

FORM I ☐ 1st Half ☐ 2nd Half

COVER SHEET
1972 PRE-ELECTION STUDY

Project 495402
Fall 1972



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. Segment No. _____ 7. Line No. _____

8. Address (or description) _____

9. City _____ 10. State _____

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

☐ 1 HU ☐ There are _____ (SUPPLY NUMBER) HUs at the listed address.

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

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

Call Number	1	2	3	4	5	6	More (specify)
Hour of the Day (plus AM or PM)							
Date							
Day of Week							
Results							
Interviewer's Initials							

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

FOR PRE-ELECTION ONLY

NONRESPONSE FORM FOR PRE-ELECTION STUDY

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

COMMENTS ON THE NONRESPONSE SITUATION:

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

a. Type of structure:		<input type="checkbox"/> Three- to Four-family Structure	
<input type="checkbox"/> Trailer		<input type="checkbox"/> Apartment House (5 or more units)	
<input type="checkbox"/> Single-family House		<input type="checkbox"/> Apartment in a partially commercial structure	
<input type="checkbox"/> Duplex/Two-family Structure		<input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify) _____	
<input type="checkbox"/> Row House (3 or more units in attached row)			
b. Race:	<input type="checkbox"/> White	<input type="checkbox"/> Negro	<input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify) _____
			<input type="checkbox"/> Don't Know
c. Estimated Income:	<input type="checkbox"/> Low (Under \$5,000)	<input type="checkbox"/> Medium (\$5000-20,000)	<input type="checkbox"/> High (Over \$20,000)
			<input type="checkbox"/> Can't Tell
d. Fill in if Listing Box not completed:			
1) How many adults (18 or older) in HU?	<input type="checkbox"/> One	<input type="checkbox"/> Two	<input type="checkbox"/> Three or More
			<input type="checkbox"/> Don't Know
2) Is there a married couple in the HU?	<input type="checkbox"/> YES	<input type="checkbox"/> NO	<input type="checkbox"/> Don't Know
3) Sex of household head	<input type="checkbox"/> Male	<input type="checkbox"/> Female	<input type="checkbox"/> Don't Know

RELIGION INFORMATION FORM

PRE-ELECTION STUDY

P. 495402
Fall 1972



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(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. Segment No. _____ 7. Line No. _____

8. Address (or description) _____

9. City _____ 10. State _____

11. R'S RELIGION :

_____ Specific Denomination if Protestant

12. MAILING ADDRESS OF R'S CHURCH/ SYNAGOGUE :

_____ Name

_____ Street and Number

_____ City

_____ State

_____ Zip Code

13. R'S CLERGYMAN :

_____ Title

_____ Name

FORM 1



SURVEY RESEARCH CENTER
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ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN 48106

(Do not write in above space)

1. Interviewer's Label

2. PSU _____

3. Your Interview No. _____

4. Date _____

5. Length of Interview _____
(Minutes)

6. Time at Beginning
of Interview _____

1972 PRE-ELECTION STUDY

A: PARTIES AND CANDIDATES

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

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

1. NIXON	2. MCGOVERN	7. OTHER; SPECIFY: _____	8. DK
----------	-------------	--------------------------	-------

↓
GO TO A3

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

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

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

1. NIXON	2. MCGOVERN	7. OTHER (SPECIFY): _____	8. DK
----------	-------------	---------------------------	-------

↓
GO TO A5

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

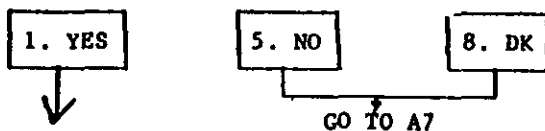
1. CLOSE RACE	3. WILL WIN BY QUITE A BIT
---------------	-------------------------------

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

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

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

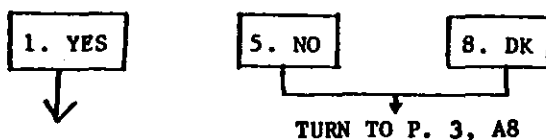
A6. Is there anything in particular that you like about the Democratic party?



A6a. What is that? _____

A6b. Anything else? _____

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



A7a. What is that? _____

A7b. Anything else? _____

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

1. YES



5. NO

8. DK

GO TO A9

A8a. What is that? _____

A8b. Anything else? _____

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

1. YES



5. NO

8. DK

TURN TO P. 4, A10

A9a. What is that? _____

A9b. Anything else? _____

A10. 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 McGovern that might make you want to vote for him?

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

↓
GO TO A11

A10a. What is that? _____

A10b. Anything else? _____

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

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

↓
TURN TO P. 5, A12

A11a. What is that? _____

A11b. Anything else? _____

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

1. YES



5. NO

8. DK

GO TO A13

A12a. What is that? _____

A12b. Anything else? _____

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

1. YES



5. NO

8. DK

TURN TO P. 6, A14

A13a. What is that? _____

A13b. Anything else? _____

A14. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Nixon is handling his job as President?

1. APPROVE

5. DISAPPROVE

8. DK

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

1. YES

2. NO

→ TURN TO P. 7, B1

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

B: ISSUES

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

- B1. Do you think we did the right thing in getting into the fighting in Vietnam or should we have stayed out?

1. YES, DID RIGHT THING

5. NO, SHOULD HAVE STAYED OUT

3. DEPENDS

8. DK

- B2. How about the chances of our country getting into a bigger war? Compared to a few years ago, do you think we are more likely, less likely, or have about the same chances to get into a bigger war?

5. MORE LIKELY

1. LESS LIKELY

3. ABOUT SAME CHANCES

7. DEPENDS

8. DK

- B3. Looking ahead, do you think the problem of keeping out of a bigger war would be handled better in the next four years by the Democrats, by the Republicans, or about the same by both?

1. BETTER BY DEMOCRATS

5. BETTER BY REPUBLICANS

3. SAME BY BOTH

8. DK

- B4. Looking ahead again, do you think that your family would get along better financially in the next four years if the Democrats or the Republicans win the election, or wouldn't it make much difference?

1. BETTER BY DEMOCRATS

5. BETTER BY REPUBLICANS

3. NOT MUCH DIFFERENCE

8. DK

D: RACIAL

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

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

1. YES

5. NO

GO TO D2

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

1. See to it that black people get fair treatment in jobs

or

5. Leave these matters to the states and local communities?

8. DK

7. OTHER; DEPENDS: _____

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

1. YES

5. NO

TURN TO P. 9, D2b

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

1. See to it that white & black children go to the same schools

or

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

8. DK

7. OTHER; DEPENDS: _____

D2b. In some places, school boards are taking some children out of their closest neighborhood schools and sending them by bus to other schools farther away. Has anything like this happened around here?

5. NO

8. DK

1. YES

TURN TO P. 10, D3

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

1. YES

5. NO

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

1. YES

5. NO

→ GO TO D4

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

1. Go to any hotel or restaurant they can afford

or should it

5. Stay out of this matter?

8. DX

7. OTHER; DEPENDS: _____

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

1. A LOT

3. SOME

5. NOT MUCH AT ALL

- D5. Some say that the civil rights people have been trying to push too fast. Others feel they haven't pushed fast enough. How about you: Do you think that civil rights leaders are trying to push too fast, are going too slowly, or are they moving about the right speed?

1. TOO FAST

5. TOO SLOWLY

3. ABOUT RIGHT

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

1. MOST BEEN VIOLENT

5. MOST BEEN PEACEFUL

8. DK

D7. Do you think the actions black people have taken have, on the whole, helped their cause, or, on the whole, hurt their cause?

1. HELPED

5. HURT

8. DK

D8. Which of these statements would you agree with:

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

or

8. DK; DEPENDS;
CAN'T DECIDE

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

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

1. ALL

2. MOST

3. ABOUT HALF

4. LESS THAN HALF

5. NONE

0. NO BLACKS IN AREA

D10. How about white people in this area? How many would you say are in favor of strict segregation of the races--all of them, most of them, about half, less than half of them, or none of them?

1. ALL

2. MOST

3. ABOUT HALF

4. LESS THAN HALF

5. NONE

0. NO WHITES IN AREA

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

1. DESEGREGATION

5. SEGREGATION

3. IN BETWEEN

D12. Thinking about the country as a whole, would you say relations between white people and black people have been getting better, getting worse, or staying pretty much the same?

1. BETTER

5. WORSE

3. SAME

INTERVIEWER CHECK BOX A

1. R IS NOT BLACK → SKIP TO P.16 , D25

5. R IS BLACK

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

1. BETTER BREAK

5. WANT TO KEEP DOWN

3. DON'T CARE

8. I

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

1. ONLY A FEW

3. MANY

5. ALMOST ALL

8. DK

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

1. ONLY A FEW

3. MANY

5. ALMOST ALL

8. DK

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

	APPROVE	DISAPPROVE	NOT SURE
D16a. There should be more black businesses, banks, and stores	1	2	3
D16b. Black people should shop in black-owned stores whenever possible	1	2	3
D16c. Black people should take more pride in black history	1	2	3
D16d. Black people should not have anything to do with whites if they can help it	1	2	3
D16e. There should be a separate black nation here	1	2	3
D16f. Black school children should study an African language	1	2	3

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

1. LAWS AND PERSUASION

2. NON-VIOLENT PROTESTS

3. VIOLENCE IF NECESSARY

7. OTHER (SPECIFY):

8. DK

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

5. ALL BLACK

4. MOSTLY BLACK

3. HALF AND HALF

2. MOSTLY WHITE

1. ALL WHITE

8. DK

D19. Would you personally prefer to live in a neighborhood with all black people, mostly black people, mostly whites, or a neighborhood that's mixed half and half?

1. ALL BLACK

2. MOSTLY BLACK

3. MOSTLY WHITE

4. MIXED

7. MAKES NO DIFFERENCE

8. DK

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

5. ALL BLACK

4. MOSTLY BLACK

3. HALF AND HALF

2. MOSTLY WHITE

1. ALL WHITE

8. DK

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

5. ALL BLACK

4. MOSTLY BLACK

3. HALF AND HALF

2. MOSTLY WHITE

1. ALL WHITE

8. DK

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

1. YES

3. NO

→ TURN TO P. 15 , D23

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

5. ALL BLACK

4. MOSTLY BLACK

3. HALF AND HALF

2. MOSTLY WHITE

1. ALL WHITE

8. DK

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

5. ALL BLACK

4. MOSTLY BLACK

3. HALF AND HALF

2. MOSTLY WHITE

1. ALL WHITE

8. DK

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

5. ALL BLACK

4. MOSTLY BLACK

3. HALF AND HALF

2. MOSTLY WHITE

1. ALL WHITE

8. DK

SKIP TO P. 19 , E1

IF R IS NOT BLACK, ASK THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS:

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

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

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

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

7. OTHER; DEPENDS; CAN'T DECIDE

8. DK

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

1. ALL WHITE

2. MOSTLY WHITE

3. ABOUT HALF AND HALF

4. MOSTLY BLACK

5. ALL BLACK

8. DK

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

1. ALL WHITE

2. MOSTLY WHITE

3. MOSTLY BLACKS

4. MIXED

7. MAKES NO DIFFERENCE

8. DK

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

1. ALL WHITE

2. MOSTLY WHITE

3. ABOUT HALF AND HALF

4. MOSTLY BLACK

5. ALL BLACK

8. DK

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

1. ALL WHITE

2. MOSTLY WHITE

3. ABOUT HALF AND HALF

4. MOSTLY BLACK

5. ALL BLACK

8. DK

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

1. YES

3. NO → GO TO D31

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

1. ALL WHITE

2. MOSTLY WHITE

3. ABOUT HALF AND HALF

4. MOSTLY BLACK

5. ALL BLACK

8. DK

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

1. ALL WHITE

2. MOSTLY WHITE

3. ABOUT HALF AND HALF

4. MOSTLY BLACK

5. ALL BLACK

8. DK

D32. Are your friends all white, mostly white, about half and half, mostly black or all black?

1. ALL WHITE

2. MOSTLY WHITE

3. ABOUT HALF AND HALF

4. MOSTLY BLACK

5. ALL BLACK

8. DK

E: PARTY IDENTIFICATION

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

E1. Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or what?

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

TURN TO P.20, E1j

E1a. Would you call yourself a strong Republican or a not very strong Republican?

1. STRONG	5. NOT VERY STRONG
-----------	--------------------

E1b. Was there ever a time when you thought of yourself as a Democrat or an Independent rather than a Republican?

1. YES	5. NO, NEVER
--------	--------------

TURN TO P.21, E2

E1c. Was that a Democrat or an Independent?

1. DEMOCRAT	5. INDEPENDENT
-------------	----------------

E1d. When did you change to a Republican?

SKIP TO P. 21, E2

E1e. Would you call yourself a strong Democrat or a not very strong Democrat?

1. STRONG	5. NOT VERY STRONG
-----------	--------------------

E1f. Was there ever a time when you thought of yourself as a Republican or an Independent rather than a Democrat?

1. YES	5. NO, NEVER
--------	--------------

TURN TO P.21, E2

E1g. Was that a Republican or an Independent?

1. REPUBLICAN	5. INDEPENDENT
---------------	----------------

E1h. When did you change to a Democrat?

SKIP TO P. 21, E2

(IF ANSWER TO E1 WAS INDEPENDENT, NO PREFERENCE, OR OTHER, ASK THE FOLLOWING:)

E1j. Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican or to the Democratic party?

1. REPUBLICAN



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

1. YES

5. NO, NEVER



TURN TO P. 21, E2

Elm. When did you change?

3. NEITHER



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

1. YES, DEMOCRAT

5. YES, REPUBLICAN

3. NO, NEVER



TURN TO P. 21, E2

Elp. When did you change?

5. DEMOCRATIC



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

1. YES

5. NO, NEVER



TURN TO P. 21, E2

Elr. When did you change?

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

1. VERY MUCH
INTERESTED

3. SOMEWHAT
INTERESTED

5. NOT MUCH
ATTENTION

8. DK

↓
GO TO E4

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

1. DEMOCRAT

5. REPUBLICAN

3. INDEPENDENT

7. OTHER (SPECIFY): _____

8. DK

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

1. VERY MUCH
INTERESTED

3. SOMEWHAT
INTERESTED

5. NOT MUCH
ATTENTION

8. DK

↓
TURN TO P. 22, E6

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

1. DEMOCRAT

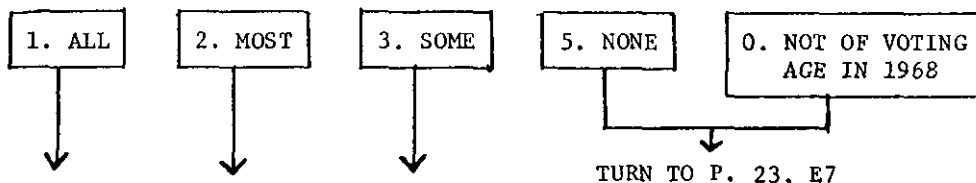
5. REPUBLICAN

3. INDEPENDENT

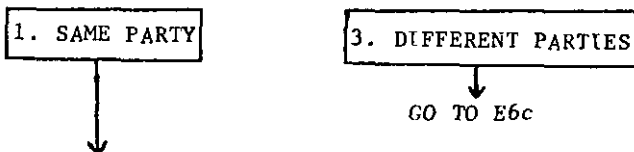
7. OTHER (SPECIFY): _____

8. DK

E6. 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?



E6a. Have you always voted for the same party or have you voted for different parties for President?



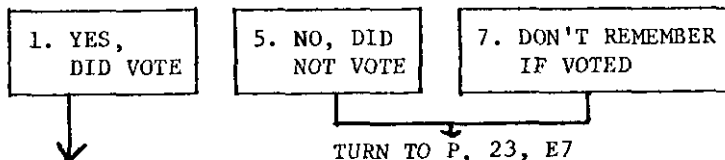
E6b. Which party was that?

1. DEMOCRATIC

5. REPUBLICAN

7. OTHER;
SPECIFY:

E6c. Now, in 1968 you remember that Mr. Nixon ran on the Republican ticket against Mr. Humphrey for the Democrats and Mr. Wallace on an Independent ticket. Do you remember for sure whether or not you voted in that election?



E6d. Which one did you vote for?

2. NIXON

1. HUMPHREY

3. WALLACE

5. OTHER

8. DK

FOR BLACK RESPONDENTS ONLY:

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

1. WORK IN OWN PARTY

3. WORK IN TWO MAJOR PARTIES

2. BOTH

8. DK

E8. Would you support an independent black political party?

1. YES

3. DEPENDS. NOT SURE

5. NO

8. DK

F: CURRENT CAMPAIGN

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

1. VERY MUCH
INTERESTED

3. SOMEWHAT
INTERESTED

5. NOT MUCH
INTERESTED

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

1. YES

2. NO

8. DK

TURN TO P. 25, F4

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

1. REPUBLICAN

5. DEMOCRAT

7. NO PARTY

6. OTHER; SPECIFY: _____

8. DK

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

1. YES

7. NO

TURN TO P. 25, F4

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

F3b. Which presidential candidate did you support in that contest?

F4. So far as you know now, do you expect to vote in November or not?

1. YES, VOTE

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

5. NOT VOTE

8. DK

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

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

- G1. Some people feel that the government in Washington should see to it that every person has a job and a good standard of living. Others think the government should just let each person get ahead on his own. And, of course, other people have opinions somewhere in between.

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



(INTERVIEWER RECORD NUMBER)

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

8. DK

0. HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH

→ TURN TO P. 27, G2

- _____ G1b. Where would you place Richard Nixon?

8. DK

- _____ G1c. Where would you place George McGovern?

8. DK

- _____ G1d. Where would you place George Wallace?

8. DK

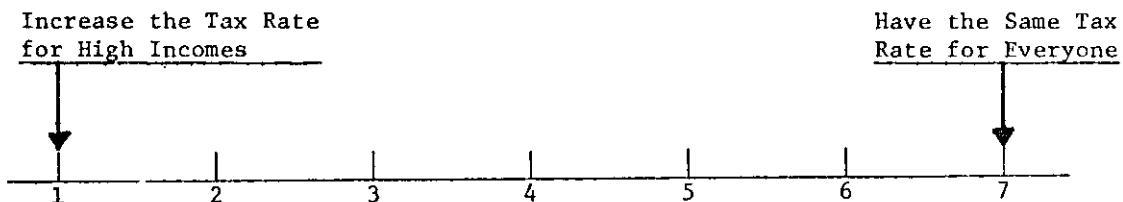
- _____ G1e. (Where would you place) the Democratic Party?

8. DK

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

8. DK

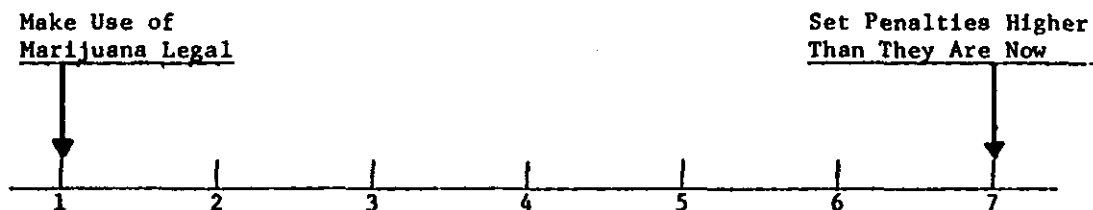
G2. (HAND R CARD G2--BROWN) As you know, in our tax system people who earn a lot of money already have to pay higher rates of income tax than those who earn less. Some people think that those with high incomes should pay even more of their income into taxes than they do now. Others think that the rates shouldn't be different at all--that everyone should pay the same portion of their income, no matter how much they make.



(INTERVIEWER RECORD NUMBER)

- _____ G2a. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?
- TURN TO P. 28, G3
- _____ G2b. Where would you place Richard Nixon?
-
- _____ G2c. Where would you place George McGovern?
-
- _____ G2d. Where would you place George Wallace?
-
- _____ G2e. (Where would you place) the Democratic Party?
-
- _____ G2f. (Where would you place) the Republican Party?
-

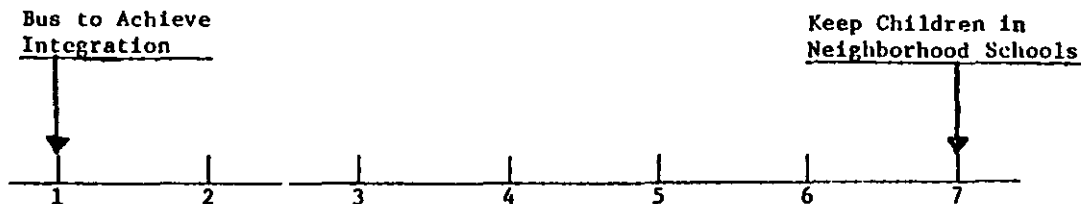
- G3. (HAND R CARD 35 --ORANGE) Some people think that the use of marijuana should be made legal. Others think that the penalties for using marijuana should be set higher than they are now.



(INTERVIEWER RECORD NUMBER)

- _____ G3a. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?
- ☐ 8. DK ☐ 0. HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH → TURN TO P. 29, G4
- _____ G3b. Where would you place Richard Nixon?
- ☐ 8. DK
- _____ G3c. Where would you place George McGovern?
- ☐ 8. DK
- _____ G3d. Where would you place George Wallace?
- ☐ 8. DK
- _____ G3e. (Where would you place) the Democratic Party?
- ☐ 8. DK
- _____ G3f. (Where would you place) the Republican Party?
- ☐ 8. DK

- G4. (HAND R CARD G6--GREEN) There is much discussion about the best way to deal with racial problems. Some people think achieving racial integration of schools is so important that it justifies busing children to schools out of their own neighborhoods. Others think letting children go to their neighborhood schools is so important that they oppose busing.



(INTERVIEWER RECORD NUMBER)

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

8. DK

0. HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH

→ TURN TO P. 30, G5

- _____ G4b. Where would you place Richard Nixon?

8. DK

- _____ G4c. Where would you place George McGovern?

8. DK

- _____ G4d. Where would you place George Wallace?

8. DK

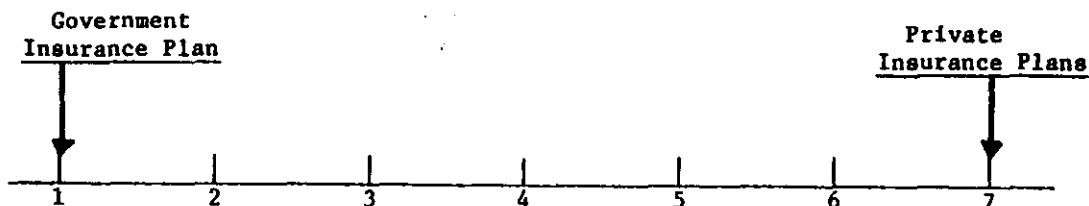
- _____ G4e. (Where would you place) the Democratic Party?

8. DK

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

8. DK

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



(INTERVIEWER RECORD NUMBER)

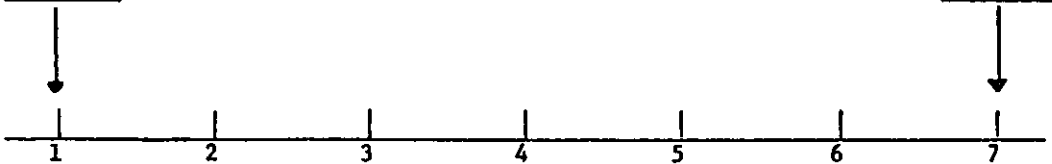
- _____ G5a. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?
- ☐ 8. DK ☐ 0. HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH → TURN TO P.31, G6
- _____ G5b. Where would you place Richard Nixon?
- ☐ 8. DK
- _____ G5c. Where would you place George McGovern?
- ☐ 8. DK
- _____ G5d. Where would you place George Wallace?
- ☐ 8. DK
- _____ G5e. (Where would you place) the Democratic Party?
- ☐ 8. DK
- _____ G5f. (Where would you place) the Republican Party?
- ☐ 8. DK

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

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

Strongly
Agree

Strongly
Disagree



(INTERVIEWER RECORD NUMBER)

G6a. Nixon, as President, could be trusted.

8. DK

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

8. DK

G6c. Nixon, as President, would control crime.

8. DK

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

8. DK

G7. The next set of statements concerns George McGovern.

_____ G7a. McGovern, as President, could be trusted.

8. DK

_____ G7b. McGovern has the kind of personality a President ought to have.

8. DK

_____ G7c. McGovern, as President, would control crime.

8. DK

_____ G7d. McGovern, as President, would bring peace in Vietnam.

8. DK

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

_____ G8a. Wallace, as President, could be trusted.

8. DK

_____ G8b. Wallace has the kind of personality a President ought to have.

8. DK

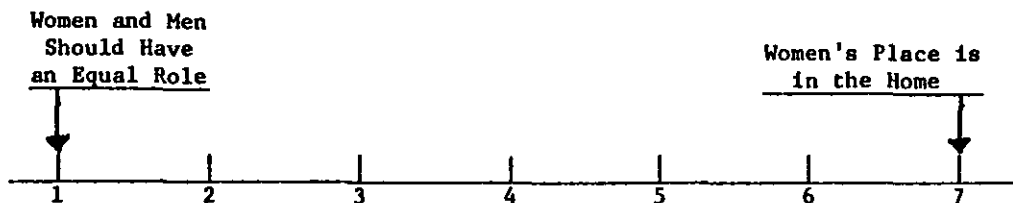
_____ G8c. Wallace, as President, would control crime.

8. DK

_____ G8d. Wallace, as President, would bring peace in Vietnam.

8. DK

- G9. (HAND R CARD G10-ORANGE) Recently there has been a lot of talk about women's rights. Some people feel that women should have an equal role with men in running business, industry, and government. Others feel that women's place is in the home.



(INTERVIEWER RECORD NUMBER)

- _____ G9a. Where would you place yourself on this scale,
or haven't you thought much about this?
8. DK 0. HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH → TURN TO P.34, G10
- _____ G9b. Where would you place Richard Nixon?
8. DK
- _____ G9c. Where would you place George McGovern?
8. DK
- _____ G9d. Where would you place George Wallace?
8. DK
- _____ G9e. (Where would you place) the Democratic Party?
8. DK
- _____ G9f. (Where would you place) the Republican Party?
8. DK

G10. Still on the subject of women's rights, there has been some discussion about abortion during recent years. Which one of the opinions on this card (HAND R CARD G11 - BROWN) best agrees with your view? You can just tell me the number of the opinion you choose.

1. ABORTION SHOULD NEVER BE PERMITTED.

2. ABORTION SHOULD BE PERMITTED ONLY IF THE LIFE AND HEALTH OF THE WOMAN IS IN DANGER.

3. ABORTION SHOULD BE PERMITTED IF, DUE TO PERSONAL REASONS, THE WOMAN WOULD HAVE DIFFICULTY IN CARING FOR THE CHILD.

4. ABORTION SHOULD NEVER BE FORBIDDEN, SINCE ONE SHOULD NOT REQUIRE A WOMAN TO HAVE A CHILD SHE DOESN'T WANT.

7. OTHER; SPECIFY: _____

8. DK

G11. Sometimes a company has to lay-off part of its labor force. Some people think that the first workers to be laid-off should be women whose husbands have jobs. Others think that male and female employees should be treated the same. Which of these opinions do you agree with?

1. LAY-OFF WOMEN FIRST

2. TREAT MALE AND FEMALE EMPLOYEES THE SAME

8. DK

- G12. In general, women in our society have not been as successful as men-- in business, politics, the leadership positions in our country.

I'll read you some reasons people have offered to explain why this is so, including some things that other people don't agree with at all. For each, I'd like you to tell me whether you agree a great deal, agree somewhat, disagree somewhat, or disagree a great deal. (HAND R CARD G12 - GREEN) First...

<u>REASONS</u>	<u>Agree a Great Deal</u>	<u>Agree Somewhat</u>	<u>Disagree Somewhat</u>	<u>Disagree a Great Deal</u>	<u>DK</u>
a) Men are born with more drive to be ambitious and successful than women	1	2	3	4	8
b) Women have less opportunity than men to get the education for top jobs.	1	2	3	4	8
c) Women are usually less reliable on the job than men, because they tend to be absent more and quit more often	1	2	3	4	8
d) Our schools teach women to want the less important jobs.	1	2	3	4	8
e) By nature women are happiest when they are making a home and caring for children . . .	1	2	3	4	8
f) Many qualified women can't get good jobs; men with the same skills have much less trouble	1	2	3	4	8
g) In general, men are more qualified than women for jobs that have great responsibility	1	2	3	4	8
h) Our society discriminates against women	1	2	3	4	8
j) Women have just as much chance to get big and important jobs; they just aren't interested	1	2	3	4	8

G13. Taking things all together, which do you think has a better life in the United States today--men or women?
(IF NECESSARY: On the average?)

1. MEN	2. WOMEN	3. SAME	8. DK → GO TO G14
--------	----------	---------	-------------------

G13a. Why is that?

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

G14. Women should stay out of politics.

1. AGREE

5. DISAGREE

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

1. AGREE

5. DISAGREE

H: CANDIDATE THERMOMETERS

H1. As you know, there were many people mentioned this past year as possible candidates for President or Vice President by the political parties. We would like to get your feelings toward some of these people.

I have here a card (HAND R CARD H1-YELLOW) on which there is something that looks like a thermometer. We call it a "feeling thermometer" because it measures your feelings towards these people.

Here's how it works. If you don't feel particularly warm or cold toward a person, then you should place him in the middle of the thermometer, at the 50 degree mark.

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

On the other hand, if you don't feel very favorably toward a person -- that is, if you don't care too much for him -- then you would place him somewhere between 0 and 50 degrees.

Of course, if you don't know too much about a person, just tell me and we'll go on to the next name.

Our first person is George Wallace. Where would you put him on the thermometer?

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

RATING

_____ H1a. George Wallace
 _____ H1b. George McGovern
 _____ H1c. Richard Nixon
 _____ H1d. John Lindsay
 _____ H1e. Edmund Muskie
 _____ H1f. Edward "Ted" Kennedy
 _____ H1g. Henry "Scoop" Jackson

RATING

_____ H1h. Shirley Chisholm
 _____ H1j. John Ashbrook
 _____ H1k. Thomas Eagleton
 _____ H1m. Paul "Pete" McCloskey
 _____ H1n. Hubert Humphrey
 _____ H1p. Spiro Agnew
 _____ H1q. R. Sargent Shriver

H2. Do you believe that any of these candidates best reflects high moral or religious standards?

1. YES

5. NO

→ TURN TO P. 39, J1

H2a. Which candidate(s)?

J: POLITICAL EFFICACY

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

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

1. AGREE

5. DISAGREE

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

1. AGREE

5. DISAGREE

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

1. AGREE

5. DISAGREE

J4. I don't think public officials care much what people like me think.

1. AGREE

5. DISAGREE

J5. Generally speaking, those we elect to Congress in Washington lose touch with the people pretty quickly.

1. AGREE

5. DISAGREE

J6. Parties are only interested in people's votes but not in their opinions.

1. AGREE

5. DISAGREE

There are many possible ways for people to show their disapproval or disagreement with governmental policies and actions. I am going to describe three such ways. We would like to know which ones you approve of as ways of showing dissatisfaction with the government, and which ones you disapprove of.

J7. How about taking part in protest meetings or marches that are permitted by the local authorities? Would you approve of taking part, disapprove, or would it depend on the circumstances?

1. APPROVE

5. DISAPPROVE

3. DEPENDS

8. DK

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

1. APPROVE

5. DISAPPROVE

3. DEPENDS

8. DK

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

1. APPROVE

5. DISAPPROVE

3. DEPENDS

8. DK

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

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

1. PLAN AHEAD

5. TOO MUCH LUCK TO PLAN

8. DK

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

1. THINGS WORK OUT AS EXPECTED

5. HAVE TO CHANGE PLANS

8. DK

J12. Have you usually felt pretty sure your life would work out the way you want it to, or have there been times when you haven't been sure about it?

1. PRETTY SURE

5. HAVEN'T BEEN SURE

8. DK

J12a. Some people feel they can run their lives pretty much the way they want to; others feel the problems of life are sometimes too big for them. Which one are you most like?

1. CAN RUN OWN LIFE

5. PROBLEMS OF LIFE TOO BIG

8. DK

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

1. COMPLETELY

3. PRETTY

5. NOT VERY

8. DK

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

5. HAVE BEEN HELD BACK

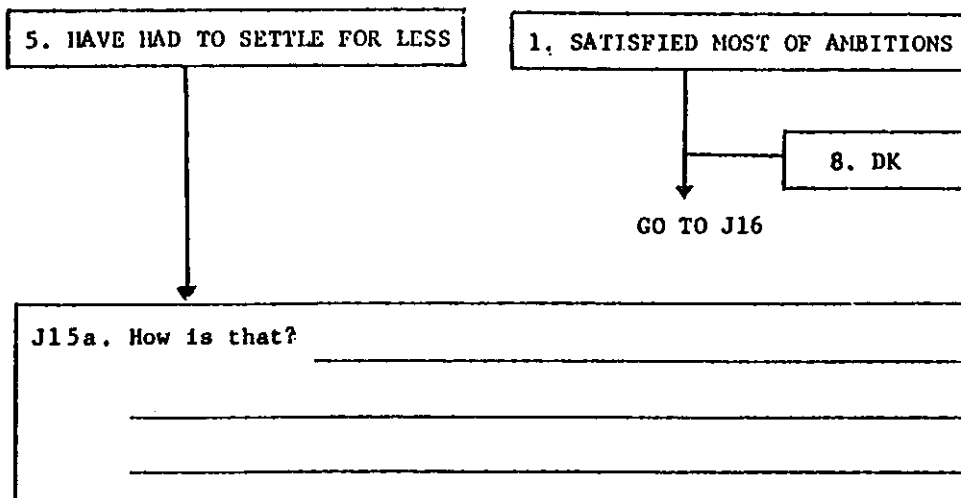
1. HAVE HAD FAIR OPPORTUNITY

8. DK

TURN TO P. 42, J15

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

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



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

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

1. AGREE

5. DISAGREE

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

1. AGREE

5. DISAGREE

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

1. AGREE

5. DISAGREE

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

1. AGREE

5. DISAGREE

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

1. AGREE

5. DISAGREE

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

1. AGREE

5. DISAGREE

K: DEMOGRAPHIC DATA

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

K1. What is your date of birth? _____ (MONTH) _____ (YEAR)

K2. Are you married now and living with your (husband/wife)--or are you widowed, divorced, separated, or have you never married?

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

INTERVIEWER CHECK BOX B

<input type="checkbox"/> 1.	NO CHILDREN BETWEEN 5 AND 18 IN HOUSING UNIT--TURN TO P. 44, K5
<input type="checkbox"/> 5.	ONE OR MORE CHILDREN BETWEEN 5 AND 18 IN HOUSEHOLD

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

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

1. PUBLIC	2. PAROCHIAL	3. PRIVATE
-----------	--------------	------------

(CHECK AS MANY AS APPLICABLE)

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

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

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

RESPONDENT	HEAD OR SPOUSE
<div style="display: flex; flex-wrap: wrap;"> <div style="width: 50%;">1</div> <div style="width: 50%;">2</div> <div style="width: 50%;">3</div> <div style="width: 50%;">4</div> <div style="width: 50%;">5</div> <div style="width: 50%;">6</div> <div style="width: 50%;">7</div> <div style="width: 50%;">8</div> <div style="width: 50%;">9</div> <div style="width: 50%;">10</div> <div style="width: 50%;">11</div> <div style="width: 50%;">12</div> </div> <div style="text-align: center; border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">Equivalency</div>	<div style="display: flex; flex-wrap: wrap;"> <div style="width: 50%;">1</div> <div style="width: 50%;">2</div> <div style="width: 50%;">3</div> <div style="width: 50%;">4</div> <div style="width: 50%;">5</div> <div style="width: 50%;">6</div> <div style="width: 50%;">7</div> <div style="width: 50%;">8</div> <div style="width: 50%;">9</div> <div style="width: 50%;">10</div> <div style="width: 50%;">11</div> <div style="width: 50%;">12</div> </div> <div style="text-align: center; border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">Equivalency</div>
<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;">1. YES</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;">5. NO</div> </div> <div style="text-align: center; margin-top: 10px;"> ↓ GO TO SECOND COLUMN IF APPROPRIATE, OR TURN TO P. 45, CHECK BOX C ↓ </div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center; margin-top: 20px;"> (COLLEGE, SECRETARIAL, BUSINESS SCHOOL, ETC.) </div>	<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;">1. YES</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;">5. NO</div> </div> <div style="text-align: center; margin-top: 10px;"> ↓ TURN TO P. 45, CHECK BOX C ↓ </div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center; margin-top: 20px;"> (COLLEGE, SECRETARIAL, BUSINESS SCHOOL, ETC.) </div>
<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center; margin-top: 20px;"> IF R ATTENDED COLLEGE ↓ </div>	
<p>K5b. Do (you) have a college degree?</p> <p>IF YES: K5c. What degree(s) have (you) received?</p> <p>K5d. From which college(s)? Where (is that/ are they) located?</p> <p>IF NO: K5e. What was the last college you attended? Where is that located?</p>	<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;">1. YES</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;">5. NO</div> </div> <div style="text-align: center; margin-top: 10px;"> ↓ Degrees: (1) _____ (2) _____ (3) _____ </div> <div style="text-align: center; margin-top: 10px;"> ↓ College(s) and location(s): (1) _____ (2) _____ (3) _____ </div>
	<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;">1. YES</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;">5. NO</div> </div> <div style="text-align: center; margin-top: 10px;"> ↓ Degrees: (1) _____ (2) _____ (3) _____ </div> <div style="text-align: center; margin-top: 10px;"> ↓ College(s) and location(s): (1) _____ (2) _____ (3) _____ </div>

INTERVIEWER CHECK BOX C

(SEE PAGE 14, QUESTION D21, IF R IS BLACK; SEE PAGE 17,

☐ R IS WORKING☐ R IS NOT WORKING

K6. We'd like to know if you

2. TEMPORARILY
LAID OFF

1. WORKING NOW

3. LOOKING FOR WORK

4. UNEMPLOYED

K7. What is your main occupation? (What sort of work do you do?) (IF NOT CLEAR: Tell me a little more about what you do.)

K8. What kind of (business/industry) is that in?

K9. Do you work for someone else, yourself, or what?

1. SOMEONE ELSE

2. BOTH SOMEONE
ELSE AND SELF

3. SELF ONLY

K10. About how many hours do you work on your job in the average week?

_____ HOURS A WEEK

K11. Were you out of work at any time during the last twelve months?

1. YES

5. NO

SKIP TO P.47, CHECK BOX D

K12. Have you ever done any work for pay?

1. YES

5. NO

→ SKIP TO P.47,
CHECK BOX D

K12a. What sort of work did you do on your last regular job? (What was your occupation?)

K12b. What kind of business/industry was that in?

K12c. Did you work for someone else, yourself, or what?

1. SOMEONE
ELSE2. BOTH SOMEONE
ELSE AND
SELF3. SELF
ONLY

K13. Have you had a job in the past twelve months?

1. YES

5. NO

→ SKIP TO P.47,
CHECK BOX D

K13a. About how many hours did you work on your last job in the average week?

_____ HOURS A WEEK

SKIP TO P.47, CHECK BOX D

QUESTION D29, IF R IS NOT BLACK)

are looking for work, retired, (a housewife), (a student), or what.

5. RETIRED

K14. When did you retire?

YEAR _____

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

K16a. What kind of (business/industry) was that?

K16b. Did you work for someone else, yourself, or what?

1. SOMEONE ELSE **2. BOTH SOMEONE ELSE AND SELF** **3. SELF ONLY**

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

1. YES **5. NO** → TURN TO P. 47, CHECK BOX D

K17a. Are you doing any work for pay at the present time?

1. YES → GO BACK TO "WORKING NOW" **5. NO**

K17b. About how many hours a week did you work in the average week when you were working?

_____ HOURS A WEEK

TURN TO P.47, CHECK BOX D

6. PERMANENTLY DISABLED

K15. Have you ever done any work for pay?

1. YES **5. NO** → TURN TO P. 47, CHECK BOX D

7. HOUSEWIFE

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

1. YES **5. NO** → TURN TO P. 47, CHECK BOX D

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

1. YES → GO BACK TO "WORKING NOW" **5. NO**

8. STUDENT

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

K18b. What kind of work did you do? (What was your occupation?)

K18c. What kind of business was that in?

K18d. Did you work for someone else, yourself, or what?

1. SOMEONE ELSE **2. BOTH SOMEONE ELSE AND SELF** **3. SELF ONLY**

K18e. About how many hours a week did you work in the average week when you were working?

_____ HOURS A WEEK

TURN TO P. 47, CHECK BOX D

TWO-PAGE HEAD/SPOUSE

INTERVIEWER CHECK BOX D

1. R IS FAMILY HEAD; NO SPOUSE IN FAMILY →
2. R IS FAMILY HEAD, LIVING WITH SPOUSE--ASK ABOUT

K19. We'd also like to know about (the head of the family/your husband/wife).....

1. WORKING NOW

2. TEMPORARILY
LAID OFF

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

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

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

1. SOMEONE ELSE

2. BOTH SOMEONE
ELSE & SELF

3. SELF ONLY

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

_____ HOURS A WEEK

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

1. YES

5. NO

SKIP TO P. 49, K32.

3. LOOKING FOR WORK

4. UNEMPLOYED

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

1. YES

5. NO

→ SKIP TO P.49, K32

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

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

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

1. SOMEONE
ELSE

2. BOTH SOME-
ONE ELSE
AND SELF

3. SELF
ONLY

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

1. YES

5. NO

→ SKIP TO P.49, K32

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

SKIP TO P. 49, K32

SKIP TO P. 49, K32

SPOUSE. **3.** R IS NOT FAMILY HEAD--ASK ABOUT HEAD

Is (he/she) working now, looking for work, retired, (a housewife), (a student), or what?

5. RETIRED

K27. When did he/she retire?

YEAR

K29. What kind of work did he/she do when he/she worked? (What was his/her occupation?)

K29a. What kind of (business/industry) was that?

K29b. Did he/she work for someone else, himself/herself, or what?

1. SOMEONE ELSE	2. BOTH SOMEONE ELSE AND SELF	3. SELF ONLY
-----------------	-------------------------------	--------------

K30. During the last twelve months did he/she do any work for pay?

1. YES **5. NO** → TURN TO P. 49, K32

K30a. Is he/she doing any work for pay at the present time?

1. YES → GO BACK TO "WORKING NOW" **5. NO**

K30b. About how many hours a week did he/she work in the average week when he/she worked?

_____ HOURS A WEEK

TURN TO P. 49, K32

6. PERMANENTLY DISABLED

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

1. YES	5. NO
--------	-------

TURN TO P. 49, K32

7. HOUSEWIFE**8. STUDENT**

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

1. YES **5. NO** → TURN TO P. 49, K32

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

1. YES → GO BACK TO "WORKING NOW" **5. NO**

IF WORKED IN THE LAST TWELVE MONTHS BUT NOT PRESENTLY WORKING

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

K31c. What kind of business was that in?

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

1. SOMEONE ELSE	2. BOTH SOMEONE ELSE AND SELF
3. SELF ONLY	

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

_____ HOURS A WEEK

TURN TO P. 49, K32

(ASK IF HEAD IS FARMER OR RANCHER--EITHER FULL OR PART TIME)--
OTHERS GO TO K33

K32. (Do you/Does Head) do any other kind of work besides
(farming/ranching)--for pay, I mean?

1. YES

5. NO

GO TO K32c

K32a. What kind of work is that? _____

K32b. About how much time (do you/does head) usually put
in on that?

_____ hours per week for _____ weeks per year

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

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

1. YES

5. NO

TURN TO P. 50, K34

K33a. Who is it that belongs?
(CHECK AS MANY AS
APPLICABLE)

RESPONDENT

HEAD (NOT R)

SOMEONE ELSE
IN HOUSEHOLD

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

K34. Here is a list of some kinds of organizations to which people may belong. (HAND R CARD K1--ORANGE) Just tell me the letter on the card of any type of organization that you belong to. If you belong to any that are not on this list, tell me about those too.

(AFTER CHECKING ORGANIZATIONS R BELONGS TO, SAY):

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

(READ EACH CHECKED TYPE OF ORGANIZATION.)

	Not Very Active	Fairly Active	Very Active
A <input type="checkbox"/> Fraternal lodges	1	2	3
B <input type="checkbox"/> Business groups	1	2	3
C <input type="checkbox"/> Professional groups	1	2	3
D <input type="checkbox"/> Farm organizations	1	2	3
E <input type="checkbox"/> Church or religious groups	1	2	3
F <input type="checkbox"/> Neighborhood associations	1	2	3
G <input type="checkbox"/> Social or card-playing groups	1	2	3
H <input type="checkbox"/> Athletic clubs or teams	1	2	3
J <input type="checkbox"/> Cooperatives	1	2	3
K <input type="checkbox"/> Political clubs or organizations	1	2	3
L <input type="checkbox"/> Charity or social-welfare organizations	1	2	3
M <input type="checkbox"/> Veterans' organizations	1	2	3
N <input type="checkbox"/> Civic groups	1	2	3
P <input type="checkbox"/> Special-interest groups or lobbies	1	2	3
Q <input type="checkbox"/> Ethnic, racial, or nationality associations	1	2	3
R <input type="checkbox"/> Labor unions	1	2	3
S <input type="checkbox"/> OTHER(S); SPECIFY: _____	1	2	3
_____	1	2	3
T <input type="checkbox"/> NO ORGANIZATIONS			

K35. There's been some talk these days about different social classes. Most people say they belong either to the middle class or to the working class. Do you ever think of yourself as belonging in one of these classes?

1. YES	5. NO	8. DK	7. OTHER _____
↓	↓	↓	↓
K35a. Which one? (RECORD BELOW)	K35b. Well, if you had to make a choice, would you call yourself middle class or working class? (RECORD BELOW)		
1. MIDDLE CLASS	2. WORKING CLASS	7. OTHER _____	
↓	↓	↓ GO TO K36	
K35c. Would you say that you are about <u>average</u> middle class, or that you are in the <u>upper</u> part of the middle class? <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around; margin-top: 10px;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;">4. AVERAGE MIDDLE</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;">6. UPPER MIDDLE</div> </div>		K35e. Would you say that you are about <u>average</u> working class, or that you are in the <u>upper</u> part of the working class? <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around; margin-top: 10px;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;">1. AVERAGE WORKING</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;">3. UPPER WORKING</div> </div>	
K35d. Would you say you feel <u>pretty close</u> to middle class people, or that you don't feel much closer to them than to people in other classes? <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around; margin-top: 10px;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;">1. CLOSE</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;">4. NOT CLOSER</div> </div>		K35f. Would you say you feel <u>pretty close</u> to working class people, or that you don't feel much closer to them than to people in other classes? <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around; margin-top: 10px;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;">2. CLOSE</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;">5. NOT CLOSER</div> </div>	

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

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

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

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

K39. Were both your parents born in this country?

5. NO

K39a. Which country was your father born in?

K39b. Which country was your mother born in?

1. YES

8. DK

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

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

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

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

1. YES

5. NO

→ TURN TO P. 53 , K42

K41a. What kind of work did she do? _____

K42. Where was it that you grew up? (IF UNITED STATES) Which state or states?

(IF GREW UP IN DIFFERENT STATE FROM CURRENT RESIDENCE)

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

K43. Were you brought up mostly in the country, in a town, in a small city, or in a large city?

1. COUNTRY

2. TOWN

3. SMALL
CITY

4. LARGE
CITY

OTHER (SPECIFY)

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

K45. Please look at this card (HAND R CARD K2 - GREEN) and tell me the letter of the income group that includes the income of all members of your family in 1971 before taxes. This figure should include dividends, interest, salaries, wages, pensions, and all other income. (IF UNCERTAIN: What would be your best guess?)

☐ A 01. None.....

☐ B 02. Less than \$1,000.....

☐ C 03. \$1,000 to \$1,999.....

☐ D 04. \$2,000 to \$2,999.....

☐ E 05. \$3,000 to \$3,999.....

☐ F 06. \$4,000 to \$4,999.....

☐ G 07. \$5,000 to \$5,999.....

☐ H 08. \$6,000 to \$6,999.....

☐ I 09. \$7,000 to \$7,999.....

☐ J 10. \$8,000 to \$ 8,999.....

☐ K 11. \$9,000 to \$ 9,999.....

☐ L 12. \$10,000 to \$10,999.....

☐ M 13. \$11,000 to \$11,999.....

☐ N 14. \$12,000 to \$14,999.....

☐ O 15. \$15,000 to \$19,999.....

☐ P 16. \$20,000 to \$24,999.....

☐ Q 17. \$25,000 to \$34,999.....

☐ R 18. \$35,000 and over.....

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

1. OWN

2. RENT

7. OTHER (EXPLAIN) _____

K47. Is your religious preference Protestant, Roman Catholic, Jewish, or something else?

PROTESTANT

200. ROMAN CATHOLIC

300. JEWISH

OTHER (SPECIFY):

K47a. What church or denomination is that? _____

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

(IF ANY RELIGIOUS PREFERENCE)

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

1. EVERY WEEK

2. ALMOST EVERY WEEK

3. ONCE OR TWICE A MONTH

4. A FEW TIMES A YEAR

5. NEVER

END INTERVIEW

END INTERVIEW

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

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

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

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

Time at End of Interview _____

INTERVIEWER'S SUPPLEMENT

1. Respondent's sex is: 1. Male 2. Female
2. Respondent's race is: 1. White 2. Negro OTHER: _____
3. Relationship of R to head: 1. Is head 2. Is wife OTHER: _____
4. Other persons present at interview were: (CHECK MORE THAN ONE BOX IF NECESSARY)
- None Children under 6 Older children Spouse
- Other relatives Other adults
5. Respondent's cooperation was:
1. Very good 2. Good 3. Fair 4. Poor 5. Very poor
6. Respondent's general level of information about politics and public affairs seemed:
1. Very high 2. Fairly high 3. Average 4. Fairly low 5. Very low
7. Rate R's apparent intelligence?
1. VERY HIGH 2. ABOVE AVERAGE 3. AVERAGE 4. BELOW AVERAGE 5. VERY LOW
8. How suspicious did R seem to be about the study, before the interview?
1. NOT AT ALL 3. SOMEWHAT 5. VERY SUSPICIOUS
9. Overall, how great was R's interest in the interview?
1. VERY HIGH 2. ABOVE AVERAGE 3. AVERAGE 4. BELOW AVERAGE 5. VERY LOW

10. Rate R's physical appearance:

1. STRIKINGLY HANDSOME
OR BEAUTIFUL

2. GOOD-LOOKING (ABOVE
AVERAGE FOR AGE AND SEX)

3. AVERAGE LOOKS
FOR AGE AND SEX

4. QUITE PLAIN (BELOW
AVERAGE FOR AGE AND SEX)

5. HOMELY

11. Approximate temperature of the day. _____°

12. How sincere did R seem to be in his answers?

1. COMPLETELY
SINCERE

2. USUALLY
SINCERE

3. OFTEN SEEMED TO
BE INSINCERE

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

14. TYPE OF STRUCTURE IN WHICH FAMILY LIVES:

01. TRAILER

02. DETACHED SINGLE FAMILY HOUSE

03. 2-FAMILY HOUSE, 2 UNITS
SIDE BY SIDE

04. 2-FAMILY HOUSE, 2 UNITS
ONE ABOVE THE OTHER

05. DETACHED 3-4 FAMILY HOUSE

06. ROW HOUSE (3 OR MORE UNITS
IN AN ATTACHED ROW)

07. APARTMENT HOUSE (5 OR MORE
UNITS, 3 STORIES OR LESS)

08. APARTMENT HOUSE (5 OR MORE
UNITS, 4 STORIES OR MORE)

09. APARTMENT IN A PARTLY
COMMERCIAL STRUCTURE

10. OTHER (SPECIFY)

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

1

2

3

MORE THAN 3: (SPECIFY) _____

FORM II



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. Time at Beginning
of Interview _____

1972 PRE-ELECTION STUDY

A: PARTIES AND CANDIDATES

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

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

1. NIXON

2. MCGOVERN

7. OTHER; SPECIFY: _____

8. DK

↓
GO TO A3

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

1. CLOSE RACE

3. WILL WIN BY
QUITE A BIT

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

1. NIXON

2. MCGOVERN

7. OTHER; SPECIFY: _____

8. DK

↓
GO TO A5

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

1. CLOSE RACE

3. WILL WIN BY
QUITE A BIT

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

1. CARE A GOOD DEAL

3. DON'T CARE VERY MUCH

8. DK

B: ISSUES

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

B1. Do you think we did the right thing in getting into the fighting in Vietnam or should we have stayed out?

1. YES, DID RIGHT THING

5. NO, SHOULD HAVE STAYED OUT

3. DEPENDS

8. DK

B2. 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?

1. YES

5. NO

→ TURN TO P. 3, B3

B2a. 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. DK

7. OTHER; DEPENDS: _____

- B3. Some people are afraid the government in Washington is getting too powerful for the good of the country and the individual person. Others feel that the government in Washington is not getting too strong. Have you been interested enough in this to favor one side over the other?

1. YES

5. NO

GO TO B4

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

1. The government
is getting too
powerful

or do you
think

5. The government
is not getting
too strong

8. DK

GO TO B4

7. OTHER; DEPENDS: _____

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

1. DEMOCRATS

5. REPUBLICANS

3. NO DIFFERENCE

8. DK

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

1. DEMOCRACY

5. COMMUNIST

7. SOMETHING ELSE

8. DK

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

1. YES

5. NO

8. DK

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

1. SHOULD

5. SHOULD NOT

8. DK

- B7. Should the United States recognize mainland China?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DK

C: PERSONAL EFFICACY AND SYSTEM SUPPORT

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

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

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

☐ 1 Many of the unhappy things in people's lives are partly due to bad luck. --or--

☐ 5 People's misfortunes result from the mistakes they make.

C2. Which of these two?

☐ 1 One of the major reasons why we have wars is because people don't take enough interest in politics. --or--

☐ 5 There will always be wars, no matter how hard people try to prevent them.

C3. And these?

☐ 1 In the long run people get the respect they deserve in this world. --or--

☐ 5 Unfortunately, an individual's worth often passes unrecognized no matter how hard he tries.

C4. Which of these?

☐ 1 Without the right breaks one cannot be an effective leader. --or--

☐ 5 Capable people who fail to become leaders have not taken advantage of their opportunities.

C5. And these?

☐ 1 No matter how hard you try some people just don't like you. --or--

☐ 5 People who can't get others to like them don't understand how to get along with others.

C6. How about these?

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

C7. And these?

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

C8. ☐ 1 Becoming a success is a matter of hard work; luck has little or nothing to do with it. --or--

- ☐ 5 Getting a good job depends mainly on being in the right place at the right time.

C9. ☐ 1 The average citizen can have an influence in government decisions. --or--

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

C10. ☐ 1 When I make plans, I am almost certain that I can make them work. --or--

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

C11. ☐ 1 In my case, getting what I want has little or nothing to do with luck. --or--

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

C12. ☐ 1 Who gets to be the boss often depends on who was lucky enough to be in the right place first. --or--

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

C13. ☐ 1 As far as world affairs are concerned, most of us are the victims of forces we can neither understand, nor control. --or--

- ☐ 5 By taking an active part in political and social affairs, the people can control world events.

- C14. ☐ 1 Racial discrimination is here to stay. --or--
☐ 5 People may be prejudiced, but it's possible for American society to completely rid itself of racial discrimination.
- C15. ☐ 1 Most people don't realize the extent to which their lives are controlled by accidental happenings. --or--
☐ 5 There really is no such thing as "luck."
- C16. ☐ 1 It is hard to know whether or not a person really likes you. --or--
☐ 5 How many friends you have depends upon how nice a person you are.
- C17. ☐ 1 In the long run, the bad things that happen to us are balanced by the good ones. --or--
☐ 5 Most misfortunes are the result of lack of ability, ignorance, laziness, or all three.
- C18. ☐ 1 With enough effort we can wipe out political corruption. --or--
☐ 5 It is difficult for people to have much control over the things politicians do in office.
- C19. ☐ 1 Many times I feel that I have little influence over the things that happen to me. --or--
☐ 5 It is impossible for me to believe that chance or luck play an important role in my life.
- C20. ☐ 1 People are lonely because they don't try to be friendly. --or--
☐ 5 There's not much use in trying too hard to please people; if they like you, they like you.
- C21. ☐ 1 What happens to me is my own doing. --or--
☐ 5 Sometimes I feel that I don't have enough control over the direction my life is taking.
- C22. ☐ 1 Most of the time I can't understand why politicians behave the way they do. --or--
☐ 5 In the long run, the people are responsible for bad government on a national as well as on a local level.

- C23. [1] Knowing the right people is important in deciding whether a person will get ahead. --or--
- [5] People will get ahead in life if they have the goods and do a good job; knowing the right people has nothing to do with it.
- C24. [1] Leadership positions tend to go to capable people who deserve being chosen. --or--
- [5] It's hard to know why some people get leadership positions and others don't; ability doesn't seem to be the important factor.
- C25. [1] The racial situation in America may be very complex, but with enough money and effort, it is possible to get rid of racial discrimination. --or--
- [5] We'll never completely get rid of discrimination. It's part of human nature.
- C26. [1] People who don't do well in life often work hard, but the breaks just don't come their way. --or--
- [5] Some people just don't use the breaks that come their way. If they don't do well, it's their own fault.

Now here is something different. People have different ideas about the government in Washington. These ideas don't refer to Democrats or Republicans in particular but just to the government in general. We want to see how you feel about these ideas-- for example:

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

5. A LOT

3. SOME

1. NOT MUCH

8. DK

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

1. ALWAYS

3. MOST OF THE TIME

5. SOME OF THE TIME

8. DK

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

5. FEW BIG INTERESTS

1. FOR BENEFIT OF ALL

8. DK

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

1. KNOW WHAT THEY'RE DOING

5. DON'T KNOW WHAT THEY'RE DOING

8. DK

- C31. Do you think that quite a few of the people running the government are a little crooked, not very many are, or do you think hardly any of them are crooked at all?

5. QUITE A LOT

3. NOT MANY

1. HARDLY ANY

8. DK

- 3
- C32. Over the years, how much attention do you feel the government pays to what the people think when it decides what to do....a good deal, some, or not much?

1. A GOOD DEAL

3. SOME

5. NOT MUCH

8. DK

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

1. A GOOD DEAL

3. SOME

5. NOT MUCH

8. DK

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

1. A GOOD DEAL

3. SOME

5. NOT MUCH

8. DK

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

1. A GOOD DEAL

3. SOME

5. NOT MUCH

8. DK

C36. Some people believe a change in our whole form of government is needed to solve the problems facing our country, while others feel no real change is necessary. Do you think a big change is needed in our form of government, or should it be kept pretty much as it is?

1. NEED BIG
CHANGE

2. NEED SOME
CHANGE

3. KEEP AS IS

7. OTHER; SPECIFY: _____

8. DK

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

1. YES

5. NO

8. DK

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

1. I am proud of many things about our form of government, or

2. I can't find much in our form of government to be proud of?

8. DK

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

1. VERY GOOD SHAPE

2. FAIRLY GOOD SHAPE

3. POOR SHAPE

4. SOMETHING VERY WRONG

7. OTHER; SPECIFY: _____

8. DK

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

1. GET MUCH BETTER

2. GET SOMEWHAT BETTER

3. GET SOMEWHAT WORSE

4. GET MUCH WORSE

5. STAY ABOUT THE SAME

7. OTHER; SPECIFY:

8. DK

D: RACIAL

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

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

1. YES

5. NO

GO TO D2

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

1. See to it that black people get fair treatment in jobs

or

5. Leave these matters to the states and local communities?

8. DK

7. OTHER; DEPENDS: _____

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

1. YES

5. NO

TURN TO P. 13, D3

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

1. See to it that white & black children go to the same schools

or

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

8. DK

7. OTHER; DEPENDS: _____

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

1. YES

5. NO

→ GO TO D4

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

1. Go to any hotel or restaurant they can afford

or should it

5. Stay out of this matter?

8. DK

7. OTHER; DEPENDS: _____

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

1. A LOT

3. SOME

5. NOT MUCH AT ALL

- D5. Some say that the civil rights people have been trying to push too fast. Others feel they haven't pushed fast enough. How about you: Do you think that civil rights leaders are trying to push too fast, are going too slowly, or are they moving about the right speed?

1. TOO FAST

5. TOO SLOWLY

3. ABOUT RIGHT

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

1. MOST BEEN VIOLENT

5. MOST BEEN PEACEFUL

8. DK

D7. Do you think the actions black people have taken have, on the whole, helped their cause, or, on the whole, hurt their cause?

1. HELPED

5. HURT

8. DK

D8. Which of these statements would you agree with:

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

or

8. DK; DEPENDS;
CAN'T DECIDE

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

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

1. ALL

2. MOST

3. ABOUT HALF

4. LESS THAN HALF

5. NONE

0. NO BLACKS IN AREA

D10. How about white people in this area? How many would you say are in favor of strict segregation of the races--all of them, most of them, about half, less than half of them, or none of them?

1. ALL

2. MOST

3. ABOUT HALF

4. LESS THAN HALF

5. NONE

0. NO WHITES IN AREA

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

1. DESEGREGATION

5. SEGREGATION

3. IN BETWEEN

D12. Thinking about the country as a whole, would you say relations between white people and black people have been getting better, getting worse, or staying pretty much the same?

1. BETTER

5. WORSE

3. SAME

INTERVIEWER CHECK BOX A

1. R IS NOT BLACK → SKIP TO P.19, D25

5. R IS BLACK

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

1. BETTER BREAK

5. WANT TO KEEP DOWN

3. DON'T CARE

8. DK

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

1. ONLY A FEW

3. MANY

5. ALMOST ALL

8. DK

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

1. ONLY A FEW

3. MANY

5. ALMOST ALL

8. DK

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

	APPROVE	DISAPPROVE	NOT SURE
D16a. There should be more black businesses, banks, and stores	1	2	3
D16b. Black people should shop in black-owned stores whenever possible	1	2	3
D16c. Black people should take more pride in black history	1	2	3
D16d. Black people should not have anything to do with whites if they can help it	1	2	3
D16e. There should be a separate black nation here	1	2	3
D16f. Black school children should study an African language	1	2	3

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

1. LAWS AND PERSUASION

2. NON-VIOLENT PROTESTS

3. VIOLENCE IF NECESSARY

7. OTHER (SPECIFY):

8. DK

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

5. ALL BLACK

4. MOSTLY BLACK

3. HALF AND HALF

2. MOSTLY WHITE

1. ALL WHITE

8. DK

D19. Would you personally prefer to live in a neighborhood with all black people, mostly black people, mostly whites, or a neighborhood that's mixed half and half?

1. ALL BLACK

2. MOSTLY BLACK

3. MOSTLY WHITE

4. MIXED

7. MAKES NO DIFFERENCE

8. DK

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

5. ALL BLACK

4. MOSTLY BLACK

3. HALF AND HALF

2. MOSTLY WHITE

1. ALL WHITE

8. DK

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

5. ALL BLACK

4. MOSTLY BLACK

3. HALF AND HALF

2. MOSTLY WHITE

1. ALL WHITE

8. DK

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

1. YES

3. NO

→ TURN TO P. 18, D23

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

5. ALL BLACK

4. MOSTLY BLACK

3. HALF AND HALF

2. MOSTLY WHITE

1. ALL WHITE

8. DK

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

5. ALL BLACK

4. MOSTLY BLACK

3. HALF AND HALF

2. MOSTLY WHITE

1. ALL WHITE

8. DK

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

5. ALL BLACK

4. MOSTLY BLACK

3. HALF AND HALF

2. MOSTLY WHITE

1. ALL WHITE

8. DK

SKIP TO P. 22 , E1

IF R IS NOT BLACK, ASK THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS:

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

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

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

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

7. OTHER; DEPENDS; CAN'T DECIDE

8. DK

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

1. ALL WHITE

2. MOSTLY WHITE

3. ABOUT HALF AND HALF

4. MOSTLY BLACK

5. ALL BLACK

8. DK

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

1. ALL WHITE

2. MOSTLY WHITE

3. MOSTLY BLACKS

4. MIXED

7. MAKES NO DIFFERENCE

8. DK

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

1. ALL WHITE

2. MOSTLY WHITE

3. ABOUT HALF AND HALF

4. MOSTLY BLACK

5. ALL BLACK

8. DK

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

1. ALL WHITE

2. MOSTLY WHITE

3. ABOUT HALF AND HALF

4. MOSTLY BLACK

5. ALL BLACK

8. DK

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

1. YES

3. NO → GO TO D31

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

1. ALL WHITE

2. MOSTLY WHITE

3. ABOUT HALF AND HALF

4. MOSTLY BLACK

5. ALL BLACK

8. DK

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

1. ALL WHITE

2. MOSTLY WHITE

3. ABOUT HALF AND HALF

4. MOSTLY BLACK

5. ALL BLACK

8. DK

D32. Are your friends all white, mostly white, about half and half, mostly black or all black?

1. ALL WHITE

2. MOSTLY WHITE

3. ABOUT HALF AND HALF

4. MOSTLY BLACK

5. ALL BLACK

8. DK

E: PARTY IDENTIFICATION

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

E1. Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or what?

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

TURN TO P.23, E1j

E1a. Would you call yourself a strong Republican or a not very strong Republican?

1. STRONG	5. NOT VERY STRONG
-----------	--------------------

E1b. Was there ever a time when you thought of yourself as a Democrat or an Independent rather than a Republican?

1. YES	5. NO, NEVER
--------	--------------

TURN TO P.24, E2

E1c. Was that a Democrat or an Independent?

1. DEMOCRAT	5. INDEPENDENT
-------------	----------------

E1d. When did you change to a Republican?

SKIP TO P. 24, E2

E1e. Would you call yourself a strong Democrat or a not very strong Democrat?

1. STRONG	5. NOT VERY STRONG
-----------	--------------------

E1f. Was there ever a time when you thought of yourself as a Republican or an Independent rather than a Democrat?

1. YES	5. NO, NEVER
--------	--------------

TURN TO P. 24, E2

E1g. Was that a Republican or an Independent?

1. REPUBLICAN	5. INDEPENDENT
---------------	----------------

E1h. When did you change to a Democrat?

SKIP TO P. 24, E2

(IF ANSWER TO E1 WAS INDEPENDENT, NO PREFERENCE, OR OTHER, ASK THE FOLLOWING:)

E1j. Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican or to the Democratic party?

1. REPUBLICAN



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

1. YES

5. NO, NEVER



TURN TO P. 24, E2

Elm. When did you change?

3. NEITHER



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

1. YES, DEMOCRAT

5. YES, REPUBLICAN

3. NO, NEVER



TURN TO P. 24, E2

Elp. When did you change?

5. DEMOCRATIC



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

1. YES

5. NO, NEVER



TURN TO P. 24, E2

Elr. When did you change?

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

1. VERY MUCH
INTERESTED

3. SOMEWHAT
INTERESTED

5. NOT MUCH
ATTENTION

8. DK

↓
GO TO E4

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

1. DEMOCRAT

5. REPUBLICAN

3. INDEPENDENT

7. OTHER (SPECIFY): ____

8. DK

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

1. VERY MUCH
INTERESTED

3. SOMEWHAT
INTERESTED

5. NOT MUCH
ATTENTION

8. DK

↓
TURN TO P. 25 , E6

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

1. DEMOCRAT

5. REPUBLICAN

3. INDEPENDENT

7. OTHER (SPECIFY): ____

8. DK

E6. 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. NOT OF VOTING AGE IN 1968
--------	---------	---------	---------	------------------------------

TURN TO P. 26, E7

E6a. Have you always voted for the same party or have you voted for different parties for President?

1. SAME PARTY

3. DIFFERENT PARTIES

GO TO E6c

E6b. Which party was that?

1. DEMOCRATIC

5. REPUBLICAN

7. OTHER;
SPECIFY:

E6c. Now, in 1968 you remember that Mr. Nixon ran on the Republican ticket against Mr. Humphrey for the Democrats and Mr. Wallace on an Independent ticket. Do you remember for sure whether or not you voted in that election?

1. YES,
DID VOTE

5. NO, DID
NOT VOTE

7. DON'T REMEMBER
IF VOTED

TURN TO P. 26, E7

E6d. Which one did you vote for?

2. NIXON

1. HUMPHREY

3. WALLACE

5. OTHER

8. DK

FOR BLACK RESPONDENTS ONLY:

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

1. WORK IN OWN PARTY

3. WORK IN TWO MAJOR PARTIES

2. BOTH

8. DK

E8. Would you support an independent black political party?

1. YES

3. DEPENDS. NOT SURE

5. NO

8. DK

F: CURRENT CAMPAIGN

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

1. VERY MUCH
INTERESTED

3. SOMEWHAT
INTERESTED

5. NOT MUCH
INTERESTED

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

1. YES, VOTE



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

5. NOT VOTE



8. DK

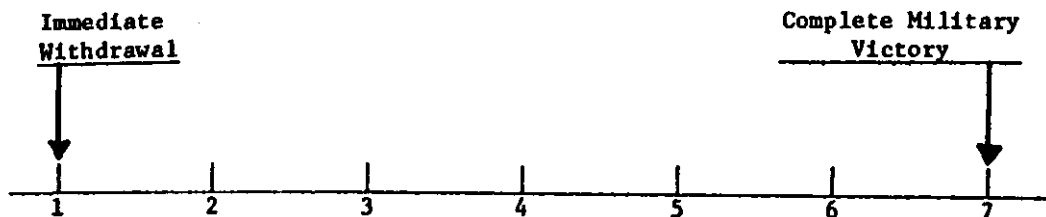


F2b. If you were going to vote--
who do you think you would
vote for in the election
for president?

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

- G1. With regard to Vietnam, some people think we should do everything necessary to win a complete military victory, no matter what results. Some people think we should withdraw completely from Vietnam right now, no matter what results. And, of course, other people have opinions somewhere between these two extreme positions.

(HAND R CARD G3--YELLOW) Suppose the people who support an immediate withdrawal are at one end of this scale--at point number 1. And suppose the people who support a complete military victory are at the other end of the scale--at point number 7.



(INTERVIEWER RECORD NUMBER)

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

8. DK

0. HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH

→ TURN TO P. 29 , G2

- _____ G1b. Where would you place Richard Nixon?

8. DK

- _____ G1c. Where would you place George McGovern?

8. DK

- _____ G1d. Where would you place George Wallace?

8. DK

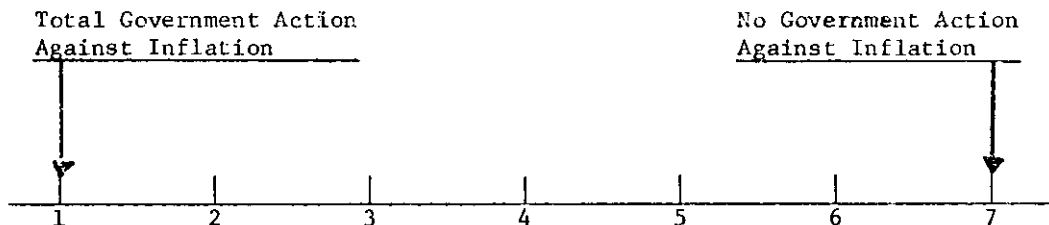
- _____ G1e. (Where would you place) the Democratic Party?

8. DK

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

8. DK

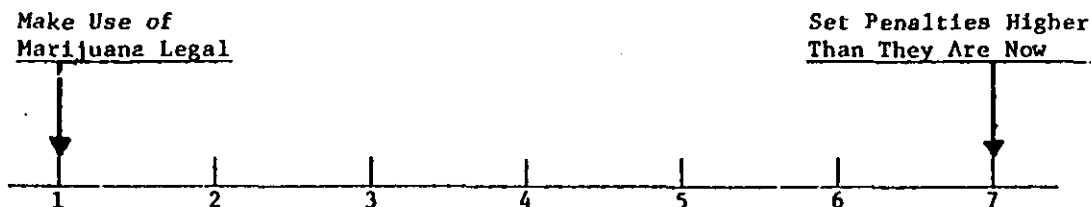
- G2. (HAND R CARD G4--BLUE) There is a great deal of talk these days about rising prices and the cost of living in general. Some feel that the government must do everything possible to combat the problem of inflation immediately or it will get worse. Others say that the problem of inflation is temporary and that no government action is necessary.



(INTERVIEWER RECORD NUMBER)

- _____ G2a. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?
8. DK 0. HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH → TURN TO P. 30, G3
- _____ G2b. Where would you place Richard Nixon?
8. DK
- _____ G2c. Where would you place George McGovern?
8. DK
- _____ G2d. Where would you place George Wallace?
8. DK
- _____ G2e. (Where would you place) the Democratic Party?
8. DK
- _____ G2f. (Where would you place) the Republican Party?
8. DK

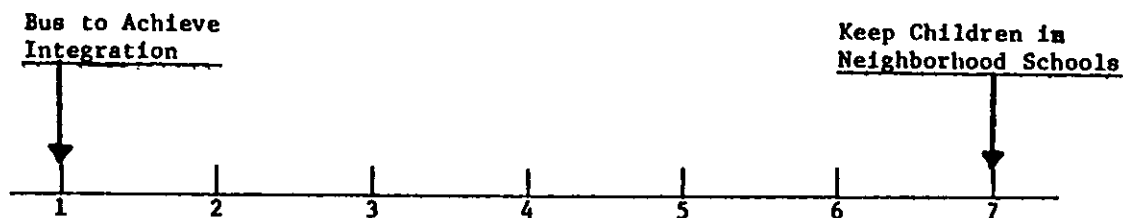
- G3. (HAND R CARD G5 --ORANGE) Some people think that the use of marijuana should be made legal. Others think that the penalties for using marijuana should be set higher than they are now.



(INTERVIEWER RECORD NUMBER)

- _____ G3a. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?
8. DK 0. HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH → TURN TO P. 31, G4
- _____ G3b. Where would you place Richard Nixon?
8. DK
- _____ G3c. Where would you place George McGovern?
8. DK
- _____ G3d. Where would you place George Wallace?
8. DK
- _____ G3e. (Where would you place) the Democratic Party?
8. DK
- _____ G3f. (Where would you place) the Republican Party?
8. DK

- G4. (HAND R CARD G6--GREEN) There is much discussion about the best way to deal with racial problems. Some people think achieving racial integration of schools is so important that it justifies busing children to schools out of their own neighborhoods. Others think letting children go to their neighborhood schools is so important that they oppose busing.



(INTERVIEWER RECORD NUMBER)

- _____ G4a. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?
8. DK 0. HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH → TURN TO P. 32, G5
- _____ G4b. Where would you place Richard Nixon?
8. DK
- _____ G4c. Where would you place George McGovern?
8. DK
- _____ G4d. Where would you place George Wallace?
8. DK
- _____ G4e. (Where would you place) the Democratic Party?
8. DK
- _____ G4f. (Where would you place) the Republican Party?
8. DK

- G5. (HAND R CARD G7 - BROWN) There are many sources of air and water pollution; one of them is private industry. Some say the Government should force private industry to stop its polluting. Others believe industries should be left alone to handle these matters in their own way.

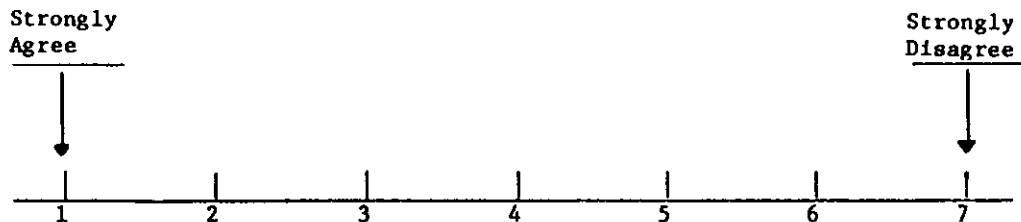


(INTERVIEWER RECORD NUMBER)

- _____ G5a. Where would you place yourself on this scale,
or haven't you thought much about this?
8. DK 0. HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH → TURN TO P. 33, G6
- _____ G5b. Where would you place Richard Nixon?
8. DK
- _____ G5c. Where would you place George McGovern?
8. DK
- _____ G5d. Where would you place George Wallace?
8. DK
- _____ G5e. (Where would you place) the Democratic Party?
8. DK
- _____ G5f. (Where would you place) the Republican Party?
8. DK

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

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



(INTERVIEWER RECORD NUMBER)

G6a. Nixon, as President, could be trusted.

8. DK

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

8. DK

G6c. Nixon, as President, would control crime.

8. DK

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

8. DK

G7. The next set of statements concerns George McGovern.

_____ G7a. McGovern, as President, could be trusted.

8. DK

_____ G7b. McGovern has the kind of personality a President ought to have.

8. DK

_____ G7c. McGovern, as President, would control crime.

8. DK

_____ G7d. McGovern, as President, would bring peace in Vietnam.

8. DK

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

_____ G8a. Wallace, as President, could be trusted.

8. DK

_____ G8b. Wallace has the kind of personality a President ought to have.

8. DK

_____ G8c. Wallace, as President, would control crime.

8. DK

_____ G8d. Wallace, as President, would bring peace in Vietnam.

8. DK

- G9. (HAND R CARD G10-ORANGE) Recently there has been a lot of talk about women's rights. Some people feel that women should have an equal role with men in running business, industry, and government. Others feel that women's place is in the home.



(INTERVIEWER RECORD NUMBER)

- _____ G9a. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?
8. DK 0. HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH → TURN TO P.36, G10
- _____ G9b. Where would you place Richard Nixon?
8. DK
- _____ G9c. Where would you place George McGovern?
8. DK
- _____ G9d. Where would you place George Wallace?
8. DK
- _____ G9e. (Where would you place) the Democratic Party?
8. DK
- _____ G9f. (Where would you place) the Republican Party?
8. DK

G10. Still on the subject of women's rights, there has been some discussion about abortion during recent years. Which one of the opinions on this card (HAND R CARD G11 - BROWN) best agrees with your view? You can just tell me the number of the opinion you choose.

1. ABORTION SHOULD NEVER BE PERMITTED.

2. ABORTION SHOULD BE PERMITTED ONLY IF THE LIFE AND HEALTH OF THE WOMAN IS IN DANGER.

3. ABORTION SHOULD BE PERMITTED IF, DUE TO PERSONAL REASONS, THE WOMAN WOULD HAVE DIFFICULTY IN CARING FOR THE CHILD.

4. ABORTION SHOULD NEVER BE FORBIDDEN, SINCE ONE SHOULD NOT REQUIRE A WOMAN TO HAVE A CHILD SHE DOESN'T WANT.

7. OTHER; SPECIFY: _____

8. DK

G11. Sometimes a company has to lay-off part of its labor force. Some people think that the first workers to be laid-off should be women whose husbands have jobs. Others think that male and female employees should be treated the same. Which of these opinions do you agree with?

1. LAY-OFF WOMEN FIRST

2. TREAT MALE AND FEMALE EMPLOYEES THE SAME

8. DK

G12. In general, women in our society have not been as successful as men-- in business, politics, the leadership positions in our country.

I'll read you some reasons people have offered to explain why this is so, including some things that other people don't agree with at all. For each, I'd like you to tell me whether you agree a great deal, agree somewhat, disagree somewhat, or disagree a great deal. (HAND R CARD G12 - GREEN) First...

<u>REASONS</u>	<u>Agree a</u> <u>Great Deal</u>	<u>Agree</u> <u>Somewhat</u>	<u>Disagree</u> <u>Somewhat</u>	<u>Disagree a</u> <u>Great Deal</u>	<u>DK</u>
a) Men are born with more drive to be ambitious and successful than women	1	2	3	4	8
b) Women have less opportunity than men to get the education for top jobs.	1	2	3	4	8
c) Women are usually less reliable on the job than men, because they tend to be absent more and quit more often	1	2	3	4	8
d) Our schools teach women to want the less important jobs.	1	2	3	4	8
e) By nature women are happiest when they are making a home and caring for children . . .	1	2	3	4	8
f) Many qualified women can't get good jobs; men with the same skills have much less trouble	1	2	3	4	8
g) In general, men are more qualified than women for jobs that have great responsibility	1	2	3	4	8
h) Our society discriminates against women	1	2	3	4	8
j) Women have just as much chance to get big and important jobs; they just aren't interested	1	2	3	4	8

G13. Taking things all together, which do you think has a better life in the United States today--men or women?
(IF NECESSARY: On the average?)

1. MEN

2. WOMEN

3. SAME

8. DK

→ GO TO G14

G13a. Why is that?

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

G14. Women should stay out of politics.

1. AGREE

5. DISAGREE

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

1. AGREE

5. DISAGREE

H: CANDIDATE THERMOMETERS

H1. As you know, there were many people mentioned this past year as possible candidates for President or Vice-President by the political parties. We would like to get your feelings toward some of these people.

I have here a card (HAND R CARD H1-YELLOW) on which there is something that looks like a thermometer. We call it a "feeling thermometer" because it measures your feelings towards these people.

Here's how it works. If you don't feel particularly warm or cold toward a person, then you should place him in the middle of the thermometer, at the 50 degree mark.

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

On the other hand, if you don't feel very favorably toward a person -- that is, if you don't care too much for him -- then you would place him somewhere between 0 and 50 degrees.

Of course, if you don't know too much about a person, just tell me and we'll go on to the next name.

Our first person is George Wallace. Where would you put him on the thermometer?

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

RATING

_____ H1a. George Wallace
 _____ H1b. George McGovern
 _____ H1c. Richard Nixon
 _____ H1d. John Lindsay
 _____ H1e. Edmund Muskie
 _____ H1f. Edward "Ted" Kennedy
 _____ H1g. Henry "Scoop" Jackson

RATING

_____ H1h. Shirley Chisholm
 _____ H1j. John Ashbrook
 _____ H1k. Thomas Eagleton
 _____ H1m. Paul "Pete" McCloskey
 _____ H1n. Hubert Humphrey
 _____ H1p. Spiro Agnew
 _____ H1q. R. Sargent Shriver

H2. Do you believe that any of these candidates best reflects high moral or religious standards?

1. YES

5. NO

→ TURN TO P. 41, J1

H2a. Which candidate(s)?

J: POLITICAL EFFICACY

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

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

1. AGREE

5. DISAGREE

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

1. AGREE

5. DISAGREE

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

1. AGREE

5. DISAGREE

J4. I don't think public officials care much what people like me think.

1. AGREE

5. DISAGREE

J5. Generally speaking, those we elect to Congress in Washington lose touch with the people pretty quickly.

1. AGREE

5. DISAGREE

J6. Parties are only interested in people's votes but not in their opinions.

1. AGREE

5. DISAGREE

There are many possible ways for people to show their disapproval or disagreement with governmental policies and actions. I am going to describe three such ways. We would like to know which ones you approve of as ways of showing dissatisfaction with the government, and which ones you disapprove of.

J7. How about taking part in protest meetings or marches that are permitted by the local authorities? Would you approve of taking part, disapprove, or would it depend on the circumstances?

1. APPROVE

5. DISAPPROVE

3. DEPENDS

8. DK

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

1. APPROVE

5. DISAPPROVE

3. DEPENDS

8. DK

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

1. APPROVE

5. DISAPPROVE

3. DEPENDS

8. DK

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

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

1. PLAN AHEAD

5. TOO MUCH LUCK TO PLAN

8. DK

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

1. THINGS WORK OUT AS EXPECTED

5. HAVE TO CHANGE PLANS

8. DK

J12. Have you usually felt pretty sure your life would work out the way you want it to, or have there been times when you haven't been sure about it?

1. PRETTY SURE

5. HAVEN'T BEEN SURE

8. DK

J12a. Some people feel they can run their lives pretty much the way they want to; others feel the problems of life are sometimes too big for them. Which one are you most like?

1. CAN RUN OWN LIFE

5. PROBLEMS OF LIFE TOO BIG

8. DK

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

1. COMPLETELY

3. PRETTY

5. NOT VERY

8. DK

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

5. HAVE BEEN HELD BACK

1. HAVE HAD FAIR OPPORTUNITY

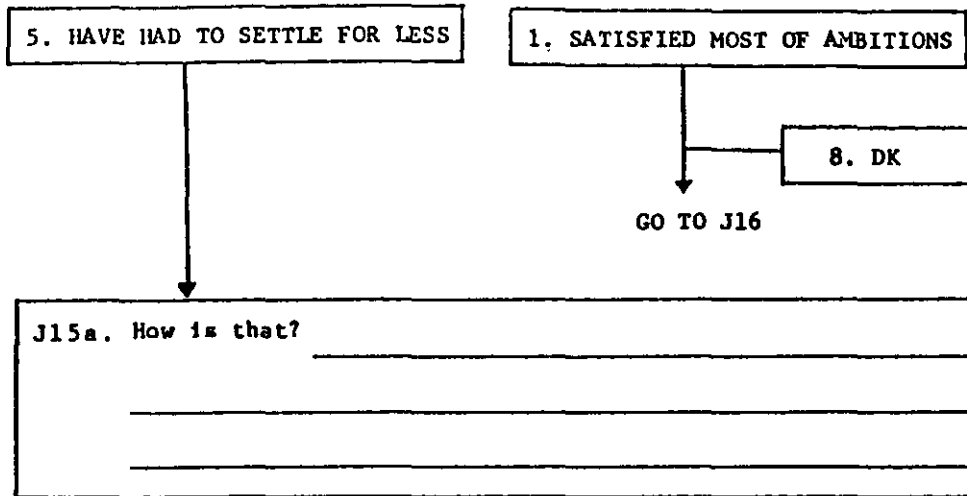
8. DK

TURN TO P. 44, J15

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

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

44



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

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

1. AGREE

5. DISAGREE

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

1. AGREE

5. DISAGREE

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

1. AGREE

5. DISAGREE

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

1. AGREE

5. DISAGREE

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

1. AGREE

5. DISAGREE

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

1. AGREE

5. DISAGREE

K: DEMOGRAPHIC DATA

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

K1. What is your date of birth? _____
(MONTH) (YEAR)

K2. Are you married now and living with your (husband/wife)--or are you widowed, divorced, separated, or have you never married?

1. MARRIED AND LIVING
WITH SPOUSE (OR
SPOUSE IN SERVICE)

5. WIDOWED

3. DIVORCED

4. SEPARATED

2. NEVER
MARRIED

INTERVIEWER CHECK BOX B

1.

NO CHILDREN BETWEEN 5 AND 18 IN HOUSING UNIT--TURN TO P.46, K5

5.

ONE OR MORE CHILDREN BETWEEN 5 AND 18 IN HOUSEHOLD

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

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

1. PUBLIC

2. PAROCHIAL

3. PRIVATE

(CHECK AS MANY AS APPLICABLE)

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

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

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

RESPONDENT	HEAD OR SPOUSE
<div style="display: flex; flex-wrap: wrap;"> <div style="width: 50%;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">1</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">2</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">3</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">4</div> </div> <div style="width: 50%;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">1</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">2</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">3</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">4</div> </div> </div> <div style="display: flex; flex-wrap: wrap;"> <div style="width: 50%;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">5</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">6</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">7</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">8</div> </div> <div style="width: 50%;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">5</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">6</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">7</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">8</div> </div> </div> <div style="display: flex; flex-wrap: wrap;"> <div style="width: 50%;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">9</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">10</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">11</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">12</div> </div> <div style="width: 50%;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">9</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">10</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">11</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">12</div> </div> </div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block; width: 100%;">Equivalency</div>	<div style="display: flex; flex-wrap: wrap;"> <div style="width: 50%;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">1</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">2</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">3</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">4</div> </div> <div style="width: 50%;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">1</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">2</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">3</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">4</div> </div> </div> <div style="display: flex; flex-wrap: wrap;"> <div style="width: 50%;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">5</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">6</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">7</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">8</div> </div> <div style="width: 50%;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">5</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">6</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">7</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">8</div> </div> </div> <div style="display: flex; flex-wrap: wrap;"> <div style="width: 50%;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">9</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">10</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">11</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">12</div> </div> <div style="width: 50%;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">9</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">10</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">11</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">12</div> </div> </div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block; width: 100%;">Equivalency</div>
<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px;">1. YES</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px;">5. NO</div> </div> <div style="text-align: center; margin-top: 10px;"> ↓ GO TO SECOND COLUMN IF APPROPRIATE, OR TURN TO P. 47, CHECK BOX C </div> <div style="border-bottom: 1px solid black; height: 20px; margin-top: 10px;"></div> <div style="border-bottom: 1px solid black; height: 20px; margin-top: 10px;"></div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center; margin-top: 10px;">(COLLEGE, SECRETARIAL, BUSINESS SCHOOL, ETC.)</div>	<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px;">1. YES</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px;">5. NO</div> </div> <div style="text-align: center; margin-top: 10px;"> ↓ TURN TO P 47 , CHECK BOX C </div> <div style="border-bottom: 1px solid black; height: 20px; margin-top: 10px;"></div> <div style="border-bottom: 1px solid black; height: 20px; margin-top: 10px;"></div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center; margin-top: 10px;">(COLLEGE, SECRETARIAL, BUSINESS SCHOOL, ETC.)</div>
<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center; margin-bottom: 10px;">IF R ATTENDED COLLEGE</div> <div style="text-align: center;">↓</div>	
<p>K5b. Do (you) have a college degree?</p> <p>IF YES: K5c. What degree(s) have (you) received?</p> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; margin-top: 10px;">K5d. From which college(s)? Where (is that/ are they) located?</div> <p>IF NO: K5e. What was the last college you attended? Where is that located?</p> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; margin-top: 10px;"></div>	<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px;">1. YES</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px;">5. NO</div> </div> <div style="text-align: center; margin-top: 10px;"> ↓ Degrees: </div> <div style="margin-top: 5px;">(1) _____</div> <div style="margin-top: 5px;">(2) _____</div> <div style="margin-top: 5px;">(3) _____</div> <div style="text-align: center; margin-top: 10px;"> ↓ College(s) and location(s): </div> <div style="margin-top: 5px;">(1) _____</div> <div style="margin-top: 5px;">(2) _____</div> <div style="margin-top: 5px;">(3) _____</div>
	<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px;">1. YES</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px;">5. NO</div> </div> <div style="text-align: center; margin-top: 10px;"> ↓ Degrees: </div> <div style="margin-top: 5px;">(1) _____</div> <div style="margin-top: 5px;">(2) _____</div> <div style="margin-top: 5px;">(3) _____</div> <div style="text-align: center; margin-top: 10px;"> ↓ College(s) and location(s): </div> <div style="margin-top: 5px;">(1) _____</div> <div style="margin-top: 5px;">(2) _____</div> <div style="margin-top: 5px;">(3) _____</div>

INTERVIEWER CHECK BOX C

(SEE PAGE 17, QUESTION D22, IF R IS BLACK; SEE PAGE 20,

☐ R IS WORKING☐ R IS NOT WORKING

K6. We'd like to know if you

2. TEMPORARILY
LAID OFF

1. WORKING NOW

3. LOOKING FOR WORK

4. UNEMPLOYED

K7. What is your main occupation? (What sort of work do you do?) (IF NOT CLEAR: Tell me a little more about what you do.)

K8. What kind of (business/industry) is that in?

K9. Do you work for someone else, yourself, or what?

1. SOMEONE ELSE

2. BOTH SOMEONE
ELSE AND SELF

3. SELF ONLY

K10. About how many hours do you work on your job in the average week?

_____ HOURS A WEEK

K11. Were you out of work at any time during the last twelve months?

1. YES

5. NO

SKIP TO P.49, CHECK BOX D

K12. Have you ever done any work for pay?

1. YES

5. NO

→ SKIP TO P.49,
CHECK BOX D

K12a. What sort of work did you do on your last regular job? (What was your occupation?)

K12b. What kind of (business/industry) was that in?

K12c. Did you work for someone else, yourself, or what?

1. SOMEONE
ELSE2. BOTH SOMEONE
ELSE AND
SELF3. SELF
ONLY

K13. Have you had a job in the past twelve months?

1. YES

5. NO

→ SKIP TO P.49,
CHECK BOX D

K13a. About how many hours did you work on your last job in the average week?

_____ HOURS A WEEK

SKIP TO P.49, CHECK BOX D

QUESTION D30, IF R IS NOT BLACK)

are looking for work, retired, (a housewife), (a student), or what.

5. RETIRED

K14. When did you retire?

YEAR _____

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

K16a. What kind of (business/industry) was that?

K16b. Did you work for someone else, yourself, or what?

1. SOMEONE ELSE **2. BOTH SOMEONE ELSE AND SELF** **3. SELF ONLY**

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

1. YES **5. NO** → TURN TO P. 49, CHECK BOX D

K17a. Are you doing any work for pay at the present time?

1. YES → GO BACK TO "WORKING NOW" **5. NO**

K17b. About how many hours a week did you work in the average week when you were working?

_____ HOURS A WEEK

TURN TO P. 49, CHECK BOX D

6. PERMANENTLY DISABLED

K15. Have you ever done any work for pay?

1. YES **5. NO** → TURN TO P. 49, CHECK BOX D

7. HOUSEWIFE

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

1. YES **5. NO** → TURN TO P. 49, CHECK BOX D

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

1. YES → GO BACK TO "WORKING NOW" **5. NO**

8. STUDENT

IF WORKED IN THE LAST TWELVE MONTHS BUT NOT PRESENTLY WORKING

K18b. What kind of work did you do? (What was your occupation?)

K18c. What kind of business was that in?

K18d. Did you work for someone else, yourself, or what?

1. SOMEONE ELSE **2. BOTH SOMEONE ELSE AND SELF** **3. SELF ONLY**

K18e. About how many hours a week did you work in the average week when you were working?

_____ HOURS A WEEK

TURN TO P. 49, CHECK BOX D

INTERVIEWER CHECK BOX D

1. R IS FAMILY HEAD: NO SPOUSE IN FAMILY →
2. R IS FAMILY HEAD, LIVING WITH SPOUSE--ASK ABOUT

K19. We'd also like to know about (the head of the family/your husband/wife).....

1. WORKING NOW

2. TEMPORARILY
LAID OFF

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

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

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

1. SOMEONE ELSE

2. BOTH SOMEONE
ELSE & SELF

3. SELF ONLY

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

_____ HOURS A WEEK

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

1. YES

5. NO

SKIP TO P. 51, K32

3. LOOKING FOR WORK

4. UNEMPLOYED

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

1. YES

2. NO → SKIP TO P. 51, K32

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

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

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

1. SOMEONE
ELSE2. BOTH SOME-
ONE ELSE
AND SELF3. SELF
ONLY

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

1. YES

5. NO → SKIP TO P. 51, K32

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

_____ HRS. A WK.

SKIP TO P. 51, K32

SKIP TO P. 51, K32

SPOUSE. ☐ 3. R IS NOT FAMILY HEAD--ASK ABOUT HEAD

Is (he/she) working now, looking for work, retired, (a housewife), (a student), or what?

5. RETIRED

K27. When did he/she retire?

YEAR

K29. What kind of work did he/she do when he/she worked? (What was his/her occupation?)

K29a. What kind of (business/industry) was that?

K29b. Did he/she work for someone else, himself/herself, or what?

1. SOMEONE ELSE	2. BOTH SOMEONE ELSE AND SELF	3. SELF ONLY
-----------------	-------------------------------	--------------

K30. During the last twelve months did he/she do any work for pay?

☐ 1. YES ☐ 5. NO → TURN TO P. 51, K32

K30a. Is he/she doing any work for pay at the present time?

☐ 1. YES → GO BACK TO "WORKING NOW" ☐ 5. NO

K30b. About how many hours a week did he/she work in the average week when he/she worked?

_____ HOURS A WEEK

TURN TO P. 51, K32

6. PERMANENTLY DISABLED

K28. Has he/she ever done any work for pay?

1. YES	2. NO
--------	-------

TURN TO P. 51, K32

7. HOUSEWIFE

8. STUDENT

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

☐ 1. YES ☐ 5. NO → TURN TO P. 51, K32

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

☐ 1. YES → GO BACK TO "WORKING NOW" ☐ 5. NO

IF WORKED IN THE LAST TWELVE MONTHS BUT NOT PRESENTLY WORKING

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

K31c. What kind of business was that in?

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

1. SOMEONE ELSE	2. BOTH SOMEONE ELSE & SELF
3. SELF ONLY	

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

_____ HOURS A WEEK

TURN TO P. 51 K32

(ASK IF HEAD IS FARMER OR RANCHER--EITHER FULL OR PART TIME)--
OTHERS GO TO K33

K32. (Do you/Does Head) do any other kind of work besides
(farming/ ranching)--for pay, I mean?

1. YES

5. NO

GO TO K32c

K32a. What kind of work is that? _____

K32b. About how much time (do you/does head) usually put
in on that?

_____ hours per week for _____ weeks per year

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

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

1. YES

5. NO

TURN TO P. 52, K34

K33a. Who is it that belongs?
(CHECK AS MANY AS
APPLICABLE)

RESPONDENT

HEAD (NOT R)

SOMEONE ELSE
IN HOUSEHOLD

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

K34. Here is a list of some kinds of organizations to which people may belong. (HAND R CARD K1--ORANGE) Just tell me the letter on the card of any type of organization that you belong to. If you belong to any that are not on this list, tell me about those too.

(AFTER CHECKING ORGANIZATIONS R BELONGS TO, SAY):

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

(READ EACH CHECKED TYPE OF ORGANIZATION.)

	Not Very Active	Fairly Active	Very Active
A <input type="checkbox"/> Fraternal lodges	1	2	3
B <input type="checkbox"/> Business groups	1	2	3
C <input type="checkbox"/> Professional groups	1	2	3
D <input type="checkbox"/> Farm organizations	1	2	3
E <input type="checkbox"/> Church or religious groups	1	2	3
F <input type="checkbox"/> Neighborhood associations	1	2	3
G <input type="checkbox"/> Social or card-playing groups	1	2	3
H <input type="checkbox"/> Athletic clubs or teams	1	2	3
J <input type="checkbox"/> Cooperatives	1	2	3
K <input type="checkbox"/> Political clubs or organizations	1	2	3
L <input type="checkbox"/> Charity or social-welfare organizations	1	2	3
M <input type="checkbox"/> Veterans' organizations	1	2	3
N <input type="checkbox"/> Civic groups	1	2	3
P <input type="checkbox"/> Special-interest groups or lobbies	1	2	3
Q <input type="checkbox"/> Ethnic, racial, or nationality associations	1	2	3
R <input type="checkbox"/> Labor unions	1	2	3
S <input type="checkbox"/> OTHER(S); SPECIFY: _____	1	2	3
_____	1	2	3

T ☐ NO ORGANIZATIONS

K35. There's been some talk these days about different social classes. Most people say they belong either to the middle class or to the working class. Do you ever think of yourself as belonging in one of these classes?

1. YES	5. NO	8. DK	7. OTHER _____
↓	↓	↓	↓
K35a. Which one? (RECORD BELOW)	K35b. Well, if you had to make a choice, would you call yourself middle class or working class? (RECORD BELOW)		
1. MIDDLE CLASS	2. WORKING CLASS	7. OTHER _____	
↓	↓	↓ GO TO K36	
<p>K35c. Would you say that you are about <u>average</u> middle class, or that you are in the <u>upper</u> part of the middle class?</p> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around; margin-top: 10px;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;">4. AVERAGE MIDDLE</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;">6. UPPER MIDDLE</div> </div> <p>K35d. Would you say you feel <u>pretty close</u> to middle class people, or that you don't feel much closer to them than to people in other classes?</p> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around; margin-top: 10px;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;">1. CLOSE</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;">4. NOT CLOSER</div> </div>		<p>K35e. Would you say that you are about <u>average</u> working class, or that you are in the <u>upper</u> part of the working class?</p> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around; margin-top: 10px;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;">1. AVERAGE WORKING</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;">3. UPPER WORKING</div> </div> <p>K35f. Would you say you feel <u>pretty close</u> to working class people, or that you don't feel much closer to them than to people in other classes?</p> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around; margin-top: 10px;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;">2. CLOSE</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;">5. NOT CLOSER</div> </div>	

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

1. Middle class	or	2. Working class	?
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K37. In addition to being an American, what do you consider your main ethnic or nationality group?

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

K39. Were both your parents born in this country?

5. NO	1. YES	8. DK
↓	↓	↓
<p>K39a. Which country was your father born in?</p> <hr/> <p>K39b. Which country was your mother born in?</p> <hr/>	<p>K39c. Do you remember which country your family came from originally on your father's side?</p> <hr/> <p>K39d. Do you remember which country your family came from originally on your mother's side?</p> <hr/>	

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

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

1. YES	5. NO	→ TURN TO P. 55 , K42
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K41a. What kind of work did she do?

K42. Where was it that you grew up? (IF UNITED STATES) Which state or states?

(IF GREW UP IN DIFFERENT STATE FROM CURRENT RESIDENCE)

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

K43. Were you brought up mostly in the country, in a town, in a small city, or in a large city?

1. COUNTRY

2. TOWN

3. SMALL
CITY

4. LARGE
CITY

OTHER (SPECIFY)

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

K45. Please look at this card (HAND R CARD K2 - GREEN) and tell me the letter of the income group that includes the income of all members of your family in 1971 before taxes. This figure should include dividends, interest, salaries, wages, pensions, and all other income. (IF UNCERTAIN: What would be your best guess?)

☐ 01. None.....

☐ 02. Less than \$1,000.....

☐ 03. \$1,000 to \$1,999.....

☐ 04. \$2,000 to \$2,999.....

☐ 05. \$3,000 to \$3,999.....

☐ 06. \$4,000 to \$4,999.....

☐ 07. \$5,000 to \$5,999.....

☐ 08. \$6,000 to \$6,999.....

☐ 09. \$7,000 to \$7,999.....

☐ 10. \$8,000 to \$ 8,999.....

☐ 11. \$9,000 to \$ 9,999.....

☐ 12. \$10,000 to \$10,999.....

☐ 13. \$11,000 to \$11,999.....

☐ 14. \$12,000 to \$14,999.....

☐ 15. \$15,000 to \$19,999.....

☐ 16. \$20,000 to \$24,999.....

☐ 17. \$25,000 to \$34,999.....

☐ 18. \$35,000 and over.....

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

1. OWN

2. RENT

7. OTHER (EXPLAIN) _____

K47. Is your religious preference Protestant, Roman Catholic, Jewish, or something else?

PROTESTANT

200. ROMAN CATHOLIC

300. JEWISH

OTHER (SPECIFY):

K47a. What church or denomination is that? _____

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

(IF ANY RELIGIOUS PREFERENCE)

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

1. EVERY WEEK

2. ALMOST EVERY WEEK

3. ONCE OR TWICE A MONTH

4. A FEW TIMES A YEAR

5. NEVER

END INTERVIEW

END INTERVIEW

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

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

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

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

Time at End of Interview

INTERVIEWER'S SUPPLEMENT

1. Respondent's sex is: ☐ 1. Male ☐ 2. Female
2. Respondent's race is: ☐ 1. White ☐ 2. Negro OTHER: _____
3. Relationship of R to head: ☐ 1. Is head ☐ 2. Is wife OTHER: _____
4. Other persons present at interview were: (CHECK MORE THAN ONE BOX IF NECESSARY)
- | | | | |
|-----------------|------------------|----------------|--------|
| None | Children under 6 | Older children | Spouse |
| Other relatives | | Other adults | |
5. Respondent's cooperation was:
- | | | | | |
|--------------|---------|---------|---------|--------------|
| 1. Very good | 2. Good | 3. Fair | 4. Poor | 5. Very poor |
|--------------|---------|---------|---------|--------------|
6. Respondent's general level of information about politics and public affairs seemed:
- | | | | | |
|--------------|----------------|------------|---------------|-------------|
| 1. Very high | 2. Fairly high | 3. Average | 4. Fairly low | 5. Very low |
|--------------|----------------|------------|---------------|-------------|
7. Rate R's apparent intelligence?
- | | | | | |
|--------------|------------------|------------|------------------|-------------|
| 1. VERY HIGH | 2. ABOVE AVERAGE | 3. AVERAGE | 4. BELOW AVERAGE | 5. VERY LOW |
|--------------|------------------|------------|------------------|-------------|
8. How suspicious did R seem to be about the study, before the interview?
- | | | |
|---------------|-------------|--------------------|
| 1. NOT AT ALL | 3. SOMEWHAT | 5. VERY SUSPICIOUS |
|---------------|-------------|--------------------|
9. Overall, how great was R's interest in the interview?
- | | | | | |
|--------------|------------------|------------|------------------|-------------|
| 1. VERY HIGH | 2. ABOVE AVERAGE | 3. AVERAGE | 4. BELOW AVERAGE | 5. VERY LOW |
|--------------|------------------|------------|------------------|-------------|

10. Rate R's physical appearance:

58

1. STRIKINGLY HANDSOME
OR BEAUTIFUL

2. GOOD-LOOKING (ABOVE
AVERAGE FOR AGE AND SEX)

3. AVERAGE LOOKS
FOR AGE AND SEX

4. QUITE PLAIN (BELOW
AVERAGE FOR AGE AND SEX)

5. HOMELY

11. Approximate temperature of the day. _____°

12. How sincere did R seem to be in his answers?

1. COMPLETELY
SINCERE

2. USUALLY
SINCERE

3. OFTEN SEEMED TO
BE INSINCERE

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

12. TYPE OF STRUCTURE IN WHICH FAMILY LIVES:

01. TRAILER

02. DETACHED SINGLE FAMILY HOUSE

03. 2-FAMILY HOUSE, 2 UNITS
SIDE BY SIDE

04. 2-FAMILY HOUSE, 2 UNITS
ONE ABOVE THE OTHER

05. DETACHED 3-4 FAMILY HOUSE

06. ROW HOUSE (3 OR MORE UNITS
IN AN ATTACHED ROW)

07. APARTMENT HOUSE (5 OR MORE
UNITS, 3 STORIES OR LESS)

08. APARTMENT HOUSE (5 OR MORE
UNITS, 4 STORIES OR MORE)

09. APARTMENT IN A PARTLY
COMMERCIAL STRUCTURE

10. OTHER (SPECIFY)

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

1

2

3

MORE THAN 3: (SPECIFY) _____