## cross-section

# SURVEY RESEARCH CENTER INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN ANNA ARROR MICHIGAN 48106

[Peach C.S: Form I Paire	;
Dank green C.S.: Form 2 G	2.]

	(Do not write in above spece)		
	2. PSU		
I. Interviewer's Label	3. Your Interview No.		
	4. Date		
	5. Length of Interview		
	(Minutes)		
Segment No7.	Line No.		
Address (or description)			
City10.			
City 10.  Determine if there is more than one DU at Item 8 above and check one:	State		

Make out cover sheets for any unlisted Dus. Add to Item 8, a specific designation of the DU for which this cover sheet is used. On each cover sheet be sure to identify the dwelling specifically.

- 12. Race of respondent: Negro Other than Negro
- 13. List below all persons living in the DU who are 18 years old or older.

(a) Relationship to, or connection with HEAD	(b) Sex	(c)	(d) Citizen? Yes/No	(e) Number	(f) ✓ R	SELECTION TABLE B
HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD						of adults in the adult the dwelling is: numbered:
					ļ	1 1
					<del> </del>	$\begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$
					<del> </del>	4 1
				<b> </b>	<del> </del>	5 — — 2 6 or more 2

- a-c. Fill in above columns.
  - d. Ask: "Are any of these persons not U.S.citizens?" (Write "No" for ones who are not, and "Yes" for those who are.)
  - e. Assign a number to each citizen in the following order: males from oldest to youngest, then females from oldest to youngest.
- f-g. Use the selection table to determine whom to interview. In the first column circle the number of citizens age 18 or older. The number across from it in the second column of the selection table identifies the person to be interviewed. Check (√) this person as your respondent in column "f."

CALL RECORD Cross. Section [Peach/Jank grace]

Call Number	l	2	3	4	5	6	More (specify)
Hour of the Day (plus AM or PM)							
Date							
Day of Weck							
Results							

#### NONRESPONSE FORM

1.	Check reason for nonresponse below and explain more fully as necessary.
	HV House Vacant, not being lived in. Indicate under "Comments" if seasonal DU.
	ANDAddress Not a Dwelling. Describe below (commercial, house burned, etc.)
	NAHNot At Home; DU being lived in but no one at home after required no. of calls.
	Ref(IC)-Refusal by Initial Contact; not enough information to select R. Describe below.
	Ref(R)Refusal by selected R after listing completed. Describe below.
	RAR Absent; someone at DU but selected R never available. Describe below.
	NERNo Eligible Respondent because of age or citizenship.
	OtherNo interview obtained for reason other than above. Explain fully below.
	COMMENTS:
2.	For each nonresponse supply as much of the information below as possible, without asking neighbors. (For HV or AND supply only a.)
	a. Type of Structure:
	Trailer Apartment House (5 or more units; free access
	Detached Single-family House to DU)  Two to Four Family House
	Row House (3 or more units entry or guarded by doorman or both)
	in attached row) Apartment in a partially commercial structure Other
	b. Race: Caucasian Negro Other:
	c. Estimated Income: Under \$7,000   \$7,000-\$12,000   Over \$12,000
	d. Are there children under 18 in the DU? Yes No Don't Know
	e. Supply if listing box not completed:
	1) Estimated number of adults in DU:
	2) Is there a married couple in the DU?
	Yes No Don't Know

11.

#### SUPPLEMENT 1970

### SURVEY RESEARCH CENTER INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN 48106

		. **7
Light	green	Coversheet
ا ا	1 '	

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN (Do not write in above space) 2. PSU \_\_\_\_\_\_ 3. Your Interview No. \_\_\_\_\_ 1. Interviewer's Label 4. Date \_\_\_\_\_ 5. Length of Interview \_\_\_\_\_ (Minutes) Segment No. \_\_\_\_\_\_ 7. Line No. \_\_\_\_\_ Address (or description) City \_\_\_\_\_\_ 10. State \_\_\_\_\_ Determine if there is more than one DU at the Listing Sheet address referred to in Item 8 above and check one: There are (SUPPLY NUMBER) dwellings at the listed address 1 DU

Make out cover sheets for any unlisted Dus. Add to Item 8, a specific designation of the DU for which this cover sheet is used. On each cover sheet be sure to identify the dwelling specifically.

- 12.
- Race of respondent: Negro Other than Negro
- List below all persons living in the DU who are 18 years old or older. 13.

(a) Relationship to, or	(b)	(c)	(d) Citizen?	(e)	(f)	SELECTION TABLE A
connection with HEAD	Sex	Age	1	Number	√ R	If the number   Interview
HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD						of adults in the adult the dwelling is: numbered:
				_		1 1
						2 1
			<b> </b>		<del> </del>	3 1
			<del> </del>	<del> </del>	<del>                                     </del>	4 1
			<del> </del>	<del> </del>	<del> </del>	6 or sport 1

- a-c. Fill in above columns.
  - d. Ask: "Are any of these persons not U.S.citizens?" (Write "No" for ones who are not, and "Yes" for those who are.)
  - e. Assign a number to each citizen in the following order: males from oldest to youngest, then females from oldest to youngest.
- f-g. Use the selection table to determine whom to interview. In the first column circle the number of citizens age 18 or older. The number across from it in the second column of the selection table identifies the person to be interviewed. Check (√) this person as your respondent in column "f."

		CAL	L RECOR	D 50	ا ما دادا	ment	[light	green C.S.
Call Number	1	2	3	4	5	6		(Specify)
Hour of the Day (plus AM or PM)								
Date								
Day of Week								
Results								
		нои	RESPONS	E FORM				
heck <u>reason for nonre</u>	sponse	below a	nd expl	ain mor	e fully	as nec	essary.	
HVHouse Vaca	nt, not	being	lived i	n. <u>Ind</u>	icate u	n <u>der "C</u>	Comments	<u>" if seasonal</u>
ANDAddress No	t a Dwe	lling.	Descri	be belo	<u>w</u> (comm	ercial,	house	burned, etc.)
NAHNot At Home	e; DU b	eing li	ved in	but no	one at	home af	fter req	uired no of c
Ref(IC)-Refusal by below.	Initia	1 Conta	ct; not	enough	inform	ation t	to selec	t R. <u>Describ</u>
Ref(R)Refusal by	select	ed Raf	ter lis	ting co	mpleted	. <u>Desc</u>	ribe be	low.
RAR Absent;	someone	at DU	but sel	ected R	never	availab	ole. <u>De</u>	scribe below.
NNRNo Negro R	esponde	nt.						
NERNo Eligible	e Respo	ndent.	Becaus	e of Ag	e or Ci	tizensh	nip.	
OtherNo intervi	ew obta	ined fo	r reaso	n other	than a	bove.	Explain	fully below.
COMMENTS:								
For each nonresponse sasking neighbors. (Fo						low as	possibl	e, without
a. Type of Structure:								_
Trailer Detached Singl	o - Franti	lu Boues	. 🗆	Apartme to DU)	ent Hous	e (5 o	r more u	inits; free ac
Two to Four Fa		•		-	ent Hous	se (5 o	r more u	inits; locked
Row House (3 o	r more			entry o	or guard	led by	doorman	or both)
in attached ro	₩)		$\vdash$	Apartme Other		parti	ally cor	mmercial stru
·								<del></del>
b. Race: Caucasi		Negro		Other:				
c. Estimated Income:	ַטַ	<u>ider \$70</u>	000	\$7000	-\$12,000	ט ב	Over \$12	
d. Are there any chil				DU?	Yes	N	<u>o</u>	Don't Know
e. Supply if listing	box no	t comple	eted:			<del></del>		
l) Estimated	Number	of Adu	lts in	: עם		_		
2) Is there a	marri	ed coup	le in t	he DU?		}		
Yes	1 (	No.	Don't	Know		1		

1.

2.

#### 1970 POST-ELECTION STUDY PROJECT 49517

~	SURVEY RESEARCH CENTER
219	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

(Minutes)

. Segment No.	7.	Line No.	

## FORM 1

Half of the white respondents in the 1970 American Election Study were administered Form 1 and the other half were administered Form 2. The text of Form 2 is identical to Form 1 except that the white respondents were not asked the following questions: 3-8A, 29-31, 38-41, and 73. (Form 2 white respondents were asked the questions indicated in this questionnaire as having been skipped for Form 1 white respondents.) Additionally, in Form 2 the order of the list of groups and/or people in questions 74 and 75 are inverted from the order in Form 1.

	Washington should try to take care of? (IF FEWER THAN 3 Any others?)
How deal	much attention have you been paying to what is going on in Vietnam: a goo., some, or not much?
	/1.A good deal/ /3.Some/ /5.Not much/
2a.	Do you think we did the right thing in getting into the fighting in Vietr or should we have stayed out?
	/1.Yes, did right thing/ /5.No, should have stayed out/ /8.Don't know
2ъ.	Which of the following do you think we should do now in Vietnam: (HAND R CARD # 1)
	/1.Pull out of Vietnam entirely/
	/2.Keep our soldiers in Vietnam but try to end the fighting/
	/3. Take a stronger stand even if it means invading North Vietnam/?
	/3. Take a stronger stand even if it means invading North Vietnam/ ?
	/8.DK/

3.	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/ /7.Depends/ /8.Don't know/ / chances /
4.	Looking ahead, do you think the problem of keeping out of a bigger war would be handled better in the next two years by the <u>Democrats</u> , by the <u>Republicans</u> , or <u>about the same</u> by both?  /1.Better by Democrats/ /5.Better by Republicans/ /3.Same by both/ /8.Don't know/ (GO TO Q.5)
	4a. Why is that?
5.	Now, about something different—we are interested in how people are getting along financially these days. Would you say that you and your family are better off or worse off financially than you were a year ago?    1.Better now
7.	Now looking aheaddo you think that a year from now you people will be better off financially, or worse off, or just about the same as now?  /1.Better/ /3.Same/ /5.Worse/ /7.Uncertain/ /8.Don't know/
8.	Did the outcome of the Congressional elections make any difference on how you feel about this?
	$\frac{\overline{1.\text{Yes}}}{}$ (CO TO Q.9)
	8a. How is that?

In our studies over the years we have collected some ideas different people have about the sorts of things the government in Washington should or should not be doing. I will read you some questions about these ideas.

9. 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 has not gotten too strong for the good of the country. Have you been interested enough in this to favor one side over the other?

	$\frac{1.\text{Yes}}{}$ (GO TO BOX A)
9a.	What is your feeling, do you think:
	/1. The government is getting too powerful/
	or do you think
	/5. The government has not gotten too strong/ ?  (GO TO BOX A)
	OTHER; DEPENDS:
	·
9Ъ.	Which party is more likely to do what you want on this, the <u>Democrats</u> , the <u>Republicans</u> , or <u>wouldn't there be any difference</u> between them?
	/1.Democrats/ /5.Republicans/ /3.No difference/ /8.Don't know/

BOX A
INTERVIEWER: CHECK ONE
$\sqrt{1.7}$ IF R BLACK CONTINUE
$\sqrt{2.7}$ R IS NOT BLACK, GO TO Q.21, PAGE 8.

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

	1.Yes/	$\frac{\sqrt{5.\text{No}}}{}$ $\rightarrow$ (G0 T0 Q.11)	)
10a.	Do you think the government in W	ashington should:	
	/l.See to it that White and / / Negro children are allowed/ or to go to the same schools/ / OTHER; DEPENDS:	/ area as it is not/	/8.Don't know/ (GO TO Q.11)
10ь.	Which party do you think is more the <u>Democrats</u> , the <u>Republicans</u> , between them?		
	/1.Democrats/ /5.Republicans/	/3.No difference/	/8.Don't know/

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

	/1.Yes/ /5.No	√ (GO TO Q.12)	
lla.	. Should the government support the right	of Negroes:	
	/1.To go to any hotel or / or should / restaurant they can afford/ it		on't know/ TO Q.12)
	OTHER; DEPENDS:		· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
116.	. Which party do you think is more likely the right of Negroes to go to any hote		supporting
	/1.Democrats/ /5.Republicans/ /3.	No difference/ /8.Don	't know/

12. Which of these statements would you agree with:

	_/l.White people have a right to keep Negroes out of/ / their neighborhoods if they want to; /
	<u>or</u>
	_/5.Negroes have a right to live wherever they can afford/ / to, just like anybody else/
	/8.Don't know; depends; can't decide/ - (GO TO Q.13)
12a.	Do you feel strongly about your position on this question or not too strongly?
	/1.Strongly/ /5.Not too strongly/

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

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

14. 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/

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

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

6. Do you think the actions Negroes have taken have, on the whole, <u>helped</u> their cause, or on the whole have hurt their cause?

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

17.	In general, how many of the Negroes in this area desegregation all of them, most of them, about to them?	would you say are in favor of half, less than half, or none
	/1.All/ /2.Most/ /3.About half/ /4.Less than h	half/ /S.None/ /O.No Negroes/ / in area /
	17a. And how many Whites in this area would you desegregation all of them, most of them, or none of them?	
	/1.All/ /2.Most/ /3.About/ /4.Less than/ / half/ / half /	/ <u>/5.None</u> / /0.No whites/ / in area /
18.	favor of strict segregation of the racesall of half, less than half, or none of them?	them, most of them, about
	/1.All/ /2.Most/ /3.About half/ /4.Less than h	half/ /5.None/ /0.No whites/ / in area /
19.	What about you? Are you in favor of desegregationsomething in between?	on, strict segregation, or
	/1.Desegregation/ /5.Segregation/	3.In between/
INTER	RVIEWER: ASK FOLLOWING QUESTIONS PRESENTING R WIT GIVEN BELOW. RECORD THE NUMBER OF THE C	
20a.	Is this neighborhood you now live in:	1. All White
20ъ.	Is the grade school nearest you:	2. Mostly White
20c.	Is the junior high school nearest you:	2. Mostly White 3. About half and half
20d.	Is the high school nearest you:	4. Mostly Negro
20e.	If you are now employed, are the people where you work:	5. All Negro?
	/Not Working/	8. Don't know
20f.	Are the people who shop and trade where you do:	
20g.	Are your friends:	

And now I would like to talk to you about some problems which are important in America today.

21. There is much discussion about the best way to deal with the problem of urban unrest and rioting. Some say it is more important to use all available force to maintain law and order--no matter what results. Others say it is more important to correct the problems of poverty and unemployment that give rise to the disturbances. And, of course, other people have opinions in between. Suppose the people who stress doing more about the problems of poverty and unemployment are at one end of this scale--at point number 1 (SHOW CARD #2 TO R). And suppose the people who stress the use of force are at the other end--at point number 7.

Solve problems of poverty and unemployment								Use all available force	
		1	1			ı		1	
		1.	2	3	4	5	6	7	
21a. W	here woul	d you p	lace you	rself on	this scal	e?			
21b. W	fnere woul	d you p	lace the	Democrat	ic party?			***************************************	
21c. W	here woul	d you p	lace the	Republic	an party?			<del>4.2</del>	
21d. (	Where wou	ıld you	place) R	ichard Ni	xon?			<u></u>	
21e. (	Where wou	ıld you	place) E	dmund Mus	kie?			•	
21f. (	Where wou	ld you	place) G	eorge Wal	lace?				
21g. H	ow import	ant wou	ıld you s	ay this i	ssue is t	o you:			
	<u>/ 1.</u>	. Very	/ importa	nt					
	<u>/ 2.</u>	. Some	what imp	ortant					
	<u>/ 3.</u>	7 Not	very imp	ortant					
	/4.	7 Not	importan	t?					

Complete

22. There is much talk about "hawks" and "doves" in connection with Vietnam, and considerable disagreement as to what action the United States should take in 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. Suppose the people who support an immediate withdrawal are at one end of this scale (SHOW CARD #3 TO R) 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.

		mediate thdrawal						military victory
				1	t	•	1	•
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
22a.	Where w	ould you	place you	rself on	this scal	e?		<del> </del>
22b.	Where w	ould you	place the	Democrat	ic party?			
22c.	Where w	ould you	place the	Republic	an party?			
22d.	(Where	would you	ı place) R	ichard Ni	kon?			
22e.	(Where	would you	ı place) E	dmund Musi	kie?			
22f.	(Where	would you	ı place) G	eorge Wal	lace?			
22g.	How imp	ortant wo	ould you s	ay this i	ssue is t	o you:		
	<u> 1</u>	1./ Ven	ry importa	nt				
	Ĺ	2./ Son	newhat imp	ortant				

Not very important

/ 4./ Not important?

23. Some people are pretty upset about rioting and disturbances on college campuses and in high schools. Some feel sympathetic with the students and faculty who take part in these disturbances. Others think the schools should use police and the national guard to prevent or stop disturbances. And others fall somewhere between these extremes. (SHOW CARD #4 TO R)

		Sympath with st and fac	udents						Use force to stop disturbances
				2	3	<u>'</u>	5	6	7
		•		•	J	*	,	Đ	,
23a:	you t	hought	much ab	out thi		this scale	e, or hav	en 't	
23Ь.	Where	would	you pla	ce the 1	Democrat	ic party?			<del></del>
23c.	Where	would	you pla	ce the l	Republic	an party?			
23d.	(Wher	e would	you p1	ace) Ri	chard Ni	xon?			********
23e.	(Wher	e would	you pl	ace) Edi	mund Mus	kie?			
23f.	(Wher	e would	you pl	ace) Ge	orge Wal	lsce?			
23g.	How i	mportan	t would	you say	y this i	ssue is to	you:		
		<u>/ 1./</u>	Very i	mportan	t				
		/ 2./	Somewh	at impo	rtant				
		/ 3./	Not ve	ry impor	rtant				
		<u>/ 4.</u> /	Not im	portant'	?				

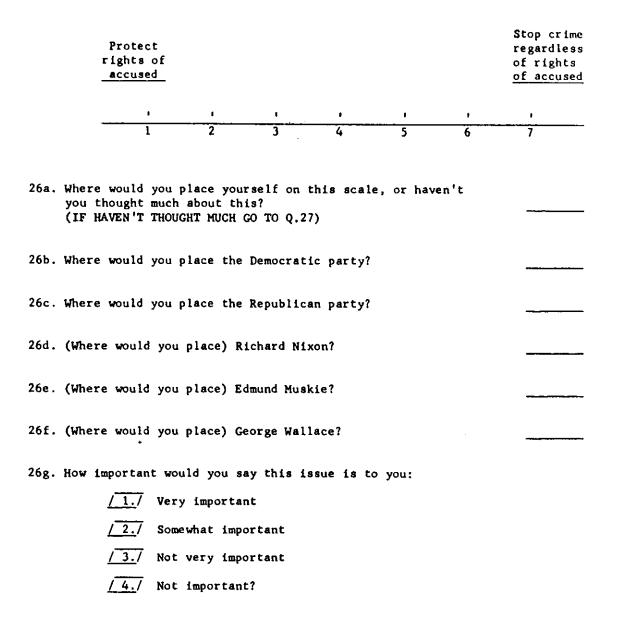
24. Some people feel that the Government in Washington should make every possible effort to improve the social and economic position of Negroes and other minority groups. Others feel that the Government should not make any special effort to help minority peoples but they should be expected to help themselves. (SHOW CARD #5 TO R)

		ent help y groups						ority gro	•
	1		2	3	4	5			
	1		2	3	4	3	6	7	
24a.	Where would you thought (IF HAVEN'T	much abo	ut this?		ls scal	e, or have	en't		
24b.	Where would	you place	e the Dem	ocratic	party?				
24c.	Where would	you place	e the Rep	ublican	party?				
24d.	(Where would	you pla	ce) Richa	rd Nixor	1?				
24e.	(Where would	you pla	ce) Edmun	d Muskie	1?				
24£.	(Where would	you pla	ce) Georg	e Wallac	e?			<del></del>	<del></del>
24g.	How importan	t would	you say t	his issu	ie is t	o you:			
	/ 1./	Very im	portant						
	/ 2./	Somewha	t importa	nt					
	<u>/3./</u>	Not ver	y importa	nt					
	<u>/ 4./</u>	Not imp	ortant?						

25. There is a great deal of talk these days about rising prices and the cost of living in general. Some feel that the problem of inflation is temporary and that no Government action is necessary. Others say the Government must do everything possible to combat the problem of inflation immediately or it will get worse. (SHOW CARD #6 TO R)

	Total Govern action again inflation	ist					No Government action against inflation
			ŧ	1			•
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
25a.	Where would you p you thought much (IF HAVEN'T THOUGH	about th	is?		e, or hav	en't	<del></del>
25b.	Where would you p	lace the	Democrat	ic party?			
25c.	Where would you p	lace the	Republic	an party?			
25d.	(Where would you	place) R	ichard Ni	xon?			
25e.	(Where would you	place) E	dmund Mus	kie?			
25f.	(Where would you	place) G	eorge Wal	lace?			
25g.	How important wou	ld you s	ay this i	saue is t	o you:		
	$\frac{\sqrt{1.7}}{1.7}$ Very	importa	nt				
	/ 2./ Some	what imp	ortant				
	$\sqrt{3.}$ / Not	very imp	ortant				
	<u>/4./</u> Not	importan	t?				

26. Some people are primarily concerned with doing everything possible to protect the legal rights of those accused of committing crimes. Others feel that it is more important to stop criminal activity even at the risk of reducing the rights of the accused. (SHOW CARD #7 TO R)



 $/\overline{4./}$  Not important?

27.	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. Given these two approaches (SHOW CARD #8 TO R)

	Government private industry to stop po	dustry				hand1	tries should e pollution eir own way
	ı	ı	•	•			1
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
yo	nere would you ou thought much IF HAVEN'T THOU	n about th	is?		e, or hav	en't	
27b. Wh	ere would you	place the	Democrat	ic party?			
27c. Wh	ere would you	place the	Republic	an party?			<del>-1</del>
27d. (W	here would you	ı place) R	ichard Ni	xon?			**************************************
27e. (W	There would you	place) E	dmund Mus	kie?			<del></del>
27£, (W	here would you	ı place) G	eorge Wal	lace?			
27g. Ho	w important wo	uld say t	h <b>is is</b> sue	is to yo	u:		
	$\sqrt{1.}$ Ver	y importa	nt				
	/ 2./ Som	ewhat imp	ortant				
	/ 3./ Not	very impo	ortant				

28. There is much concern about the rapid rise in medical and hospital costs. Some feel there should be a government health 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. (SHOW CARD #9 TO R)

	Gover Insuran					ins	Private urance pla	ns
			•	•		<u> </u>	1	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
28a.	you thought	you place your much about th THOUGHT MUCH (	is?		e, or hav	en't		
285.	Where would	you place the	Democrat	ic party?				
28c.	Where would	you place the	Republic	an party?			<del></del>	
28d.	(Where would	you place) R	ichard Ni	.xon?				<del></del>
28e.	(Where would	you place) E	dmund Mus	kie?				
28f.	(Where would	you place) G	eorge Wal	lace?				
28g.	How importan	t would you s	ay this i	ssue is to	o you:			
	<u>/ 1./</u>	Very importa	nt					
	/ 2./	Somewhat imp	ortant					
	/ 3./	Not very imp	ortant					
	<u>/4./</u>	Not importan	t?					

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.

29. 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.Don't know/

30. 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.Don't know/

31. 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.Don't know/

32.	them	'd like to read some of the kinds of things people t and ask you whether you agree or disagree with them. e and you just tell me whether you agree or disagree	I'll read	
	32a.	People like me don't have any say about what the government does.	/l.Agree/	/5.Disagree/
	32b.	Voting is the only way that people like me can have any say about how the government runs things.	/l.Agree/	/5.Disagree/
	32c.	Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on.	/1.Agree/	/5.Disagree/
	32d.	I don't think public officials care much what people like me think.	/l.Agree/	/5.Disagree/
	32e.	Generally speaking, those we elect to Congress in Washington lose touch with the people pretty quickly.	/1.Agree/	/5.Disagree/
	32f.	Parties are only interested in people's votes but not in their opinions.	/1.Agree/	/5.Disagree/
refe	r to Dral.  Do yo	e different ideas about the government in Washington emocrats or Republicans in particular but just to the We want to see how you feel about these ideas for u think that people in the government waste a lot of , waste some of it, or don't waste very much of it?  /S.A lot/ /3.Some/	e government example:	t in

34. 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/

35. 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/

Page	18	499
36.	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/	
37.	Do you think that <u>quite a few</u> of the people running the government are a little crooked, <u>not very many</u> are, or do you think <u>hardly any</u> of them are crooked at all?	
	/5.Quite a lot/ /3.Not many/ /1.Hardly any/	
38.	Over the years, how much attention do you feel the government pays to what to people think when it decides what to do:	he
	/1.A good deal/ /3.Some/ or /5.Not much/? /8.Don't know/	ī
39.	How much do you feel that political parties help to make the government pay attention to what the people think:	
	/1.A good deal/ /3.Some/ or /5.Not much/? /8.Don't know/	7
40.	And how much do you feel that having elections makes the government pay attention to what the people think:	
	/1.A good deal/ /3.Some/ or /5.Not much/? /8.Don't know/	ī
41.	How much attention do you think most Congressmen pay to the people who elect them when they decide what to do in Congress:	Ē.
	/1.A good deal/ /3.Some/ or /5.Not much/? /8.Don't know/	ī

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

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?

/l.Plan ahead/ /5.Too much luck to plan/ /8.Don't know/

/1.Things work out as	expected/ /5.Have to ch	ange plans/ /8.Do	n¹t know/
	pretty sure your life wou been times when you haven'		
/l.Pretty sure/	/5.Haven't been	<u>sure</u> / /8	.Don't kno
	can run their lives prett ems of life are sometimes		
/l.Can run own life/	/5.Problems of life to	o big/ /8.Don'	t know/
In general, how satis these days? Would yo or <u>not very</u> satisfyin	fying do you find the way call it completely satis	you're spending you fying, pretty satis	r life fying
/1.Completely/	/3.Pretty/ /5.Not ve	ry/ /8.Don'	t know/
fall. As you know, re in this election from much would you say th	with you a bit about the expresentatives to the Cong congressional districts and you personally cared about much, not	ress in Washington of 11 around the countrout the way the elec-	were chose ry. How ctions to
/1.Very much/ /2.Pre	tty much/ /4.Not very muc	h/ /5.Not at all/	/8.Don't

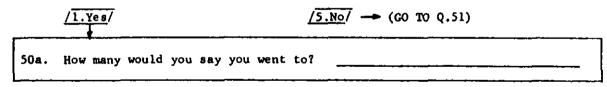
48.	During the election campaign,	did any	one ask	you	for	your	suggestions	about
	which party or candidate to v	ote for?						

48a.	Was this somebody in your you work?	family, one of your	r friends, or someone where
	/l.Family/	/2.Friend/	/3.Someone at work/
	OTHER: (specify)		

49. During the campaign did you talk to anybody and try to show them why they should vote for one of the parties or candidates?

	/1.Yes/	<u>/5.No/</u> →	(GO TO Q.50)
49a.	Was this somebody you work?	in your family, one of your	friends, or someone where
	$\sqrt{1.\text{Family}}$	/2.Friend/	/3.Someone at work/
	OTHER: (specify)		

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



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

52. Do you belong to any political club or organizations?

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

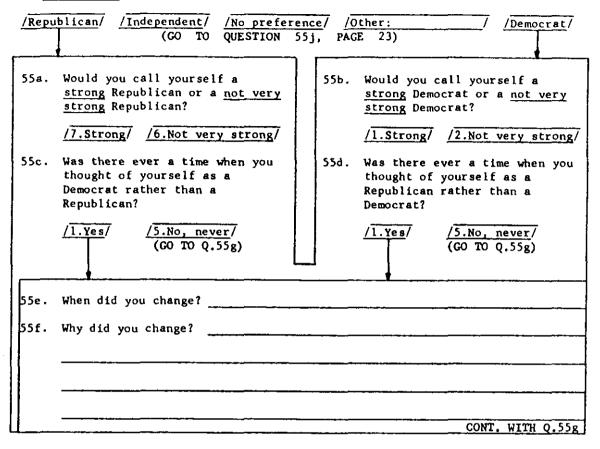
$$\overline{1.\text{Yes}}$$
  $\overline{5.\text{No}}$ 

54. Would you say that one of the parties is more conservative or more liberal than the other at the national level?

l.Yes	54a. 54b.	Which party is more conservative? /I.Democratic/ /S.Republi What do you have in mind when you say that the (R)(D) are more conservative than the (D)(R)? (Anything else?)	ican/
	54c.	Would you say the (R's)(D's) are a lot more conservative than the (D's)(R's) or only a little more conservative?  /l.Lot more conservative/ /5.Little more/	ne

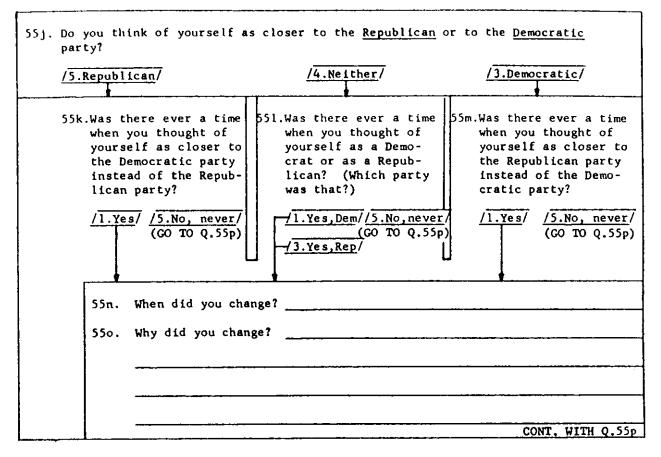
5.No or 8.DK	54d.	Do you think that people generally consider the Democrats or the Republicans more conservative, or wouldn't you want to guess about that?
	54e.	/1.Dems more conserv./ /5.Reps more conserv./ /7.No guess/ (GO TO Q.55)  What do people have in mind when they say the (D's)(R's) are more conservative than the (R's)(D's)?

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

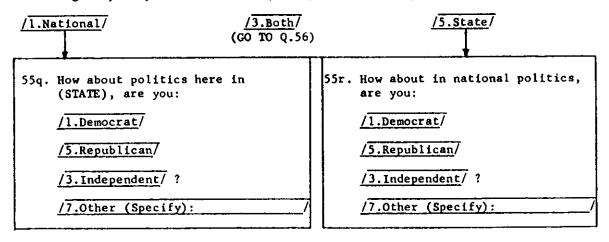


55g. Now when you say you are a (R)(D), are you thinking only of politics here in (STATE), or national politics, or both?

/I.National/ /3.Bot (GO TO Q.56,	<u></u> '
55h. How about politics here in (STATE), are you:	551. How about in national politics, are you:
/1.Democrat/	/1.Democrat/
/5.Republican/	/5.Republican/
/3.Independent/ ?	/3.Independent/ ?
/7.Other (Specify):	/7.Other (Specify): /
(GO TO Q.56, PAGE 24)	(GO TO Q.56, PAGE 24)



55p. Now when you say you (are an Independent/have no preference/are OTHER) are you thinking only of politics here in (STATE) or national politics or both?



56.	6. Do you remember when you were growing up whether your father thought of himself mostly as a <u>Democrat</u> , as a <u>Republican</u> , or what?				
	/1.Democrat/	/5.Republican/	/7.Other (SPECIFY)	/	
			/8.Don't know/		
57.		other? When you were , as a Republican, or	growing up did she thin what?	nk of herself	
	/1.Democrat/	/5.Republican/	/7.Other (SPECIFY)	/	
			/8.Don't know/		
(FOR 58.		ks should form their of Blacks should conc	own political party and entrate on making change		
	/1.Work in own party	/ /2.Both/ /3.Work	in two major parties/	/8.Don't know,/ not sure /	
	58a. Would you supp	ort an independent bl	ack political party?		
	/1.Yes/	/3.Depends, not su	re/ /5.No/		

59. 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?

/3.Al	1/ /2.Most/ /1.Some/ /5.None/ /0.InapNot of voting age in 1968/ (GO TO Q.60) (GO TO Q.60)
59a.	Have you always voted for the same party or have you voted for different parties for president?
	(IF SAME)
	59b. Which party was that?
	/1.Democratic/ /5.Republican/ /7.Other /
59c.	Now in 1968 you remember that Mr. Nixon ran on the Republican ticket against Mr. Humphrey on the Democratic ticket 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/
	(GO TO Q.60) (GO TO Q.60)
	59d. Which one did you vote for?
	/2.Nixon/ /1.Humphrey/ /3.Wallace/ /8.Don't know/ /7.Other/

60. Some people don't pay much attention to political campaigns. How about you? Would you say that you were very much interested, somewhat interested, or not much interested in following the political campaigns this year?

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

61.	Do you happen to remember the names of the candidates for Congress that is
	the House of Representatives in Washington that ran in this congressional
	district this November?

	/1.Yes/	$\sqrt{5.\text{No}/} \longrightarrow (GO \text{ T})$	TO Q.62)
6la.	Who are they?		
61b.	Which party is (he/she)	)? NAME	PARTY
			/
			1
			<i>L</i>
61c.	INTERVIEWER CHECK:	ONE PARTY MENTIONED ASK Q.6	
61c.	Do you happen to know :	•	MED, GO TO Q.63

63. (IF NECESSARY) Which one?

> /5.Republicans/ /8.Don't know/ /1.Democrats/

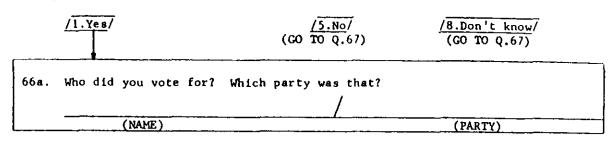
Do you happen to know which party elected the most members to the House of 64. Representatives in the election (this / last) month? (IF NECESSARY) Which one?

> /5.Republicans/ /8.Don't know/  $\sqrt{1.}$ Democrats/

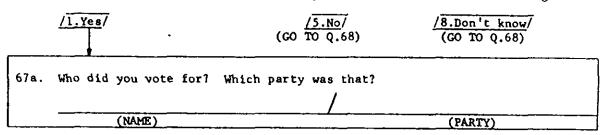
In talking to people about the election we find that a lot of people weren't 65. able to vote because they (were too young,) weren't registered, they were sick, or they just didn't have time. How about you, did you vote this time or did something keep you from voting?

/l.Yes, voted/ /5.No, didn't vote/ (CONTINUE WITH Q.66) (GO TO Q.72)

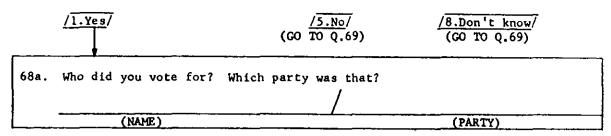
66. How about the election for United States Senator? Did you vote for a candidate for Senator?



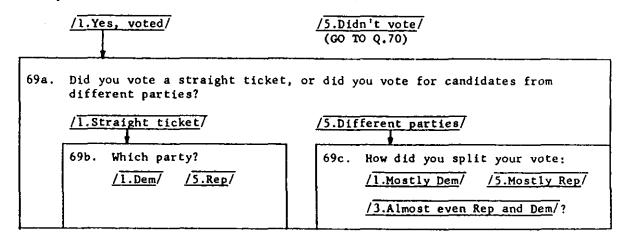
67. How about the vote for Congressman? Did you vote for a candidate for Congress?



68. How about the vote for Governor? Did you vote for a candidate for Governor?



69. Did you vote for other state and local offices?



70. In addition to voting for candidates for office, many states also have people vote on other problems at the same time. How about here? Were there any statewide propositions on the ballot for the people to vote on?

	/1.Ye	<u>s/</u>	/5.No/ (GO TO Q.72)	/8.Don't know/ (GO TO Q.72)
70a.	Were	there any propositions	you were particularl	y interested in?
	/1.Ye	<u>s/</u>	/5.No/ (GO TO Q.71)	/8.Don't know/ (GO TO Q.71)
	70Ь.	Which were they?	•	•
		<del></del>		

71. Did you vote on all, most, some, or none of these statewide propositions?

 $\sqrt{1.7}$  Voted on all propositions

/ 2./ Voted on most propositions

 $\sqrt{3.7}$  Voted on some propositions

 $\sqrt{4.7}$  Didn't vote for any propositions

/8./ Don't know

72. In general, do you feel that more issues should be decided by voters at the polls?

	/1.Yes/	/ <u>5.No</u> / (GO TO Q.73)	/8.Don't know/ (GO TO Q.73)
72a.	Is there anythin	g in particular you had in mind?	

73.	We're also interested in learning what kinds of work Americans respect monighly. Which of these occupations do you respect the most? (HAND CARD TO RESPONDENT) What would be your second choice? Third choice?					
		United States Senator				
	<del></del>	Bishop or other church official				
		General or admiral				
	<del></del>	Famous doctor				
		Justice of the U. S. Supreme Court				
		Atomic scientist				
		Professor at a large university				
		President of the United States				
		Well known athlete				
		President of a large corporation like General Motors				

Governor of your state

74. Several political leaders have already been mentioned as possible candidates for President in 1972. We would like to get your feelings toward some of these people.

I have here a card (INTERVIEWER HANDS OVER CARD #11) 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  $50^{\circ}$  and  $100^{\circ}$ , 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  $0^{\circ}$  and  $50^{\circ}$ .

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			Rating
а.	George Wallace		f.	Edmund Muskie	
ь.	Hubert Humphrey		g.	Edward (Ted) Kennedy	
c.	Richard Nixon	<del></del>	h.	George McGovern	
ď.	John Lindsay	<del></del>	i.	Spiro Agnew	
e.	Ronald Reagan		j.	Eugene McCarthy	

75. As you know, there are many groups and persons in America that try to get the Government or the American people to see things more their way. Please use the thermometer again -- this time to indicate your feelings toward these groups or persons. Our first group is civil rights leaders. Where would you put them on the thermometer?

		Rating			Rating
a.	Civil rights leaders		j.	Democrats	
b.	Policemen		k.	Negroes	<del></del>
с.	***************************************		l.	Republicans	
	protest marches		m.	People who use	
d.	Conservatives	<del></del>			
е.	People who riot in cities		n.	Liberals	
		<del></del>	٥.	Radical students	
f.	People who go to rock festivals		p.	Women's Liberation Movement	
g.	John Birch Society		q.	Black militants	
h.	The Military			•	
i.	Whites				

federal tax dollar	<u>ç</u> /	/8.Don't know/
If the United Star be changed withou		ses a law, is there any way that the law can of Congress?
/1.Yes/	,	$\sqrt{5.\text{No}}/ \longrightarrow (\text{GO TO Q.78})$
77a. How is that	<b>(</b>	
<del></del>		
<del>-,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,</del>		
	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	
How many times can	n an individual	be elected president of the United States?
-	n an individual Times	be elected president of the United States?
-		
	_ Time s	
	_ Times erm of office fo	/O.Don't know/
How long is the to	_ Times erm of office fo	/O.Don't know/ or a United States Senator?
How long is the to	Times erm of office foYears erm for a member	/O.Don't know/ or a United States Senator?

		(MONTH)	(DAY)	(YEAR)
Are you married of	now and living wi ted, or single?	ith your (husban	d/wife) or are	you widowed;
/l.Married and l	iving with spouse	or spouse in	service)/	/2.Single/
/5.Widowed/	/3.Divo	cced/ /4.Se	parated/	
P2a. Do you have	e any children?			
<u>/1.Yes/</u>		/ <u>5.No</u> / -	→ (GO TO Q.P3)	
P2b. How many?				

(ASK Q.P3 FOR RESPONDENT AND ACAIN FOR HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD IF R IS NOT HEAD. IF R IS HEAD ASK AGAIN FOR  $\underline{\text{HIS}}$  WIFE)

	RESPONDENT	HEAD, OR HIS WIFE, IF NOT R
P3. How many grades of school did (you) finish?	[] [] [] [] [] [] [] [] [] [] [] [] [] [	1) 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12
P3a. Have (you) had any other schooling? (What was that?) (Any other?)	/1.Yes/ /5.No/ (GO TO SECOND COLUMN)	/1.Yes/ /5.No/   (GO TO Q.P4)
	(COLLEGE, SECRETARIAL, BUSINESS SCHOOL, ETC.)	(COLLEGE, SECRETARIAL, BUSINESS SCHOOL, ETC.)
/IF R ATTENDED COLLEGE/		
P3b. What college(s) did (you) attend? Where (is that/are they) located?	(COLLEGE)	(1)(COLLEGE)
	(LOCATION)	(LOCATION)
	(2)	(2)
	(3)	(3)
P3c. Do (you) have a college degree?	/1.Yes/ /5.No/ (GO TO SECOND COLUMN)	/1.Yes/ /5.No/   GO TO Q.P4)
P3d. (IF YES) What degree(s) have (you) received? From which college(s)?		
3 (17)		

EMPLO	rployed / /2.Unemployed / /3.Retired / /4.Housewife / /5.Student / /6.Other / (SPECIFY)  (GO TO Q.P4g) (GO TO Q.P4k / ON NEXT PAGE) / (YED)
P4a.	What kind of work do you do? (IF NECESSARY) What exactly do you do on your job?
P4b.	What kind of business is that?
P4c.	Do you work for yourself? /1.Yes/ /5.No/
P4d.	Do you work full time or part time? /1.Full time/ /3.Part time
P4e.	Have you been out of a job anytime in the past two years?
	$\frac{1.\text{Yes}}{}$ (GO TO Q.P5)
	P4f. When was that?
	FROM: 19 TO: 19 (YEAR) (MONTH) (YEAR)
·	(GO TO Q.P5)
(UNEMP	LOYED OR RETIRED)
P4g.	What kind of work did you do when you were employed? (IF NECESSARY) What exactly did you do on your job?
P4g.	What exactly did you do on your job?
P4g.	What exactly did you do on your job?  What kind of business was that?

	Do you do any kind of work for pay?
	/1.Yes/ (GO TO Q.P4o)
	P41. What kind of work is that? (IF NECESSARY) What exactly do you on your job?
į	P4m. What kind of business is that?
	P4n. Do you work for yourself? /1.Yes/ /5.No/
P40.	Was there any time in the past two years when you were looking for wor but couldn't get a job?
	$\overline{/1.\text{Yes}/}$ $\overline{/5.\text{No}/}$ $\rightarrow$ (GO TO Q.P5)
	P4p. When was that? FROM: 19 TO 19 (MONTH) (YEAR)
INTERI	VIEWER: CHECK ONE
	_
	R IS FAMILY HEAD LIVING WITH SPOUSE(ASK Q.P6 ABOUT R's SPOUS
	R IS FAMILY HEAD, NO SPOUSE IN HOUSEHOLD(GO TO Q.P7)
	R IS NOT FAMILY HEAD(ASK Q.P6, ABOUT HEAD OF R's FAMILY IN HOUSEHOLD
Is (ti	the head/your spouse) presently employed, or is (he/she) unemployed, ret
(a h	ousewife), (a student), or what?
/1.Em	ployed/ /2.Unemployed/ /3.Retired/ /4.Housewife/ /5.Student/ /6.Other / (SPECIFY)  (GO TO Q.P6g) (GO TO Q.P6k / ON NEXT PAGE)
	YED 4
(EMPLO	
	What kind of work does (he/she) do? (IF NECESSARY) What exactly does (he/she) do on the job?
P6a.	What kind of work does (he/she) do? (IF NECESSARY) What exactly does (he/she) do on the job?
P6a.	What kind of work does (he/she) do? (IF NECESSARY) What exactly does (he/she) do on the job?  What kind of business is that?
P6a. P6b. P6c.	What kind of work does (he/she) do? (IF NECESSARY) What exactly does (he/she) do on the job?  What kind of business is that?  Does (he/she) work for (him/her)self? /1.Yes/ /5.No/
P6a. P6b. P6c. P6d.	What kind of work does (he/she) do? (IF NECESSARY) What exactly does (he/she) do on the job?  What kind of business is that?  Does (he/she) work for (him/her)self? /1.Yes/ /5.No/  Does (he/she) work full time or part time? /1.Full time/ /3.Part
P6a. P6b. P6c.	What kind of work does (he/she) do? (IF NECESSARY) What exactly does (he/she) do on the job?  What kind of business is that?  Does (he/she) work for (him/her)self? /1.Yes/ /5.No/  Does (he/she) work full time or part time? /1.Full time/ /3.Part
P6a. P6b. P6c. P6d.	What kind of work does (he/she) do? (IF NECESSARY) What exactly does (he/she) do on the job?  What kind of business is that?  Does (he/she) work for (him/her)self? /1.Yes/ /5.No/  Does (he/she) work full time or part time? /1.Full time/ /3.Part  Has (he/she) been out of a job anytime in the past two years?
P6a. P6b. P6c. P6d.	What kind of work does (he/she) do? (IF NECESSARY) What exactly does (he/she) do on the job?  What kind of business is that?  Does (he/she) work for (him/her)self? /1.Yes/ /5.No/  Does (he/she) work full time or part time? /1.Full time/ /3.Part  Has (he/she) been out of a job anytime in the past two years?  /1.Yes/ /5.No/ — (GO TO Q.P7)

/1.Yes/

P6p. When was that?

g.		
_	What kind of work did (he/she) do when (he/she) was empl NECESSARY) What exactly did (he/she) do on the job?	oyed? (IF
h .	What kind of business was that?	
i.	Did (he/she) work for (him/her)self? /1.Yes/	/ <u>5.No</u> /
j.	How long has it been since (he/she) was working?	
	OR OR (YEARS)	
	(para) (maio)	(GO TO Q.P7)
k.	WIFE, STUDENT, OTHER)  Does (she/he) do any kind of work for pay?	
	boes (sucreey do any kind of work for pay.	
	$\frac{\sqrt{1.\text{Yes}}}{} \qquad \qquad \frac{\sqrt{5.\text{No}}}{} \rightarrow \text{(GO TO Q.P6)}$	io)
	$\frac{\sqrt{1.\text{Yes}}}{}$ /5.No/ $\rightarrow$ (GO TO Q.P6)  P61. What kind of work is that? (IF NECESSARY) What e	
	$\frac{\sqrt{1.\text{Yes}}}{}$ /5.No/ $\rightarrow$ (GO TO Q.P6)  P61. What kind of work is that? (IF NECESSARY) What e	
	/1.Yes/ /5.No/ → (GO TO Q.P6  P61. What kind of work is that? (IF NECESSARY) What e (he/she) do on the job?	

/5.No/  $\longrightarrow$  (GO TO Q.P7)

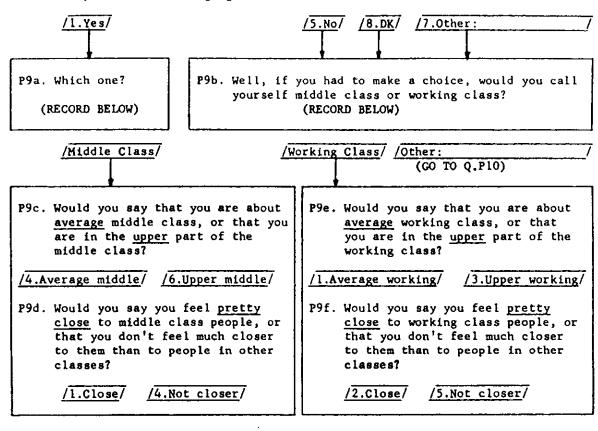
19 (YEAR) TO (MONTH)

7. (00)	/1.Yes/	of work besides farming for pay, I mean?  /5.No/ (GO TO Q.P8)
P7a.	What kind of work is that?	
P7b.	, ,	es head) usually put in on that?  orweeks per year
P7c.	Do you /1.own/ your farm, /	2.manage/ it, /3,rent/ it or what?

P8. Does anyone in this household belong to a labor union?

_	/1.Yes/	/5.No/	→ (GO TO Q.P9)	
P8a.	Who is it that belongs? (CHECK AS MANY AS APPLICABLE)	/Respondent/	/Head (not R)/	/Someone else / / in household/
P8b.	What union is that? (What unions are those?) (e.g., UAW, UMW, AFT, ILGU)			
P8c.	About how long (have you/ has he) belonged to this union?			

P9. 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?



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

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

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

P12. Is your religious preference Pro	testant, Catholic, Jewish or something else?
/1.Protestant/ /3.Roman Cathol	ic/ /5.Jewish/ /7.Other: /
711111111111111111111111111111111111111	(SPECIFY)
	(5.20.1.5)
(IF PROTESTANT)	
P12a. What church is that, Bapt	ist. Methodist or what?
}	
(TO AME AND DEPOSITE NOTE)	
(IF SOME CHURCH PREFERENCE)	
P13. Would you say you go to church -	· <b>-</b>
(3.1)	1 13 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1
/1.Almost every/ /2.Once or to / week // month	vice a/ /3.A few times/ or <u>/4.Never</u> /? / a year/
y week / / uonen	
P14. Where were you born? (IF UNITED	STATES) Which state?
114. Where were you born (it outside	, buildly willen state.
(DO NOT ASK OF NEGROES OR FOREIGN-BORN	0
Pl5. Were both your parents born in t	
<u>/5.No</u> /	/1.Yes/ /8.Don't know/
Pl5a. Which country was your	P15c. Do you remember which country your
father born in?	family came from originally on your
Tacher born in	father's side?
P15b. Which country was your	P15don your mother's side?
mother born in?	
(IF MORE THAN ONE NATIONALITY ME	ENTIONED)
	n, what nationality do you think of your
family being mainly?	
<del></del>	<u> </u>

P16.	What kind of work did your father do for a living while you were growing up?
P17.	What kind of work did your mother do for a living while you were growing up?
(IF F	ATHER HAD FARM OCCUPATION)
P18.	When you were growing up on the farm, would you say that your family was pretty well off financially, about average, or did they have trouble making ends meet?
	/1.Well off/ /3.Average/ /5.Trouble/ /8.Don't know/
P19.	Where was it that you grew up? (IF UNITED STATES) Which state or states?
	(IF GREW UP IN DIFFERENT STATE FROM CURRENT RESIDENCE)
	19a. How old were you when you came to this state?
P20.	Were you brought up mostly in the country, in a town, in a small city, or in a large city?
P21.	How long have you lived here in (NAME OF COMMUNITY)?
	P21a. (IF LESS THAN ALL OF LIFE) Where did you live before you moved here?
	CITYSTATE
P22.	How long have you lived in this house (apartment)?  (IF ALL OF LIFE GO TO Q.P24)
P23.	How would you compare this neighborhood with the one you left:
	a. Is this one: $\frac{1.\text{Newer}}{5.01\text{der}}$ /3.About the same/?
	b. Is it: /l.Less expensive/ /5.More expensive/ /3.About the same/?
	c. Is it: /1.Closer to center/ /5.Further out from/ /3.About the/ / of the city / center of city / same /?

P24.	best you can what you expect your 1970 total family income to bebefore taxes? You may just tell me the letter of the group on this card into which your family income will probably fail. (HAND R CARD #12)
	/A. Under \$1000/ /B.\$1000-1999/ /C.\$2000-2999/ /D.\$3000-3999/
	/E.\$4000-4999/ /F.\$5000-7499/ /G.\$7500-9999/ /H.\$10,000-14,999/
	/I.\$15,000-24,999/ /J.\$25,000 and over/
P25.	Do you own your own home here, or rent, or what?
	/1.Own/ /2.Rent/ OTHER:
	(EXPLAIN)
	INTERVIEWER: GO TO RESPONDENT INFORMATION SHEET
	INTERVIEWER'S SUPPLEMENT
P26.	Respondent's sex is: /1.Male/ /2.Female/
P27.	Respondent's race is: /1.White/ /2.Negro/ OTHER:
P28.	Relationship of R to head: /l.is head/ /2.is wife/ OTHER:
P29.	Other persons present at interview were: /None/ /Children under 6/ (CHECK MORE THAN ONE BOX IF NECESSARY)
	/Older children/ /Spouse/ /Other relatives/ /Other adults/
P30.	Respondent's cooperation was:
	/1.Very good/ /2.Good/ /3.Fair/ /4.Poor/ /5.Very poor/
P31.	Respondent's general interest in politics and public affairs seemed:
	/1. Very high/ /2. Fairly high/ /3. Average/ /4. Fairly low/ /5. Very low/
P32.	Respondent's general <u>level of information</u> about politics and public affairs seemed:
	/1. Very high/ /2. Fairly high/ /3. Average/ /4. Fairly low/ /5. Very low/

## THUMBNAIL SKETCH

## 1970 POST-ELECTION STUDY PROJECT 49517

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

(Do not write in above space)

3. Your Interview No.
4. Date
4. Date  5. Length of Interview
(Minutes)

## FORM 2

As of	you w	well know, there are many serious problems in this country and in other parts world. We'd like to start out by talking with you about some of them.
1.	What in V	do you personally feel are the most important problems which the Government dashington should try to take care of? (IF FEWER THAN 3 Any others?)
		•
2.	How deal	much attention have you been paying to what is going on in Vietnam: a good, some, or not much?
		/1.A good deal/ /3.Some/ /5.Not much/
	2a.	Do you think we did the right thing in getting into the fighting in Vietnam or should we have stayed out?
		/1.Yes, did right thing/ /5.No, should have stayed out/ /8.Don't know/
	2b.	Which of the following do you think we should do $\underline{\text{now}}$ in Vietnam: (HAND R CARD #1)
		/l.Pull out of Vietnam entirely/
		/2.Keep our soldiers in Vietnam but try to end the fighting/
		/3. Take a stronger stand even if it means invading North Vietnam/?
		<u>/8.dk</u> /
		OTHER; DEPENDS:
	2c.	Which party do you think is more likely to do what you want on this, the Democrats, the Republicans, or wouldn't there be any difference between them
		/1.Democrats/ /5.Republicans/ /3.No difference/ /8.Don't know/
		BOX A
		INTERVIEWER: CHECK ONE
		/ 1./ IF R IS BLACK CONTINUE
		/2./ IF R IS NOT BLACK, GO TO Q.9, PAGE 4.

fev	w about the chances of our country getting into a bigger war? Compared to a wyears ago, do you think we are more likely, less likely, or have about the ne chances to get into a bigger war?
<u>/5.</u>	More likely/ /l.Less likely/ /3.About same/ /7.Depends/ /8.Don't know/ / chances /
be	oking ahead, do you think the problem of keeping out of a bigger war would handled better in the next two years by the <u>Democrats</u> , by the <u>Republicans</u> , about the same by both?
/1.	Better by Democrats/ /5.Better by Republicans/ /3.Same by both/ /8.Don't know (GO TO Q.5) (GO TO Q.5)
4a.	Why is that?
<u>bet</u> /1.	a, about something differentwe are interested in how people are getting ong financially these days. Would you say that you and your family are ster off or worse off financially than you were a year ago?  Better now/ /3.Same/ /5.Worse now/ /7.Uncertain/ /8.Don't know/ (GO TO Q.7)
Now	Why is that?  I looking aheaddo you think that a year from now you people will be ter off financially, or worse off, or just about the same as now?
<u>/1.</u>	Better/ /3.Same/ /5.Worse/ /7.Uncertain/ /8.Don't know/
	the outcome of the Congressional elections make any difference on how you labout this?
	$\frac{\sqrt{1.\text{Yes}}}{}$ (GO TO Q.9)
8a.	How is that?

In our studies over the years we have collected some ideas different people have about the sorts of things the government in Washington should or should not be doing. I will read you some questions about these ideas.

9. 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 has not gotten too strong for the good of the country. Have you been interested enough in this to favor one side over the other?

<b></b>	$\frac{\sqrt{1.\text{Yes}}}{} \qquad \qquad (\text{GO TO BOX A})$
9a.	What is your feeling, do you think:  /1.The government is getting too powerful/
	or do you think  /5. The government has not gotten too strong/ ?  /8. Don't know/ (GO TO BOX A)
	OTHER; DEPENDS:
96.	Which party is more likely to do what you want on this, the <u>Democrats</u> , the <u>Republicans</u> , or <u>wouldn't there be any difference between them?</u> /1.Democrats/ /5.Republicans/ /3.No difference/ /8.Don't know/

•

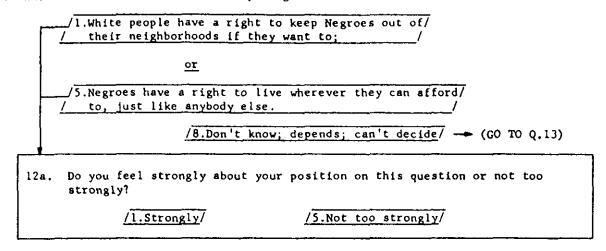
10.	Some people say that the government in Washington should see to it that White
	and Negro children are allowed to go to the same schools. Others claim that
	this is not the government's business. Have you been concerned enough about
	this question to favor one side over the other?

/1.Yes/	/ <u>5.No</u> / → (GO TO Q.11)
10a. Do you	think the government in Washington should:
/ Negro / to go	to it that White and / /5.Stay out of this/ children are allowed/ or / area as it is not/ to the same schools/ / its business / ?  DEPENDS:    A.Don't know/ (GO TO Q.11)
the De	party do you think is more likely to do what you want on this, mocrats, the Republicans, or wouldn't there be any difference n them?
/1.Dem	ocrats/ /5.Republicans/ /3.No difference/ /8.Don't know/

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

	/1.Yes/	$\sqrt{5.\text{No}/} \longrightarrow (GO \text{ TO } Q.12)$	
lla.	Should the government support	the right of Negroes:	
	/1.To go to any hotel or / / restaurant they can afford/ OTHER; DEPENDS:	or should /5.Stay out of/ it / this matter / ?	/8.Don't know/ (GO TO Q.12)
<u>.</u>			
11ь.	Which party do you think is mo the right of Negroes to go to		rnment supporting
	/1.Democrats/ /5.Republican	s/ /3.No difference/	/8.Don't know/

12	Which	οf	these	statements	would	vou	agree	with:



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

 $\sqrt{1.A lot/}$ 

/3.Some/

/5.Not much at all/

14. 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/

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

/l.Most been violent/

/5.Most been peaceful/

/8.Don't know/

16. Do you think the actions Negroes have taken have, on the whole, <u>helped</u> their cause, or on the whole have hurt their cause?

/l.Helped/

/5.Hurt/

/8.Don't know/

17.	In general, how many of the Negroes in this area desegregationall of them, most of them, about of them?	
	/1.All/ /2.Most/ /3.About half/ /4.Less than	half/ /5.None/ /0.No Negroes/ / in area /
	17a. And how many Whites in this area would you desegregationall of them, most of them, or none of them?	say are in favor of about half, less than half,
	/1.All/ /2.Most/ /3.About/ /4.Less than / half / half	/ /5.None/ /0.No whites/ / in area /
18.	Again referring to White people in this area, ho favor of strict segregation of the racesall of half, less than half, or none of them?	w many would you say are in them, most of them, about
	/1.All/ /2.Most/ /3.About half/ /4.Less than	half/ /5.None/ /0.No whites/ / in area /
19.	What about you? Are you in favor of desegregati something in between?	on, strict segregation, or
	/1.Desegregation/ /5.Segregation/	/3.In between/
INTE	RVIEWER: ASK FOLLOWING QUESTIONS PRESENTING R WI GIVEN BELOW. RECORD THE NUMBER OF THE	
20a.	Is this neighborhood you now live in:	1. All White
20Ъ.	Is the grade school nearest you:	2. Mostly White
20c.	Is the junior high school nearest you:	2. Mostly White 3. About half and half
20d.	Is the high school nearest you:	4. Mostly Negro
20e.	If you are now employed, are the people where you work:	5. All Negro?
	/Not Working/	8. Don't know
20f.	Are the people who shop and trade where you do:	
20g.	Are your friends:	<del></del>

And now I would like to talk to you about some problems which are important in America today.

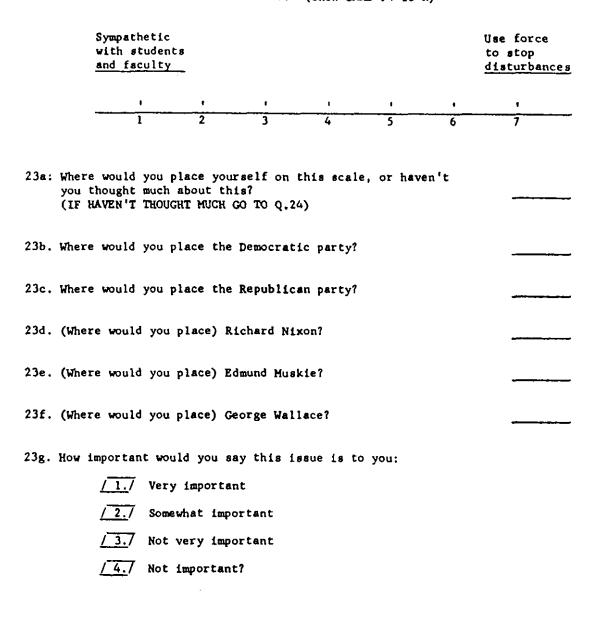
21. There is much discussion about the best way to deal with the problem of urban unrest and rioting. Some say it is more important to use all available force to maintain law and order--no matter what results. Others say it is more important to correct the problems of poverty and unemployment that give rise to the disturbances. And, of course, other people have opinions in between. Suppose the people who stress doing more about the problems of poverty and unemployment are at one end of this scale--at point number 1 (SHOW CARD #2 TO R). And suppose the people who stress the use of force are at the other end--at point number 7.

	Solve probl of poverty unemploymen	and					Use all available force
	·1·	2	3	. 4	. 5	1	
	1.	2	3	4	3	6	7
21a. Wher	re would you	place you	rself on	this scal	e?		
21b. Wher	re would you	place the	Democrat	ic party?			<del></del>
21c. When	re would you	place the	Republic	an party?			
21d. (Whe	ere would you	place) R	ichard Ni	xon?			
2le. (Whe	ere would you	place) E	dmund Mus	kie?			
21f. (Whe	ere would you	place) G	eorge Wal	lace?			
21g. How	important wo	uld you s	ay this i	ssue is t	o you:		
	<u>/1./</u> Ver	y importa	nt				
	<u>/ 2./</u> Som	what imp	ortant				
	/3./ Not	very imp	ortant				
	/4./ Not	importan	t?				

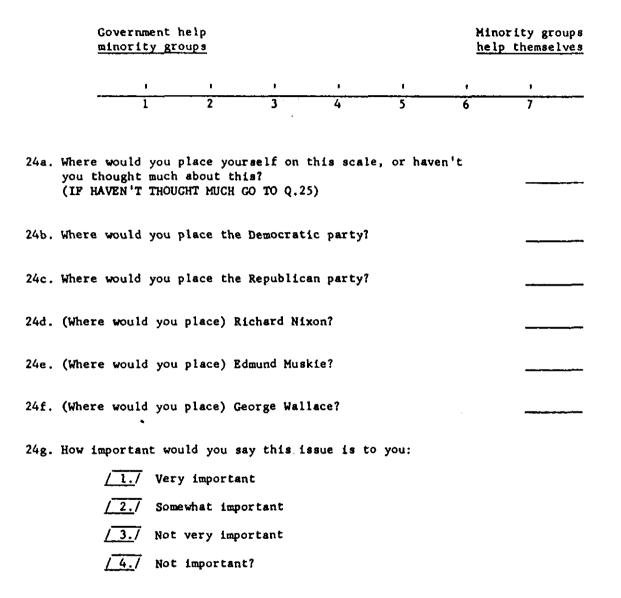
22. There is much talk about "hawks" and "doves" in connection with Vietnam, and considerable disagreement as to what action the United States should take in Vietnam. Some people think we should do everything necessary to win a complete military victory, no matter what results. Some people think we should withdraw completely from Vietnam right now, no matter what results. And, of course, other people have opinions somewhere between these two extreme positions. Suppose the people who support an immediate withdrawal are at one end of this scale (SHOW CARD #3 TO R) 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.

	Immediate withdrawal						milit victo	ary
		, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,		,	1	·		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
22a. Wher	e would you	place you	rself on	this scal	e?		<del></del>	
22b. Wher	e would you	place the	Democrat	ic party?				
22c. Wher	e would you	place the	Republic	an party?				
22d. (Whe	re would you	u place) R	ichard Ni	xon?			•	
22e. (Whe	re would yo	u place) E	dmund Mus	kie?			<del></del>	
22f. (Whe	re would yo	u place) G	eorge Wal	lace?				
22g. How	important w	ould you s	ay this i	ssue is t	o you:			
	<u>/ 1./</u> Ve	ry importa	nt					
	/ <u>2.</u> / So	mewhat imp	ortant					
	/3./ No	t very imp	ortant					
	/4.7 No	t importan	t?					

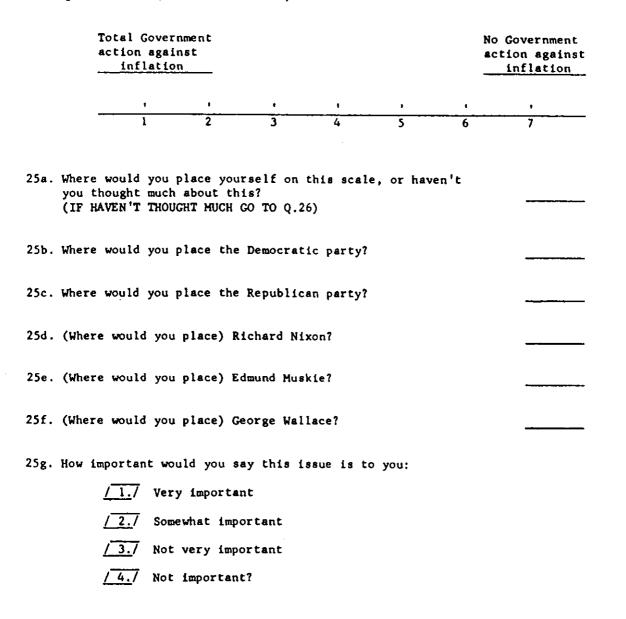
23. Some people are pretty upset about rioting and disturbances on college campuses and in high schools. Some feel sympathetic with the students and faculty who take part in these disturbances. Others think the schools should use police and the national guard to prevent or stop disturbances. And others fall somewhere between these extremes. (SHOW CARD #4 TO R)



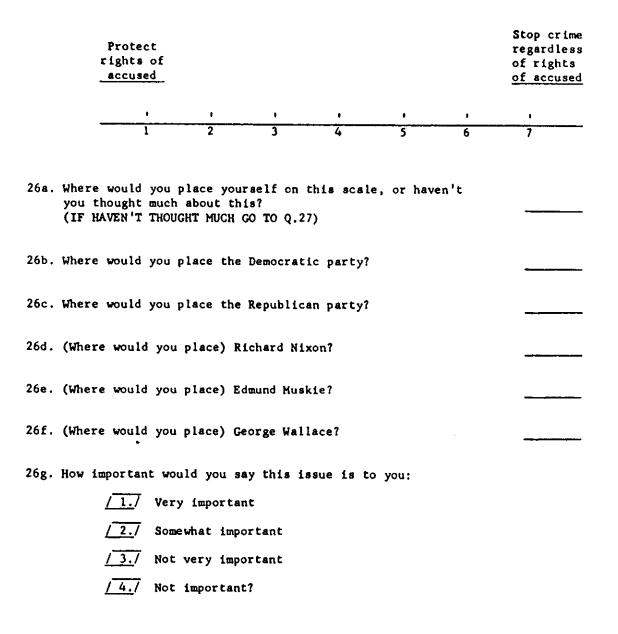
24. Some people feel that the Government in Washington should make every possible effort to improve the social and economic position of Negroes and other minority groups. Others feel that the Government should not make any special effort to help minority peoples but they should be expected to help themselves. (SHOW CARD #5 TO R)



25. There is a great deal of talk these days about rising prices and the cost of living in general. Some feel that the problem of inflation is temporary and that no Government action is necessary. Others say the Government must do everything possible to combat the problem of inflation immediately or it will get worse. (SHOW CARD #6 TO R)



26. Some people are primarily concerned with doing everything possible to protect the legal rights of those accused of committing crimes. Others feel that it is more important to stop criminal activity even at the risk of reducing the rights of the accused. (SHOW CARD #7 TO R)



27.	There are	many sources of air and water pollution; one of them is private
		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. Given these two approaches (SHOW CARD #8 TO R)

	Government force private industry					Industries should handle pollution		
	to_stop	polluting				in the	eir own way	
	r		•	ı	ŧ	•	1	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
27a.	you thought	you place you much about th THOUGHT MUCH (	is?		e, or hav	en't		
27Ь.	Where would	you place the	Democrat	ic party?	•			
27c.	Where would	you place the	Republic	an party?	,			
27d.	(Where would	you place) R	ichard Ni	xon?				
27e.	(Where would	you place) Ed	dmund Mus	kie?				
27f.	(Where would	you place) Ge	eorge Wal	lace?				
27g.	How importan	t would say th	nis issue	is to yo	ou:			
	/1./	Very importan	nt					
	<u>/ 2./</u>	Somewhat impo	ortant					
	/ 3./	Not very impo	ortant					
	<u>/ 4./</u>	Not important	:?					

28. There is much concern about the rapid rise in medical and hospital costs. Some feel there should be a government health 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. (SHOW CARD #9 TO R)

		nment ce plan				insu	Private irance plans
		2	3	4	5	6	7
28a.	you thought	you place you much about th THOUGHT MUCH	10?		, or hav	en't	***********
28ь.	Where would	you place the	Democrat	ic party?			<del></del> · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
28c.	Where would	you place the	Republic	an party?			
28d.	(Where would	you place) R	ichard Ni	xon?			
28e.	(Where would	you place) E	dmund Mus	kie?			
28f.	(Where would	you place) G	eorge Wal	lace?			***************************************
28g.	How importan	t would you s	ay this i	ssue is to	you:		
	/1./	Very importa	nt				
	/ 2./	Somewhat imp	ortant				
	/ 3./	Not very imp	ortant				
	<u>/ 4.</u> /	Not importan	t?				
	вох в						

INTERVIEWER: CHECK ONE --

12.1

IF R IS BLACK CONTINUE

IF R IS NOT BLACK, GO TO Q.32, PAGE 17.

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.

29. 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.Don't know/

30. 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.Don't know/

31. 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.Don't know/

	and ask you whether you agree or disagree with them. he and you just tell me whether you agree or disagree		them one at
32a.	People like me don't have any say about what the government does.	/l.Agree/	/5.Disagree/
32b.	Voting is the only way that people like me can have any say about how the government runs things.	/1.Agree/	/5.Disagree/
32c.	Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on.	/l.Agree/	/5.Disagree/
32d.	I don't think public officials care much what people like me think.	/l.Agree/	/5.Disagree/
32e.	Generally speaking, those we elect to Congress in Washington lose touch with the people pretty quickly.	/l.Agree/	/5.Disagree/
32f.	Parties are only interested in people's votes but not in their opinions.	/1.Agree/	/S.Disagree/

32. Now I'd like to read some of the kinds of things people tell us when we interview

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:

33. Do you think that people in the government waste a lot of the 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/

34. 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/

35. 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/

/l.For benefit of all/

Page	18	p49
36.	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/	
37.	Do you think that <u>quite a few</u> of the people running the government are a little crooked, <u>not very many</u> are, or do you think <u>hardly any</u> of them are crooked at all?	
	/5.Quite a lot/ /3.Not many/ /1.Hardly any/	
	BOX C	
	INTERVIEWER: CHECK ONE	
	/ 1.7 IF R IS BLACK CONTINUE	
	/ 2.7 IF R IS NOT BLACK, GO TO Q.42.	
38.	Over the years, how much attention do you feel the government pays to what people think when it decides what to do:	the
	/I.A good deal/ /3.Some/ or /5.Not much/? /8.Don't know	<u>w</u> 7
39.	How much do you feel that political parties help to make the government pa attention to what the people think:	у
	/1.A good deal/ /3.Some/ or /5.Not much/? /8.Don't know	<u>w</u> 7
40.	And how much do you feel that having elections makes the government pay attention to what the people think:	
	/1.A good deal/ /3.Some/ or /5.Not much/? /8.Don't kno	<u>w</u> 7

How much attention do you think most Congressmen pay to the people who elect them when they decide what to do in Congress:

/l.A good deal/  $\sqrt{3.\text{Some}}$ /5.Not much/ ? /8.Don't know/ or

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

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?

/8.Don't know/ /1.Plan ahead/ /5.Too much luck to plan/

/l.Things work out as expected/ /5.Have to change plans/ /8.Don't know/
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.Don't know
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.Don't know/
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.Don't know/
7 - Total Compression of the Police of the P
Now I'd like to talk with you a bit about the elections which took place thi fall. As you know, representatives to the Congress in Washington were chose in this election from congressional districts all around the country. How much would you say that you personally cared about the way the elections to Congress came out: very much, pretty much, not very much, or not at all?
/1.Very much/ /2.Pretty much/ /4.Not very much/ /5.Not at all/ /8.Don't
OTHER; DEPENDS:

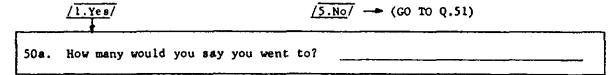
48.	During the election c	ampaign, did	anyone ask	you for	your	suggestions	about
	which party or candid	late to vote i	for?				

	/1.Yes/	/5.No/ → (CO TO Q.49)
48a.	Was this somebody in your you work?	family, one of your friends, or someone where
	/l.Family/	/2.Friend/ /3.Someone at work/
	OTHER: (specify)	

49. During the campaign did you talk to anybody and try to show them why they should vote for one of the parties or candidates?

	/1.Yes/	<u>/5.No/</u> → (GO TO Q.	.50)
49a.	Was this somebody you work?	in your family, one of your friends,	or someone where
	/1.Family/	/2.Priend/ /3.Som	meone at work/
	OTHER: (specify) _		

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



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

/1.Yes/ /5.No/

52. Do you belong to any political club or organizations?

 $\sqrt{1.\text{Yes}}$   $\sqrt{5.\text{No}}$ 

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

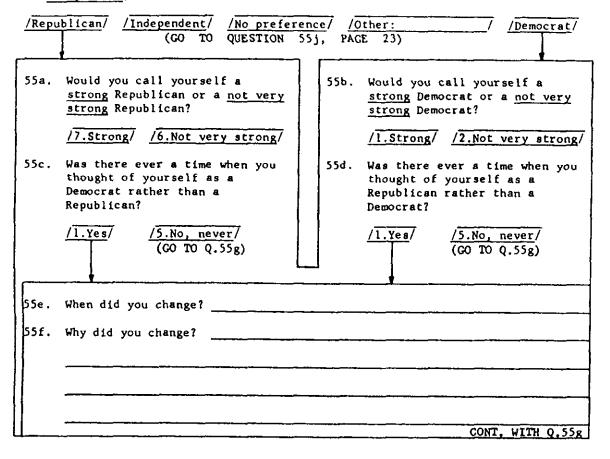
/1.Yes/ /5.No/

54. Would you say that one of the parties is more conservative or more liberal than the other at the national level?

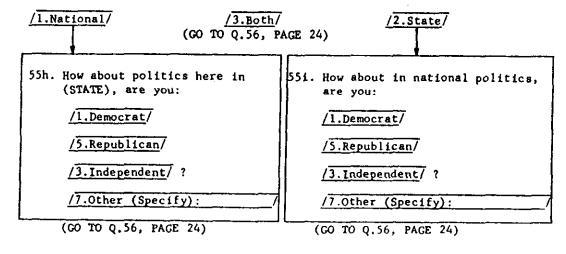
1.Yes	54b.	Which party is more conservative? /1.Democratic/ /5.Republica What do you have in mind when you say that the (R)(D) are more conservative than the (D)(R)? (Anything else?)
	54c.	Would you say the (R's)(D's) are a lot more conservative than the (D's)(R's) or only a little more conservative?
ĺ		/l.Lot more conservative/ /5.Little more/

5.No or 8.DK	54d.	Do you think that people generally consider the Democrats or the Republicans more conservative, or wouldn't you want to guess about that?
	54e.	/1.Dems more conserv./ /5.Reps more conserv./ /7.No guess/ (GO TO Q.55)  What do people have in mind when they say the (D's)(R's) are more conservative than the (R's)(D's)?

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



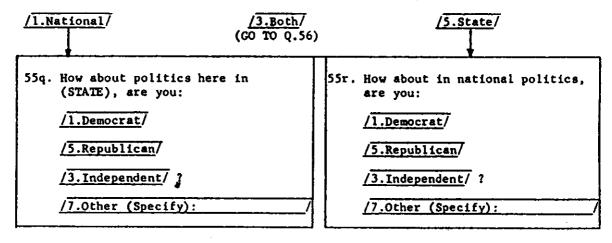
55g. Now when you say you are a (R)(D), are you thinking only of politics here in (STATE), or national politics, or both?



(IF R IS / INDEPENDENT/ /NO PREFERENCE/ /OTHER/)

55j. Do you think of yourself a party?	s closer to the <u>Republican</u>	or to the <u>Democratic</u>
/5.Republican/	/4.Neither/	/3.Democratic/
55k.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/ (GO TO Q.55p)  55n. When did you chan	when you thought of yourself as a Demo- crat or as a Repub- lican? (Which party was that?)  /1.Yes,Dem//S.No,never (GO TO Q.55p /3.Yes,Rep/	(GO TO Q.55p)
		CONT, WITH Q,55p

55p. Now when you say you (are an Independent/have no preference/are OTHER) are you thinking only of politics here in (STATE) or national politics or both?



	/1.Democrat/	/5.Republican/	/7.Other (SPECIFY) /
			/8.Don't know/
57.	Now how about your mother? When you were growing up did she think of herself mostly as a Democrat, as a Republican, or what?		
	/1.Democrat/	/5.Republican/	/7.Other (SPECIFY) /
			/8.Don't know/
(FOR	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/ /2.Both/ /3.Work in two major parties/ /8.Don't know,/ not sure /		
	/1.Work in own p		<del></del>

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

/3.A1	1/ /2.Most/ /1.Some/ /5.None/ /0.InapNot of voting age in 1968/ (CO TO Q.60) (GO TO Q.60)
59a.	Have you always voted for the same party or have you voted for different parties for president?
	(IF SAME)
	59b. Which party was that?
	/1.Democratic/ /5.Republican/ /7.Other /
59c.	Now in 1968 you remember that Mr. Nixon ran on the Republican ticket against Mr. Humphrey on the Democratic ticket 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/ (GO TO Q.60)
	59d. Which one did you vote for?
	/2.Nixon/ /1.Humphrey/ /3.Wallace/ /8.Don't know/ /7.Other/

60. Some people don't pay much attention to political campaigns. How about you? Would you say that you were very much interested, somewhat interested, or not much interested in following the political campaigns this year?

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

61. Do you happen to remember the names of the candidates for Congress -- that is, the House of Representatives in Washington -- that ran in this congressional district this November?

la.	Who are they?	
	Which party is (he/she)?	NAME PARTY
lc.	INTERVIEWER CHECK: ONE PA	RTY MENTIONED ASK Q.62
lc.		RTY MENTIONED ASK Q.62 HAN ONE PARTY MENTIONED, GO TO Q.63
lc.  2.	Do you happen to know if both	-

63. Do you happen to know which party had the most members in the House of Representatives in Washington <u>before</u> the election (this / last) month? (IF NECESSARY) Which one?

/1.Democrats/

/5.Republicans/

/8.Don't know/

64. Do you happen to know which party elected the most members to the House of Representatives in the election (this / last) month? (IF NECESSARY) Which one?

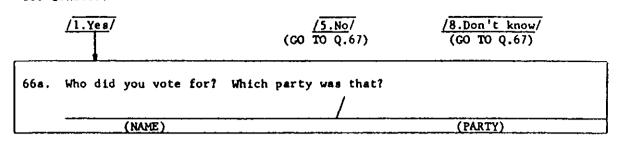
/1.Democrats/

/5.Republicans/

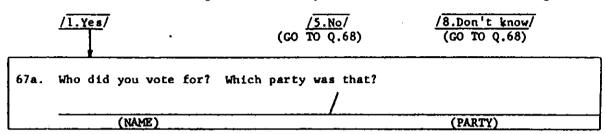
/8.Don't know/

65. In talking to people about the election we find that a lot of people weren't able to vote because they (were too young,) weren't registered, they were sick, or they just didn't have time. How about you, did you vote this time or did something keep you from voting?

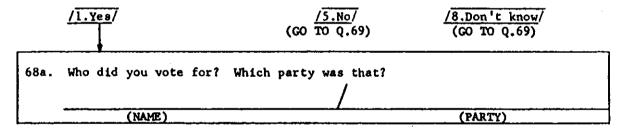
/1.Yes, voted/ (CONTINUE WITH Q.66) /5.No, didn't vote/ (GO TO Q.72) 66. How about the election for United States Senator? Did you vote for a candidate for Senator?



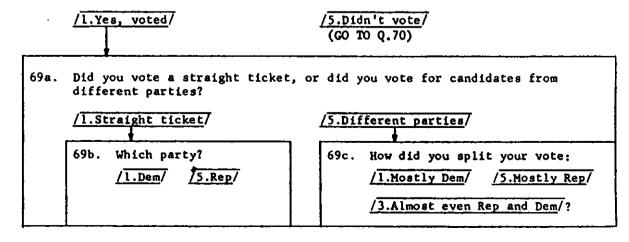
67. How about the vote for Congressman? Did you vote for a candidate for Congress?



68. How about the vote for Governor? Did you vote for a candidate for Governor?



69. Did you vote for other state and local offices?



70. In addition to voting for candidates for office, many states also have people vote on other problems at the same time. How about here? Were there any statewide propositions on the ballot for the people to vote on?

	/1.Yes/	/ <u>5.No</u> / (GO TO Q.72)	/8.Don't know/ (GO TO Q.72)
70a.	Were there any proposition	s you were particular!	ly interested in?
	/1.Yes/	$\frac{/5.\text{No}/}{(\text{GO TO Q.71})}$	/8.Don't know/ (GO TO Q.71)
	70b. Which were they?		

71. Did you vote on all, most, some, or none of these statewide propositions?

 $\frac{\sqrt{1.7}}{1.0}$  Voted on all propositions

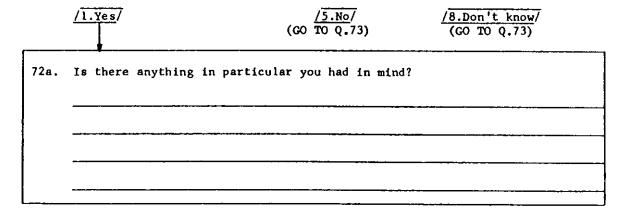
 $\sqrt{2.7}$  Voted on most propositions

 $\sqrt{3.7}$  Voted on some propositions

 $\sqrt{4.7}$  Didn't vote for any propositions

/8./ Don't know

72. In general, do you feel that more issues should be decided by voters at the polis?



(FOR	BLACK R	ESPONDENTS ONLY:)
<b>7</b> 3.	highly.	lso interested in learning what kinds of work Americans respect most Which of these occupations do you respect the most? (HAND CARD #10 ONDENT) What would be your second choice? Third choice?
		United States Senator
		Bishop or other church official
		General or admiral
		Famous doctor
	<del></del>	Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court
	<del></del>	Atomic scientist
		Professor at a large university
		President of the United States
		Well known athlete
		President of a large corporation like General Motors
		Governor of your state

74. Several political leaders have already been mentioned as possible candidates for President in 1972. We would like to get your feelings toward some of these people.

I have here a card (INTERVIEWER HANDS OVER CARD #11) 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  $50^\circ$  and  $100^\circ$ , 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  $0^{\circ}$  and  $50^{\circ}$ .

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 Eugene McCarthy. 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 EUGENE MCCARTHY.

		Rating			Rating
a.	Eugene McCarthy	<u> </u>	f.	Ronald Reagan	
Ъ.	Spiro Agnew		g.	John Lindsay	
с.	George McGovern		h.	Richard Nixon	
d.	Edward (Ted) Kennedy		í.	Hubert Humphrey	
е.	Edmund Muskie		j.	George Wallace	

75. As you know, there are many groups and persons in America that try to get the Government or the American people to see things more their way. Please use the thermometer again -- this time to indicate your feelings toward these groups or persons. Our first group is Black militants. Where would you put them on the thermometer?

		Rating			Rating
a.	Black militants		j.	The Military	
b.	Women's Liberation Movement	Matter also companies companies	k.	John Birch Society	
с.	Radical students		1.	People who go to rock festivals	
d.	Liberals		Φ.	People who riot in cities	
е.	People who use marijuana	<u> </u>	n.	Conservatives	
f.	Republicans		о.	Ministers who lead protest marches	
g.	Negroes		p.	Policemen	
h.	Democrats		q.	Civil rights	
i.	Whites			readera	

<u>/</u>		/8.Don't know/
If the United States be changed without s		sses a law, is there any way that the law co
/1.Yes/		$\frac{\sqrt{5.\text{No}}}{}$ (GO TO Q.78)
77a. How is that?		
//a. Now is chac:		
	<del></del>	
	<del> </del>	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
	<del> </del>	······································
Now many times can	an individual	he elected president of the United States?
•		be elected president of the United States?
•	an individual Times	be elected president of the United States?
•		<u> </u>
•		<u> </u>
	Times	<u> </u>
How long is the term	Times m of office fo	/O.Don't know/ or a United States Senator?
	Times m of office fo	/O.Don't know/
How long is the term	Times m of office fo	/O.Don't know/ or a United States Senator?
How long is the term	Times  m of office fo	/0.Don't know/ or a United States Senator? /0.Don't know/
How long is the term	Times  m of office fo	/O.Don't know/ or a United States Senator?

We w	ould n	ow like a li	ttle background	information on	you and your fa	mily.
Pl.	What	is your date	of birth?	(HONTH)	(DAY)	(YEAR)
P2.	divor	ced, separat	ow and living wed, or single?  ving with spouse  /3.Divo	e (or spouse in	service)/	re you widowed,  /2.Single/ (GO TO Q.P3)
	P2a.	Do you have /1.Yes/ How many?	any children?	/ <u>5.No</u> /	→ (GO TO Q.P3)	
	P2c.	What are the	eir ages?			

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

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

EMPLO	ployed/ /2.Unemployed/ /3.Retired/ /4.Housewife/ /5.Student/ /6.Other / (SPECIFY)  (GO TO Q.P4g) (GO TO Q.P4k / ON NEXT PAGE) /  YED)
P4a.	What kind of work do you do? (IF NECESSARY) What exactly do you do on your job?
P4b.	What kind of business is that?
P4c.	Do you work for yourself? $\frac{1.\text{Yes}}{5.\text{No}}$
P4d.	Do you work full time or part time? /1.Full time/ /3.Part time
P4e.	Have you been out of a job anytime in the past two years?
	$\frac{\overline{1.\text{Yes}}}{1}$ (CO TO Q.P5)
	P4f. When was that?
	FROM: 19 TO: 19 (YEAR) (MONTH) (YEAR) (GO TO Q.P5)
(UNEMP	LOYED OR RETIRED)
n/	What kind of work did you do when you were employed? (IF NECESSARY) What exactly did you do on your job?
rug.	
P4h.	What kind of business was that?
P4h.	What kind of business was that?

	(HOUSE	IFE, STUDENT, OTHER)	
	P4k.	Do you do any kind of work for pay?	_
		1. Yes/ (GO TO Q. P4o	)
		241. What kind of work is that? (IF NECESSARY) What ex on your job?	actly do you do
			,
		24m. What kind of business is that?	
		24n. Do you work for yourself? /1.Yes/	/5.No/
	P40.	Was there any time in the past two years when you were loout couldn't get a job?	oking for work,
		$\frac{\overline{\text{J.Yes}}}{\sqrt{5.\text{No}}} \longrightarrow (\text{GO TO Q.P5})$	:
		P4p. When was that? FROM: 19 TO (MONTH) (YEAR) (MONTH	
P5.	INTER	EWER: CHECK ONE	
		R IS FAMILY HEAD LIVING WITH SPOUSE(ASK Q.P6 AB	OUT R's SPOUSE)
		R IS FAMILY HEAD, NO SPOUSE IN HOUSEHOLD(GO TO Q.P7	•
		R IS NOT FAMILY HEAD(ASK Q.P6,	•
P6.	Is (t (a h	head/your spouse) presently employed, or is (he/she) unusewife), (a student), or what?	•
		loyed/ /2.Unemployed/ /3.Retired/ /4.Housewife/ /5.Studen	/ (SPECIFY) /
	(EMPLO		
	P6a.	That kind of work does (he/she) do? (IF NECESSARY) What (he/she) do on the job?	exactly does
	Р6Ь.	that kind of business is that?	
	P6c.	Does (he/she) work for (him/her) self? /1.Yes/	/5.No/
	P6d.	Ooes (he/she) work full time or part time? /1.Full time	
	P6e.	is (he/she) been out of a job anytime in the past two ye $\frac{\sqrt{1.\text{Yes}}}{1} \longrightarrow \text{(GO TO Q.P7)}$	ars?
		6f. When was that?	
		FROM: 19 TO: (MONTH) 1 (MONTH)	9 (YEAR)
			(GO TO 0, P7)

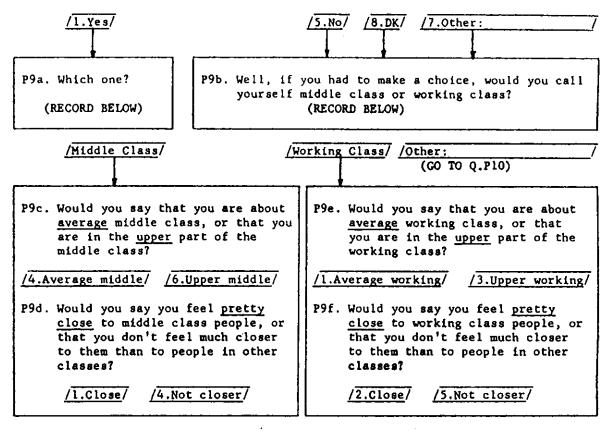
(UNEMI	PLOYED OR RETIRED)
P6g.	What kind of work did (he/she) do when (he/she) was employed? (IF NECESSARY) What exactly did (he/she) do on the job?
P6h.	What kind of business was that?
P61.	Did (he/she) work for (him/her) self? /1.Yes/ /5.No/
P6j.	How long has it been since (he/she) was working?
	OR OR
	OR OR (MONTHS) OR (YEARS)
	(GO TO Q.P7)
P6k.	Does (she/he) do any kind of work for pay? $\frac{\sqrt{1.Yes}}{} \longrightarrow (GO \text{ TO Q.P6o})$
	77.100 — (60 10 Q.100)
	P61. What kind of work is that? (IF NECESSARY) What exactly does (he/she) do on the job?
	P6m. What kind of business is that?
	P6n. Does (he/she) work for (him/her)self? /1.Yes/ /5.No/
P60.	Was there any time in the past two years when (he/she) was looking for work, but couldn't get a job?
	$\frac{\sqrt{1.\text{Yes}}}{}$ (GO TO Q.P7)
	P6p. When was that?
	FROM: 19 TO 19 (YEAR) (MONTH) (YEAR)

(ASK V	MERE	HEAD HAS A FARM OCCUPATION EITHER FULL OR PART TIME)
P7. (	(Do y	ou/Does head) do any other kind of work besides farming for pay, I mean? $\frac{\sqrt{1.\text{Yes}}}{} \qquad \qquad \frac{\sqrt{5.\text{No}}}{} \longrightarrow \text{(GO TO Q.P8)}$
1	P7a.	What kind of work is that?
	P7b.	About how much time (do you/does head) usually put in on that?  hours per week for weeks per year
1	P7c.	Do you /1.own/ your farm, /2.manage/ it, /3,rent/ it or what?

P8. Does anyone in this household belong to a labor union?

	/1,Yes/	/5.No/ → (GO TO Q.P9)			
P8a.	Who is it that belongs? (CHECK AS MANY AS APPLICABLE)	/Respondent/	/Head (not R)/	/Someone else / / in household/	
P8b.	What union is that? (What unions are those?) (e.g., UAW, UMW, AFT, ILGU)				
P8c.	About how long (have you/ has he) belonged to this union?				

P9. There's been some talk these days about different social classes. Most people say they belong either to the <u>middle class</u> or to the <u>working class</u>? Do you ever think of yourself as belonging in one of these classes?



P10. In what social class do you think other people would place you?

P11. What would you say your family was when you were growing up:

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

P12. I	Is your religious preference Protestan	t, Catholic, Jewish or something else?		
/	/l.Protestant/ /3.Roman Catholic/	/5.Jewish/ /7.Other: /		
-		(SPECIFY)		
کے	(IF PROTESTANT)			
F	Pl2a. What church is that, Baptist, M	ethodist or what?		
L				
(IF SOR	ME CHURCH PREFERENCE)			
P13. V	Would you say you go to church			
,	/1.Almost every/ /2.Once or twice a/ week / / month /	/3.A few times/ or /4.Never/ ? / a year /		
L				
P14.	Where were you born? (IF UNITED STATE	S) Which state?		
•				
(DO NO	T ASK OF NEGROES OR FOREIGN-BORN)			
P15.	Were both your parents born in this co	untry?		
	/ <u>5.No</u> /	/1.Yes/ /8.Don't know/		
_				
	Pl5a. Which country was your father born in?	Do you remember which country your family came from originally on your father's side?		
	P15b. Which country was your mother born in?	on your mother's side?		
	(IF MORE THAN ONE NATIONALITY MENTIONED)			
	PlSe. Aside from being American, what family being mainly?	nationality do you think of your		
1				

P23. How would you compare this neighborhood with the one you left:

/5.01der/

/3.About the same/ ?

/3.About the/

same / ?

/5.More expensive/ /3.About the same/?

/5.Further out from/

/ center of city /

/l.Newer/

/l.Less expensive/

/l.Closer to center/

of the city /

a. Is this one:

b. Is it:

c. Is it:

p24.	Many people don't know their exact 1970 income yet; but would you tell me as best you can what you expect your 1970 total family income to bebefore taxes? You may just tell me the letter of the group on this card into which your family income will probably fail. (HAND R CARD \$12)  /A.Under \$1000/ /B.\$1000-1999/ /C.\$2000-2999/ /D.\$3000-3999/ /E.\$4000-4999/ /F.\$5000-7499/ /G.\$7500-9999/ /H.\$10,000-14,999/
-25	/I.\$15,000-24,999/ /J.\$25,000 and over/
P25.	Do you own your own home here, or rent, or what?
	/1.Own/ /2.Rent/ OTHER: (EXPLAIN)
	INTERVIEWER: GO TO RESPONDENT INFORMATION SHEET
	INTERVIEWER'S SUPPLEMENT
P26.	Respondent's sex is: /1.Male/ /2.Female/
P27.	Respondent's race is: /1.White/ /2.Negro/ OTHER:
P28.	Relationship of R to head: /1.Is head/ /2.Is wife/ OTHER:
P29.	Other persons present at interview were: /None/ /Children under 6/ (CHECK MORE THAN ONE BOX IF NECESSARY)
	/Older children/ /Spouse/ /Other relatives/ /Other adults/
P30.	Respondent's cooperation was:
	/1.Very good/ /2.Good/ /3.Fair/ /4.Poor/ /5.Very poor/
Р31.	Respondent's general interest in politics and public affairs seemed:
	/1. Very high/ /2. Fairly high/ /3. Average/ /4. Fairly low/ /5. Very low/
P32.	Respondent's general <u>level of information</u> about politics and public affairs seemed:
	/l. Very high/ /2. Fairly high/ /3. Average/ /4. Fairly low/ /5. Very low/

## THUMBNAIL SKETCH