES MENTIONED)

/EMPLOYED/ → P4a. What kind of work do you do? (IF NECESSARY) What exactly do you do on your job? What kind of business is that? Do you work for yourself? Do you work full-time or part-time? (IF PART-TIME) About how much time do you put in on this job? (Is that year-round?) Do you do any other kind of work for pay? (IF YES, REPEAT ABOVE QUESTIONS AS NEEDED FOR 2ND JOB SECTION)

/UNEMPLOYED/ → P4b. What kind of work did you do when you were employed? (IF NECESSARY) /OR RETIRED/ What exactly did you do on your job? What kind of business is that? Did you work for yourself? (TIME FRACTION AND SECOND JOB ARE INAP)

/HOUSEWIFE → P4c. Do you do any kind of work for pay? (IF YES) What kind of work is that? (IF NECESSARY) What exactly do you do on your job? What kind of business is that? Do you work for yourself? About how much time do you put in on this job? (Is that year-round?) Do you do any other kind of work for pay? (IF YES, REPEAT ABOVE QUESTIONS AS NEEDED FOR 2ND JOB SECTION) /OR STUDENT/

	RESPONDENT	HEAD, IF NOT R
PRESENT EMPLOYMENT STATUS:	<u>/Employed/</u> <u>/Unemployed/</u> <u>/Retired/</u>	<u>/Employed/</u> <u>/Unemployed/</u> <u>/Retired/</u>
	<u>/Housewife/</u> <u>/Student/</u> _____	<u>/Housewife/</u> <u>/Student/</u> _____
MAIN JOB:		
TYPE OF WORK:	_____	_____
BUSINESS:	_____	_____
SELF-EMPLOYMENT:	<u>/1. Yes/</u> <u>/2. No/</u>	<u>/1. Yes/</u> <u>/2. No/</u>
TIME FRACTION:	<u>/1. Full-time/</u> <u>/Part-time/</u>	<u>/1. Full-time/</u> <u>/Part-time/</u>
	Hrs. per wk. for _____ wks. per yr.	Hrs. per wk. for _____ wks. per yr.
SECOND JOB:		
TYPE OF WORK:	_____	_____
BUSINESS:	_____	_____
SELF-EMPLOYMENT:	<u>/1. Yes/</u> <u>/2. No/</u>	<u>/1. Yes/</u> <u>/2. No/</u>
TIME FRACTION:	<u>/1. Full-time/</u> <u>/Part-time/</u>	<u>/1. Full-time/</u> <u>/Part-time/</u>
	Hrs. per wk. for _____ wks. per yr.	Hrs. per wk. for _____ wks. per yr.

/UNEMPLOYED/ → P4d. CHECK "YES" BOX AND ASK: How long have you been out of work?

/ALL OTHERS/ → P4e. Have you been out of a job anytime in the past two years when you didn't want to be? (IF YES) When was that?

RECENT UNEMPLOYMENT:	<table border="1"> <tr> <td><u>/Yes/</u></td> <td><u>/O.No/</u></td> </tr> <tr> <td>↓</td> <td>(GO TO SECOND COLUMN OR P5)</td> </tr> </table>	<u>/Yes/</u>	<u>/O.No/</u>	↓	(GO TO SECOND COLUMN OR P5)	<table border="1"> <tr> <td><u>/Yes/</u></td> <td><u>/O.No/</u></td> </tr> <tr> <td>↓</td> <td>(GO TO P5)</td> </tr> </table>	<u>/Yes/</u>	<u>/O.No/</u>	↓	(GO TO P5)
<u>/Yes/</u>	<u>/O.No/</u>									
↓	(GO TO SECOND COLUMN OR P5)									
<u>/Yes/</u>	<u>/O.No/</u>									
↓	(GO TO P5)									
	From: _____ to _____	From: _____ to _____								
	(MO. & YR.) (MO. & YR.)	(MO. & YR.) (MO. & YR.)								

P45523

(IF NEITHER R NOR HEAD DOES ANY FARMING, SKIP TO P6, NEXT PAGE)

(ASK P5-P5f WHERE EITHER A FULL-TIME OR PART-TIME FARM OCCUPATION IS GIVEN FOR R OR HEAD IN P4 OR P4a; BUT IF R OR HEAD IS A FARM LABORER, SKIP TO P6, NEXT PAGE)

P5. Do you /1.own/ your farm, /2.manage/ it, /3.rent/ it or what?

P5a. How much land do you farm? _____

P5b. What kind of farming do you do here mostly? _____

P5c. Over the past four years have prices you get for the things you produce gone up, have they gone down, or have they stayed about the same?

/Up/

/Down/

/Stayed same/ → (GO TO P5e)

P5d. Would you say they have gone (up/down) a lot or just a little?

/1.Up a lot/ /2.Up little/ /3.Same/ /4.Down little/ /5.Down lot/

/8.Don't know/

P4e. How much effect do you think government farm policies have had on what you get for your crops, a lot, some, or not much at all?

/1.Lot/ /3.Some/ /5.Not much at all/ /8.Don't know/

P5f. Now here is a problem that farmers are concerned about these days. Would you tell me whether you would agree or disagree with this statement?

"If a farmer can't sell things he raises at a profit, the government should buy them and limit the amount the farmer can produce."

/2.Agree/

/4.Disagree/

/8.DK/ → (GO TO P6)

P5g. Do you feel strongly about this or not?

/1.Yes, strongly/

/5.No, not strongly/

/8.DK/

P45523

P6. Does anyone in this household belong to a labor union?

/Yes/

/5.No/ → (GO TO P7)

(CHECK AS MANY AS APPLICABLE)

P6a. Who is it that belongs? /Respondent/ /Head (not R)/ /Someone else / in household/

P6b. What union is that?
(What unions are those?)
(e.g., UAW, UMW, AFT, ILGWU) _____

P6c. About how long (have you/
has he) belonged to this
union? _____

P7. 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?

/Yes/

/No/

/DK/

/Other: _____/

P7a. Which one?
(RECORD BELOW)

P7b. Well, if you had to make a choice, would you call yourself middle class or working class?
(RECORD BELOW)

/Middle Class/

/Working Class/

/Other: _____/

(GO TO P8)

P7c. 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/

P7d. Would you say you feel pretty close to middle class people, or that you don't feel much closer to them than to people in other classes?

/1.Close/ /4.Not closer/

P7e. 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/

P7f. 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.Close/ /5.Not closer/

P8. In what social class do you think other people would place you?

P45523

P9. What would you say your family was when you were growing up:

/1.Middle class/ or /2.Working class/ ?

P10. Are you: /Protestant/, /Roman Catholic/, or /Jewish/ ?

/OTHER: _____/
(SPECIFY)

(IF PROTESTANT)

P10a. What church is that, Baptist, Methodist or what?

P11. Would you say you go to church regularly, often, seldom or never?

/1.Regularly/ /2.Often/ /4.Seldom/ /5.Never/

P12. Here are four statements about the Bible (HAND CARD #2 TO R), and I'd like you to tell me which is closest to your own view.

/1.The Bible is God's Word and all it says is true/

/2.The Bible was written by men inspired by God but it contains some human errors/

/3.The Bible is a good book because it was written by wise men but God had nothing to do with it/

/4.The Bible was written by men who lived so long ago that it is worth very little today/

/8.Don't know/

P45523

(ASK OF MEN ONLY)

P13. Have you served in the armed forces in the past five or six years?

/Yes/

/5.No/ → (GO TO P14)

P13a. Were you in the service mainly because of the buildup of troops for the Vietnam war, or would you have been in the service anyway?

/1.In anyway/

/2.In due to Vietnam/

/3.Not sure/

P13b. Did you serve any time in Vietnam?

/1.Yes/

/5.No/

(ASK EVERYONE)

P14. Have any members of your immediate family served in the armed forces in the past five or six years? (Who?) (Anyone else?)

/Yes/

/5.No/ → (GO TO P15)

(CHECK AS MANY AS APPLICABLE)

/1.One son/

/2.Two or more sons/

/3.One brother/

/4.Two or more brothers/

/5.Spouse/

/6.Father/

/7.Other: _____/

P14a. (Was he/Were any of them) in the service mainly because of the buildup of troops for the Vietnam war or would (he/they all) have been in the service anyway?

/1.In anyway/

/2.One or more due to Vietnam/

/3.Not sure/

P14b. (Has he/Have any of them) served any time in Vietnam?

/1.Yes/

/5.No/

P15. How about your other relatives or close friends? Have any of them served in the armed forces in the past five or six years? (How many?)

/Yes/

/5.No/ → (GO TO P16)

/1.One/

/2.Two/

/3.Three or more/

P15a. (Was he/Were any of them) in the service mainly because of the buildup of troops for the Vietnam war, or would (he/they all) have been in the service anyway?

/1.In anyway/ /2.One or more due to Vietnam/ /3.Not sure/

P15b. (Has he/Have any of them) served any time in Vietnam?

/1.Yes/

/5.No/

P45523

P16. There are many groups in America that try to get the government or the American people to see things more their way. We would like to get your feelings towards some of these groups.

I have here a card (INTERVIEWER HANDS R CARD #3) on which there is something that looks like a thermometer. We call it a "feeling thermometer" because it measures your feelings towards groups.

INTERVIEWER: TAKE SOME TIME TO EXPLAIN HOW THE THERMOMETER WORKS, SHOWING R THE WAY IN WHICH THE DEGREE LABELS CAN HELP HIM TO LOCATE THE GROUP.

Here's how it works. If you don't know too much about a group, or don't feel particularly warm or cold toward them, then you should place them in the middle, at the 50 degree mark.

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

On the other hand, if you don't feel very favorably toward some of these groups--if there are some you don't care for too much--then you would place them somewhere between 0° and 50°.

Our first group is Big Business. Where would you put them on the thermometer?

	<u>Rating</u>		<u>Rating</u>
a. Big Business	_____	k. Vietnam war protesters	_____
b. Liberals	_____	l. Labor Unions	_____
c. Southerners	_____	m. Lawyers	_____
d. Catholics	_____	n. Republicans	_____
e. Policemen	_____	o. School teachers	_____
f. College students	_____	p. Protestants	_____
g. Democrats	_____	q. Negroes	_____
h. The Military	_____	r. Conservatives	_____
i. Jews	_____	s. City and county officials	_____
j. Whites	_____		

P45523

P17. Where were you born? (IF UNITED STATES) Which state?

(DO NOT ASK OF NEGROES OR FOREIGN-BORN)

P17a. Were both your parents born in this country?

No/

Yes/

Don't know/

P17b. Which country was your father born in?

P17d. Do you remember which country your family came from originally on your father's side?

P17c. Which country was your mother born in?

P17e.on your mother's side?

(IF MORE THAN ONE NATIONALITY MENTIONED)

P17f. Aside from being American, what nationality do you think of your family being mainly? _____

(ASK OF EVERYONE EXCEPT NEGROES)

P18. Just as you did with the groups before, will you place the (MAIN NATIONALITY IN P17 OR P17a-P17f SERIES) on the feeling thermometer?

_____ (NATIONALITY)

_____ (RATING)

P19. What kind of work did your father do for a living while you were growing up?

(IF FATHER HAD FARM OCCUPATION)

P19a. When you were growing up on the farm, would you say that your family was pretty well off financially, about average, or did they have trouble making ends meet?

/1.Well off/

/3.Average/

/5.Trouble/

/8.Don't know/

P20. Where was it that you grew up? (IF UNITED STATES) Which state or states?

(IF GREW UP IN DIFFERENT STATE FROM CURRENT RESIDENCE)

20a. How old were you when you came to this state? _____

P21. Were you brought up mostly on a farm, in a town, in a small city, or in a large city?

P22. How long have you lived here in (NAME OF COMMUNITY)? _____

P45523

P23. About what do you think your total income will be this year for yourself and your immediate family? (HAND R CARD #4) Just give me the letter of the right income category.

/A. Under \$1000/ /B. \$1000-1999/ /C. \$2000-2999/ /D. \$3000-3999/
/E. \$4000-4999/ /F. \$5000-5999/ /G. \$6000-6999/ /H. \$7000-7999/
/I. \$8000-8999/ /J. \$9000-9999/ /K. \$10,000-11,999/ /L. \$12,000-14,999/
/M. \$15,000-19,999/ /N. \$20,000-24,999/ /O. \$25,000 and over/

P24. Do you own your own home here, or rent, or what?

/1. Own/ /2. Rent/ OTHER: _____
 (EXPLAIN)

INTERVIEWER'S SUPPLEMENT

- P25. Respondent's sex is: /1. Male/ /2. Female/
- P26. Respondent's race is: /1. White/ /2. Negro/ OTHER: _____
- P27. Relationship of R to head: /1. Is head/ /2. Is wife/ OTHER: _____
- P28. Other persons present at interview were: /None/ /Children under 6/
 (CHECK MORE THAN ONE BOX IF NECESSARY)
/Older children/ /Spouse/ /Other relatives/ /Other adults/
- P29. Respondent's cooperation was:
/1. Very good/ /2. Good/ /3. Fair/ /4. Poor/ /5. Very poor/
- P30. Respondent's general interest in politics and public affairs seemed:
/1. Very high/ /2. Fairly high/ /3. Average/ /4. Fairly low/ /5. Very low/
- P31. 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/

THUMBNAIL SKETCH

Office Contact's Name: _____ PSU: _____ PROJECT NO. 45523 Post Election

	Office Contact:	Interviewer:	Interviewer:	Interviewer:	PSU Total:
1. Total Sample Size.	_____ +	_____ +	_____ +	_____ +	_____ =
2. Enter here the total number of cover sheets that you have so far classified NS (HV, AND, NER) . . .	_____ +	_____ +	_____ +	_____ +	_____ =
3. Subtract "2" from "1" to obtain total number of possible interviews.	_____ +	_____ +	_____ +	_____ +	_____ =
4. Enter here the number of interviews completed. . .	_____ +	_____ +	_____ +	_____ +	_____ =
5. Enter here the number of cover sheets classified as NI (NAB, RA, REF, NI-OTHER) which will remain NI for the entire study. This category does not include addresses where you are continuing to try to get an interview, like an NAB, for example. . .	_____ +	_____ +	_____ +	_____ +	_____ =
6. And here enter the total number of cover sheets on which you are still working	_____ +	_____ +	_____ +	_____ +	_____ =
7. As a check to make sure your entries are accurate, the figures entered in Items 4, 5, and 6 should add up to the same figure you have entered for Item 3. Then to obtain your present response rate, divide the figure in #4 by the figure entered in #3. $\frac{113}{114}$	_____ +	_____ +	_____ +	_____ +	_____ =
8. Enter here the number of cover sheets you have mailed to the Field Office	_____ +	_____ +	_____ +	_____ +	_____ =
9. Are there any addresses in your assignment which have not yet been visited?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	+ <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	+ <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	+ <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	= <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
How many? _____	No. ? _____	No. ? _____	No. ? _____	No. ? _____	No. ? _____
10. Will you complete this project's interviewing by the deadline?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	+ <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	+ <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	+ <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	= <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No

PLEASE COMPLETE A COLUMN FOR EACH PERSON WORKING ON THE PROJECT.
MAIL TO YOUR SUPERVISOR ON WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 13. SECOND COPY IS FOR YOUR FILES.