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- ☐ Take 2 Practice Interviews - one with each form of the questionnaire.
- ☐ Send 1 Practice Interview to the Field Office and the other to your supervisor.
- ☐ See "Call Procedures" for list of priorities on when to interview.
- ☐ Reinterview the exact same Pre-election respondent on the Post-election study.
- ☐ Use the GREEN Respondent Booklet with BOTH FORMS of the questionnaire.
- ☐ Match cover sheets with appropriate form of the questionnaire.
- ☐ November 8 - December 17 Study Dates  
90% of interviewing to be completed.

START EARLY - FINISH ON TIME!



## WHAT THIS STUDY IS ABOUT, AND WHY

You are interviewing on one of the most exciting political studies ever undertaken in this country, and also on one of the longest. We thought you'd like to know some of the reasons for both of these conditions.

As in past election studies we are still chiefly interested in voting behavior — how the candidates, parties and issues affect the current political behavior of the respondent. However, over a year ago we decided to broaden the planning of the 1972 election study to include much more of the political science community than it has in the recent past. Through a series of conferences, a group of five political scientists from around the country emerged as potential major participants in this study, along with those of us at Michigan. We shared with these five, a strong interest in a theme that has begun to grow in importance in American voting research — "system support," that is, how, why, and indeed whether people support our whole system of government. We submitted an ambitious — albeit expensive — proposal to our best potential source of funding, The National Science Foundation. Although it was accepted, it was not supported at anything like the level we had hoped. Traces of the initial six-way investigation of system support are still evident in the questionnaire, and these provide fascinating material for political scientists.

To supplement the initial NSF grant we invited the participation of several ISR colleagues in closely-related disciplines — particularly, economic behavior and social psychology. Their financial contributions have made it possible for a full study to be performed, but at the same time we were left with a very difficult choice. We could hold the interview length down to the normal hour or so, leaving the Center for Political Studies with a very small body of traditional political information in the questionnaire; or we could let the interviews run longer. Our decision was to go with the extra length — and we think that the study we've put together in the throes of the funding game is so unique and so important that you'll give us all the help we need in bringing it off.

To briefly run down the contents of this post-election study, let's begin with the "political" sections, compiled under the direction of Dr. Warren Miller of the Center for Political Studies. As in the Pre-Election Study, we have tried to put material that is useful chiefly for analyzing the 1972 election in Form I, and material that is useful chiefly for exploring system support in Form II. If you have worked on election studies before, you'll find some old friends. We ask half our respondents — those who got Form I of the questionnaire — about their attention to the campaign through the mass media, and we ask all of them about other forms of political participation, such as general interest in public affairs, letter-writing, and actual involvement in the campaign. This information is in Section B. In section C, we get the most critical information of all — how they voted this year, not only for President, but for other offices as well. In Section G of Form II, and Section H of both forms, we find out



about system support through a familiar set of questions aimed at cynicism, political efficacy, and related concepts of personal efficacy and trust. In Section J of both forms, we ask about issues, and this year we are asking for more information on more issues than ever before. We think we've hit all the important themes of this campaign — Vietnam, busing, drugs, crime in the streets, the economy, race — as well as others that we think have a deep effect on people's faith in the system — disorders in the cities and on the campus, for example. In Section K of both forms, we have the respondent place the candidates as well as many groups in American society on the "feeling thermometer," which has proven to be a most useful measurement of people's feelings about other people. Also, we are trying some new questions about these social groups — how much influence they have, how much conflict or cooperation there is between them, and how "liberal" or "conservative" some of them seem to be to the respondent. Finally, in Section U of Form I, we try to find out if the respondent has at his command a few basic facts about the elections that are unfolding before him.

In Sections A, E, and F of Form II you'll find our new questions on system support. We try first to see whether the respondent is more pleased with some parts of the system than with others. Then, we ask him to tell us about the biggest problem in his life and the biggest problem he sees for the country as a whole. Our interest is in seeing whether he worries about political things, whether he magnifies his own problems into national problems, and whether he relates his own worries to the world of politics. Finally, we try to get at his feelings on the state of the nation — whether he thinks everything is all right, or that something is very wrong.

Section L of Form II and Section S of Form I probe into the respondent's satisfaction with life in general and with several areas that make up one's life — family, job, neighborhood, health, material possessions, and so forth. These sections are part of the on-going "Quality of Life" research at the Institute under the direction of Doctors Frank Andrews and Steve Withey, and you can see the potential for tying this kind of information about a person into what he tells us about his faith in the system and about his reactions to incumbent officeholders.

Similarly, Sections M, N, and X of both Forms are part of Gerald and Patricia Gurin's research into personal "control" and efficacy — that is, the extent to which people feel that they, rather than some outside force, run their own lives. A wide range of sub-topics is covered here — the groups people identify with and how influential they feel their groups are; "system blame" — (whether people blame the system, or the individual, for the socially inferior positions of poor people, minorities, and women); whether people take risks; whether they've ever tried to change the direction in which their lives were going, and how it turned out if they did try. We've taken pains to integrate this part of the study as tightly as possible with the political sections. Thus, you'll note that the groups we ask about are for the most part the same from section to section, so that we embed the respondent's own group identity into a map of his perceptions of all the other groups. Also, the system support researchers will be able to make great use of the data on people's frustrations and



daily concerns, while the social psychologists will in turn have all the political and social-group data to work with.

The same analytical versatility should hold true for the Personal Trust items in Section W of Form I, and the Cultural Attitude questions in Section T of both Forms. The former are a contribution of Dr. Ki-Taek Chun, a social-psychologist at the Institute, and the latter were compiled by the Center for Political Studies.

Sections D and R of Form I are the Fall Quarterly survey of the economic behavior program, under Burkhard Strumple and Jay Schmiedeskamp. Even these sections should produce data of genuine use to the other participants in the study — if people do indeed devote most of their everyday worries to making ends meet, then such information will help explain both political behavior and one's feelings of satisfaction and control in life.

Thus, you can see that a by-product of our scramble for funds is an unprecedented venture in social research. Three disciplines are cooperating toward a multi-faceted integrated data set, with analysis potential for both the political and the personal, for both the short-term description of events and the long-term building of theory on the general question that we're all involved in asking — what makes man, the social being, tick.

You must interview the  
same person who was the  
respondent on the  
Pre-election Study!

NO SUBSTITUTIONS  
for any reason!

FIELD NOTES

Study Dates: Wednesday, November 8 - December 17  
 .....December 18 - January 1 to finish up

Please burn the first set of dates into your memory and use the 2nd set only for emergencies. We need 90% of the reinterviews completed by December 17. There are several reasons for this tight schedule. The first is that the post-election study is combined with the fourth quarter economic study and a report on economic attitudes must be completed and issued before Christmas. Since presidential elections influence economic attitudes, we are eager to have these interviews taken as soon after the election as possible. We want to cram as many interviews as possible into the period immediately following the election in order to take advantage of the respondents' recollections of that event. The farther the interview gets from the election the more diluted the respondents' reaction to it.

The study period includes Thanksgiving and we know from experience that this is not a productive time for interviewing. If we take off four days for Thanksgiving we have a study period of 36 days in which to obtain the bulk of our interviews. Clearly, an early, not to say immediate start on Wednesday, November 8 is essential. The period after December 17 may be used to interview those few remaining respondents who were unavailable before the 17th. These interviews cannot be used for the economic report (although the economic questions should be asked) but will be useful to the other participants.

Mailing Schedule

<u>Week</u>		<u>Minimum percentage of assignment to be covered and mailed</u>
1st	November 8 - November 11	10%
2nd	November 12 - November 18	30%
3rd	November 19 - November 25	50%
4th	November 26 - December 2	62%
5th	December 3 - December 9	82%
6th	December 10 - December 17	96%
7th & 8th	December 18 - December 31	100%

Experience Points

You will receive 1 experience point for each interview taken on this study.



### Whom to Interview

The basic sample for this study consists of reinterviews with each person interviewed on the pre-election study. You must interview the same person who was the respondent on the pre-election study. There can be NO SUBSTITUTIONS.

### Cover Sheets

We will be returning pre-election cover sheets to the Office Contact in each PSU. Where it is practical we would like to have the same interviewer conduct the re-interview. The bulk of these cover sheets will be sent out with the study materials. Cover sheets received after October 20 will be returned to the Office Contact in small batches.

After the cover sheets have been distributed to the interviewers they should be turned "inside out" and completely filled out for the post-election reinterview. It is essential that the Office Contact keep close track of the assignment of each interviewer in the PSU.

### Movers

Item 7 on the post-election cover sheet gives instructions for the cases where the pre-election respondent has moved. If you discover that the respondents new address is within 50 miles of an interviewer in your PSU, try to obtain the interview. If the respondent has moved farther than 50 miles, obtain the new address and return the cover sheet to the Field Office for possible reassignment.

### Questionnaire Forms

As in the pre-election study there are two distinct forms of the questionnaire. The reinterview uses the same form of the questionnaire as the interview. If the cover sheet says Form I, use Form I of the questionnaire. To avoid confusion with pre-election study materials we have made the face of post-election questionnaires different colors.

QUESTIONNAIRE	POST-ELECTION	PRE-ELECTION	COVER SHEETS
FORM I	..... Pale Yellow	..... White	..... White
FORM II	..... Light Grey	..... Buff	..... Buff

### Questionnaire Listing Box

On the front (face) of each questionnaire is a listing box. Please copy the household listing (columns a, b, c, and h) from the cover sheet. Be sure to check the respondent in column h. It is always useful and often important for the coder to know the household composition and since the cover sheet does not accompany the questionnaire to coding this is the best way to give coders this information.

NOTE: The questions begin on the inside of the face sheet. Enough interviewers started on page 2 instead of page 1 of the pre-election questionnaire for us to issue this reminder.

### Call Procedures

Start interviewing immediately after the election. Finish the study in your PSU as soon as possible. This is not simply a routine request because we believe early interviewing on this study will be even more beneficial than usual. On past election studies we have found that accuracy of the stated vote deteriorates rapidly as time passes after the election. In 1968 the interviews taken during the first weeks after the election accurately reflected the vote, but those taken in the final weeks overstated the Nixon vote by about 10%. We also know that it is easier to get interviews shortly after the election than later on. At that time respondents are still highly attuned to political affairs, and see the value of being interviewed again. They like talking about the election while it is still fresh in their minds more than when it is old news and their thoughts have turned to Thanksgiving trips, Christmas shopping and holiday plans. Furthermore, news events are likely to happen which may have an effect on respondents reported vote and attitudes. Therefore please try to get as many interviews as soon after the election as possible. Don't let work on other studies interfere with the post-election study. Unless you have already made appointments you may delay interviewing on other studies to give priority to election interviews. Please don't let cover sheets sit around if you are unable to work during this period. Although it is usually desirable to have the same interviewer call back, it is even more important to get the interview early, so if you are sick or can't interview during this critical period try to arrange to have your assignment covered by another Survey Research Center interviewer. You can then split assignments on the delegate study or a January project to make up for work you lost.

Although it is important to edit and mail work soon after it is done, the more important activity right after the election is interviewing. We don't want editing piling up, but if push comes to shove -- interview.

Finally, wherever possible, try to give priority to reinterviewing those pre-election respondents who were first interviewed in October or early November -- those marked "interview 2nd half" on the pre-election. If these people are interviewed early we will have a group for whom the time between pre and post interview is minimal and we will be able to study with greater precision the effects of time lapse on response. We're leaving it to your judgment as to how closely this priority is followed. We don't want interviews sacrificed in favor of this priority, but if you have to make a choice as to what to do please give heavy preference to doing these quickly.

Here are a few tips which may facilitate successful completion of interviewing on this study:

- a. Look over the pre-election call record for information about good times to interview that respondent.
- b. Consider information from the listing box about the respondent's age, sex, and household composition along with what you remember about employment, church going etc. This may help you plan your calls most efficiently.
- c. Where weather may hinder your getting the interview later in the interviewing period, take the interview as soon as possible.



### Obtaining a Good Response Rate

In past post-election studies we have usually succeeded in interviewing more than 90% of the pre-election respondents. Having both pre and post measures is essential to the study design and a high percentage of re-interviews is extremely important. For this reason there is no limit on the number of calls you should make to obtain a reinterview.

If you get a refusal, it has proved effective to have another interviewer try. Often just a different person calling at the address will impress the respondent with the importance of his being interviewed.

Please write and request a persuasion letter, if you feel a personal letter from the office might reverse a refusal or potential refusal. In a request for a persuasion letter include the following information:

- (1) mailing address, plus segment and line number;
- (2) person in HU you want letter to go to (identify by relationship to head, or name if necessary and available);
- (3) circumstances of refusal - if some other person kept you from getting to the specific respondent, let us know so that we may adapt the letter to the respondent and the situation;
- (4) any information you might have about the respondent and/or household which might be useful in adapting the letter to the individual circumstances;
- (5) the name of the interviewer who attempted the interview in the first place and the name of the interviewer who will call back after the respondent has received the persuasion letter.

The letter we send may not always reflect all the information you send in your request for a persuasion letter, because whenever possible we will use the standard persuasion letter composed for this study, but we do need to have the types of information listed above so that we will at least not send a letter which is inappropriate in any way. And, if you furnish us complete information, you will equip us to write a relevant and perhaps effective letter if time pressures in the office permit.

We will send a carbon copy of the persuasion letter to you and your supervisor on the same day we send the original to the respondent.

### Contacting Local Authorities

Since this study is the second phase of the election study, we assume that the contact you made with authorities before the pre-election interviewing will suffice. However, Office Contacts should call local authorities with the names of any new interviewers who will be working on the study.

### Editing Interviews

It is easy to put off editing an interview, but the best time to edit is right after the interview is taken, while you can still remember the situation and the respondent vividly. Read through each interview as though you had never seen it before to make sure that the responses will be clear to those of us not present during the interview. Keep the following points in mind while you are editing:

1. Write out a full thumbnail sketch to give editors and coders a good idea of the interviewing situation. Coders read the thumbnail sketch before starting to code the interview to get an idea of the type of person you spoke with. When you write a thumbnail, think of it as an introduction to the interview - use it to acquaint the coder (who of course was not present during the interview) with this particular respondent. If you have a question or request, NEVER write it in the thumbnail sketch. Instead, write it out on an Immediate Action Form and attach it to the outside of the questionnaire. This is the only way you can be sure that someone in the Field Office will receive your memo.
2. Clarify all unclear responses. Be sure to put parentheses around these notes to indicate that they are your additions and not the respondent's words.
3. Indicate all probes and any other remarks you made during the interview. Again, please put parentheses around these probes and comments.
4. Make sure the questions you mark "Inap" are really inappropriate ACCORDING TO THE QUESTIONNAIRE INSTRUCTIONS. Clearly mark inappropriate questions with "Inap" or "X." "Omitted" should be used when you have intentionally not asked an appropriate question; always give your reason for omitting the question. "Skipped" should be used when you discover during editing that an appropriate question was unintentionally not asked.
5. We don't want you to worry about handwriting while you are interviewing. Keep in mind, however, that the information you record is useless if the coders cannot read your writing! While editing please rewrite any unclear letters or words.

Some confusion seems to exist concerning "erasing." You may certainly erase letters or words to rewrite them for legibility. However, please never erase any recording of what a respondent has said. We want to know everything a respondent said during the interview, and it is extremely difficult to make out erased passages. If you should realize that a question shouldn't have been asked, etc., simply "X" out or "Inap" the response (or the check mark). There is always a possibility that we may get some revealing information from a question that was asked by mistake.

6. Make sure that the cover sheet is completely filled out and your interviewer's label and interview identification items are on the questionnaire, the cover sheet, the green booklet and the blue telephone sheet.



Materials You Should Have

(NOTE: all materials on this study will be sent to the Office Contact with the exception of a few metropolitan areas where we will send 1st Class packets of materials for practice interviews so the interviewers will not have to wait for the general distribution of materials.)

Instruction Books for Form I (light blue) . . . . .	1 per interviewer plus extras
Instruction Books for Form II (dark blue) . . . . .	1 per interviewer plus extras
Questionnaires - Form I (yellow). . . . .	1 per reinterview cover sheet plus extras
Questionnaires - Form II (grey) . . . . .	1 per reinterview cover sheet plus extras
Respondent Booklet (green) for use with both forms of questionnaire - Section N. . . . .	1 per sample address plus extras
Telephone Sheets (blue) . . . . .	1 per sample address plus extras
Interviewers Cards. . . . .	1 per sample address
Show Cards. . . . .	3 sets per interviewer
Spanish Show Cards. . . . .	where appropriate
Interviewer Evaluation Forms. . . . .	1 per interviewer
Sample Address Summary Forms (white). . . . .	Enough to cover individual assignment for each interviewer plus extras
Progress Report and Project Completion Forms. . . . .	1 set per PSU

Practice Interviews

Because there is no pre-study conference we would like to have each interviewer take two practice interviews--one with each form of the questionnaire. Send one of your practice interviews (it doesn't matter which one) to your supervisor and one to the Field Office. Both practice interviews will be returned to you as soon as possible with an evaluation sheet. Hopefully this will help give you an idea of the kinds of things we look for in completed interviews. Since we want you to start interviewing at dawn on November 8 you will, in most cases, be taking your practice interviews before the election. It will be close enough to the election so the tense of most questions will be allright; for the questions asking directly-- "for whom did you vote?" you will have to change the tense and ask "for whom will you vote?". You may want to make these changes right in your practice interview questionnaires to avoid stumbling when you are interviewing.

### Interviewer Evaluation Forms

Please do fill out your evaluation of the questionnaire. Although new questions are pretested before a national survey goes into the field, there are sometimes difficult or awkward places which only you interviewers can make us aware of. Your comments are not only welcome but essential to us in trying to improve questions and questionnaire format. We need your help!

### Show Cards

Show cards are to be used, as usual, when they are called for in the questionnaire. Don't let your respondent write on the cards - you have only three sets. As on the pre-election study. We have had the show cards translated into Spanish. These have been sent to PSUs that traditionally have some Spanish speaking respondents.

Note that the show card sets are for use with both forms of the questionnaire. You will have to flip over those cards not appropriate for the form you are administering.

### Progress Report and Project Completion Forms

We will use the Progress Report Forms in the usual manner. There are two forms for each week of the study. The office contact should send one form to her supervisor, promptly, on the date specified on the bottom of the form; the other she should keep for her files.

There are three Project Completion Forms for the last two weeks of the study; one is to be sent to the supervisor, one to the Field Office, and one is for the office contact's files.

Two copies of the Progress Report Form are included in the back of this instruction book for use by interviewers in keeping track of their own progress. When you are using this form yourself, use one column for EACH WEEK of the study rather than for each interviewer.

It is each interviewer's responsibility to notify the office contact each week about individual sample assignments so that the office contact can make out a complete weekly report for the supervisor and keep her own record of PSU progress on her green sample address summary forms.

### Report to Respondents

We are not sending report request cards because we are planning to send a report to all respondents who complete both Pre- and Post- interviews. We will have names because you will be getting them at the end of the Post-Election interview.



### Telephone Sheets

Use the blue telephone sheet (Respondent Information Sheet) to record the information asked for on the last pages of both forms of the questionnaire. Record the telephone number -- if the respondent has a phone and will give you the number.

Since we hope to use the 1972 election respondents as the first wave of a panel to be reinterviewed in 1974, we are most anxious to obtain the respondent's name and mailing address as well as the name and address of someone who could help us locate the respondent if he moves.

There is a question on the last page of interview leading to the telephone sheet. Please notice that there is also a question on the telephone sheet; item 11, asking about the name and address of a relative or friend.

Please be certain that neither the respondent's name nor his telephone number appear anywhere in the interview itself and reassure the respondent that the confidentiality of the questionnaire will be maintained when the interview reaches our office. The telephone sheet and cover sheet are immediately separated from the questionnaire. From then on, all interviews are identified by the number assigned in the order in which the interview was received. The cover sheets and telephone sheets are filed separately -- under "lock and key."

In view of these two long election interviews, it would be well to stress that we won't be calling back for at least two years.

### Mailing Rules

Please mail all materials (interviews, cover sheets, blue folders, etc.) to us in FIRST CLASS manila envelopes preaddressed to the Field Office.

Mail all interviews yourself at main Post Offices or boxes that you are certain have regular pickups. NEVER, NEVER, NEVER give interviews to another person to mail for you; other people are not as concerned about these interviews as you are.

REMINDER: Do not put any correspondence, emergency or otherwise, inside a cover sheet, blue folder, or questionnaire, as the chances of finding them in time to do something about the problem are miniscule. Paper clip memos to the OUTSIDE of questionnaires or folders if you wish to call attention to a problem within.

Mail interviews and cover sheets (including noninterviews) in groups of three unless you have not completed three within the seven-day period following your last mailing. If you have not completed three during that seven-day period, mail however many you have completed, one or two. Simply insert the questionnaire along with any blue booklets and Religion Information Forms into the cover sheet for mailing.

\*\*\*\*\*PLEASE NEVER HOLD COMPLETED INTERVIEWS LONGER THAN ONE WEEK AND  
DO NOT COLLECT MORE THAN THREE INTERVIEWS BEFORE MAILING!!!!!!

1972 POST-ELECTION  
STUDY

## FORM I


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

## 7. Interviewer's Label

2. P S U \_\_\_\_\_
3. Your Interview No. \_\_\_\_\_
4. Date \_\_\_\_\_
5. Length of Interview \_\_\_\_\_  
(Minutes)
6. Time at Start of Interview \_\_\_\_\_

INTERVIEWER: COPY COLUMNS (a), (b), (c), and (h) COMPLETELY FROM COVER SHEET FOR THIS RE-INTERVIEW.

[illegible]



NOTE THAT QUESTIONS BEGIN ON PAGE 1 (INSIDE OF FACE SHEET)

B: PARTICIPATION

- B1. We're interested in this interview in finding out whether people paid much attention to the election campaign this year. Take newspapers for instance—did you read much about the campaign this year in any newspaper?

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

↓  
GO TO B2

- B1a. How much did you read newspaper articles about the election—regularly, often, from time to time, or just once in a great while?

1. REGULARLY	2. OFTEN	3. TIME TO TIME	4. ONCE IN A GREAT WHILE	8. DK
--------------	----------	-----------------	--------------------------	-------

- B1b. What paper did you read most for news about politics? \_\_\_\_\_

- B2. How about radio--did you listen to any speeches or discussions about the campaign on the radio?

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

↓  
GO TO B3

- B2a. How many programs about the campaign did you listen to on the radio—a good many, several, or just one or two?

1. GOOD MANY	2. SEVERAL	3. JUST ONE OR TWO	8. DK
--------------	------------	--------------------	-------

- B3. How about magazines—did you read about the campaign in any magazines?

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

↓  
TURN TO P. 2, B4

- B3a. How many magazine articles about the campaign would you say you read—a good many, several, or just one or two?

1. GOOD MANY	2. SEVERAL	3. JUST ONE OR TWO	8. DK
--------------	------------	--------------------	-------

**B: PARTICIPATION**

B1. On B1b, it is obviously important that you get the full name of the paper if R can supply it. "The Tribune" won't help us much — there must be 500 papers in this country called "The Tribune".

B1-B6 are traditional and straightforward items on R's attention to — and potential influence by — the media and the parties.

B2.

B3.



- B4. How about television--did you watch any programs about the campaign on television?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DK

GO TO B5

- B4a. How many television programs about the campaign would you say you watched--a good many, several, or just one or two?

1. GOOD MANY

2. SEVERAL

3. JUST ONE OR TWO

8. DK

- B5. How fair and accurate do you find television news reporting? Would you say TV news coverage is usually fair and accurate, sometimes fair and accurate, or rarely fair and accurate?

1. USUALLY FAIR AND ACCURATE

3. SOMETIMES FAIR AND ACCURATE

5. RARELY FAIR AND ACCURATE

8. DK

- B6. As you know, the political parties try to talk to as many people as they can, to get them to vote for their candidate. Did anybody from one of the political parties call you up or come around and talk to you about the campaign?

1. YES

5. NO

GO TO B7

- B6a. Which party was that?

1. REPUBLICANS

5. DEMOCRATS

3. BOTH  
REP & DEM

4. AMERICAN  
INDEPENDENT

7. OTHER: SPECIFY \_\_\_\_\_

8. DK

- B7. Now I'd like to find out about some of the things that people do to help a party or a candidate win an election. During the campaign, did you talk to any people and try to show them why they should vote for one of the parties or candidates?

1. YES

5. NO

B4.

B5.

B6.

B7.

B7-B11 are traditional and straightforward items on participation in this year's campaign. Make sure R is not answering in terms of activities he has performed in the past.



B8. Did you go to any political meetings, rallies, dinners, or things like that?

1. YES

5. NO

B9. Did you do any other work for one of the parties or candidates?

1. YES

5. NO

B10. Did you wear a campaign button or put a campaign sticker on your car?

1. YES

5. NO

B11. Did you give any money to a political party this year?

1. YES

5. NO → GO TO B12

B11a. To which party was that?

1. DEM

3. BOTH  
DEM &  
REPU

2. REP

4. AMERICAN  
INDEPENDENT

7. OTHER; SPECIFY  
\_\_\_\_\_

8. DK

B12. Aside from this particular election campaign, here are some other ways people can be involved in politics. Have you ever written a letter to any public officials giving them your opinion about something that should be done?

1. YES

5. NO, NEVER

B13. Have you ever written a letter to the editor of a newspaper or magazine giving any political opinions?

1. YES

5. NO, NEVER

B8.

B9.

B10.

B11. Do not let the wording of this question discourage you from recording any contribution R may have made to a specific candidate but did not think of as a gift to the entire party. In the case of the Presidential candidates in the primary campaigns, this may be a common response; record the name ("Muskie," "Wallace," etc.) under OTHER, and let us worry about it in coding,

B12. In B12, we specifically want to exclude from the YES category those instances where R has responded to a constituency questionnaire initiated by an officeholder.

For B12-B14, make sure R understands that we now are interested in past years, and that any performance of these activities anytime in the past constitutes a YES answer.

B13.



4

B14. Some people seem to follow what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time, whether there's an election going on or not. Others aren't that interested. Would you say you follow what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time, some of the time, only now and then, or hardly at all?

1. MOST OF THE TIME

2. SOME OF THE TIME

3. ONLY NOW AND THEN

4. HARDLY AT ALL

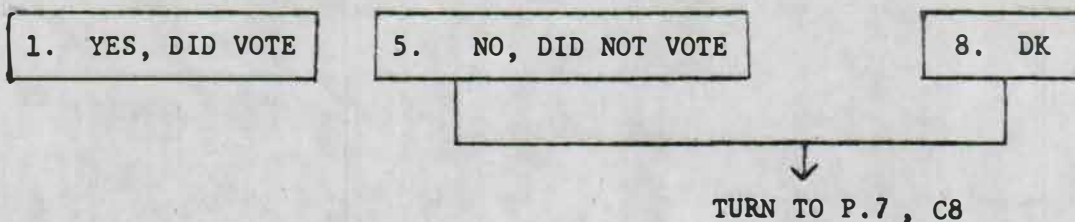
8. DK

B14.

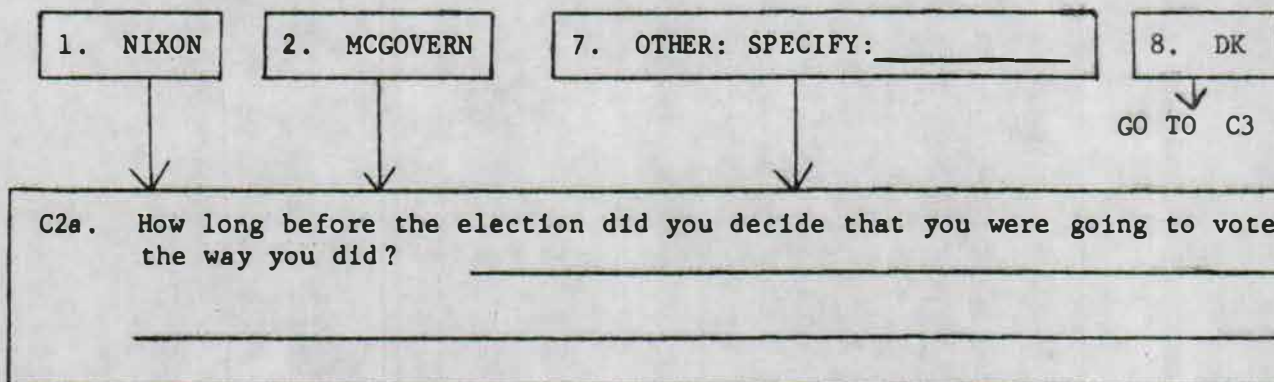


INTERVIEWER SEE INSTRUCTION MANUAL FOR C3 AND C5 BEFORE ASKING THIS SECTION

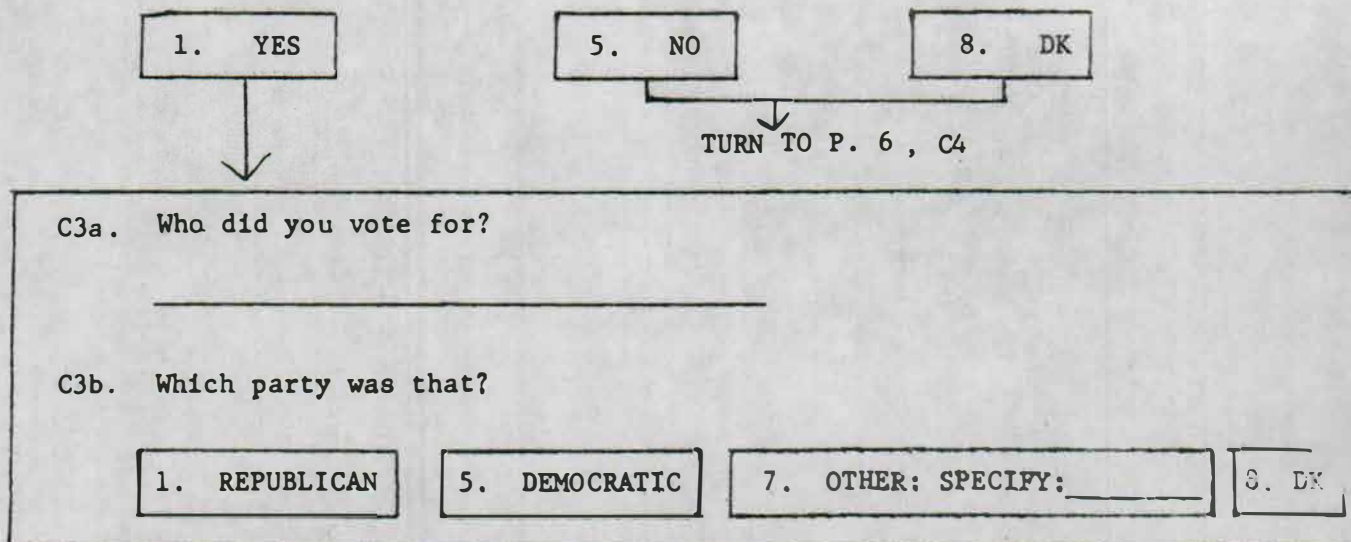
- C1. In talking to people about elections, we often find that a lot of people weren't able to vote because they weren't registered, or they were sick, or they just didn't have time. How about you--did you vote in the elections this fall?



- C2. Who did you vote for in the election for President?



- C3. How about the election for United States Senator? Did you vote for a candidate for Senator?



C: VOTING

C1.

Please note that if R did not vote  
(NO or DK in C1), he is to be  
skipped all the way to E1.

C2.

C3. There are NO states this year  
with two Senate fights, so  
that won't be a problem. The  
following states do not have any  
Senate fights this year, and  
R's in these states should  
NOT be asked C3.

Arizona	New York
California	North Dakota
Connecticut	Ohio
Florida	Pennsylvania
Hawaii	Utah
Indiana	Washington
Maryland	Wisconsin
Missouri	
Nevada	



C4. How about the election for Congressman--that is, for the House of Representatives in Washington? Did you vote for a candidate for Congress?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DK

GO TO C5

C4a. Who did you vote for?

\_\_\_\_\_

C4b. Which party was that?

1. REPUBLICAN

5. DEMOCRATIC

7. OTHER; SPECIFY: \_\_\_\_\_

8. DK

C5. How about the election for Governor -- did you vote for a candidate for Governor?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DK

TURN TO P. 7, C6

C5a. Who did you vote for?

\_\_\_\_\_

C5b. Which party was that?

1. REPUBLICAN

5. DEMOCRATIC

7. OTHER; SPECIFY: \_\_\_\_\_

8. DK

C4. ALL districts elect Congressmen in this election, so ALL R's are to be asked C4.

C5. The following states do NOT have gubernatorial fights this year, and R's in these states should NOT be asked C5.

Alabama	New Jersey
Alaska	New Mexico
Arizona	New York
California	Ohio
Colorado	Oklahoma
Connecticut	Oregon
Florida	Pennsylvania
Georgia	South Carolina
Hawaii	Tennessee
Idaho	Virginia
Kentucky	Wisconsin
Louisiana	Wyoming
Maine	
Maryland	
Massachusetts	
Michigan	
Minnesota	
Mississippi	
Nebraska	
Nevada	



C6. How about the elections for other state and local offices — did you vote a straight ticket, or did you vote for candidates from different parties?

1. STRAIGHT TICKET	5. DIFFERENT PARTIES	8. DK → GO TO C7
--------------------	----------------------	------------------

C6a. Which party?

1. REPUBLICAN	5. DEMOCRATIC
---------------	---------------

C6b. Did you vote mostly Republican, mostly Democrat, or about half and half?

1. MOSTLY REPUBLICAN
3. ABOUT HALF & HALF REPUB - DEM
5. MOSTLY DEMOCRATIC

C7. How about propositions on the ballot in November? Were there any state, county, or local propositions on the ballot for the people to vote on?

1. YES, THERE WERE	5. NO, THERE WEREN'T	8. DK
--------------------	----------------------	-------

↓

↓

GO TO C8

C7a. Did you vote on all, most, some or none of these propositions?

1. ALL	2. MOST	3. SOME	4. NONE	8. DK
--------	---------	---------	---------	-------

C8. In general, do you feel that more issues should be decided by the voters at the polls?

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

↓

↓

TURN TO P. 8, C9

C8a. Is there anything in particular you had in mind?

---



---

C6.

C7. If R is unclear on the meaning of "proposition", you can explain that we mean "referenda" or "Questions on public issues that the people decide on the ballot."

C8. On C8a, we want you to probe for topics, but not for sides of the question. For example "property taxes," "abortion," "marijuana," etc., are all good answers; there is no need to find out which side of these issues R is on personally. This is the first question since C1 that is to be asked of those R's who said they did not vote (or didn't know if they had voted). That is, C8 is to be asked of everybody, including those R's who were NOT asked C7.



- C9. Before the election there was a great deal of talk about McGovern's campaign. Some people said that it was not very organized, while others thought it was very well run. How about you? Do you think McGovern did a good job, or a poor job in running his campaign.?

1. GOOD JOB

5. POOR JOB

8. DK

- C10. Do you think there are any important differences in what the Republicans and Democrats stand for ?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DK

- C11. Would you say that either one of the parties is more conservative or more liberal than the other at the national level?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DK

C11a. Which party is more conservative?

1. DEMOCRATIC

2. REPUBLICAN

TIME NOW \_\_\_\_\_

C11b. Do you think that people generally consider the Democrats or the Republicans more conservative, or wouldn't you want to guess about that?

3. DEMS MORE CONSERV.

4. REPS MORE CONSERV.

5. NO GUESS

TIME NOW \_\_\_\_\_

- C9. We're trying to get at R's view of the McGovern campaign aside from R's preferences in the election. In other words, an obviously pro-McGovern R who says that McGovern did a poor job in running his campaign is giving a perfectly good response.
- C10. Believe it or not, all we want here is a yes-or-no answer. If R begins to elaborate on what the differences are, shut him off if it's at all possible to do so gently.
- C11. Same here, although this question seems less likely to invite long-winded responses in any case.



## D: ECONOMIC ATTITUDES

- D1. 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	3. SAME	5. WORSE NOW	8. DON'T KNOW
---------------	---------	--------------	---------------

D1a. Why do you say so? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

(IF NOT ALREADY ANSWERED)

- D2. Are you (and your family) receiving as much income now as you were a year ago, or more, or less?

1. MORE NOW	3. ABOUT THE SAME	5. LESS NOW
-------------	-------------------	-------------

(ASK EVERYONE)

- D3. Now looking ahead -- do you think that a year from now you (and your family) will be better off financially, or worse off, or just about the same as now?

1. WILL BE BETTER OFF	3. SAME	5. WILL BE WORSE OFF	8. DON'T KNOW
-----------------------	---------	----------------------	---------------

- D4. Now turning to business conditions in the country as a whole -- do you think that during the next 12 months we'll have good times financially, or bad times, or what?

1. GOOD TIMES	4. BAD WITH QUALIFICATIONS
---------------	----------------------------

2. GOOD WITH QUALIFICATIONS

3. PRO-CON

5. BAD TIMES

8. DON'T KNOW

→ (TURN TO P.10, D5)

D4a. Why do you think that? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

## SECTION D: ECONOMIC ATTITUDES

In questions where there are only boxes to be checked, please feel free to write in any comments R makes which are pertinent. This is especially important in cases where you are in some doubt as to which is the proper box to check. In these questions we want R's personal opinion.

D1-D1a:  
How Getting  
Along

Ask D1a no matter what response you get to D1. If R gives more than one reason, get them down.

D2:  
Making  
More  
Money

Reference is to family members living in the FU a year ago, versus those living in the FU now. (If this information was given in response to D1a, go on to D3.)

D3:  
Better Or  
Worse a Year  
From Now

Here we want to know what R actually EXPECTS financially in the coming year. Note that responses in terms of what R "hopes" will happen are not acceptable. If you get a "hopes" response, repeat the question, emphasizing the word "think."

D4-D4a:  
Good Or  
Bad Times  
Next Year  
And Why?

What does respondent expect of the economy as a whole? We're not interested in hopes and dreams, but in what R thinks will be the case. In marking the appropriate box you should first decide whether R's answer is "Good," "Pro-Con," or "Bad," and then whether or not an answer that is either "Good" or "Bad," is qualified. Note that "Pro-Con" should be used when R sees both good and bad features, each with about the same intensity. "UNCERTAIN" should be checked whenever R does not really know what to expect in the next 12 months. Some examples of when to use the "QUALIFICATIONS" boxes are: "Fairly good (bad) times," "Good to fair times," "Good times if (or unless)...," "Relatively good times," and so forth. (This list is far from exhaustive.) Please note that "Good because..." is not a qualified response.

D4 is not the same question as D7. D4 is a general question concerned with whether R thinks business conditions will be good or bad during the next 12 months. D7 asks for a comparison of what R thinks business conditions will be during the next 12 months with what business conditions are now. In D4a we are interested in why R thinks whatever he does about business conditions in the next 12 months. D4a IS TO BE ASKED IN ALL CASES, EXCEPT WHEN R SAYS HE DOESN'T KNOW ANYTHING ABOUT IT.



- D5. Would you say that at the present time business conditions are better or worse than they were a year ago?

1. BETTER NOW

3. ABOUT THE SAME

5. WORSE NOW

- D6. During the last few months, have you heard of any favorable or unfavorable changes in business conditions?

(IF NECESSARY) D6a. What did you hear? \_\_\_\_\_

IF NOT CLEAR WHETHER A CHANGE MENTIONED IS FAVORABLE OR UNFAVORABLE,  
 PROBE: "Would (MENTION CHANGE) be favorable or unfavorable?"  
 AND NOTE "favorable" OR "unfavorable."

- D7. And how about a year from now, do you expect that in the country as a whole business conditions will be better or worse than they are at present, or just about the same?

1. BETTER A YEAR  
FROM NOW

3. ABOUT THE SAME

5. WORSE A YEAR  
FROM NOW

- D8. How about people out of work during the coming 12 months - do you think that there will be more unemployment than now, about the same, or less?

1. MORE UNEMPLOYMENT

3. ABOUT THE SAME

5. LESS UNEMPLOYMENT

- D9. Looking ahead, which would you say is more likely - that in the country as a whole we'll have continuous good times during the next 5 years or so, or that we will have periods of widespread unemployment or depression, or what?

D5  
Business  
Conditions  
at Present

We are interested in a comparison for the country as a whole. If R answers in terms of a specific business or industry, repeat the question, introducing it with the words, "In general..." If R answers in absolute terms ("Good" or "Bad"), repeat the question emphasizing "better" and "worse."

D6-D6a  
News  
Heard

These questions seek to find out anything R has heard in the last few months concerning a change in business conditions in the country as a whole. In particular we want to know whether the news R has heard is favorable or unfavorable. R may of course have heard of both favorable and unfavorable developments; get detailed and specific information on both. Again -- we're not interested in R's personal situation -- but consumer demand, prices, and the like. His answers here need not conform to his reply to D4 or D5.

If it is unclear whether what R heard is a favorable or unfavorable change, ask the probe in the enclosed box.

D7  
Business  
Conditions  
a Year  
From Now

Again we are interested in a comparison for the country as a whole. Note that this question is different from D4, which is a general question concerned with what R thinks business conditions will be during the next 12 months. D7 is a comparison of what R thinks business conditions will be during the next 12 months with what business conditions are now.

D8  
Unemployment  
Next '2  
Months

Be sure respondent understands that we mean unemployment rather than employment.

If respondent spontaneously replies in terms of local unemployment, his answer is acceptable. If, however, he asks what we are referring to, explain that we are interested in national rather than local employment.

D9  
Good Times  
During Next  
5 Years

1. The main purpose of D9 is to discover whether people have given some thought to the economic outlook for the more distant future; and if they do, we want to know what they expect.
2. Undoubtedly, some people never look more than a year ahead. Don't urge them to express a definite opinion in that case.



D10. As to the economic policy of the government - I mean steps taken to fight inflation or unemployment - would you say the government is doing a good job, only fair, or a poor job?

1. GOOD JOB

3. ONLY FAIR

5. POOR JOB

8. DON'T KNOW

D11. During the next year or two, do you think the government will be successful in reducing inflation, or do you expect that there will not be much improvement?

D12. Do you think the government will be successful in reducing unemployment during the next year or two, or do you expect there will not be much improvement?

D13. During the next 12 months, do you think that prices in general will go up, or go down, or stay where they are now?

1. GO UP

3. SAME

5. GO DOWN

8. DON'T KNOW

(TURN TO P. 12, D14)

D13a. How large a price increase do you expect? Would you say that a year from now prices will be about 1 or 2 percent higher, or 5 percent, or closer to 10 percent higher than now, or what?

D13b. Do you expect that the overall price increase during the next 12 months will be larger, the same, or smaller than during the past 12 months?

D10  
Government  
Economic  
Policy

The question asks about economic policy related to inflation and unemployment. If R talks about other policies (race relations, pollution, etc.) of the government, repeat the question unless R sees a connection between these other policies and either inflation or unemployment. If R says the government is doing the best it can, repeat the question. If R still doesn't give a scalable answer, write down R's answer in the margin and let us handle it.

D11-D12  
Whether  
Government  
Will Be  
Successful

We are interested not only in R's answers to these questions but also in any qualifications he may express, e.g. limited success, will take a long time, etc. If R says that his answer to these questions "depends," probe to find out on what it depends and what R considers to be the most likely outcome. R may expect inflation or unemployment to get worse; if so, make sure to get that down. R may even believe that no improvement (but no further deterioration) would constitute "success." If so, that is an acceptable answer. If R answers only in terms of a longer time than "the next year or two," repeat the question.

D13  
Price  
Expectations  
for Next  
Year

1. We want R's expectations about prices in general of the things R and his family buy. If R talks of prices of specific things, repeat the introduction to the question to get him back on the track.
2. We do not expect R to be an expert -- it is his opinion (if any) that we are looking for.
3. Only one box should be checked -- but as always, if there is any doubt which box should be checked, write down what R says and let us decide.

D13a  
Size of  
Price  
Increase

If possible, we would like a percent figure (certainly it may be qualified by "about") or a range from each R. Repeating the question may help in many cases. But do not force the R to give such an answer. In any event, please write down whatever R does say.

D13b  
Overall  
Price  
Increase

We want to know what R expects of the overall price increase during the next 12 months. How does he think it will compare with last year's price increase? If necessary repeat the question emphasizing overall.

As usual, note any relative comments made by R.

R may say that price increases will be comparatively slow for a while, then faster.



D14. Since the government announced wage and price controls more than a year ago, have prices of the things you buy remained unchanged, or have they gone up, or have they gone down?

1. GONE UP	3. REMAINED UNCHANGED	5. GONE DOWN	8. DON'T KNOW
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(GO TO D15)

D14a. Since the controls were introduced, would you say prices of the things you buy have gone up just a bit or have they gone up substantially?

1. SUBSTANTIALLY	2. SOMETHING IN BETWEEN	3. JUST A BIT	8. DON'T KNOW
------------------	----------------------------	------------------	------------------

D15. No one can say for sure, but what do you think will happen to interest rates for borrowing money during the next 12 months - will they go up, stay the same, or go down?

1. GO UP	3. STAY THE SAME	5. GO DOWN	8. DON'T KNOW
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D16. Generally speaking, do you think now is a good time or a bad time to buy a house?

1. GOOD	3. PRO-CON	5. BAD	8. DON'T KNOW (GO TO D17)
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D16a. Why do you say so? \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

D17. Do you or anyone else here in your family own a car?

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

D18. Do you or anyone else here in your family lease a car?

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

D14  
Price Change  
Since Wage  
and Price  
Controls

If .. answers that some things have gone up and some down, or that prices first went down and now have gone up, use the probe to try to elicit what R thinks is the net effect over the period since the wage and price controls began in August, 1971. If R asks, tell R we mean to include prices of all the goods and services the family buys.

D14a  
How Much  
Change

The question poses two opposite opinions, namely "substantially" which implies a large change and "just a bit" which implies a small change. The second box, "something in between" is for those Rs who say that their opinion lies between these two. Put "Don't know" type answers into the box coded 8. If you have trouble deciding which box to check, get down what R says and let us decide. Don't push R for an answer.

D15  
Interest  
Rates  
Next Year

What future change does R expect for interest rates? Replies to the effect that rates will be high or low, or a comparison with what they were at some time in the past, do not answer the question.

Note that the question asks about interest rates for borrowing money, as opposed to interest paid on savings. If R asks, we mean borrowing by consumers (not businessmen). R may answer in terms of mortgage rates, car loans, or other types of consumer loans - any such frame of reference is acceptable. Please record whatever R says that will help us understand his reply.

D16-D16a  
Good or Bad  
Time to Buy  
a House

We want to know whether R thinks it's a good or bad time to buy a house for people in general. We are not interested here in R's own problems, but in what he thinks of the market for houses. Personal references such as, "It's a bad time for us," or "I'm ... so we can't afford to buy," do not answer the question. Do not accept seasonal answers. D16a should be asked of everyone, regardless of the answer to D16, unless R says in D16 that he knows nothing about the market for homes.

D17-D18  
Present Car  
Ownership

If R tells you that he doesn't own or lease a car now, but that he did own one at some previous time, check the "NO" box.



D19. Speaking now of the automobile market - do you think the next 12 months or so will be a good time or a bad time to buy a car?

1. GOOD

3. PRO-CON

5. BAD

8. DON'T KNOW

(GO TO D20)

D19a. Why do you say so? (Anything else?) \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

(IF R MENTIONS  
THAT CAR PRICES  
WILL GO UP)

D19b. Why do you expect that car prices will be higher? (Any other reason?)

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

D20. Do you or anyone else in the family living here expect to buy or lease a car during the next 12 months?

0. WILL NEVER BUY A CAR

(TURN TO P. 14, D23)

D21. (CARD D1- YELLOW) Just to give us a better idea of what you think are the chances that you will buy or lease a car during the next 12 months, would you please tell me which answer on this card best describes the likelihood that you will buy?

1. Almost certain

2. Probably will

3. Better than even chance

4. Even chance: may or may not

5. Less than even chance

6. Probably will not

7. Very unlikely

D21a. Would it be a brand new car or a used car?  
(IF TWO CAR PURCHASES PLANNED, USE MARGIN FOR SECOND)

1. NEW

2. USED

8. DON'T KNOW

D21b. When do you think you might buy this car?

\_\_\_\_\_  
(MONTH AND YEAR)

D22. How long do you think it may be before you (or anyone in the family) buy or lease a car?

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

D19-D19b  
Good or Bad  
Time to Buy  
a Car

Do not accept seasonal answers. If R says it is good to buy last year's model just when the new models come out, probe for a more general answer: i.e., "What about the next 12 months or so ... will it be a good or a bad time to buy a car?"

D19b is to be asked whenever R mentions in D19 or D19a that car prices will go up. When in doubt whether to ask D19b (for example, if R merely says that car prices will be high), go ahead and ask it.

D20  
Expect to  
Buy Car

Write down whatever answer he gives including "maybe," "it depends," etc.

D21  
Likelihood  
of Buying  
Car

Hand R CARD D1--YELLOW

D21a  
New/Used

If R thinks it will be new or used, but is not sure, mark what he thinks it will be.

D21b  
When Will  
You Buy

We want the month, if possible.

D22  
How Long  
Before You  
Buy Car

Ask only of Rs who do not expect to buy a car in next 12 months.



- D23. About the big things people buy for their homes - such as furniture, refrigerator, stove, television, and things like that. Generally speaking, do you think now is a good or a bad time for people to buy major household items?

1. GOOD

3. PRO-CON

5. BAD

8. DON'T KNOW

(GO TO D24)

D23a. Why do you say so? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

- D24. Thinking of your financial situation just now, do you feel you are in an especially good position to buy some of the things you would like to have, or is now a rather bad time for you to spend money, or what?
- \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_

- D25. Do you think it is more important than usual for you to try to add to your savings and reserve funds just now, or are you fairly well satisfied with your savings?
- \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_

- D26. Thinking of what your standard of living is likely to be in the years to come, what would you say are the chances that you will actually get most of the things you would like to own? Are the chances quite good, somewhat good, or not so good that you will get most of the things you would like to own?

1. QUITE GOOD

2. SOMEWHAT GOOD

5. NOT SO GOOD

TIME NOW \_\_\_\_\_

D23-D23a  
Good or Bad  
Time to Buy  
Major House-  
hold Items

The same comments as in D16-D16a above apply to this question which asks about the market for major household items.

D24  
Good or Bad  
Position to  
Buy Things

In contrast to questions D16, D19, and D23, which ask the R to evaluate general market conditions for buying particular items, the emphasis in D24 is on the R and his financial situation and whether he is in a good position to spend money. "You" or "yours" occurs in the question 5 times. Nevertheless, some answers may be in terms of market conditions or the like (e.g., inflation). Such answers are quite acceptable.

D25  
Importance  
of Adding  
to Savings

R may answer either in terms of whether it is more important than usual to try to save or in terms of whether he is satisfied with his savings. Either type of answer is acceptable. Or, R may answer in both terms, e.g., he may say he is not satisfied but it is no more important than usual. In this case, be sure to get down both halves of the answer.

D26

Here we want R to realistically evaluate his chances for getting the things he hopes for in the future.



## H: SYSTEM SUPPORT

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

- H1. Do you think that people in the government waste a lot of money we pay in taxes, waste some of it, or don't waste very much of it?

5. A LOT

3. SOME

1. NOT MUCH

8. DK

- H2. How much of the time do you think you can trust the government in Washington to do what is right—just about always, most of the time, or only some of the time?

1. ALWAYS

3. MOST OF THE TIME

5. SOME OF THE TIME

8. DK

- H3. Would say the government is pretty much run by a few big interests looking out for themselves or that it is run for the benefit of all the people?

5. FEW BIG INTERESTS

1. FOR BENEFIT OF ALL

8. DK

- H4. Do you feel that almost all of the people running the government are smart people who usually know what they are doing, or do you think that quite a few of them don't seem to know what they are doing?

1. KNOW WHAT THEY'RE DOING

5. DON'T KNOW WHAT THEY'RE DOING

8. DK

- H5. Do you think that quite a few of the people running the government are a little crooked, not very many are, or do you think hardly any of them are crooked at all?

5. QUITE A FEW

3. NOT MANY

1. HARDLY ANY

8. DK

- H6. Over the years, how much attention do you feel the government pays to what the people think when it decides what to do—a good deal, some, or not much?

1. A GOOD DEAL

3. SOME

5. NOT MUCH

8. DK

## H: SYSTEM SUPPORT

- H1. More of the same — traditional system support scale items. The Form II half-sample contained some of these items in the pre-election interview, our idea again being to see if the act of voting or or the the outcome of the election itself affects how people feel about the whole system. If R says he's heard these before, say they just sound a lot like other items.
- H2.
- H3.
- H4. We may have a problem with this item. We're beginning to think some R's who are very cynical answer "they know what they're doing," interpreting that sentence in a way totally different from the way we mean it. Such R's mean, "They know exactly what they're doing, those crooks." If you suspect that you're getting this kind of response, try repeating the question once.
- H5. Similar problem — some cynical R's pick "hardly any," but they mean "hardly any are just a little crooked." If you read the item over a couple of times you can see how it could be interpreted that way, but that's obviously not what we mean. If you think that's what you're getting, try repeating the question once.
- H6.



- H7. How much do you feel that political parties help to make the government pay attention to what the people think—a good deal, some, or not much?

1. A GOOD DEAL	3. SOME	5. NOT MUCH	8. DK
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- H8. And how much do you feel that having elections makes the government pay attention to what the people think—a good deal, some, or not much?

1. A GOOD DEAL	3. SOME	5. NOT MUCH	8. DK
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- H9. How much attention do you think most Congressmen pay to the people who elect them when they decide what to do in Congress—a good deal, some, or not much?

1. A GOOD DEAL	3. SOME	5. NOT MUCH	8. DK
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- H10. How much do you think that having interest groups makes the government pay attention to what people think—a good deal, some or not much?

1. A GOOD DEAL	3. SOME	5. NOT MUCH	8. DK
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- H11. Would you say it has become harder for the average man to lead a good moral life today, or was it harder to lead a good, moral life 25 years ago?

1. HARDER TO LEAD A GOOD LIFE NOW	3. SAME	5. HARDER 25 YEARS AGO
8. DK		

- H12. Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted, or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people?

1. MOST PEOPLE CAN BE TRUSTED	5. CAN'T BE TOO CAREFUL	8. DK
-------------------------------	-------------------------	-------

- H13. Would you say that most of the time people try to be helpful, or that they are mostly just looking out for themselves?

1. TRY TO BE HELPFUL	5. JUST LOOK OUT FOR THEMSELVES	8. DK
----------------------	---------------------------------	-------

H7.

H8.

H9.

H10. "Interest groups" are lobbies,  
"organized groups that try to get  
the government to do what their people  
want," etc. Try to explain the  
concept to R without giving him a  
loaded example like the National Rifle  
Association or the NAACP.

H11.

From H11 to the end of the  
section, make sure R understands  
that we are talking about people  
in general, not just politicians.

H12.

H13.



H14. Do you think most people would try to take advantage of you if they got a chance, or would they try to be fair?

1. WOULD TAKE ADVANTAGE OF YOU

5. WOULD TRY TO BE FAIR

8. DK

H14.



## J: ISSUES

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

J1. Would you say that it's safe to go out walking around here alone at night?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DK

J2. In general, which political party do you think would best see to it that the streets are safe--the Democrats, the Republicans, or wouldn't there be much difference between them?

1. DEMOCRATS

5. REPUBLICANS

3. NOT MUCH DIFFERENCE

8. DK

J2a. Some people feel that after the Vietnam war is over, the government should declare an amnesty--that is, men who left the country to avoid the draft should be allowed to return without severe punishment. How do you feel--do you think the government should declare an amnesty after the war?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DK

J2b. Which political party do you think is more in favor of declaring an amnesty--the Democrats, the Republicans, or wouldn't there be much difference between them?

1. DEMOCRATS

5. REPUBLICANS

3. NOT MUCH DIFFERENCE

8. DK

J2c. Some people believe that our armed forces are already powerful enough and that we should spend less money for defense. Others feel that military spending should at least continue at the present level. How do you feel--should military spending be cut, or should it continue at least at the present level?

1. CUT MILITARY SPENDING

5. CONTINUE SPENDING AT LEAST  
AT PRESENT LEVEL

8. DK

J2d. Which political party do you think is more in favor of cutting military spending--the Democrats, the Republicans, or wouldn't there be much difference between them?

1. DEMOCRATS

5. REPUBLICANS

3. NOT MUCH DIFFERENCE

8. DK

## J: ISSUES

J1.

These first three sets of issue items — R's preference followed by his perception of party stances — should be pretty straightforward. Note that despite the numbering system (J1, J2-J2d), there are NO CONTINGENCIES ON THIS PAGE — all R's are asked all six items. The last four were added late, which accounts for the unorthodox numbering.

J2.

J2a.

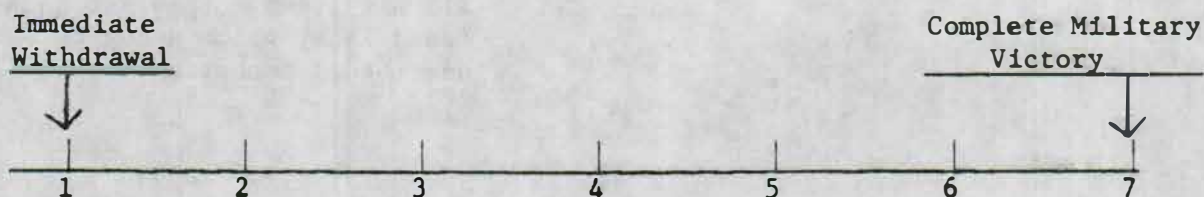
J2b.

J2c.

J2d.



- J3. (CARD J1 - YELLOW) With regard to Vietnam, some people think we should do everything necessary to win a complete military victory, no matter what results. Some people think we should withdraw completely from Vietnam right now, no matter what results. And, of course, other people have opinions somewhere between these two extreme positions. Suppose the people who support an immediate withdrawal are at one end of this scale--at point number 1. And suppose the people who support a complete military victory are at the other end of the scale--at point number 7.



(INTERVIEWER RECORD NUMBER)

- \_\_\_\_\_ J3a. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?

0. HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH

8. DK

TURN TO P. 20, J4

- \_\_\_\_\_ J3b. Where would you place Richard Nixon?

8. DK

- \_\_\_\_\_ J3c. Where would you place George McGovern?

8. DK

- \_\_\_\_\_ J3d. Where would you place George Wallace?

8. DK

- \_\_\_\_\_ J3e. (Where would you place) the Democratic Party?

8. DK

- \_\_\_\_\_ J3f. (Where would you place) the Republican Party?

8. DK

- \_\_\_\_\_ J3g. (Where would you place) most Young People?

8. DK

- \_\_\_\_\_ J3h. (Where would you place) most Middle-aged People?

8. DK

J3.

If you've worked on election studies before, you're familiar with this "proximity format" for getting at where R stands on issues in relationship to where he thinks other objects in the political system stand. For the first time, we are asking about social groups as well as the parties and candidates, and this should break up the monotony which has been known to set in, in the past. It is crucial, obviously, that R understand the scale concept. Specifically, when we ask him to place the other objects (parties, candidates groups), we want to know where R thinks they actually stand now, now where R "would like to place them in order for them to do the right thing." If you get a response with all 1's or all 7's, R may be falling into this trap of putting the objects where he wants them to be and not where he thinks they are. If you think this is happening, do whatever you can to get the point across. (Needless to say, it is perfectly possible that R does think everyone is with him at 1 or 7, and that's a legitimate answer — just make sure that's what you're getting before you go on.)

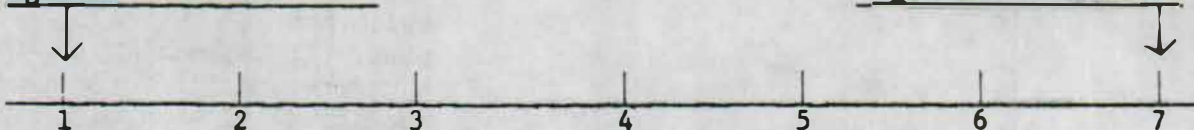
Note that if R responds either DK or HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH with regard to his own placement on the scale, we don't want any of the information for the other objects on that particular scale — go on the the next page.



- J4. (CARD J2 - BLUE) There is a great deal of talk these days about rising prices and the cost of living in general. Some feel that the government must do everything possible to combat the problem of inflation immediately or it will get worse. Others say that the problem of inflation is temporary and that no government action is necessary.

Total Government Action  
Against Inflation

No Government Action  
Against Inflation



(INTERVIEWER RECORD NUMBER)

- \_\_\_\_\_ J4a. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?

0. HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH

8. DK

TURN TO P. 21, J5

- \_\_\_\_\_ J4b. Where would you place Richard Nixon?

8. DK

- \_\_\_\_\_ J4c Where would you place George McGovern?

8. DK

- \_\_\_\_\_ J4d. Where would you place George Wallace?

8. DK

- \_\_\_\_\_ J4e. (Where would you place) the Democratic Party?

8. DK

- \_\_\_\_\_ J4f. (Where would you place) the Republican Party?

8. DK

- \_\_\_\_\_ J4g. (Where would you place) most Liberals?

8. DK

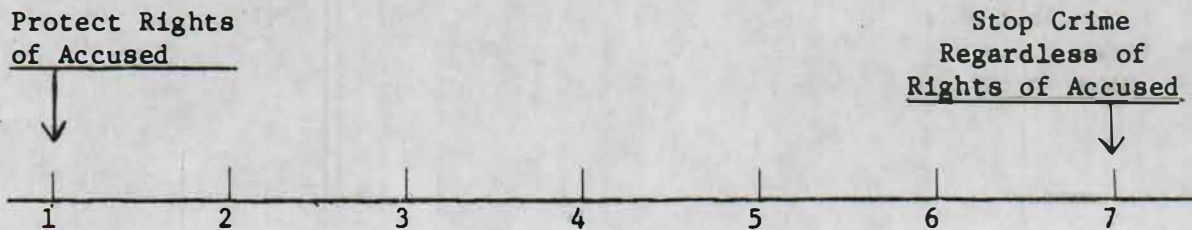
- \_\_\_\_\_ J4h. (Where would you place) most Conservatives?

8. DK

J4.



J5. (CARD J9 - BLUE) 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.



(INTERVIEWER RECORD NUMBER)

\_\_\_\_\_ J5a. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?

0. HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH

8. DK

→ TURN TO P. 22, J6

\_\_\_\_\_ J5b. Where would you place Richard Nixon?

8. DK

\_\_\_\_\_ J5c. Where would you place George McGovern?

8. DK

\_\_\_\_\_ J5d. Where would you place George Wallace?

8. DK

\_\_\_\_\_ J5e. (Where would you place) the Democratic Party?

8. DK

\_\_\_\_\_ J5f. (Where would you place) the Republican Party?

8. DK

\_\_\_\_\_ J5g. (Where would you place) most White People?

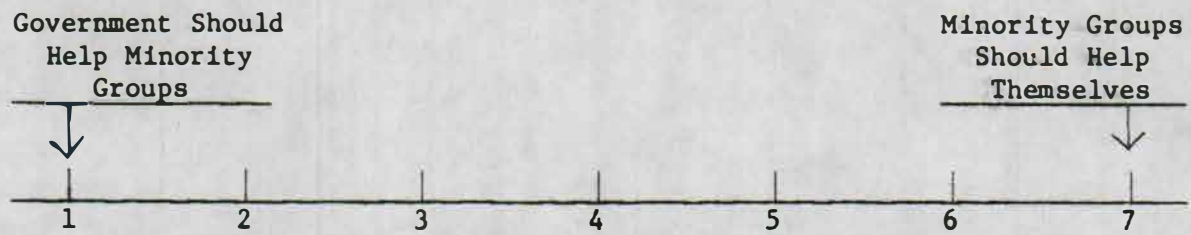
8. DK

\_\_\_\_\_ J5h. (Where would you place) most Black People?

8. DK

J5.

J6. (CARD J10 - WHITE) Some people feel that the government in Washington should make every possible effort to improve the social and economic position of Blacks and other minority groups. Others feel that the government should not make any special effort to help minorities because they should help themselves.



(INTERVIEWER RECORD NUMBER)

\_\_\_\_\_ J6a. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?

0. HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH      8. DK      → TURN TO P. 23, J7

\_\_\_\_\_ J6b. Where would you place Richard Nixon?

8. DK

\_\_\_\_\_ J6c. Where would you place George McGovern?

8. DK

\_\_\_\_\_ J6d. Where would you place George Wallace?

8. DK

\_\_\_\_\_ J6e. (Where would you place) the Democratic Party?

8. DK

\_\_\_\_\_ J6f. (Where would you place) the Republican Party?

8. DK

\_\_\_\_\_ J6g. (Where would you place) most Workingmen?

8. DK

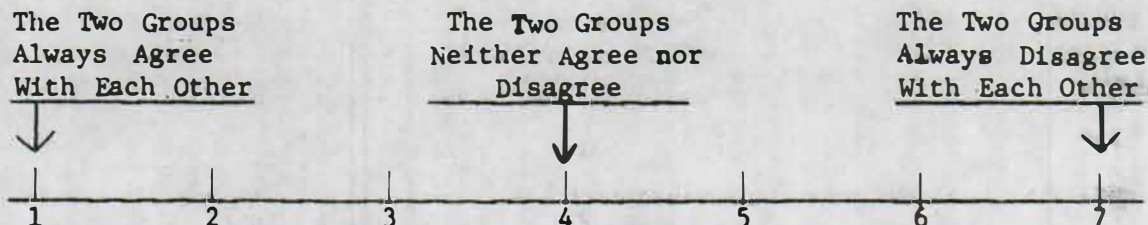
\_\_\_\_\_ J6h. (Where would you place) most Middle Class People?

8. DK





J7. (CARD J11-BLUE) As we well know, there are many important issues in America today. Some groups usually agree with each other on the issues, while other groups usually disagree with each other. On this card, two groups that always agree with each other would be placed at point number 1, and two groups that always disagree with each other would be placed at point number 7. Two groups that neither agree nor disagree would be placed in the middle, at point number 4. I'm going to read you a list containing several pairs of groups, and I want you to try and place each pair on this card.



The first pair is Democrats and Republicans.

(INTERVIEWER RECORD NUMBER)

\_\_\_\_\_ J7a. Democrats and Republicans

8. DK

\_\_\_\_\_ J7b. Intellectuals and Workingmen

8. DK

\_\_\_\_\_ J7c. Catholics and Protestants

8. DK

\_\_\_\_\_ J7d. Southerners and Northerners

8. DK

\_\_\_\_\_ J7e. Workingmen and Labor Unions

8. DK

\_\_\_\_\_ J7f. Liberals and Conservatives

8. DK

\_\_\_\_\_ J7g. Farmers and people who live in cities

8. DK

\_\_\_\_\_ J7h. Labor Unions and Democrats

8. DK

- J7. This scale is different, in that the middle point is given a meaning beyond just being half-way in between. The meanings of 1 and 7 are pretty clear — general agreement or disagreement between the two groups, on things in general or whatever issues come to the R's mind. The middle point — 4 — has two distinct meanings. One is straightforward — the two groups agree sometimes and disagree sometimes, so R can't lean toward one of the ends of the scale. The other meaning of the midpoint is that the two groups have no relationship one way or the other — they don't think about the same issues, so they're neither in conflict nor in harmony. We think that both of these meanings are captured by the flag "The Groups Neither Agree Nor Disagree".



\_\_\_\_\_ J7j. Young People and Middle-aged People

8. DK

\_\_\_\_\_ J7k. Workingmen and Democrats

8. DK

\_\_\_\_\_ J7m. Men and Women

8. DK

\_\_\_\_\_ J7n. People on Welfare and Taxpayers

8. DK

\_\_\_\_\_ J7p. Big Business and Republicans

8. DK

\_\_\_\_\_ J7q. Workingmen and Middle Class People

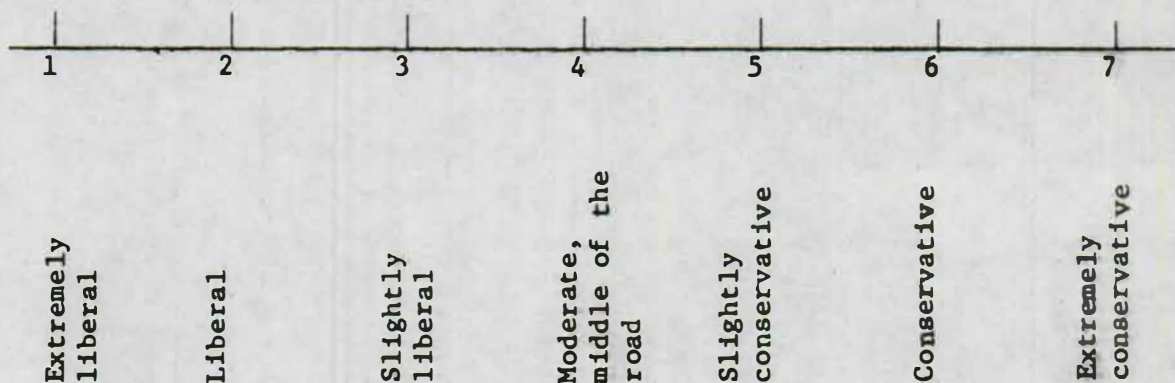
8. DK

\_\_\_\_\_ J7r. Blacks and Whites

8. DK

J7. (continued)

J8. (CARD J12-ORANGE) We hear a lot of talk these days about liberals and conservatives. I'm going to show you a seven-point scale on which the political views that people might hold are arranged from extremely liberal to extremely conservative.



(INTERVIEWER RECORD NUMBER)

\_\_\_\_\_ J8a. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?

0. HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH

8. DK

→ TURN TO P. 27, SECTION K

\_\_\_\_\_ J8b. Where would you place Richard Nixon?

8. DK

\_\_\_\_\_ J8c. Where would you place George McGovern?

8. DK

\_\_\_\_\_ J8d. Where would you place George Wallace?

8. DK

\_\_\_\_\_ J8e. (Where would you place) the Democratic Party?

8. DK

\_\_\_\_\_ J8f. (Where would you place) the Republican Party?

8. DK



J8. Our objective here is to learn whether or not the ubiquitous terms "liberal" and "conservative" mean anything to mass respondents. Therefore, beyond making sure that R understands the mechanics of the scale, don't help him — or try to define the word — if he asks, just say "Whatever they mean to you."

\_\_\_\_\_ J8g. (Where would you place) most White People?

8. DK

\_\_\_\_\_ J8h. (Where would you place) most Black People?

8. DK

\_\_\_\_\_ J8j. (Where would you place) most Workingmen?

8. DK

J8. (continued)



## K: EVALUATIONS

- K1. (CARD K1--YELLOW) We'd like to get your feelings toward the candidates for national office in this year's election, using the "feeling thermometer" we showed you in our earlier interview. As you may recall, if you don't feel particularly warm or cold toward a candidate, then you should place him in the middle of the thermometer, at 50 degrees. If you have a warm feeling toward a candidate, or feel favorably toward him, you would give him a score somewhere between 50 and 100 degrees. If you don't feel favorably toward a candidate, then you would place him somewhere between 0 and 50 degrees.

The first person is George Wallace---where would you place him on the thermometer?

## RATING

_____	K1a.	George Wallace
_____	K1b.	Richard Nixon
_____	K1c.	George McGovern
_____	K1d.	Spiro Agnew
_____	K1e.	R. Sargent Shriver
_____	K1f.	John Schmitz

## K: EVALUATIONS

- K1. We asked R to place about 15 possible candidates on the thermometer in the pre-election interview, and here we're trying to see if his feelings about the actual nominees were affected by the outcome of the election. Wallace is on the list partly because he's still on the ballot in some states, and partly because no one knows who John Schmitz is. For your own information, John Schmitz is the nominee of the American Independent Party, chosen when Wallace decided not to run.

If R mentions that he was asked to place these candidates on the thermometer before the election, in this case we want you to tell the truth. Explain that people's opinions of political personalities often change over time, and we'd like to know how R feels now. Obviously, don't say that in such a way R feels he has to change his rating from the pre-election interview.

K2. We'd also like to get your feelings about some groups in American society, using the feeling thermometer just as we did for the candidates. If we come to a group you don't know much about, just tell me and we'll move on to the next one. Our first group is Big Business--how warm would you say you feel toward them?

#### RATING

_____ K2a. Big Business	_____ K2s. Labor Unions
_____ K2b. Poor People	_____ K2t. Young People
_____ K2c. Liberals	_____ K2u. Conservatives
_____ K2d. Southerners	_____ K2v. Women's Liberation Movement
_____ K2e. Intellectuals	_____ K2w. People Who Use Marijuana
_____ K2f. Catholics	_____ K2x. Black Militants
_____ K2g. Radical Students	_____ K2y. People Who Riot in Cities
_____ K2h. Policemen	_____ K2z. Civil Rights Leaders
_____ K2j. Protestants	_____ K2aa. People Who Live in Suburbs
_____ K2k. Jews	_____ K2bb. Workingmen
_____ K2m. The Military	_____ K2cc. Farmers
_____ K2n. Whites	_____ K2dd. Ministers Who Lead Protest Marches
_____ K2p. Democrats	_____ K2ee. Middle-Class People
_____ K2q. Blacks	_____ K2ff. People Who Live in Cities
_____ K2r. Republicans	

K3. While we have the feeling thermometer in front of us, what about your own life? Where would you put your life as a whole these days on the feeling thermometer?

\_\_\_\_\_  
(RATING)



- K2. Sorry about the length of this list, but it's crucial information and all of our pretesting indicates that respondents can handle it.

There were a couple of problems we found in our last pretest. First, some R's say "I don't have anything against GROUP X, give them 100." Remind R that 100 is for groups he very much likes; if all he can say is that he has nothing against them, maybe his rating should be closer to 50. Second, be careful to distinguish "I don't have any special feeling about them" (for which you should record 50) from "I don't know much about them" (for which you should write in DK).

- K3. This little change of pace shouldn't cause any problems. Complete dissatisfaction with one's life would be scored 0, complete satisfaction 100.

K4. (CARD K2--GREEN) Some people think that certain groups have too much influence in American life and politics, while other people feel that certain groups don't have as much influence as they deserve. On this card are three statements about how much influence a group might have. For each group I read to you, just tell me the number of the statement that best says how you feel. The first group is Labor Unions.

(RECORD NUMBER OF RESPONSE CATEGORY)

- \_\_\_\_\_ K4a. Labor Unions
- \_\_\_\_\_ K4b. Poor People
- \_\_\_\_\_ K4c. Jews
- \_\_\_\_\_ K4d. Southerners
- \_\_\_\_\_ K4e. Protesters
- \_\_\_\_\_ K4f. Workingmen
- \_\_\_\_\_ K4g. Politicians
- \_\_\_\_\_ K4h. Big Business
- \_\_\_\_\_ K4j. Blacks
- \_\_\_\_\_ K4k. Liberals
- \_\_\_\_\_ K4m. Catholics
- \_\_\_\_\_ K4n. Intellectuals
- \_\_\_\_\_ K4p. Young People
- \_\_\_\_\_ K4q. Women
- \_\_\_\_\_ K4r. Television Commentators
- \_\_\_\_\_ K4s. Republicans
- \_\_\_\_\_ K4t. People on Welfare
- \_\_\_\_\_ K4u. Farmers
- \_\_\_\_\_ K4v. Older People
- \_\_\_\_\_ K4w. Democrats
- \_\_\_\_\_ K4x. Middle-class People

- |                                                |
|------------------------------------------------|
| 1. TOO MUCH INFLUENCE                          |
| 2. JUST ABOUT THE RIGHT<br>AMOUNT OF INFLUENCE |
| 3. TOO LITTLE INFLUENCE                        |
| 8. DK                                          |

TIME NOW \_\_\_\_\_

- K4. This was pretty straightforward in pretests. Just make sure that R is not answering strictly in terms of groups he likes or dislikes. In other words, we expect likes or dislikes. In other words, we expect to find that R will think that groups he dislikes (on the thermometer) having too much influence, and that's a perfectly good response. But if R actually says, "Well, I don't like them too much, I guess they have too much influence," explain to him that those aren't necessarily the same thing.



## M: GROUP IDENTIFICATION

M1. (CARD M1-GREEN) Here is a list of some of the groups we asked you about before. Please read over this list and tell me which of these groups you feel particularly close to--people who are most like you in their ideas and interests and feelings about things. (PLACE AN "X" AT THE LEFT OF EACH GROUP R FEELS CLOSE TO.)

- |                                          |                                                 |
|------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|
| a. <input type="checkbox"/> Businessmen  | j. <input type="checkbox"/> Whites              |
| b. <input type="checkbox"/> Liberals     | k. <input type="checkbox"/> Blacks              |
| c. <input type="checkbox"/> Southerners  | m. <input type="checkbox"/> Conservatives       |
| d. <input type="checkbox"/> Poor People  | n. <input type="checkbox"/> Women               |
| e. <input type="checkbox"/> Catholics    | p. <input type="checkbox"/> Middle Class People |
| f. <input type="checkbox"/> Protestants  | q. <input type="checkbox"/> Workingmen          |
| g. <input type="checkbox"/> Jews         | r. <input type="checkbox"/> Farmers             |
| h. <input type="checkbox"/> Young People | s. <input type="checkbox"/> Older People        |

(IF MORE THAN ONE) M1t. Look at the list again, and tell me which one you feel closest to of those you mentioned.

\_\_\_\_\_

NOTE TO INTERVIEWER: IN THE REST OF SECTION M, USE FOR "CLOSEST GROUP" THE NAME OF THE GROUP GIVEN IN M1t (OR THE GROUP GIVEN IN M1a-s IF ONLY ONE GROUP WAS MENTIONED.)

SPECIFY NAME OF GROUP YOU WILL USE IN THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS:

IF R REFUSES TO CHECK ANY GROUP IN M1a-s, ASK: Is there any group you feel closer to than the groups on this list? (IF YES, SPECIFY)

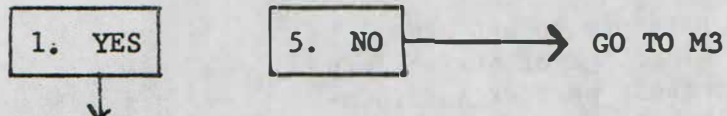
M1u. \_\_\_\_\_

USE THIS GROUP FOR "CLOSEST GROUP" IN THE REST OF SECTION M.

IF R STILL REFUSES TO NAME A GROUP, TURN TO P. 34, SECTION N

Now I'd like to ask you a few questions about (CLOSEST GROUP).

M2. Do you belong to any organizations or take part in any activities that represent the interests and viewpoints of (CLOSEST GROUP)?



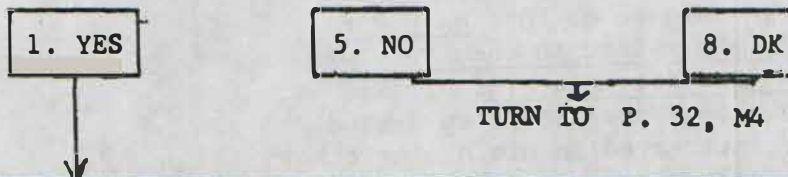
M2a. What activities or organizations?

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M3. Do you read any newspaper or magazine that particularly represents the interests and viewpoints of (CLOSEST GROUP)?



M3a. What one(s)?

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M: GROUP IDENTIFICATION

Much has been written about the individual's sense of powerlessness in modern society. In this series of questions we're interested in finding out the extent to which people may feel some sense of influence as members of broader groups or classes of people.

- M1. This question attempts to get at which broader groupings of our society the Respondent feels part of and identifies with. Ask R to read the list on the Green Card M1 and check off the one(s) he says he feels particularly close to. If he mentions more than one, ask M1t--which one he feels closest to. We need R to pick out one group since the rest of the questions in Section M will refer to the one group he feels closest to.

A few R's may refuse to check any group listed on Card M1. If so, follow the instructions at the bottom of the page following M1. Ask R if there is any group he feels closer to than those on the list, specify the group and use it in the remaining questions in Section M. But note that you are to do this only for the few R's who refuse to check any of the groups listed in M1a-M1s. If R has chosen one of the groups we listed, we are not interested in his naming other groups he feels close to.



Questions 2 through M6 refer to the group R has mentioned as closest to him. Wherever the questions indicate CLOSEST GROUP IN PARENTHESES, substitute the group that R has indicated. For example, if R indicated that he feels closest to "Middle Class People", question M2 should read: "Do you belong to any organizations or take part in any activities that represent the interests and viewpoints of Middle Class People?"

Since there may be some confusion, be sure to write in the box following M1, the name of the group you will be using in Questions M2 through M6.

M2. The objective of this question is to give us some idea about how meaningful and important the group is to R, on how "active" a group member he is.

M2a. In most instances all we need here is the name of the organization, or statement of the activity, since the general connection to the group will be clear. For example there is no need to prove if an R who chose "workmen" mentions belonging to a union, or if an R who chose "Blacks" mentions CORE. Probe here only if the connection between the group and the activity or organization is unclear. We don't want a discussion of what the organization does.

M3. The objective of this question is also to get some indication of R's involvement in the group.

M3a. Again, the name of the publication is enough. Do not probe beyond the name.

M4. How much influence do you think (CLOSEST GROUP) have in American life and politics? Do (CLOSEST GROUP) have a great deal of influence, some, not very much or none?

1. GREAT  
DEAL

2. SOME

3. NOT VERY MUCH

4. NONE

8. DK

M4a Are there things (CLOSEST GROUP) can do to increase their influence, or is there not much they can do?

1. CAN INCREASE

5. NOT MUCH CAN DO

8. DK

TURN TO  
P.33,M5

M4b. What kinds of things can they do?

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M4c. Do you mean do these things as individuals, or as a group working together in some way?

1. INDIVIDUALS

5. GROUP WORKING  
TOGETHER

TURN TO P. 33, M5

M4d. Why is that?

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TURN TO P 33, M5

M4e. What do you feel are the main reasons (CLOSEST GROUP) have a great deal of influence?

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M4f. Have they had influence because of things they've done as individuals, or because of working together as a group in some way?

1. INDIVIDUALS

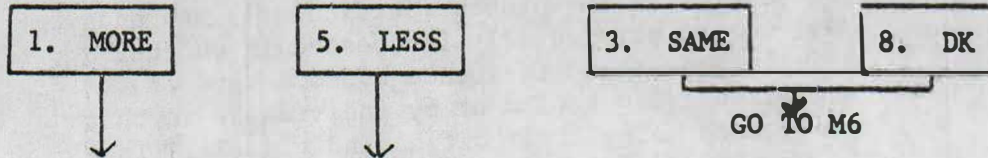
5. GROUP WORKING TOGETHER

TURN TO P. 33, M5

M4a-f. The objective of this question is to see how much influence and power R feels the group he identifies with has. In cases where he feels the group has a great deal of influence we want to know why; in cases where he feels the group is not too powerful, we want to know what, if anything, he feels could be done to increase its power. In the probes (particularly M4b and M4e) we are particularly interested in whether R feels groups get influence by some kind of organized group action or by individuals in that group each doing their bit as individuals. That is why in addition to the open-ended probes we ask them about this in M4c and M4f.



M5. Do you think the influence of (CLOSEST GROUP) is increasing or decreasing--is it more or less than it used to be?



M5a. Why is that--what things have made them have (more/less) influence?

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GO TO M6

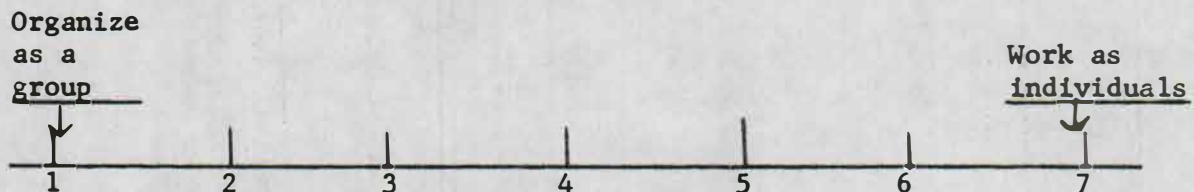
M6. (CARD M2-YELLOW) Some people feel that (CLOSEST GROUP) should organize, work together, and bring pressure as a group in order to have influence and get the things they want. Others feel (CLOSEST GROUP) should not organize in this way. They should work as individuals, doing such things as voting, writing letters to officials and generally making their opinions known.

Suppose people who think (CLOSEST GROUP) should organize as a group are at one end of the scale - at point number 1. And suppose those who feel (CLOSEST GROUP) should work as individuals are at the other end of the scale--at point number 7.

( INTERVIEWER RECORD NUMBER)

\_\_\_\_\_ M6a. Where would you place yourself on this scale?

\_\_\_\_\_ M6b. Where do you think most (CLOSEST GROUP) would place themselves on this scale?



M5. The objective in this question is the same  
M5a. as that of question M4--to get R's perception of his group's influence and the reasons for the influence (or lack of influence). We have found in the pretest that phrasing the question in these terms--i.e., recent increases or decreases in the group's influence--often sharpens the issue of group power for R and gets responses not elicited in Question M4.

M6a. We noted in the instructions to M4 that we are particularly interested in whether R feels that his group should organize to exert its influence, or whether the way towards group advancement and influence is for individuals in the group to do their bit as individuals. Question 6a gets at this issue directly.

M6b. The objective of this question is to see whether R feels that others in his group are more, less or equally committed to the group (or individual) action as they are. We are only interested in R's who have some meaningful feelings on this issue. So, if R says he has no idea how others feel, don't try to force a response to M6b. Just write in DK.



## N. GROUP DIFFERENCES

I'd like to ask you a few questions about some of the differences between groups in our society. People have different ideas about these things...I'd like to ask you about your ideas. (HAND R GREEN BOOKLET) For each set of statements in this booklet, we would like you to check the one you agree with most.

INTERVIEWER: IF YOU FEEL R MAY HAVE ANY READING OR SEEING PROBLEM, USE THE QUESTIONNAIRE AS USUAL. READ EACH SET OF STATEMENTS AND CHECK R'S CHOICE. DO THIS ONLY FOR THE FIRST TEN SETS OF QUESTIONS (N1-N10). IN EITHER CASE, BE SURE TO FILL IN CHECK POINT A, PAGE 36.

N1. Which of these first two statements do you agree with most?

1. ☐ People who are born poor have less chance to get ahead than other people. -- or --
5. ☐ People who have the ability and work hard have the same chance as anyone else, even if their parents were poor.

N2. Which of these two?

1. ☐ Many qualified women can't get good jobs; men with the same skills have much less trouble. -- or --
5. ☐ In general, men are more qualified than women for jobs that have great responsibility.

N3. And these?

1. ☐ Discrimination affects all Black people. The only way to handle it is for Blacks to organize together and demand rights for all. -- or --
5. ☐ Discrimination may affect all Blacks but the best way to handle it is for each individual to act like any other American--to work hard, get a good education, and mind his own business.

N4. And these?

1. ☐ Women can best overcome discrimination by pursuing their individual career goals in as feminine a way as possible. -- or --
5. ☐ It is not enough for a woman to be successful herself; women must work together to change laws and customs that are unfair to all women.

N5. And these?

1. ☐ It's lack of skill and abilities that keep many Black people from getting a job. It's not just because they're Black. When a Black person is trained to do something, he is able to get a job. -- or --
5. ☐ Many qualified Black people c 't get a good job. White p ople with the s skills wouldn't have any trouble.



## N: GROUP DIFFERENCES

N1.

The 19 items in this section are identical to those in a green booklet handed to R. In most cases R will be able to fill this out himself with no trouble, and more quickly than if you had to read all the statements to him. If R seems to have a reading or seeing problem, you may have to administer this section instead of having R do it himself. Just ask, "Would you rather that I read them to you?"

N2.

If you do read them, just ask R the first ten questions (N1-N10), and skip N11-N19. In the pretests we have found that these questions tend to take much more time when the interviewer reads them, so we are attempting to shorten the time in those cases when the interviewer reads the questions.

N3.

We would like R to fill these out himself, but if you feel there may be a reading problem, read the first ten questions to him while he follows along on the green form. In any event, indicate at the end of Form N whether R filled it out himself or you read it to him.

N4.

Each of the 19 questions in Section N gives two choices from which the respondent selects one. If the respondent feels that he doesn't agree with either statement, or that he agrees with both, emphasize that we merely want him to choose the statement that comes closer to how he feels. Also, some R's might say they are answering a question already asked (within Section N or in previous questions). In these cases tell R that while some questions are similar to others, sometimes these seemingly small differences are important in how people feel about an issue.

N5.

N6. Which of these statements do you agree with most?

- 1. ☐ Many poor people simply don't want to work hard. -- or --
- 5. ☐ The poor are poor because the American way of life doesn't give all people an equal chance.

N7. And these?

- 1. ☐ The best way for Blacks to overcome discrimination is through pressure and social action. -- or --
- 5. ☐ The best way to overcome discrimination is for each individual Black to be even better trained and more qualified than the most qualified White person.

N8. 1. ☐ It's more natural for men to have the top responsible jobs in a country. -- or--

- 5. ☐ Sex discrimination keeps women from the top jobs.

N9. 1. ☐ Many Blacks have only themselves to blame for not doing better in life. If they tried harder, they'd do better. -- or--

- 5. ☐ When two qualified people, one Black and one White, are considered for the same job, the Black won't get the job no matter how hard he tries.

N10. 1. ☐ The best way to handle problems of discrimination is for each woman to make sure she gets the best training possible for what she wants to do. -- or --

- 5. ☐ Only if women organize and work together can anything really be done about discrimination.

IF YOU ARE READING STATEMENTS TO R, TURN TO P. 36, CHECK POINT A

N11. 1. ☐ Racial discrimination is here to stay. -- or --

- 5. ☐ People may be prejudiced, but it's possible for American society to completely rid itself of racial discrimination.

N12. 1. ☐ Many Black people who don't do well in life do have good training, but the opportunities just always go to Whites. -- or --

- 5. ☐ Black people may not have the same opportunities as Whites, but many Blacks have't prepared themselves enough to make use of the opportunities that are there.

N6.

Tell R not to be concerned about the numbers next to the squares (they are code numbers).

BE SURE TO IDENTIFY THIS BOOKLET  
WITH YOUR INTERVIEWER'S LABEL AND  
YOUR INTERVIEW NUMBER.

N7.

N8.

N9.

N10.

N11.

As indicated in the general instructions to Section N, questions N11-N19 are to be answered by R's who fill out the green form themselves, but are not to be asked by you when there is a reading problem and you read the questions to R.

N12.



N13. 1. ☐ It's the lack of skills and abilities that keep most unemployed people from getting a job; if they had the skills most of them could get a job. -- or --

5. ☐ Many people with skills can't get a job; there just aren't any jobs for them.

N14. 1. ☐ People who blame discrimination generally do it to cover their own weaknesses. -- or --

5. ☐ The person's skill and effort are important but many people still face serious discrimination in our society.

N15. 1. ☐ By nature women are happiest when they are making a home and caring for children. -- or --

5. ☐ Our society, not nature, teaches women to prefer homemaking to work outside the home.

N16. 1. ☐ The attempt to "fit in" and do what's proper hasn't paid off for Blacks. It doesn't matter how "proper" you are, you'll still meet serious discrimination if you're Black. -- or --

5. ☐ The problem for many Blacks is that they aren't really acceptable by American standards. Any Black who is educated and does what is considered proper will be accepted and will get ahead.

N17. 1. ☐ Men have more of the top jobs because they are born with more drive to be ambitious and successful than women. -- or --

5. ☐ Men have more of the top jobs because our society discriminates against women.

N18. 1. ☐ The racial situation in America may be very complex, but with enough money and effort, it is possible to get rid of racial discrimination. -- or --

5. ☐ We'll never completely get rid of discrimination. It's part of human nature.

N19. 1. ☐ Blacks and other minorities no longer face unfair employment conditions. In fact, they are favored in many training and job programs. -- or --

5. ☐ Even with the new programs, minorities still face the same old job discrimination once the program is over.

CHECK POINT A

- |                                                                                                                                                                                    |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>1 R READ QUESTIONS IN BOOKLET WITH NO APPARENT READING DIFFICULTY.</p> <p>2 R READ QUESTIONS IN BOOKLET--MAY HAVE HAD SOME DIFFICULTY.</p> <p>3 INTERVIEWER READ QUESTIONS.</p> |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

N13.

N14.

N15.

N16.

N17.

N18.

N19.

## R: INCOME TAXES

- R1. Now I have a few questions about the federal income taxes people pay to the United States government. Over the last 2 or 3 years, do you happen to know whether federal tax rates have gone up, gone down, or remained about the same as 2 or 3 years ago?

1. GONE UP	3. ABOUT THE SAME	5. GONE DOWN	8. DON'T KNOW
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- R2. At federal income tax filing time this last spring, I mean early in 1972, did you (and your husband/wife) find that you were entitled to a refund, or did you owe the government money, or weren't you required to file an income tax return?

1. ENTITLED TO REFUND	→ (GO TO <u>R3</u> )	IF HUSBAND AND WIFE FILED SEPARATE RETURNS, COMBINE THEM TO DETERMINE WHETHER THE NET RESULT WAS A REFUND OR OWING MONEY							
2. OWED MONEY	→ (TURN TO P. 39, <u>R10</u> )								
3. CAME OUT EVEN: NEITHER REFUND NOR OWED MONEY	→ (TURN TO P. 39, <u>R8</u> )								
4. DON'T KNOW WHETHER REFUND OR OWED	→ (TURN TO P. 39, <u>R8</u> )								
5. NOT REQUIRED TO FILE	→	<p>R2a. Do you expect that you (and your husband/wife) will be required to file a federal income tax return <u>next</u> spring, early in 1973?</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td>1. YES</td> <td>5. NO</td> <td>8. DON'T KNOW</td> </tr> <tr> <td>(TURN TO P. 39, <u>R8</u>)</td> <td>(TURN TO P. 45, SECTION S)</td> <td>(TURN TO P. 45, SECTION S)</td> </tr> </table>		1. YES	5. NO	8. DON'T KNOW	(TURN TO P. 39, <u>R8</u> )	(TURN TO P. 45, SECTION S)	(TURN TO P. 45, SECTION S)
1. YES	5. NO			8. DON'T KNOW					
(TURN TO P. 39, <u>R8</u> )	(TURN TO P. 45, SECTION S)	(TURN TO P. 45, SECTION S)							
8. DON'T KNOW WHETHER REQUIRED TO FILE	→								

- R3. The last 3 or 4 years, have you usually found that you were entitled to a refund at federal income tax filing time, or was this the first year you got a refund, or what?



## SECTION R: INCOME TAXES

GENERAL  
NOTE:

All of the questions in this section refer to income taxes paid to the United States government. We hope that the respondent will not confuse these federal income taxes with state or city income taxes, or with any other sort of taxes, e.g. property tax. Be on the alert for evidence of this kind of confusion, and if it occurs get your R back onto the right track.

R1  
Have  
Tax  
Rates  
Changed?

This question has two objectives: First, to focus attention on "federal income taxes" paid to the "United States government." It is important for R to get this frame of reference firmly in mind. Second, we want to know whether people think tax rates "have gone up, gone down, or remained about the same."

The key word in this question is "rates." If R says that taxes are higher because people are making more money, repeat the second half of the question with emphasis on the word "rates."

If R says that rates are higher for some people or some kinds of income and lower for other people or other kinds of income, repeat the second half of the question prefaced by "Overall, on average." It is R's overall impression of tax rates being higher or lower that we are after.

R2  
Early  
1972  
Tax  
Return

The reference of this question is to the income tax return required to be filed by April 15, 1972, for income received during 1971. Each return (called "Form 1040") has three crucial figures on it:

1. Total tax liability on income received during 1971.
2. Amount of tax already paid on 1971 income before filing the return. People who receive wages and salaries have taxes withheld from their pay checks during the year (1971) the income is earned. And people who have substantial amounts of income of other types not subject to this kind of withholding are required to estimate their tax liability and make advance payments during the year (1971) the income is received. (See note to R18.)
3. Total tax liability minus tax already paid (i.e. #1 minus #2). This is the amount that R owes when he files his return. If #2 is bigger than #1, which often happens, R is entitled to a refund when filing.

It is #3 that is being asked about in R2.

Some people with very small incomes, and with no taxes withheld, are not required to file a tax return.

Whenever R is married, the question should read: "you and your husband" or "you and your wife." Usually married people will file one return for both husband and wife (a "joint" return). Occasionally, for complicated reasons, they may file separate returns. If R says in R2 that he got a refund but his wife owed money, or vice versa, try to find out which was larger so as to determine whether the net result was a refund or owing money. A few people may not have filed yet even though required to do so. If they can't answer R2, tell us the circumstances and turn to R7.

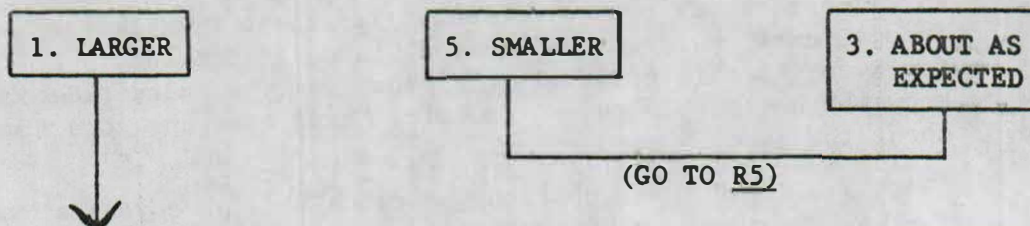
## R2a

The reference is to the income tax return required to be filed by April 15, 1973, for income received during 1972.

## R3

The objective of this question is to find out whether R considers it a usual thing to get a refund. If R is married and the spouse files separately, both returns should be considered in the answer to this question.

- R4. Was your federal tax refund last spring larger than you had expected before you filled out the tax return, or was it smaller, or was the refund about what you had expected?



R4a. Why was the refund larger than you expected it would be?

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- R5. About how large was your federal tax refund last spring?

(DOLLARS)

(IF CAN'T SAY)

R5a. Was it about \$50, \$100, \$200, or what?

(DOLLARS)

IF HUSBAND AND WIFE  
FILE SEPARATE RETURNS,  
COMBINE THEM TO  
DETERMINE THE NET  
AMOUNT OF THE REFUND

(IF MORE THAN \$25)

- R6. What did you do with the money from your federal income tax refund -- did you spend it, save it, invest it, repay debts, use it for a downpayment on something, or what?

---



---

(IF SPENT OR  
USED AS  
DOWNPAYMENT)

R6a. On what did you (spend it/use it for a downpayment)?

---

(IF SAVED OR  
INVESTED)

R6b. Where did you put the money you (saved/invested) -- in the bank, in stocks, in bonds, or what?

---



R4-R4a

Our main purpose in R4 is to identify respondents who were surprised at the size of the refunds they were entitled to when they filled out their tax returns. One possible problem: if R is married, you may not be talking to the one who filled out the return. Or, R may have had the return filled out by a tax consultant rather than doing it himself. In these circumstances, rephrase the question saying "...larger than you had expected before you found out the amount of the refund you had coming to you...." If R says he never found out how large the refund was, and therefore can't answer, write that down and go to R5.

In R4a, a frequent answer may be "I don't know, it just worked out that way." Don't push for an answer.

R5-R5a

Size  
of  
Refund

Don't press for an answer to R5, but ask R5a instead. If R volunteers to look it up in his records, that's fine but don't urge him to do it unless you are quite sure the rapport will carry through the rest of the interview. We do not need an exact figure; a "ballpark estimate" will do.

If R is married and they filed separate returns, the amount in R5 should be the sum of both refunds (or the refund on one return minus the amount owed on the other return).

R6-R6a-R6b

What was  
Refund  
Used  
For?

Especially for small amounts, but sometimes for larger amounts, R may not be able to say where the money went except perhaps into the wallet or checking account. The objective here is to find out how many people have a specific idea of what the money was used for, and if so, what that was. We are especially interested in any indication that R planned ahead of time to use the money in a certain way.

In R6a and R6b, we are interested in as specific an answer as possible.



R7. Do you (and your husband/wife) expect to get a refund when you file your federal income tax return next spring?

<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; text-align: center;">1. YES</div> (TURN TO P. 41, <u>R15</u> )	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; text-align: center;">5. NO</div> <div style="text-align: center;">↓</div>	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; text-align: center;">8. DON'T KNOW</div> (TURN TO P. 40, <u>R13</u> )	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; text-align: center;">0. WILL NOT FILE A RETURN</div> (TURN TO P. 45, SECTION S)
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R7a. Do you expect to owe the government money when you file your return, or will you come out about even?

<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; display: inline-block;">1. WILL OWE MONEY</div> (GO TO <u>R9</u> )	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; display: inline-block;">5. WILL COME OUT ABOUT EVEN</div>	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; display: inline-block;">8. DON'T KNOW</div>
--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

(TURN TO P. 40, R13)

R8. When you (and your husband/wife) file your federal income tax return next spring, do you expect that you will owe the government money then, or will you be entitled to a refund, or what?

<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; text-align: center;">1. OWE MONEY</div> <div style="text-align: center;">↓</div>	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; text-align: center;">3. ENTITLED TO REFUND</div> (TURN TO P. 41, <u>R14</u> )	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; text-align: center;">5. WILL COME OUT EVEN</div>	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; text-align: center;">8. DON'T KNOW</div>	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; text-align: center;">0. WILL NO FILE A RETURN</div> (TURN TO P. 45, SECTION S)
-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

(TURN TO P. 40, R13)

R9. Where will the money for the income tax come from next spring -- do you expect to borrow it, will it come out of savings, will you cut down on your spending, or what?

(TURN TO P. 40, R13)

R10. About how much did you owe the government when you filed your federal tax return last spring?

\_\_\_\_\_ (DOLLARS)

(IF CAN'T SAY)

R10a. Was it about \$50, \$100, or \$200, or what?

\_\_\_\_\_ (DOLLARS)

IF HUSBAND AND WIFE  
FILED SEPARATE RETURNS,  
COMBINE THEM TO DETER-  
MINE THE NET AMOUNT  
OWED

(IF \$50 OR MORE)

R11. Where did you get the money owed when you filed your return -- did you borrow it, did it come from savings, did you cut down on your spending, or wh

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R7-R7a  
Refund  
Next  
Spring?

R7 is asked of all R's who say they got a refund last spring. What does R expect next spring when the return is filed for 1972 taxes?

If R got a refund last spring but says (R7) that he won't get one next spring, we want to find out in R7a what R does expect to come out of his return next spring.

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GENERAL  
NOTE:

When a broken line appears across the page of the questionnaire it is to draw your attention to the fact that NONE of the respondents who were asked the question above the line are to be asked the question immediately below the line, i.e. they are all sent elsewhere.

This section of the interview has a very large number of skip instructions, so watch carefully. If you find yourself asking a question that seems out-of-place, go back to the question you asked just previously to see if you missed a skip instruction somewhere.

R8

R8 is asked of R's who 1) neither got a refund nor owed money when they filed their return last spring; or 2) did not file a return last spring but expect to file next spring (see R2 and R2a). What does R expect next spring when the return is filed for 1972 taxes?

R9

R9 is asked of R's who did not owe money when they filed last spring but expect to owe when they file next spring (see R7a or R8). Our objective in R9 is to find out whether R presently has any idea where he will get the money for his federal tax next spring. Many R's may not have any such idea. Don't press for an answer.

NOTE: The dotted line means that NONE of the respondents who are asked R8 go on to R10; they are all sent elsewhere depending on what answers they give to R8 or R9.

R10-R10a  
How Much  
Owed Last  
Spring

R10 is asked of all R's who said (R2) that they owed money at tax filing time last spring. The instruction for R5-R5a is applicable here.

R11  
Where Got  
The Money  
Owed

R11 is asked only if the answer to R10 or R10a is \$50 or more, in order to avoid having to ask R where he got a small amount of money. Even so, some R's may consider the amount they owed to be a rather insignificant amount of money, and will therefore have no idea where they got it from. Our objective is to find out how many R's are able to say where the money came from, and where that was. We are interested in as specific an answer as possible, but don't push for a specific answer.



R12. When you (and your husband/wife) file your federal income tax return next spring, do you expect to owe about the same amount, or will you be entitled to a refund, or what?

1. WILL OWE MORE	3. ABOUT THE SAME	5. WILL OWE LESS  (ASK BOTH R12a AND R12b)	6. WILL OWE NOTHING; COME OUT EVEN	7. WILL GET REFUND  (TURN TO P.41 , R14)	8. D.K. (GO TO R13)	9. WILL NOT FILE A RETURN  (TURN TO P.45 , SECTION S)
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R12a. Where will the money for the income tax come from next spring -- do you expect to borrow it, will it come out of savings, will you cut down on your spending, or what?

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R12b. Why do you expect to owe less money on your tax return next spring than you owed last spring?

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R13. Suppose it turns out that you get a refund equal to about one week's income -- what would you do with the money -- spend it, save it, invest it, repay debts, use it for a downpayment on something, or what?

---

---

(IF SPEND  
OR USE AS  
DOWNPAYMENT)

R13a. On what would you (spend it/use it for a downpayment)?

---

(IF SAVE OR  
INVEST IT)

R13b. Where would you put the money you (save/invest) -- in the bank, in stocks, in bonds, or what?

---

(TURN TO P.42 , R18)



R12

R's who owed money last spring are asked what they expect at tax filing time next spring. If R only says that he will again owe money, probe to find out if it will be more, less, or about the same as last spring.

R12a

The objective of R12a is the same as that for R9.

R12b

R12b is asked of people who expect to owe less money next spring than last spring. We are especially interested in answers which suggest R's awareness of the change in the tax law which increased the amounts withheld this year from wages and salaries, but there are many other possible reasons. Be especially careful to get down in detail R's answer to this question.

R13-R13a-R13b

The objective here is to find out how many people have some idea of what such a refund might be used for, and if so, what that might be. Since this question is asked of R's who do not expect a refund (see R7, R7a, R8, and R12), R will not have given the prospect of a refund much thought. If R says he will not get a refund, you might try repeating the question with emphasis on "suppose," but don't insist.

NOTE: The dotted line means that NONE of the respondents who are asked R13b go on to R14; they are all sent to R18.

R14. Why do you expect to get a refund on your tax return next spring?

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(TURN TO P. 42 , R16)

R15. Do you expect the tax refund you will get next spring to be larger, smaller, or about the same size as the one you got last spring?

1. LARGER NEXT SPRING	3. ABOUT THE SAME	5. SMALLER NEXT SPRING	8. DON'T KNOW
--------------------------	----------------------	---------------------------	---------------

(TURN TO P.42 , R16)

R15a. Why do you expect your refund next spring to be larger than last spring?

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R14

R14 is asked of R's who did not get a refund last spring but who expect one next spring (see R8 and R12). We are especially interested in answers which suggest R's awareness of the change in the tax law which increased the amounts withheld this year from wages and salaries, but there are many other possible reasons for expecting a refund. Be especially careful to get down in detail R's answer to this question.

NOTE: The dotted line means that NONE of the respondents who are asked R14 go on to R15; they are all sent to R16.

R15-R15a

R15 is asked of R's who both got a refund last spring and expect a refund next spring (see R7. In R15a (as in R12b and R14) we are especially interested in answers which suggest R's awareness of the change in the tax law which increased the amounts withheld this year from wages and salaries.



- R16. What do you think you will do with the money you get from your tax refund next spring -- spend it, save it, invest it, repay debts, use it for a downpayment on something, or what?
- 
- 

(IF SPEND  
OR USE AS  
DOWNPAYMENT)

- R16a. On what would you (spend it/use it for a downpayment)?
- 

(IF SAVE OR  
INVEST IT)

- R16b. Where would you put the money you (save/invest) -- in the bank, in stocks, in bonds, or what?
- 

- R17. Suppose your tax refund turns out to be a couple of hundred dollars larger than you expected -- what would you do with the extra money?
- 
- 

(IF SPEND  
OR USE AS  
DOWNPAYMENT)

- R17a. On what would you (spend it/use it for a downpayment)?
- 

(IF SAVE OR  
INVEST IT)

- R17b. Where would you put the money you (save/invest) -- in the bank, in stocks, in bonds, or what?
- 

- R18. Do you (and your husband/wife) file estimates of your income tax during the same year the income is being earned, or do you just file your regular return the next spring?

1. FILES ESTIMATED TAX

5. FILES JUST REGULAR RETURN

R16-R16a-R16b R16 is asked of all R's who expect a refund next spring (see R14 and R15). Some R's may have already given the matter some thought. We want to find out how many people have some idea of what such a refund might be used for, and if so, what that might be. We are particularly interested in any indication that R is planning to use the refund for a specific purpose.

R17 Note that this question refers exclusively to what R would do with the extra money, although the answer to R17 may of course be the same as in R16. R may deny the possibility of an unexpectedly large refund. If so, you might repeat the question with emphasis on "Suppose." But don't insist.

R18  
Estimated  
Tax  
Filing Most people file only one tax return a year, namely the Form 1040 due by April 15, reporting on income received during the previous year. All taxpayers are required to file this return, but if the person has significant amounts of income other than wages or salaries subject to withholding, he is required also to file "Declarations of Estimated Tax" at quarterly intervals during the same year as such income is received. The idea is that tax payments made with these declarations will prevent the taxpayer from having to make large payments of tax when he files his Form 1040 the next April.

We can't call these "quarterly" declarations of estimated tax because it turns out that most people who file these estimates do so just once, early in the year they are receiving the declared income, and at that time pay all of the tax for the whole year, thereby avoiding the necessity of filing the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th quarterly declarations. So they may not think of them as "quarterly."

It is these declarations of estimated tax that are being asked about in R18.



CHECKPOINT B:

1. RESPONDENT IS MARRIED

2. RESPONDENT IS SINGLE

R19. Did you (and your husband/wife) file a joint income tax return this last spring, or did you file separate returns?

1. JOINT

2. SEPARATE

8. DON'T KNOW

R20. Have you received any wage or salary income this year from which federal income taxes have been withheld?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW

R21. Has your (husband/wife) received any wage or salary income this year from which federal income taxes have been withheld?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW

R22. Have you received any wage or salary income this year from which federal income taxes have been withheld?

1. YES

5. NO

8. D.K.

(TURN TO  
P. 45,  
SECTION S)

CHECKPOINT C: (FROM R20 and R21)

1. BOTH YES

BOXES CHECKED

(ASK R23-25 TWICE:  
FIRST FOR R, THEN  
FOR HUSBAND/WIFE)

2. ONE YES

BOX CHECKED

(ASK R23-25 WITH  
REFERENCE TO  
PERSON FOR WHOM  
BOX IS CHECKED  
YES)

3. NEITHER YES

BOX CHECKED

(TURN TO  
P. 45,  
SECTION S)

R23. Is the proportion of (your/your husband's/your wife's) income that is being withheld larger this year than last, or smaller, or is about the same proportion being withheld as last year?

(IF LARGER)

R23a. Why is it that a larger proportion is being withheld for federal income taxes this year than last?

RESPONDENT

1. LARGER

3. SAME

5. SMALLER

8. DON'T KNOW

(TURN TO  
P. 44,  
R24)

HUSBAND OR WIFE

1. LARGER

3. SAME

5. SMALLER

8. DON'T KNOW

(TURN TO  
P. 44,  
R24)



## INTERVIEWER

CHECKPOINT: Check whether R is married or single (see face sheet).

R19 Asked only if R is married. If just one return was filed for both husband and wife, that is a "joint" return. Go on to R20 regardless of the answer to R19.

R20 R20 refers to R, and to his/her wage or salary income received in 1972 up to the time of the interview. Go on to R21 regardless of the answer to R20.

R21 R21 refers to R's husband or wife.

## INTERVIEWER

CHECKPOINT: One of these three boxes should be checked on the basis of R's answers to R20 and R21. If the first box is checked, you should go through the R23-R25 series of questions asking about R's withholdings, exemptions, and jobs, and then go through R23-R25 a second time asking about the husband or wife of R. If the "ONE YES" box is checked, ask the R23-R25 series once for either R or spouse as indicated by "YES" in R20 or R21 respectively, and enter the answers in the appropriate columns.

R22 Asked only if R is single. If the answer is "YES," ask R23-R25.

R23-R23a The question should read "your" or "your husband's" or "your wife's" Withholding depending on whom you are talking about. (R23 is a complicated question and you may well have to repeat it. The key word is "proportion." The question does not ask whether a larger or smaller amount is being withheld. Hopefully, the frame of reference (federal income taxes) has been established by this point in the questionnaire. In R23a, try to get down R's answer in detail. If more room is needed, use the empty space on page 44.

	RESPONDENT	HUSBAND OR WIFE
R24. (Have you/has your husband/ your wife) changed the number of exemptions you claim this year, so as to change the amount the employer withholds for federal income taxes?	<div>YES</div> <div>5. NO (GO TO R25)</div> <div>↓</div>	<div>YES</div> <div>5. NO (GO TO R25)</div> <div>↓</div>
(IF YES)		
R24a. Was that an increase in the number of exemptions, or a decrease?	<div>1. INCREASE</div> <div>2. DECREASE</div>	<div>1. INCREASE</div> <div>2. DECREASE</div>
R24b. Why was it that the number of exemptions was (increased/ decreased)?	<div></div> <div></div> <div></div> <div></div> <div></div> <div></div> <div></div>	<div></div> <div></div> <div></div> <div></div> <div></div> <div></div> <div></div>
R25. Sometimes a person will hold jobs with two different employers at the same time. Have (you/your husband/ your wife) had a second job this year?	<div>1. YES</div> <div>5. NO</div>	<div>1. YES</div> <div>5. NO</div>

TIME NOW \_\_\_\_\_

R24-R24a-R24b

The question reads either: "Have you" or "Has your husband" or "Has your wife." The amount an employer withholds from a person's paycheck for income taxes depends on the number of "exemptions" that person has claimed on a "W-4" form required to be filed with the employer. Normally the employee will claim the same number of exemptions (dependents, etc.) on the W-4 form as he does on his tax return. However, he may elect to claim more exemptions (so more will be withheld), and this year the Treasury Department is trying to encourage people to claim fewer exemptions so that less will be withheld and refunds next April will not be so large.

In R24b we are especially interested in answers which suggest that R might be aware that refunds are destined to be especially large next April unless the number of exemptions claimed on the W-4 form (with the employer) is decreased.

R25

Note that we are asking one person having two jobs with two different employers at the same time. The "YES" box should be checked if the person has been in this situation at any time during 1972.



## S: FEELINGS ABOUT LIFE

In the next section of this interview I will be asking how you feel about your life, and life in this country. Please tell me the feelings you have now--taking into account what has happened in the last year and what you expect in the near future.

(CARD S1, ORANGE) Most of the questions can be answered by telling me what number on this card comes closest to how you feel: "one" for delighted, "two" for pleased, and so forth on to "seven" for terrible. If one of the questions doesn't seem to fit the way you think, you can tell me "A" to indicate that you can't answer that particular question.

I FEEL:						
<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 6	<input type="checkbox"/> 7
DELIGHTED	PLEASED	MOSTLY SATISFIED	MIXED (ABOUT EQUALLY SATISFIED AND DISSATISFIED)	MOSTLY DISSATIS-	UNHAPPY	TERRIBLE
<input type="checkbox"/> A I CAN'T ANSWER THAT QUESTION						

- \_\_\_\_\_ S1. First, a very general question: How do you feel about your life as a whole?
- \_\_\_\_\_ S2. Now, try and forget all the things in your life that annoy or worry you; how do you feel about the good and pleasant parts of your life? How do these nice aspects, by themselves, make you feel?
- \_\_\_\_\_ S3. Now do the opposite--try and forget all the good and pleasant parts of your life; how do you feel about the things that annoy or worry you? How do these poor aspects, by themselves, make you feel?

## S: FEELINGS ABOUT LIFE

We are interested in what feelings people have in various situations and on several topics which, on the basis of earlier work, we know to be important in affecting perceptions of life quality. In items S5, S6 and S7 we are particularly interested in how people's sense of satisfaction or dissatisfaction changes when they adopt different points of view.

The card, which is used for all items except S4, tries to get some "real feelings" into words and not just judgments of satisfaction or dissatisfaction. To convey this idea you might put some emotion into how you say the words in the explanation of the scale. Since some respondents may never have considered some of the points of view we mention in items S5-S7, we have supplemented the seven-point scale with an off-scale category, "A" - "I can't answer that question." Respondents should be reminded that it exists, so they are not forced to answer questions which might be irrelevant to them. (We do not expect this problem to occur very often, however.)

S1.

In the S4 series of questions, we are scanning for just one statement which best describes the respondent's life. Since we want the most appropriate statement, it is important that the respondent not jump into accepting one of the first pair (in item S4a) unless one of these is clearly right for him/her. Be sure the respondent understands that more pairs follow if neither of any given set seems to fit well. After the appropriate statement has been identified, the instructions ask you to skip the rest of S4 and continue with the S5 series of items on the following page.

S2.

S3.



S4a. I'm going to read you a pair of statements that may describe your life. If one of the statements describes how you see your life, tell me; if neither seems right, we will try another pair. Here is the first pair:

TURN TO  
P. 47, S5

1

My life is very good; I have really nothing to be dissatisfied about,  
... or ...

2

My life is pretty bad; I don't have much of anything to feel good about,  
... or ...

Neither of those.

S4b. Here is another pair for you to try:

TURN TO  
P. 47, S5

3

My life is pretty good; I have only small things to be dissatisfied about,  
... or ...

4

My life is not good, but there are a few nice parts that keep me going.  
... OR ...

NEITHER

S4c. How about:

TURN TO  
P. 47, S5

5

My life is all right; I've just got to handle my problems,  
... or ...

6

My life isn't too bad; but I keep thinking about the things I don't like.  
... OR ...

NEITHER

S4d. Here's another pair:

TURN TO  
P. 47, S5

7

Putting everything together, my life is both very good and also very bad,  
... or ...

8

My life doesn't seem to be either very good or very bad.  
... OR ...

0

NEITHER

S4e. Could you tell me how you think of your life? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_



S4a-e.

S5. (CARD S1, ORANGE) Now here are some questions on how you feel about parts of your life. Like before, just tell me the number on the card which gives the best idea of how you feel.

\_\_\_\_\_ S5a. How do you feel about your house/apartment?

\_\_\_\_\_ S5b. Thinking only of your own needs, how do you feel about your house/apartment?

\_\_\_\_\_ S5c. With your values of what is appropriate or fair, how do you feel about your house/apartment?

\_\_\_\_\_ S5d. Considering what your house/apartment takes in money, time and energy, how do you feel about the house/apartment?

\_\_\_\_\_ S5e. Thinking of what it would take to move to another dwelling or change this one, how do you feel about your present house/apartment?

\_\_\_\_\_ S5f. How do you think most people would feel about your house/apartment?

\_\_\_\_\_ S5g. Thinking of your age and position in life, how do you feel about your house/apartment?

S6. Now let's shift to another part of your life.

\_\_\_\_\_ S6a. How do you feel about what you are accomplishing in your life?

\_\_\_\_\_ S6b. Considering just yourself and your own needs, how do you feel about what you are accomplishing in life?

\_\_\_\_\_ S6c. With your values of what is appropriate or fair, how do you feel about what you are accomplishing in life?

\_\_\_\_\_ S6d. How do you feel about what you are accomplishing in life considering the resources of money, time and energy you're putting into it?

\_\_\_\_\_ S6e. Thinking of what it would take to change what you are accomplishing, how do you feel about what you are accomplishing in life?

\_\_\_\_\_ S6f. How do you think most people would feel about what you are accomplishing in your life?

\_\_\_\_\_ S6g. Thinking of your age and position in life, how do you feel about what you are accomplishing in life?

S5.

S6.



S7. Here's the last set of these kinds of questions.

\_\_\_\_\_ S7a. How do you feel about what our national government is doing?

\_\_\_\_\_ S7b. Thinking only of yourself and your needs, how do you feel about what the national government is doing?

\_\_\_\_\_ S7c. With your values about what is appropriate and fair, how do you feel about what the national government is doing?

\_\_\_\_\_ S7d. How do you feel about what our national government is doing considering the resources--money, time and energy--being put into it?

\_\_\_\_\_ S7e. Considering what it would take to change what the government is doing, how do you feel about what our national government is doing?

\_\_\_\_\_ S7f. How do you think most people feel about the things that our national government is doing?

\_\_\_\_\_ S7g. Thinking of your age and position in life, how do you feel about what our national government is doing?

TIME NOW \_\_\_\_\_

S7.

T: CULTURAL ATTITUDES

Here are a few questions about your religious attitudes.

- T1. About how often do you pray—several times a day, once a day, a few times a week, once a week or less, or never?

1. SEVERAL TIMES A DAY

2. ONCE A DAY

3. A FEW TIMES A WEEK

4. ONCE A WEEK OR LESS

5. NEVER

8. DK

- T2. Do you believe that God sends misfortune and illness on people as punishment for their sins, or not?

1. YES

5. NO

3. DEPENDS

8. DK

- T3. Do you believe in a life after death, or not?

1. YES

5. NO

3. DEPENDS

8. DK

- T4. Do you feel that someone who doesn't believe in God can be a good American, or not?

1. YES

5. NO

3. DEPENDS

8. DK

- T5. Now here's something else. During the past year we have had high unemployment in some places. Do you think that this is mainly due to the policies followed by the government or mainly due to other reasons?

1. MAINLY DUE TO POLICIES

5. MAINLY OTHER REASONS

8. DK

- T6. Do you think that quite a few of the people running the government are dishonest, not very many are, or do you think hardly any of them are dishonest?

5. QUITE A FEW

3. NOT MANY

1. HARDLY ANY

8. DK

Would you agree or disagree with each of the following statements?

- T7. I prefer the practical man anytime to the man of ideas.

1. AGREE

5. DISAGREE



## T: CULTURAL ATTITUDES

T1. If there is any question, we mean how often R prays in any way - publicly or privately, and not just how often he goes to church.

This whole section seems pretty straightforward - all closed-end, with no skips.

T2.

T3.

T4.

T5.

T6.

T7.

These last few items are straight agree-disagree, with no third option. Without brow-beating R, try to force him into one or the other.

- T8. The findings of science may someday show that many of our most deeply-held beliefs are wrong.
- |          |             |
|----------|-------------|
| 1. AGREE | 5. DISAGREE |
|----------|-------------|
- T9. People ought to pay more attention to new ideas, even if they seem to go against the American way of life.
- |          |             |
|----------|-------------|
| 1. AGREE | 5. DISAGREE |
|----------|-------------|
- T10. All except the old and the handicapped should have to take care of themselves without social welfare benefits.
- |          |             |
|----------|-------------|
| 1. AGREE | 5. DISAGREE |
|----------|-------------|
- T11. In many respects, equality has gone too far in this country.
- |          |             |
|----------|-------------|
| 1. AGREE | 5. DISAGREE |
|----------|-------------|

T8.

T9.



## U: KNOWLEDGE

Here are a few questions about elected officials in Washington. Many people don't know the answers to these questions, so if there's one you haven't thought about much, just tell me and we'll go on to the next one.

- U1. Do you happen to know how many times an individual can be elected President?

\_\_\_\_\_ Times

98. NO, DK

- U2. Do you know how long the term of office is for a United States Senator?

\_\_\_\_\_ Years

98. NO, DK

- U3. Do you happen to remember the names of the candidates for Congress--that is, for the House of Representatives in Washington--that ran in this district this November?

1. YES

5. NO

→ TURN TO P. 51, U4

U3a. Who were they?

U3b. Which party was (he/she)?

NAME

PARTY

_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

(IF R MENTIONS TWO OR MORE PARTIES, TURN TO P. 52, U4;  
IF R MENTIONS ONLY ONE PARTY, ASK U3c):

- U3c. Do you happen to know if both of the parties ran candidates for Congress in this congressional district this November, or was there only one candidate?

1. DEM ONLY

2. BOTH PARTIES

3. REPUB ONLY

4. THREE OR MORE PARTIES

8. DK

## U: KNOWLEDGE

U1.

This section is always a problem, simply because when people realize that we know how uninformed they are, they get up-tight. We've written a lead-in telling them it's OK not to know the answers, and feel perfectly free to keep telling R that.

U2.

U3.

U4. How long is the term of office for a member of the House of Representatives in Washington?

\_\_\_\_\_ Years

98. DK

U5. Do you happen to know which party had the most members in the House of Representatives in Washington before the elections (this/last) month? (IF NECESSARY: Which one?)

1. REPUBLICANS

5. DEMOCRATS

8. NO, DK

U6. Do you happen to know which party elected the most members to the House of Representatives in the elections (this/last) month? (IF NECESSARY: Which one?)

1. REPUBLICANS

5. DEMOCRATS

8. NO, DK



U4.

U5.

U6.

## W. PERSONAL TRUST

W1. (CARD W1-WHITE) Now I'd like to read you some statements about other people and ways of dealing with them. For each statement, please pick the answer on this card that best describes how you feel about it. You can just tell me the answer you choose - whether you strongly agree, mildly agree, neither agree nor disagree, mildly disagree, or strongly disagree.

	STRONGLY AGREE	MILDLY AGREE	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE	MILDLY DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE	DK
W1a. Most people have very little confidence in others.	1	2	3	4	5	8
W1b. Most people would tell a lie if they could gain by it.	1	2	3	4	5	8
W1c. In spite of TV or newspaper reports, there is really no lack of trust between older and younger generations.	1	2	3	4	5	8
W1d. More often than not, people have hidden reasons for doing nice things for others.	1	2	3	4	5	8
W1e. Most people can be counted on to do what they say they will do.	1	2	3	4	5	8
W1f. Trusting in other people very often leads to disappointment.	1	2	3	4	5	8
W1g. Experience leads me to believe that most people can be trusted.	1	2	3	4	5	8
W1h. People in our society are genuinely concerned with others and are not just out for themselves.	1	2	3	4	5	8
W1j. Most salesclerks are honest in describing the products which they sell.	1	2	3	4	5	8
W1k. In dealing with strangers, one ought to be cautious until they have shown themselves to be trustworthy.	1	2	3	4	5	8

## W: PERSONAL TRUST

W1.

These items attempt to assess the R's degree of trust in other people. You may explain any words which give R difficulty, and you may record a DK if R states that he is unable to respond to a particular item, even after a prompt from you to take the best possible answer. In all the items, we are concerned with "people in general" or what R believes to be the case in the majority of instances; do not, however, make such an interpretation unless R indicates uncertainty as to the referent.



	STRONGLY AGREE	MILDLY AGREE	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE	MILDLY DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE	
Wlm. People are more inclined to help others than they are usually given credit for.	1	2	3	4	5	8
Wln. Most people are basically honest.	1	2	3	4	5	8
Wlp. It is a good idea to look for hidden meanings behind what other people say.	1	2	3	4	5	8
Wlq. People are basically uncooperative.	1	2	3	4	5	8
Wlr. When you get right down to it, people really don't care what happens to you.	1	2	3	4	5	8
Wls. Even when given a chance, only a few people are likely to take advantage of you.	1	2	3	4	5	8

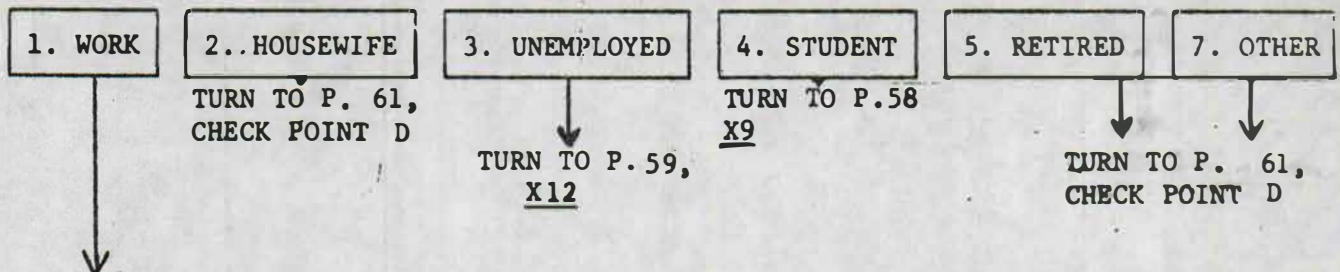
W1. (continued)

55

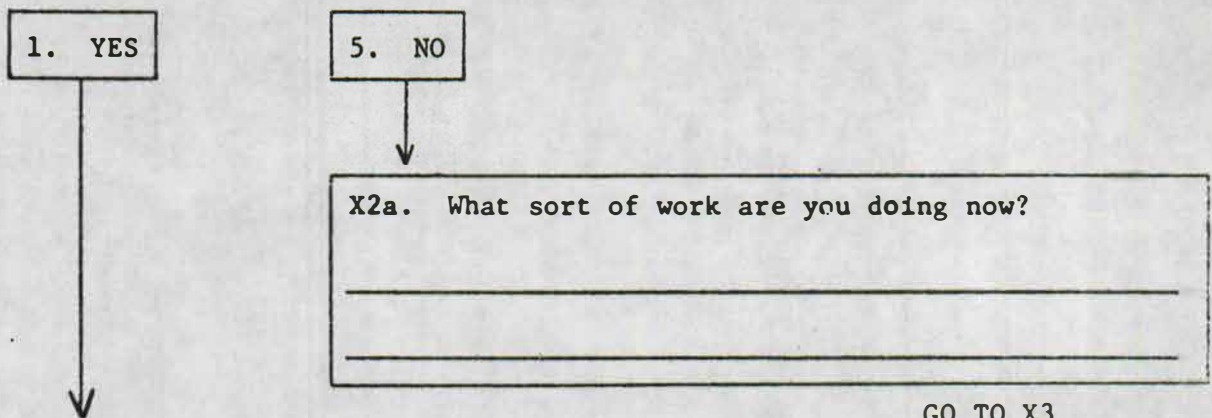
## X. WORK AND OTHER ACTIVITIES

X1. We asked you about this the last time we interviewed you but we would like to know if anything has changed... Are you working now, unemployed, (retired), (a housewife), (a student), or what?

IF R GIVES MORE THAN ONE OCCUPATION CATEGORY FOLLOW INSTRUCTIONS FOR BOX WITH LOWEST CODE NUMBER, I.E., "STUDENT/HOUSEWIFE" FOLLOW SEQUENCE FOR HOUSEWIFE.

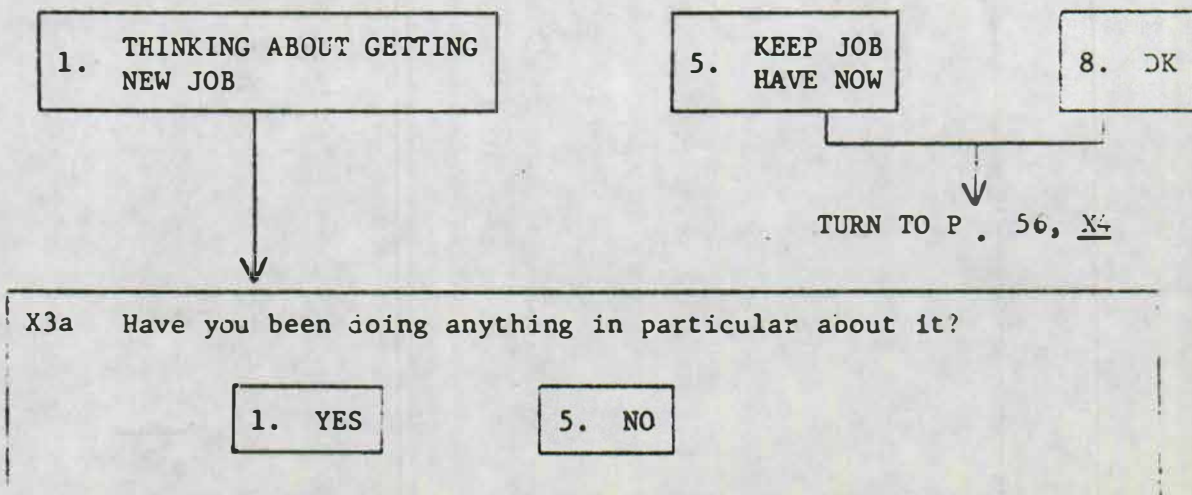


X2. Is this the same work you were doing when we talked to you before?



GO TO X3

X3. Have you been thinking about getting a new job in the next year or so, or will you keep the job you have now?





## X: WORK AND OTHER ACTIVITIES

The objective of this section is to look at R's feelings of control and satisfaction in the work area, and some other areas of life. The main problem in this section will probably be to keep in mind what group gets what questions:

- 1) Questions X2 through X8 are asked only of people who are working now.
- 2) Questions X9 through X11 are asked only of students.
- 3) Questions X12 through X15 are asked only of unemployed.
- 4) Questions X16 and X17 apply to R's working, students, or unemployed.
- 5) Questions X19 through 21 apply to all R's who are working now or who ever had a job.
- 6) Questions X22 through X26 apply only to Housewives (not working now).
- 7) Questions X27-X29, X33 to the end apply to everyone.
- 8) Questions X30-X32 apply to everyone with children of school age.

X1. We asked this question in the pre-election interview but we need it again at this point to guide you to the other questions to be asked. If R gives more than one occupation category follow the instructions for box with lowest number (going from left to right). For example, R's who are housewives and work would follow the contingencies for working R's, those who are housewives and students would follow the contingencies for housewives, etc.

X2. Since we got R's occupation in the pre-election, X2a. is asked only of R's who have changed their work since then.

X3.

ASK WORKING RS ONLY

X4. Do you work for someone else, yourself, or what?

1. SOMEONE ELSE

2. BOTH SOMEONE  
ELSE AND SELF

3. SELF

→ GO TO X7

X5. Suppose you were very unhappy with certain conditions on your job. Could you do anything about it, or is there probably not much you could do?

1. COULD DO SOMETHING  
ABOUT IT

5. NOT MUCH COULD DO  
ABOUT IT

8. DK

X6. If you should lose your present job, what would you say were your chances of finding another job that was just as good as your present job in all respects? Would you say very good, good, not so good, or not good at all.

1. VERY GOOD

2. GOOD

4. NOT SO GOOD

5. NOT GOOD AT ALL

8. DK

X6a. Why do you feel that way? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

GO TO X7

X7. Compared to most other people doing your kind of work, how much ability do you think you have? Do you think you have much more ability, a little more, about the same or a little less ability than most other people doing your kind of work?

1. MUCH MORE

2. A LITTLE MORE

3. ABOUT THE SAME

4. A LITTLE LESS

8. DK

X8. Do you worry at all about the possibility of being laid off or unemployed?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DK

X4.

X5.

X6.

X7.

X8.



USA WORKING Rs ONLY

X8a. We would like you to compare how much you earn on your job with what other people in your line of work get. Do you feel the money you make is much less than your fair share, somewhat less than your fair share, about your fair share, or more than your fair share?

1. MUCH LESS

2. SOMEWHAT LESS

3. ABOUT  
FAIR

4. MORE

8. DK

X8b. Now, we'd like you to compare how much people in your line of work earn with how much money people in other occupations earn. Do you feel that the money people in your line of work make is much less than their fair share, somewhat less than their fair share, about their fair share, or more than their fair share?

1. MUCH LESS

2. SOMEWHAT LESS

3. ABOUT  
FAIR

4. MORE

8. DK

TURN TO P . 60, X16

X8a-X8b. These questions don't really follow from question X8. They appear only in Form 1 and were numbered this way to avoid changing the whole following numbering system.

ASK STUDENTS ONLY

X9. What kind of work do you plan to go into? [IF PLANS UNCERTAIN: What kind of work are you thinking about?]

---



---

X10. What do you think your chances will be of getting a good job in that line of work? Would you say very good, good, not so good or not good at all.

1. VERY GOOD	2. GOOD	4. NOT SO GOOD	5. NOT GOOD AT ALL	8. DK
--------------	---------	----------------	--------------------	-------

GO TO X11

X10a. Why do you feel that way? \_\_\_\_\_

---



---

GO TO X11

X11. Compared to most other people doing that kind of work, how much ability do you think you have? Do you think you have much more ability, a little more, about the same or a little less ability than most other people doing that kind of work?

1. MUCH MORE	2. A LITTLE MORE	3. ABOUT THE SAME	4. A LITTLE LESS	8. DK
--------------	------------------	-------------------	------------------	-------

TURN TO P. 59, X16



X9.

X9-X11 are to be asked only of R's  
categorized as students.

X10.

X11.

ASK UNEMPLOYED ONLY

X12. Are you looking for work at the present time?

1. YES

5. NO

→ TURN TO P. 60, X16



X13. What kind of a job are you looking for?

---



---

X14. What do you think your chances are of getting that kind of job? Would you say very good, good, not so good or not good at all?

1. VERY GOOD

2. GOOD

4. NOT SO GOOD

5. NOT GOOD AT ALL

8. DK



GO TO X15

X14a. Why do you feel that way?

---



---



---

X15. Compared to most other people doing your kind of work, how much ability do you think you have? Do you think you have much more ability, a little more, about the same or a little less ability than most other people doing your kind of work?

1. MUCH MORE

2. A LITTLE MORE

3. ABOUT THE SAME

4. A LITTLE LESS

8. DK

TURN TO P. 60, X16

X12.

These questions (X12-X15) are to be asked  
only of unemployed R's.

X13.

X14.

X15.



ASK RS WHO ARE WORKING, STUDENTS, OR UNEMPLOYED

(CARD X1, GRAY)

X16. Which of these things will have the most influence over how much money you make over the next five years?

1. A. WHAT HAPPENS TO  
MY COMPANY OR  
EMPLOYER

2. B. WHAT HAPPENS TO PEOPLE  
OF MY RACE OR NATIONAL  
BACKGROUND

3. C. WHAT I,  
MYSELF,  
DO

4. D. WHAT MY UNION, TRADE OR  
PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATION  
IS ABLE TO DO FOR THEIR  
MEMBERSHIP

5. E. WHAT HAPPENS TO  
THE NATIONAL  
ECONOMY

8. DK

X17. What will have the next most influence over the money you make?

1. A.

2. B.

3. C.

4. D.

5. E.

8. DK

TURN TO P. 61, CHECK POINT D

X16

These questions go with gray card X1. You should check only one box for X16 and one box for X17. These questions are asked only of R's categorized as working, students, or unemployed.

X17.

## CHECK POINT D

(SEE P. 55, X1)☐ 1 R IS WORKING → GO TO X19☐ 2 R IS HOUSEWIFE☐ 3 { UNEMPLOYED,  
STUDENT, RETIRED,  
OTHER

X18. Have you ever worked for pay?

☐ 1. YES☐ 5. NO→ TURN TO  
P. 62, X22

X18a. Have you ever worked for pay?

☐ 1. YES☐ 5. NO→ TURN TO  
P. 64, X27

X19. Have you ever felt that you were limited in getting a job or promotion you really wanted or might want in the future because of your education?

☐ 1. YES☐ 5. NO☐ 8. DK

X20. Do you feel your race, nationality or religion has had anything to do with promotions or getting a better job -- has it helped you, held you back or meant nothing in your case?

☐ 1. HELPED☐ 5. HELD BACK☐ 3. NOTHING☐ 8. DK

(IF RESPONDENT IS A WOMAN)

X21. Do you think that being a woman has had anything to do with your job experience--how good a job you could get, your salary, chances for promotion, or anything like that?

☐ 1. YES☐ 5. NO

→ TURN TO P. 62, CHECK POINT E

X21a. Has it helped you or held you back?

☐ 1. HELPED☐ 5. HELD BACK

TURN TO P. 62, CHECK POINT E



X18-X18a.

This question is asked of all R's who are not working now. The purpose is to find out if R ever had a job; if he did he is asked questions X19-X21.

X19

X19-X21 are asked of people who are working now or who ever worked. The objective is to see if R feels his working career has been affected by his education, race (or religion or nationality) and sex. Except for education where we ask only about the limitations imposed by education, we are interested in whether he feels his sex or background may have helped as well as hurt his job opportunities.

Note that the question on possible sex discrimination (X21) is asked only of women.

X20.

X21.

## CHECK POINT E

<div data-bbox="402 300 1251 338"> <input type="checkbox"/> 1 R IS NOT HOUSEWIFE → TURN TO P. 64, X27         </div> <div data-bbox="402 363 960 402"> <input type="checkbox"/> 5 R IS HOUSEWIFE (AND NOT WORKING)         </div>
-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

X22. Different people feel differently about taking care of a home. I don't mean taking care of children, but things like cooking, sewing and keeping house. Some women look on these things as just a job that has to be done; other women really enjoy them. How do you feel about this?

1. JUST A JOB	5. REALLY ENJOY	3. MIXED
---------------	-----------------	----------

X23. Have you ever wanted a career? (NOT JUST A SHORT TERM JOB)

1. YES	3. MIXED	5. NO
--------	----------	-------

X24. If you could have someone to take care of things here at home, would you like to take an outside job right now, or are you happy enough to be at home?

1. WOULD TAKE OUTSIDE JOB	5. HAPPY ENOUGH TO BE AT HOME
---------------------------	-------------------------------

X25. Do you think you are likely to take an outside job in the future?

1. YES	3. DEPENDS	5. NO → TURN TO P. 63, X26
--------	------------	----------------------------

X25a. Women have different reasons for working. What would be your main reasons for working?

---



---

## X22-X26:

X22.

This series of questions is to be asked only of R's categorized as housewives. If R is a housewife who is also working and has already been asked the questions for workers (X2-X8) do not ask these questions.

X23.

X24.

X25.



ASK HOUSEWIVES ONLY

X26. Suppose you wanted to go to work now, do you think you would be able to find a job easily?

1. YES



5. NO



8. DK

→ TURN TO P. 64, X27

X26a. Why is that? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

TURN TO P. 64, X27

X26.

ASK EVERYONE

X27. Was there ever a time when you tried to change what you were doing--for example, entered a training program, went back to school, tried to go into a different type of work--things that would really change what you were doing?

<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; margin-bottom: 10px;">5. NO</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; margin-bottom: 10px;">1. YES</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; margin-bottom: 10px;">→</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; margin-bottom: 10px;">↓</div>	<p>X27a. What did you try to do? _____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>X27b. FOR EACH THING MENTIONED: What happened--did you finish or accomplish what you were trying to do?</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>X27c. FOR ANYTHING NOT COMPLETED: Why weren't you able to do it?</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p>
----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

TURN TO P. 65, X28

X27d. Was there ever a time when you thought about doing something like that?

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

TURN TO P. 65, X28

X27e. What were you thinking about doing? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

X27f. About how long ago was that?

\_\_\_\_\_ (YEARS)

X27g. Why weren't you able to do it? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_



X27. The objective of this question is again to probe a theme that appears often in this interview--R's feeling of control over his life. In this question we get at it by asking whether R has ever made or attempted to make a significant life change, in a sense trying to take control over the direction of his life. We are not only interested in R's who tried to do this, but in those who thought about it but never tried. For R's who did make such attempt(s) we're interested in learning what they tried, what happened, and, in cases where things didn't work out, what things kept them from carrying through. There may be a problem, particularly in the X27a-X27c sequence, if R mentions more than one attempted change. In such instances it would be helpful to number the things attempted in X27a, and use the same numbers for reference in X27b and X27c.

Now, a few more general questions.

X28. Most people worry more or less about somethings. Would you say you never worry, worry a little, worry sometimes, worry a lot or worry all the time?

1. NEVER WORRY

2. WORRY A LITTLE

3. WORRY SOMETIMES

4. WORRY A LOT

5. WORRY ALL THE TIME

X29. Do you have any children of school age?

1. YES

5. NO → GO TO X33

X30. Suppose your child ran into trouble at school. Do you feel you could go to the school and do something about it, or do you feel that wouldn't do much good?

1. DO SOMETHING

5. WOULDN'T DO MUCH GOOD

8. DK

X31. Do you think parent or community groups can do anything to improve the quality of the schools around here--or do you think there is not much they can really do?

1. CAN DO SOMETHING

5. CAN NOT DO MUCH

8. DK

X32. Do you take part in any parent or community groups like that?

1. YES

5. NO

GO TO X33

53. (CARD X2- WHITE ) We have talked about various parts of your life; now I want to ask about your life as a whole. How satisfied are you with your life as a whole these days? Which number on this card comes closest to how satisfied or dissatisfied you are with your life as a whole? If you are completely satisfied, you would choose number 1; if you are completely dissatisfied, you would choose number 7. (CHECK NUMBER CHOSEN BY R)

Completely  
Satisfied

Completely  
Dissatisfied

X28.

X29

Straightforward. Again we are interested in feelings of control over significant life areas--in this case over one's children's education.

X30.

X31.

X32.

X33.



X34. (CARD X3-BLUE) Many people take chances in some areas of life...games they play, ways they make money, things like that.

Which of the following activities do you take part in--even if you only do it once in a while? (PLACE AN "X" AT THE LEFT OF EACH ACTIVITY R TAKES PART IN.)

- |                                                           |                                                           |
|-----------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------|
| a) <input type="checkbox"/> Taking part in football pools | k) <input type="checkbox"/> Playing bridge                |
| b) <input type="checkbox"/> Taking part in check pools    | m) <input type="checkbox"/> Playing the numbers           |
| c) <input type="checkbox"/> Playing bingo                 | n) <input type="checkbox"/> Entering magazine contests    |
| d) <input type="checkbox"/> Playing poker                 | p) <input type="checkbox"/> Playing roulette              |
| e) <input type="checkbox"/> Betting on the horses         | q) <input type="checkbox"/> Playing pinochle              |
| f) <input type="checkbox"/> Playing bid whist             | r) <input type="checkbox"/> Taking part in baseball pools |
| g) <input type="checkbox"/> Shooting dice                 | s) <input type="checkbox"/> Buying sweepstakes tickets    |
| h) <input type="checkbox"/> Buying lottery tickets        | t) <input type="checkbox"/> Buying raffle tickets         |
| j) <input type="checkbox"/> Speculating on land           | u) <input type="checkbox"/> Buying stocks and bonds       |

X34v. Are there any other games you play for money? (SPECIFY)

---

X34w. (IF MORE THAN ONE MENTIONED) Look at the list again. Which activity do you engage in most often?

---

NOTE TO INTERVIEWER: IN THE REST OF SECTION X, USE FOR "ACTIVITY." THE NAME OF THE ACTIVITY MENTIONED IN X34w (OR THE ACTIVITY GIVEN IN X34a-u IF ONLY ONE ACTIVITY WAS MENTIONED).

SPECIFY ACTIVITY YOU WILL USE IN THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS:

---

IF NO ACTIVITY MENTIONED, TURN TO P. 68, X43.

## X34-X43:

This sequence is a very different way at getting at R's feelings of control over his life and the role that he feels chance and fate play in his life. It worked very well in the pretest and R's seemed to enjoy it.

- X34. In X34 we are interested in all of the activities on Card X3 that R takes part in. If he only mentions one activity use that activity in the following questions. If R mentions more than one ask for the one he engages in most often (X34w) and use that in the following questions. Substitute the activity he's chosen for "ACTIVITY" in the questions that follow. For example, if X34e is the most frequent (or only) activity mentioned, question X35 would read: "How often do you bet on the horses--more than once a week, about once a week, about once a month, or less often than that?" Since there may be some confusion, be sure to write in the box on the bottom of the page, the name of the activity you will be using in the questions that follow X34.



X35. How often do you (ACTIVITY)--more than once a week, about once a week, about once a month, or less often than that?

1. MORE THAN ONCE  
A WEEK

2. ONCE A WEEK

3. ONCE A MONTH

4. LESS  
OFTEN

5. DK

X36. In (ACTIVITY) who do you take advice from--yourself, friends, experts or other people?

1. SELF

2. FRIENDS

3. EXPERTS

4. OTHER (SPECIFY)  
\_\_\_\_\_

X37. Do you take part in (ACTIVITY) mainly for money or prizes or because it's fun?

1. MONEY OR PRIZES

5. FUN

X38. When you stop (ACTIVITY) do you often feel that if you had stayed with it a little longer you would start winning?

1. YES

3. SOMETIMES

5. NO

X39. Do you think people who lose at (ACTIVITY) are just unlucky, or they haven't acquired the skill?

1. UNLUCKY

3. HAVEN'T ACQUIRED SKILL

8. DK



X35-

Straightforward. As indicated above, substitute the activity identified in X34 for "ACTIVITY" in these questions.

X36.

X37.

X38.

X39.

1	R SPENDS SOME MONEY ON ACTIVITY → GO TO X41
5	UNCLEAR WHETHER R SPENDS MONEY ON ACTIVITY

X40. Do you spend any money when you (ACTIVITY)--do you play for any stakes?

1. YES	5. NO →	X40a. (CARD X3-- BLUE) Is there any other activity on the list that you spend some money on?						
↓		<table border="1"> <tr> <td>1. YES</td> <td>5. NO → GO TO X43</td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="2">↓</td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="2">(SPECIFY MOST FREQUENT AND USE FOR X41 and X42)</td> </tr> </table>	1. YES	5. NO → GO TO X43	↓		(SPECIFY MOST FREQUENT AND USE FOR X41 and X42)	
	1. YES	5. NO → GO TO X43						
↓								
(SPECIFY MOST FREQUENT AND USE FOR X41 and X42)								

X41. When you do take part in (ACTIVITY) do you set limits on how much you plan to spend?

1. YES	5. NO → GO TO X42	
↓		
X41a. Do you usually stick to the limits you set?		
1. YES	5. NO	8. DEPENDS

X42. How much do you usually spend on (ACTIVITY)?

\_\_\_\_\_ Dollars

X43. Suppose you were betting on horses and were a big winner in the third or fourth race. Would you be more likely to continue playing or take your winnings?

1. CONTINUE PLAYING	5. TAKE YOUR WINNINGS
---------------------	-----------------------

X43a. What would you do with your winnings?

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Check Point F

and X40. We introduce the check point here because X41 and X42 apply only to activities that R spends money on. If it is clear that the activity involves R betting or contributing some money (e.g., betting on the horses, buying lottery tickets, playing the numbers, etc.) go directly to X41. If you are not clear whether or not it involves money (e.g., playing bridge) ask X40--"Do you spend any money..do you play for any stakes?" If R says "yes" you can use the same activity in X41 and X42. If R says "no" show him the list of activities again (card X3) and see if there is any other activity that he spends money on. Then use that activity in X41 and X42 (instead of the activity you used in X35-X39). Note that if R mentions more than one activity in response to X40a, ask for the most frequent one and use that in X41 and X42.

X41.

As per the above instructions, if the activity used in X35-X39 involved R betting or spending money, the same activity is used in X41 and X42. If the activity used in X35-X39 did not involve R spending money, the activity identified in X40a is used in X41 and X42. If R answers "no" to X40a, skip X41 and X42.

X42.

X43. This question is asked of everyone, including R's who mention no activity in response to X34.



# INFORMATION FOR LOCATING RESPONDENT

We are particularly interested in changes in people's opinions. We might want to talk with you again in two years to see what you think about things at that time. Therefore, may I please have your name and mailing address? (IF NECESSARY, ASSURE R THAT THE NAME GOES ON A SEPARATE SHEET OF PAPER AND WILL BE KEPT APART FROM THE INTERVIEW)

1. GIVEN

5. REFUSED

IF NAME GIVEN, FILL OUT INFORMATION SHEET AND END INTERVIEW

IF R REFUSES, EXPLAIN:

---



---



---

## OBSERVATION

1. RESPONDENT'S SEX IS:

1. MALE

2. FEMALE

2. RESPONDENT'S RACE IS:

1. WHITE

2. BLACK

OTHER: \_\_\_\_\_

3. RELATIONSHIP OF R TO HEAD  
OF HOUSEHOLD:

1. IS HEAD

2. IS WIFE

OTHER: \_\_\_\_\_

## THUMBNAIL SKETCH

RESPONDENT INFORMATION SHEET

1972 POST ELECTION STUDY

1. PLACE INTERVIEWER'S LABEL HERE

2. PSU \_\_\_\_\_

3. Segment Number \_\_\_\_\_

4. Line Number \_\_\_\_\_

5. Your Interview No. \_\_\_\_\_

6. Date Taken \_\_\_\_\_

7. Respondent's Phone Number:

Area Code

Number

8. Respondent's Name:

(Check appropriate title)

☐

Mr. \_\_\_\_\_

☐

Mrs. \_\_\_\_\_

(R's first and last name) (If married,  
give husband's first name also)

☐

Miss \_\_\_\_\_

9. Respondent's MAILING address (Please enter an address so we will know where to mail  
a respondent letter in the future.)

Number and Street

City or Town

State

Zip Code

10. Respondent's relationship to Head \_\_\_\_\_ Age of R \_\_\_\_\_ Race of R \_\_\_\_\_

11. Just in case you move, would you give me the name and address of someone who would  
know where you will be then, like a close relative or friend?

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_

State \_\_\_\_\_

Zip \_\_\_\_\_

12. NOTE BELOW RELATIONSHIP (IF ANY) OF CONTACT PERSON TO RESPONDENT.

13. MAKE ANY COMMENTS ON THE BACK OF THIS PAGE WHICH WILL HELP YOU RELOCATE THIS  
RESPONDENT IN THE FUTURE.

PLEASE PRINT ALL INFORMATION CLEARLY !!!!!



We are interested in your reactions to this P. 495403 questionnaire. The information we receive from these evaluations and from those we send to a number of respondents from the study will be invaluable in designing future questionnaires.

Please return this to the Field Office as soon as you have finished all the interviews assigned to you for this project.

- |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              | <u>YES</u>               | <u>NO</u>                |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Did you find any confusing skip patterns?<br>(IF YES) Which ones? _____<br>_____                                                                                                                                                                          | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2. Were there any questions which did not provide enough<br>space for recording respondent's answers?<br>(IF YES) Which questions? _____<br>_____                                                                                                            | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3. Sometimes respondents will want to give more than a one-<br>word answer. Were there closed questions which were<br>usually qualified by respondents and might have been<br>better as open-ended questions?<br>(IF YES) Which ones and why? _____<br>_____ | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 4. Were there any words or phrases that respondents did not<br>understand?<br>(IF YES) Please specify the question numbers and words:<br>_____<br>_____                                                                                                      | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 5. Were there any questions the respondent had difficulty<br>answering in the frame of reference specified?<br>(IF YES) Which ones and what was the difficulty?<br>_____<br>_____                                                                            | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 6. Did the respondents feel that any of the questions were<br>too personal?<br>(IF YES) Which questions? _____<br>_____<br>_____                                                                                                                             | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |



YES

NO

7. Were there any questions which asked for information respondents did not have available or could not answer? (IF YES) Which questions and what was the difficulty?

☐☐

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

8. Sometimes questions are arranged poorly so that they do not flow well from one to the next. Did you find any problems of this kind? (IF YES) Where were they?

☐☐

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

9. Were there any questions or series of questions which were bad for building or maintaining general rapport? (IF YES) Which ones?

☐☐

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

10. How do you feel about the length of this interview?

[ TOO LONG ]

[ TOO SHORT ]

[ ABOUT RIGHT ]

[ OTHER ]

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

11. How clear or unclear did you find the instruction books for this study?

[ CLEAR ]

[ UNCLEAR ]

[ OTHER ]

\_\_\_\_\_

In what ways? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

12. Please give us any additional suggestions or comments here.

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

Office Contact's Name: \_\_\_\_\_ PSU: \_\_\_\_\_ PROJECT NO. 495403

	Office Contact:	Interviewer:	Interviewer:	Interviewer:	PSU Total:
1. Total Sample Size . . . . .	+	+	+	=	
2. Enter here the total number of cover sheets in nonresponse category I (HV, SV, SLIP, NER) .	+	+	+	=	
3. Subtract "2" from "1" to obtain total number of possible interviews. . . . .	+	+	+	=	
4. Enter here the number of interviews completed .	+	+	+	=	
5. Enter here the number of cover sheets in non- response category II (Ref (R), Ref (O), NOC (AT), RU, NI-Other) which will remain so for the entire study. . . . .	+	+	+	=	
6. And here enter the total number of cover sheets on which you are still working. . . . .	+	+	+	=	
7. As a check, the figures in Items 4, 5, and 6 should add up to the same figure in Item 3. To obtain your present response rate, <u>divide the</u> figure in #4 by the figure in #3. " <u>3</u> " / " <u>4</u> " .	+	+	+	=	
8. Enter here the number of cover sheets you have mailed to the Field Office . . . . .	+	+	+	=	
9. Enter here the chunk numbers of the blue folders each interviewer has mailed to Field Office. . . . .	+	+	+	=	
10. Are there any addresses in your assignment which have not yet been visited? . . . . .	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
	How many? _____	No.? _____	No.? _____	No.? _____	No.? _____

PLEASE COMPLETE A COLUMN FOR EACH PERSON WORKING ON THE PROJECT



Office Contact's Name: \_\_\_\_\_ PSU: \_\_\_\_\_ PROJECT NO. 495403

	Office Contact:	Interviewer:	Interviewer:	Interviewer:	PSU Total:
1. Total Sample Size . . . . .	+	+	+	=	
2. Enter here the total number of cover sheets in nonresponse category I (HV, SV, SLIP, NER) . . . . .	+	+	+	=	
3. Subtract "2" from "1" to obtain total number of possible interviews. . . . .	+	+	+	=	
4. Enter here the number of interviews completed . . . . .	+	+	+	=	
5. Enter here the number of cover sheets in non- response category II (Ref (R), Ref (O), NOC (AT), RU, NI-Other) which will remain so for the entire study. . . . .	+	+	+	=	
6. And here enter the total number of cover sheets on which you are still working. . . . .	+	+	+	=	
7. As a check, the figures in Items 4, 5, and 6 should add up to the same figure in Item 3. To obtain your present response rate, divide the figure in #4 by the figure in #3. "3" / "4" . . . . .	+	+	+	=	
8. Enter here the number of cover sheets you have mailed to the Field Office . . . . .	+	+	+	=	
9. Enter here the chunk numbers of the blue folders each interviewer has mailed to Field Office. . . . .	+	+	+	=	
10. Are there any addresses in your assignment which have not yet been visited? . . . . .	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes How many? _____	<input type="checkbox"/> No No.? _____	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes No.? _____	<input type="checkbox"/> No No.? _____	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes No.? _____

PLEASE COMPLETE A COLUMN FOR EACH PERSON WORKING ON THE PROJECT