

# POST- ELECTION = 1976

## INSTRUCTION BOOK

ABOUT THE STUDY
FIELD NOTES
Study Dates
Tile gampte.
Materials You Should Have
Respondent Labels
Cover Sheets and Whom to Interview
Cover Sheet Item by Item
Cover Sheet Facsimile
Recontact Information
Item-by-Item Instructions for Noninterview Forms
Noninterview Facsimile
Sample Address Summary Forms - Keeping Track of Your Sample 13
Following the MoversDefinition of "Within Range"
The OuestionnaireSomething New, Something Different
Respondent Booklet, Playing Cards, Green Sheet
Worksheet and Practice Interview
Outline of Prestudy Conference
Editing the Interview
Contacting Local Authorities
Mailing Schedule
Respondent Letters
Persuasion Letters and Refusals
Interviewer Evaluation of the Questionnaire
Verifications
Report to Respondents
Experience Points
Foreign Language Interpreters
Foreign Language Interpreters
natiting rules
Time and expense larry.
Administrative Assistant
QUESTION-BY-QUESTION OBJECTIVES
Antigition_pr_Antigit and partition
MATERIALS FOR YOUR USE

ABOUT THE STUDY

In participating in this post-election study, you are concribucing to the accumulation of one of the finest collections of data about the American people. The Election Study series began in 1948 and has revealed much about the changing sentiments of the American public ever since. This time will mark the thirteenth election we have gone into the field to study, but just as importantly, will cap the panel component of a study which has contacted the same people since 1972.

This year's interview schedule, white basically oriented to explaining what happened during this year's election campaign, incorporates items which will answer questions put by scholars with a wide range of interests. We will learn more about how the various members of the public approach elections in general, how individual citizens are affected by the media they pay attention to, and how they view their own relationships with the government.

The election specific portion of the interview will address such matters as reasons why some people go out to vote on election day and others stay behind. why some people split their tickets and others don't, whether people in 1976 were more interested in the personalities of the presidential candidates or in their issue positions, etc. We also want to isolate the effects of the debates on how the public made up its mind. In that part focusing on how people get their information are questions about how much attention they pay to newspapers and television (for both news and entertainment reasons), as well as a tap on what sorts of people they talk to about politically related matters. A sizeable chunk of time is devoted to exploring how people have come to feel about their government. (Scholars at the Institute, using the data you have been collecting for years, were the first in the country to note the massive downtrend in people's trust in the government.) Among the questions designed to tap various aspects of how people feel are those which distinguish sentiments about the different levels and branches of government, and those which assess the sense of powerlessness at both the national and local levels. We also are continuing a series of items on how people identify with groups and act through such channels in the political field.

In addition to these main areas of interest, the interview explores some more specific topics. We are asking a number of questions about the personal values people hold highest and we will be interested in relating these with their feelings about political options. We assess the impact of the womens' movement, tap peoples' sense of the inequities in this country and ask why they feel these problems came to exist. Further questions elicit the respondent's view of what his most important personal problems are as well as his view of what are the most important national and international concerns. We ask what part he thinks the political system plays in solving those problems. In this way we will get a feeling for what the public's priorities are. Another section will find out what each person's experience with the crime problem is, what his reactions have been, and how he has come to see the nature of the problem and some proposed solutions.

This particular wave of interviewing is notable in two other respects. As some of you already know, this will be the fifth time we will have talked with many of our respondents. Thus, having their opinions from previous years, we can look at their current views in order to understand how they have changed their minds about various things. This explains why so many of the questions will appear familiar to you, as it is crucial that we ask the same questions as we asked in 1972 and 1974 for any comparisons to be valid.

This particular feature of the study design, reinterviewing the same paopie (called a panel), is expensive and difficult to carry out because we have to work so very hard to track down previous respondents and use all our persuasive efforts to encourage them to continue with the study. The difficulties with a panel of such a major magnitude as ours are so great that this study is only the second of its kind that has been attempted.

The other aspect of this second wave that makes it unique is the new interview schedule format. The protocols are designed to be coded, for the most part, by an optical scanner which, when hooked up with a computer, will automatically set up the data properly without its having been touched by human hands. This process, if all works well, will save the Institute (and the National Science Foundation) a lot of money and help keep our budget down, an important thing in this day of tight money. You can help us with this new procedure by being very careful about where you mark the questionnaires, because any stray marks will confuse the optical scanner and prevent its automatically coding the interview. We realize this is a novel approach and we hope for your enthusiastic cooperation with this experiment.

If everything works as well as expected, this study will turn out to be a real gem. The 1976 election contrasts nicely with the 1972 event and we will learn a lot about how the country stands today. In addition, we will have the capstone to the panel study which will tell us much about how people change their minds about politics. All this is made possible by the crucial part you play in gathering the data. We want to express our appreciation of your past and future good work.

-3~

#### FIELD NOTES

#### Dates: November 3 - December 16

We want as many interviews to be taken soon after the election as possible in order to take advantage of the respondents' recollections of that event. The farther the interview gets from election day, the more the events of that day and of preceding days fade from memory.

The study period includes Thanksgiving and we know from experience that this is not a productive time for interviewing. Although we hope and expect all interviewing to be finished by December 16, we may grant extensions for certain hard-to-get-respondents or other extensating circumstances. But do bear in mind that the quality of the data gathered, as well as the quality of your Christmas vacation is much higher if you get an early, vigorous start.

#### The Sample

The sample consists of all those respondents who were interviewed on the 1976 pre-election study. The sample size estimate, given to your supervisor, and written on the checklist of materials accompanying your supplies, is only an estimate. At the time that we are making up your boxes of supplies, the pre-election study is still in the field; we can't know the total sample size. We believe our estimate is high, but due to the nature of the pre-election study, where certain situations generate more respondents, we may be off by quite a bit.

The bulk of the sample will be sent out with the other materials on October 22. Coversheets from the pre-election study received in the Field Office after October 20 will be sent to the Field Coordinators in small batches.

#### Materials You Should Have

Respondent Labels a set of 3 for each blue, white and yellow cover sheet
Cover Sheets
Instruction Book
Questionnaires i per respondent plus extras
Green Sheets (4 pages for R to complete) 1 per respondent plus extras
Blue Playing Cards (set of 10) 5 sets per interviewer
Respondent Booklet 4 per interviewer
Persuasion letters (Dear Sir, Dear Madam) 5 of each kind per interviewer plus extras for large PA's
Persuasion letter request forms (bright green) ample supply
Worksheet

The above materials are being sent as follows:

 First class package of materials sent from Ann Arbor on October 21 or 22 to each interviewer working on the study containing:

Instruction Book

Green Sheet

Set of Playing Cards

Respondent Booklet

Green and blue (or white) cover sheets

Blue Non-Interview form

Worksheet

- One questionnaire (for your practice interview) mailed first class from Minneapolis October 21 or 22 to each interviewer.
- Questionnaires for Primary Area sent from Minneapolis on or before October 22 to Field Coordinator, via the method indicated by your Supervisor.
- All other materials sent from Ann Arbor on October 22 to the Field Coordinator via the method indicated by your Supervisor.

#### Respondent Labels

You will receive several kinds of respondent labels:

- 1. Large (4"  $\times$  1-1/2") labels with code numbers, names and addresses, to go on the blue and white cover sheets.
- Smaller (3 1/2" X 1") labels with names and addresses of respondents on the blue and white cover sheets (2 sets). These are for your Sample Address Summary forms.
- Large labels with code numbers, segment and line numbers only (no names and addresses) to go on the <u>yellow cover sheets</u>.

4. Smaller labels with segment and line numbers only (2 sets, one for the interviewer, one for the F.C.) These are for the Sample Address Summary forms. You will have to fill in the address on the SAS forms from the pre-election portion of the yellow cover sheets.

There are no labels for pink and green cover sheets.

#### Cover Sheets and Whom to Interview

The cover sheets are the inside two pages of the pre-election study cover sheets. Although they come in the same assortment of lovely colors as they did in the pre-election study, for the post-election study they are all considered panel members and they all get the same treatment.

For the benefit of those of you who did not work on the pre-election study, let me explain the significance of the various colors:

Blue and White cover sheets are for respondents who were interviewed up to three times before the 1976 pre-election study; some for the 1972 pre- and post-election studies as well as the 1974 post-election study; some only for the 1974 post-election study. These respondents were referred to as "panel members" in this fall's pre-election study.

The <u>Yellow</u> cover sheets are for those respondents who were not interviewed on the 1974 post-election study. (Some <u>may</u> have been interviewed in 1972). They were selected for this fall's pre-election study by virtue of their living at a 1972 sample address, and being in our current cross section for this study.

The <u>Pink</u> cover sheets are for respondents who live in a housing unit where a respondent with a blue cover sheet for the pre-election study formerly lived. (Does that sound a little complicated? Let's run through it again: If a blue cover sheet respondent on the pre-election study moved to another address, a <u>pink</u> cover sheet was made out for the address he moved <u>from</u>.) Pink cover sheets are also for respondents living in a newly constructed or newly discovered housing unit which fell into the sample.

Green cover sheets are for those respondents who live in the same housing unit as a respondent with a blue cover sheet and who had not been eligible to be interviewed in 1972, either because they weren't citizens of voting age then, or because they didn't live at that address then.

Thus, <u>all</u> these cover sheets are for respondents who have been interviewed in this fall's pre-election study. They are <u>all</u> to be interviewed again on this post-election study, whether they still live at the pre-election address or not. (See Section on "Following Movers" for how far to go).

If you find that the <u>wrong person</u> was interviewed for the pre-election study (due to an incorrect selection or some other error), call Jeanne Keresztesi in the Field Office for instructions on what to do.

For the blue and white cover sheets, you will have the name of the respondent you are to interview. For the pink and yellow sheets, you will have to determine the respondent by consulting the listing box and noting age, sex and relationship to the head of the household. Determining the respondent for the green cover sheets may be a little trickier, since there is no listing box on the green cover sheets. Here you will have to consult the blue cover sheet for that same address and note the age, sex and relationship to head, of the person with an "X" in column (f) of the listing box.

We are reproducing here in the Instruction Book only the two pages from the white cover sheet (identical to the blue). So that you can see what we are talking about, you will receive examples of a green and blue or white cover sheets along with this Instruction Book in your first class packet of materials.

#### Cover Sheet Item by Item

Item 5

Affix your interviewer's label and fill out the name of Items 1 and 2 your Primary Area.

Your interview number is the number you assign sequentially Item 3 to the interviews you take on this study. Start with number 1 for the post-election study. Do not assign a number to any non-interviews.

Date the interview is taken. Item 4

> For the blue and white cover sheets, item 5 is the respondent label. (The item number and title for this box to the right of the SRC logo were omitted from the actual cover sheets in error.) This is the only part of the cover sheet procedure which varies slightly for the different colors.

- 1. Blue and White cover sheets (example opposite page). Affix the correct respondent label, with the respondent's name and address, to the cover sheet in the rectangle in the upper right corner. Use the larger label, the one with the code numbers across the top. It should fit the space exactly. NOTE: Any respondents with blue or white cover sheets who moved before the pre-election interview, will have the previous address printed on the label. We will up-date these addresses only after the post-election study. Thus, please check the pre-election portion of the cover sheet item 6, to see if the respondent moved. Even if he moved you are to place the label with his former address on the space provided on the cover sheet. (We need those code numbers to log the interview in.) Cross out the incorrect address and write the correct address on the label -- not at item 6. Item 6 on this post-election cover sheet should be used only for R's who move between the pre- and post-election studies this year.
- 2. Yellow cover sheets (exactly the same as the example on the opposite page). You will have the propersize label for this cover sheet as well, but it will have only the code number and the segment and line number -- no name and address. You are to copy the address from the pre-election portion of the cover sheet onto the bottom portion of the label.

COVER SHEET FOR

P. 495456 Winter, 1976

for office use only

1976 Post-Election Study



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

5. RESPONDENT LABEL

	I. Interviewer's Label	6. NEW ADDRESS, IF ANY:
2.	Primary Area	
3.	Your Interview No.	
4.	Date	
7.	PRE-ELECTION R NO LOI	ENTER IT AT ITEM 6 ABOVE. IF NEW ADDRESS SHOULD BE TAKEN. IF NOT, RETURN COVER

8. Call Record

Call Number	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Date								
Day of Week								
Time of Day								
Result								
Interviewer's Initials								

	R HAS MOVED SINCE ORIGINAL (1972 or 1974)  R HAS MOVED SINCE ORIGINAL  INTERVIEW
	Copy below recontact information from ori- ginal "Respondent Information Sheet"
R1.	Thank you very much. I want to be sure that I have your correct telephone number and address since you moved. Would you please give me your telephone number here?  GIVEN  NO PHONE  REFUSED
	Rla. EXPLAIN:
R2.	And your address (so that we can mail you a report on this study)?  ClTY  STATE  ZIP
R3.	COPY R'S NAME FROM ORIGINAL RECONTACT SHEET  MR MISS  MS MRS
R4.	R'S RELATIONSHIP TO HEAD AGE RACE
R5.	In case you move again, 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
R6.	TELEPHONE NUMBER
R7.	NOTE BELOW RELATIONSHIP OF CONTACT PERSON TO RESPONDENT.
R8.	COMMENTS ON THE INTERVIEWING SITUATION WHICH MAY PROVE HELPFUL IN CONTACTING THIS R AGAIN:

 Pink and Green cover sheets (example of a cover sheet enclosed with first class package). There are no labels for pink and green cover sheets. Copy the address from the pre-election portion of the cover sheet in the space provided.

If the respondent has moved between the time of the preelection study and the post-election study, try to get the new address and enter it in item 6.

Item 7 See the section in this Instruction Book on Following
Movers -- Definition of "Within Range" for how far to
follow a mover.

-4-

Item 8

Be sure to fill out all the items in the call record for each call made. Include the date and time of the interview as the last call on cover sheets for completed interviews.

Recontact Information (Page 2 of cover sheet, back page for post-election study)

After you have finished taking an interview, you are to get the name, address, and telephone number of the respondent. The recontact page from the white and blue cover sheets give you the option of just copying the information from the previous recontact sheet for non-movers, rather than asking the information over again. (However, you may ask it again if you like.) For any blue or white cover sheet respondent who has moved since the original interview, and for all yellow, pink or green cover sheet respondents, you are to ask the information. Whether you "ask" or "copy" the information for this page must be completed.

Please enter the information carefully in the little spaces provided. Start with the left-most box of each line. This information is key-punched directly from these sheets. Look it over carefully before sending in the cover sheet. Any missing information, a city or state, etc. is exceedingly expensive to look up since the key-punch operator must interrupt her work to consult other documents which are in another room on another floor.

There are no plans at this time to recontact these respondents. We honestly don't know if any attempt will ever be made to contact these R's again. But we want the information in case we do decide to go back to them.

#### ITEM-BY-ITEM INSTRUCTIONS FOR NON-INTERVIEW FORMS

The information on the noninterview form is used in several ways. We study the reasons for refusals and other noninterviews. We look at what kinds of efforts have been made (unsuccessfully) to convert refusals and compare these efforts with more successful ones. For cross-section samples we try to determine if people with certain characteristics occur more frequently among the "noninterview" group than they do in the population as a whole, thus perhaps introducing a bias in the data collected.

#### Item-by-Item

NOTES

a. If cover sheets are given to a different interviewer after an initial nonresponse, the first interviewer should fill out the nonresponse form and affix his/her label (or enter his/her name) in the designated box to the right. The follow-up interviewer should affix his/ her label (or write his/her name) in the designated box to the left if he/she is unable to obtain an interview.

-10-										
NINTERVIEW	FORM	FOR								
OST-ELECTIC	N ST	JDY								

	51. REF (R) 61. NOCAT (DR)  52. REF (O) 62. NOCAT (UR)  53. REF (U) 63. NIP (DR)  64. NIT (DR)  67. NIO (UR)
	DO NOT WRITE ABOVE THIS LINE
	SURVEY RESEARCH CENTER INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN 48106 FOLLOW-UP INTERVIEWER'S LABEL
NRi.	Total number of calls NR2. Date of last call
NR3.	Primary Area
NR4.	Address or description
NR5.	Post Office State Zip
NR6.	Name of Respondent, if known
NR7.	ENTER ANY ADDITIONAL INFORMATION NECESSARY TO MAKE ABOVE ADDRESS A MAILABLE ADDRESS, IF RESONDENT NAME IS <u>NOT</u> KNOWN. (Family name in unnumbered apartments, family name and route number in rural areas, box number, etc.)
NR8.	Enter here the 1976 pre-election interview number (the 4 digit number written red pencil on the pre-election portion of the cover sheet in the box marked for office use only.)
NR9.	Has respondent moved?
	1. YES 5. NO TURN TO NRIO TURN TO NRII

SEE INSTRUCTION BOOK ON I	· ·
INSTRUCTED TO FOLLOW	INSTRUCTED NOT TO FOLLOW
	RETURN THIS FORM WITH COVER SHEET TO FIELD OFFICE
Is reason for noninterview a permane	ent condition?
1. YES	5. NO → GO TO NR 12
WRlla. What is this condition?	
1. R DECEASED	
	GUAGE?):
3. MENTAL OR PHYSICAL	CONDITION (DESCRIBE):
4. MOVED OUT OF RANGE known give in NR10	(If new address or phone number is
5. OTHER (DESCRIBE):	
Describe in detail the reasons an in	terview was not taken.
*IF UNABLE TO GAIN ACCESS what atter addresses and phone numbers of per	mpts were made? (Try to obtain names, sons to contact re: gaining access.)
	nd reasons (oither since
*IF "BUSY," "SICK," ETC. indicate who ra genuine difficulty.	hether you think this is simply an excuse
*IF R AWAY state when R will return,	, and if R could be interviewed elsewhere.

If an interview is obtained, the nomint form should be destroyed.

Any notes, especially at NR12, should be dated and initialed when more than one interviewer has worked on a cover sheet.

- b. DO NOT WRITE IN THE SPACE ABOVE THE LINE.
- c. All the information on this form MUST be completed fully and accurately for each nonresponse.
- NR1 NR2

  This information comes from the call record on the cover sheet and includes calls made by all interviewers who worked on this cover sheet. BE SURE that you include the LAST CALL made at this address on the call record and in the count. The information will be used for cost and effort analyses.
- NR4 NR6 For respondents who have moved, we are asking here for the address that is on the cover sheet. We will get the address to which he has moved later on.

NR7

NR8

NR11

NR12

- In our effort to study non-response we have been sending questionnaires to refusals and other non-interviews. It is very frustrating to try sending things to "white house, green shutters, Remainder, Whyoming, when we are sure the interviewer knows the name of the local post office, probably knows the name of the respondent and/or the route or box number.
- This ID number is the only information linking this noninterview form with the correct respondent. Copy it carefully.
- NR9 Has R moved since the time of the 1976 pre-election interview?
- NR10 Enter new address here as well as on the cover sheet. If you are unable to obtain R's new address, indicate what efforts you made to get it on the reverse side.
  - See this Instruction Book, the section on Following Movers, for when to follow and when not to follow a mover.
  - We want to sort out those nonresponse cases which we refer to as circumstantial noninterviews; that is, where additional efforts would not produce an interview, for example, perhaps the R is a stroke victim, moved to Mexico, or died.
    - A refusal is not considered to be a "permanent condition."
    - NOTE: In item 4 "MOVED OUT OF RANGE" is defined for the purposes of this study as moved  $50\ \mathrm{miles}$  or more from your home.
    - Give us a FULL DESCRIPTION of the noninterview situation. You are <u>not</u> asked to categorize the nonresponse—that will be done here in coding. What we do want is a verbal description of the reason for the nonresponse. We have indicated some of the kinds of things you are to include in this sketch so that a proper classification can be made by the staff here.

#### Sample Address Summary Forms - Keeping Track of Your Sample

The SAS forms are for your own record-keeping. We have a record of your sample. You do not need to send any forms or lists in to the Field Office. Each Field Coordinator should have a master list of the entire sample for the Primary Area, with the name of the interviewer to whom each cover sheet is assigned. Each interviewer should have a list of her own sample on which she can keep track of the results of her calls. The date the interview or cover sheet was mailed to the Field Office, the date any persuasion letter was mailed, etc.

The two smaller sets of computer-generated labels for the blue, white and yellow cover sheets are to be used on the sample address summary forms for the F.C. and the interviewer. Since there are no labels for the pink and green cover sheets, the addresses for these cover sheets will have to be copied onto the Field Coordinator's list and onto each interviewer's list.

The Field Coordinator's copy of the SAS is to be sent to the supervisor when the study has been completed.

The smaller two of the computer-generated labels for the blue, white and yellow cover sheets are to be used on your sample address summary forms. Since there are no labels for the pink and green cover sheets you will have to copy the addresses for these cover sheets onto both the Field Coordinator's list and each interviewer's list.

#### Following the Movers - Definition of "Within Range"

If a respondent has moved, the interviewer should do everything possible to find the respondent's new address. Start with the Recontact Sheet, try to locate the person in item 11 who might know where the respondent has moved. Try the post office, neighbors, and anyone (or anywhere) else you can think of. There is a space provided on the cover sheet for writing in the new address.

We want you (or another interviewer in your Primary Area working on this study) to follow the panel member:

- 1. If it would not involve more than a 100-mile round trip
- 2. If it would involve up to 150 miles round trip but:
  - a. You are able to make an appointment and feel certain of geting the interview.
  - b. You can lay out an itinerary, calling on two or more panel members who have moved, so that the total mileage on the trip averages less then 100 miles per address
  - c. You can combine the trip with other business (either personal or another project) in such a way that not more than 100 miles has to be charged to P. 495456.

3. If it is still early in the study period (unless there are unusual circumstances). Hold the cover sheet for a while on the chance that there might be another mover in the vicinity and you can combine trips.

Any mover that you do not follow according to the above instructions will be considered "out of range." Return the cover sheet with a noninterview form to the Field Office for possible reassignment.

For your records, you should make notes on how you took care of the situation (to whom did you send the cover sheet and when). Be sure to give this information to your Field Coordinator as well.

Always make an attempt to set up an appointment before following beyond your normal interviewing radius, if you are able to obtain a phone number.

#### Do not follow:

- 1. IF the new address is closer to another Primary Area
- IF you would need to stay overnight (except when specifically requested to do so by the Field Office).

### The Questionnaire -- Something New, Something Different!!!!

As you can see from looking at the questionnaire, we are dealing here with

#### A BRAND NEW THING!

When these questionnaires arrive in the Field Office, the open-ended questions are going to be pre-coded by trained editors here and then they are going to be sent to Minneapolis where they will be machine read. This is an experiment. We expect to save money by tabulating the results in this way. The results of this experiment may be very significant for the future of the type of interviewing we do. But to be successful we must make some significant changes in the way we have been doing things.

You have been trained to write the respondent's responses verbatim, even for closed questions — that is, you have been marking a box and writing beside it such things as: "I think." or "It certainly is!" etc. Because of the nature of machine reading, this is absolutely forbidden! There must be absolutely no mark on the questionnaire outside of the designated spaces. For closed questions, you are to mark the response by filling in the little circle and that's all. This will take judgment on your part. A respondent may answer in between two categories or give two answers where only one is required. You will have to probe (without indicating your probe) and then decide yourself which category comes closest to R's answer. The answers to open ended questions must be written in the space provided only. Carry along a pad of paper to write more when necessary.

You may not slash through a question that is inappropriate because of the skip instructions. You don't need to indicate "inap" in any way. The machine reads both sides of the paper at the same time. A stray pencil mark on one side of the paper may disrupt the reading of the little circles on the other side.

Please be careful! We are very interested in the results of this experiment and in your reaction to it as well.

#### Respondent Booklet, Playing Cards, Green Sheet

The use of these items will become self-evident as you study the questionnaire. Be sure that you have them with you when you go to take an interview. Although the respondent marks the green sheet himself, <u>you</u> are to transpose his responses into the questionnaire when editing. Any copying carries a risk of error. Please be very careful when marking the questionnaire from the green sheet. Do be sure that you are matching the appropriate green sheet with the correct questionnaire.

#### Worksheet and Practice Interview

You will receive a worksheet along with this Instruction Book. One copy of the questionnaire is being sent to you directly from Minneapolis where it is being printed. After studying the Instruction Book, complete the worksheet and take a practice interview. Try to take it with the same person you took your practice interview with on the pre-election study, if you worked on that study. You will have to change the tense of some of the questions in Section D, since you will be taking your practice interview before the elections take place. Thus, instead of asking "Who did you vote for?" you will ask "Who will you vote for?" You will have to omit question D8 for your practice interview.

Both the worksheet and the practice interview should be taken to the prestudy conference. Then, send your practice interview to your supervisor and your worksheet to the Field Office. If you are working alone in your Primary Area, send your practice interview to your supervisor and the worksheet to the Field Office as soon as they are completed and carefully edited.

#### Tips on Fishing

Since this is an election study, it might be appropriate to inform our interviewers about some of the candidates. Did you know that Robert Dole and Fritz Mondale, both members of the Senate, are actually good friends and often go fishing together?

On one occasion they were out early one morning in a rented row boat and began really hauling the fish in, one after the other. They barely had time to bait their hooks. Bob was so delighted he turned to Fritz and chouted: "You'd better mark this place so we can come here again next time." Fritz obediently took out a piece of chalk and marked a big "X" on the bottom of the row boat.

When Bob saw this he exclaimed in utter exasperation: "Oh, you idiot! Suppose we get a different boat the next time?

#### Outline for Pre-Study Conference

All of the points listed below should be covered at the prestudy conference:

- Make sure you all understand that you are not to mark on the questionnaires anyplace but in the circles or in the space allotted for open-ended questions or for comments. Reinforce each other on this. Emphasize it emphatically!!!!
- 2. Discuss the Instruction Book
- 3. GO THROUGH THE PRACTICE INTERVIEWS page by page, question by question, in sequence. As you review, refer to the question-by-question instructions to make sure an appropriate answer has been obtained for every question. Are they clear and complete? Can you read your writing? Can anyone else? Is the thumbnail sketch informative?

The Field Coordinator should use her copy of the prestudy conference report form to keep a running tally of each problem and proposed solution, referring to specific question numbers.

Call the Field Office if there are important unresolved questions or i you anticipate difficulties and need additional information about question objectives.

When the conference is over, the Field Coordinator should complete the prestudy conference report form. One copy is sent to the Field Office, one copy to the supervisor, and one goes into the FC's file.

#### Editing the Interview

See your Interviewer's Manual, pages 22 through 25 for tips on recording and editing the interview. But remember, this questionnaire <u>must not</u> be marked in the usual way for "inap" questions. If you had to use an extra sheet of paper for R's responses, be sure this piece of paper is identified with your interviewer's label, your interview number, and that the responses are referenced to the question number!

#### Contacting Local Authorities

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

#### Mailing Schedule

Here is the mailing schedule for your interviews:

PERIOD	MINIMUM PERCENTAGE TO BE COMPLETED
Nov. 2 - 11	20%
Nov. 12 - 18	36%
Nov. 19 - 26	52%
Nov. 27 - Dec. 2	: 68%
Dec. 3 - 10	84%
Dec. 11 - 18	100%

#### Respondent Letters

There are no respondent letters for this study.

#### Persuasion Letters and Refusals

If you get a refusal, it has proved effective to have another interviewer try. Just a different person calling at the address will impress the respondent with the importance of the interview or find the respondent in a better mood.

Also, remember that refusals generally should  $\underline{\text{not}}$  be accepted from anyone other then the designated respondent

In the interests of speed, included in your materials are a supply of standard per persuasion letters which you are to use as you see fit. Please make a note on your Sample Address Summary of the date the persuasion letter was sent. This information should be relayed to the Field Coordinator and recorded on the F.C's SAS.

Please use the light green "Persuasion Letter--Immediate Action" form to request a persuasion letter, only if you feel that a personal letter from the office might reverse a refusal or be reassuring to a potential refusal. Remember that it will be at least ten days before your respondent can receive a special letter. In your request include all the information asked for on the green form.

We will send a carbon copy of the persuasion letter to you and to your supervisor on the same day we send the original to the respondent so you will know when to time the return visit.

#### Interviewer Evaluation of the Questionnaire

Please fill out the interviewer evaluation form. We are particularly interested in your reaction to the new questionnaire format. Include in your evaluation any suggestions you might have to make it easier for the interviewer to understand how to handle this type of questionnaire.

#### Verifications

We will be verifying a percentage of each interviewer's work by mailing a form to respondents. See pages 123 and 124 in the Interviewer's Manual for a copy of the letter and the verification form. Supervisors verify non-interviews in person after the study has been completed.

#### Report to Respondents

All respondents will be mailed a report on this study. There is no need to leave a report request card.

#### Experience Points

Interviewers will receive one experience point toward promotion for each interview that is completed with the correct respondent and in accordance with the instructions for this new questionnaire format.

#### Foreign Language Interpreters

Try to follow the same procedures for a foreign language respondent as were used for the pre-election study.

#### Mailing Rules

See your Interviewer's Manual, page 117 "Mailing Completed Work to the Field Office."

#### Progress Report and Project Complete Forms

See your Interviewer's Manual, pages 118, 119 and 120.

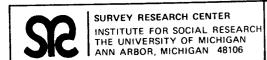
#### Time and Expense Tally

Enclosed with your materials you will find time and expense tally forms which are to accompany your green hourly time sheets. The purpose of this form is to help us analyze expenses in data collection of this sort. They will be used by the Field Office only. We are enclosing enough forms so that you will be able to keep a copy for your own records if you care to.

#### Administrative Assistant

The Administrative Assistant on this study is Jeanne Keresztesi. If it is necessary to call the Field Office, simply call collect -- station-to-station -- and ask for Jeanne, or leave a message for her after the Field Office secretary and the operator have finished their business.

C+240



(Do not write in above space.)

1. Interviewer's Label

2.	Primary Area	
<b>3</b> .	Your Interview No	
4.	Date	
5.	Length of Interview	(Minutes)
6.	Time at Beginning	

1 - 4

1976 POST-ELECTION STUDY

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7. Coder No.\_\_\_\_

## QUESTION-BY-QUESTION INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE QUESTIONNAIRE

Affix your interviewer's label and fill out items 2 through 4.

Length of interview does not include the time spent introducing yourself and the study to the respondent, nor interruptions.

The questionnaire that appears here in the Instruction Book does not have the circles, nor the shaded areas that appear on the finished copy of the questionnaire. Some of the questions were also changed slightly after the Instruction Booklet was duplicated so the questionnaire is not exactly the same as that presented here.

See note about these "grids" on next page.

#### INSTRUCTIONS

This questionnaire will be machine-read by an optical scanner and requires the following precautions:

- You must use a No. 2 black lead pencil to fill in the circles.
- Make heavy black marks inside the circles.

These kinds of markings will work:

These WILL NOT work:

• • •

• x o

- Erase cleanly any answers that are changed.
- MAKE NO OTHER MARKINGS OR COMMENTS ON THE QUESTIONNAIRE EXCEPT IN THE SPACES SPECIFIED FOR THEM. Any stray markings will interfere with the automatic reading of the interviews by the optical scanning machine, or worse, may be misread.
- Comment boxes have been provided on almost every page of the questionnaire. Your remarks
  or those of the respondent <u>must be contained within the limits of the box</u>. If you find we
  have not left enough space for you, bring along extra paper to write on. Remember to first
  jot down the question number to which the comments refer. DO NOT DRAW ARROWS from
  the question to the comment.
- Responses to open-ended questions <u>must</u>, likewise, be kept within their allotted space or be continued on extra paper.
- The series of "grids" (boxes numbered from 0 to 9) you will find throughout the questionnaire
  are to be ignored. They have been provided for the coding of open-ended responses which will
  take place at Ann Arbor, as usual, before the questionnaires are sent to Minneapolis to be
  machine-read by an optical scanner.

#### Editing Instructions

- If the code number inside a marked circle is still visible, darken it.
- DO NOT WRITE "INAP" OR DRAW A LINE THROUGH ANY OF THE QUESTIONS.

-2-

#### INSTRUCTIONS

This questionnaire format is an entirely new experience for SRC interviewers. It was, however, successfully pretested by interviewers from Detroit, Flint and Toledo. Furthermore, this type of format has been used in self-administered questionnaires employed by a number of other studies conducted by researchers at ISR. We feel quite confident, therefore, that you should have few problems with the questionnaire despite its novelty.

It is extremely important that the instructions for using this type of questionnaire be followed exactly. It will cost us a great deal of time, effort and money to correct errors that will arise if the instructions are not followed exactly.

We realize that respondents want to tell us their opinions and that writing down their comments helps to maintain rapport during the interview. We have provided space in the COMMENT boxes for writing down some of R's statements that seem relevant to how the questions should be coded. We do not, however, want you to write down lengthy comments pertaining to structured questions. We want to minimize your written comments except on open-ended questions. Frankly, we cannot make use of your additional notes on structured questions. We want you to mark the appropriate response circle and only write down comments if you have trouble getting the R to fit into a response category. Written comments that are meant only to maintain rapport or elaborate on what R said in response to a structured question should be kept to a minimum. You should maintain rapport by listening attentively to R and perhaps jotting down a word or two, but please no lengthy essays in the COMMENT boxes.

Of course, on open-ended questions we want you to probe as indicated in the question-by-question instructions and to write out R's responses as completely as possible using the COMMENT areas or extra paper if you need more space. Remember, however, to stay within the designated areas for written responses as indicated on the questionnaire for both open-ended questions and for OTHER, SPECIFY.

We believe that this new type of questionnaire will go very smoothly once you are used to it. In fact, we think you will find it to be more efficient than the traditional format.

In this interview we want to talk with you about he the recent elections turned out, as well as a number of other things. First we'd like to find out about of the things that people do to help a party or a call date win an election.	r some
date win an election.	

A CONTRACTOR OF THE PROPERTY AND ADDRESS A

A1. 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?

> YES

» NO

A2. Did anyone you know talk to you and try to show you who to vote for? (DO NOT INCLUDE PARTY CANVASSERS OR WORKERS)

· YES

5 NO→ GO TO A3

A2a. Who did they tell you to vote for?

+ FORD, REPUBLICANS

5 CARTER, DEMOCRATS

3 BOTH PARTIES OR CANDIDATES

→ OTHER: SPECIFY DON'T KNOW

A3. Did you go to any political meetings, rallies, dinners, or things like that?

+ YES

5 NO

A4. Did you do any other work for one of the parties or candidates?

YES

s NO

A5. Did you wear a campaign button or put a campaign sticker on your car?

+ YES

5 NO

COMMENTS:

any other contribution this year?

A6a. To which party is that"

1 YES → TAX CHECK-OFF GO TO A7

+ DEMOCRATIC 3 BOTH

2 REPUBLICAN

7 OTHER: SPECIFY

DON'T KNOW

A7. 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?

· YES

NO, NEVER

DON'T KNOW

A8. Have you ever written a letter to the editor of a newspaper or magazine giving any political opinions?

1 YES

NO. NEVER

DON'T KNOW

A9. 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 anyone from one of the political parties call you up or come around and talk to you about the campaign this year?

ES S NO THE TURN TO P. 4, A10

A9a. Which party was that?

\* REPUBLICAN \* DEMOCRATIC

3 BOTH

OTHER: SPECIFY

DON'T KNOW

DO NOT WRITE IN THIS SPACE

Al. Al-A6 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.

Λ2. See previous instructions

See previous instructions

See previous instructions

See previous instructions

A3.

A5.

YES and follow that pattern. See instruction for Al. Note that these activities may have taken place at any time in the past, not just during the election campaign.

Do not let the wording of this question

bution R may have made to a specific

discourage you from recording any contri-

candidate but did not think of as a gift

to the entire party. In the case of the

campaigns, this may be a common response;

"Wallace," etc.) just mark the YES circle.

Note the special category for the income tax check off system. This is to be

marked when R only checked the box in

his tax return and gave no additional monies. If R gave anything else mark

Presidential candidates in the primary

if R gives a candidate ("Jackson,"

A8. See previous instruction

3

A6.

A9. Again, this question refers to the current election campaign.

-3 -

A10.	After the presider anyone about be		B2. (RB-Page 3) Some people think that there ought to be changes in the amount of <u>influence and power</u> that certain parts of our government have. For each part
	YES	NO→ GO TO SECTION B	of government I read, tell me whether you think it should have more influence, less influence, or about
	A10a. (RBPage	Please look at this list and tell ou talked with. (MARK ALL PLY)	the same amount of influence as it has now by giving me the number from the list that best describes your feelings.
	2 OTHER	HUSBAND OR WIFE R FAMILY OR RELATIVES LE AT WORK	How much influence and power shouldhave?
	4 OTHE	R FRIENDS AND NEIGHBORS	Less Nove Nove Nove Nove Nove Nove Nove Nove
	, OTHE	R	a. The Federal
	A10b. Of those y	ou talked to <u>outside of your house</u> dd you say that all of them, most of	Washington 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 9
	them, only	y some of them or none of them he presidential election?	b. State govern- ments 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 9
	· ALL O		c. Local govern-
		OF THEM OF THEM	ments 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 9
		OF THEM	d. The Presidency 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 9
	• DON'T	KNOW	e. Congress-that is,
		-	the U.S. Senate
			and House of
	В	INSTITUTIONS	Representatives 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 9
B1.	job you feel some doing. As I read from the list that	w we'd like to ask you how good a e of the parts of our government are each item, please give me the number best describes how good a job you government is doing for the country	f. The U.S. Supreme  Court
	How good a job i	s being done for the country as a	
	whole by	Good Sinion	
	a. The Federal government in Washington		
	b. State govern- ments	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 . 9	
	c. Local govern- ments	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	COMMENTS:
	d. The Presidency	y 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	
	e. Congress-that the U.S. Senat and House of Representative		
	f. The U.S. Su- preme Court.	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 9	
			-4-

A10.

We are trying to find out who R talks with about politics. Be sure to mark all the responses that apply—we expect that many people will have talked with several types of people and that more than one category will be checked. A friend at work should be marked as a 3, while all other friends will be a 4.

In AlOb note the exclusion of household members. R should not be referring to people with whom he now lives (his spouse, children and so on).

If R says that none of the categories of AlOa apply and then mentions some other person or persons, mark 7-Other, and write in who R names in the COMMENT box below. Do NOT write his response next to the question.

#### B1-B1f

This question is designed to get at how good a job the respondent thinks a number of institutions are doing. We view it as a measure of overall feeling, and thus the question is stated in very broad, general terms. We have asked about the job being done "for the country as a whole" because we are interested in the societal impact of these institutions. It is up to the respondent, of course, what constitutes doing a good job for the country as a whole; but whatever his view, he should be keeping that broad framework in mind when answering.

In regard to questions Blb and Blc where we ask about state and local governments, we would like the respondent to respond at the broadest level at which he has an opinion. We want his opinion about state governments and local governments in general; but if he only has an opinion about his own state or local government, then we want that opinion.

B1-B1f. (Cont.) che "presidency" In Bld we are interested or "President" in general, not just President Ford. If R says "He did a poor job," say, "Well, how good a job is being done by the presidency in general." If R can't generalize, use the response for Ford. The format for this question is designed to gain a lot of information in a short time. As soon as R learns how to use the response scale, he should be able to rate the institutions quickly, and all you will need to do is read the institutions and mark the circle for R's response. The stem is repeated twice, but you may read it as often as seems necessary.

Note that the response scale has nine points (0 to 8), but only five have labels (Very Boor, Poor, Fair, Good, Very Good); the in-between points are provided for R's who wish to make finer distinctions. Some R's will want to limit themselves to just the points with labels, and that is perfectly OK—there is no requirement that all or even most of the scale points be used.

#### B2-B2f.

This question is designed to find out whether the respondent thinks each institution should be more or less influential than it presently is. He is not asked to rate amount of influence, but only whether he would like to see things changed—and in which direction.

As in Bld, the Presidency should be taken to mean the "office of President" not just President Ford. See the instruction for Bld if you are in doubt.

3. Some people say the Federal government has to have certain powers to protect the interests of the country as a whole while others say that the rights of the individual should always come first. Which of the following do you think the government in Washington should be able to do and which do you think it should not do?	d. Southerners
	g. Catholics 1 2 3 8
Should Should Don't be able not do Know to do	h. Big business 1 2 3 8
a. Limit the amount of gas you can use during an energy crisis	j. Women's Liberation Movement
an energy crisis	k. Liberals 1 2 3 8
b. Require everyone to	
carry a national iden- tification card	m.Chicanos, Mexican-Americans 1 2 3 8
c. Regulate local busi- nesses to meet job	n. Whites
safety standards	p. Young people 3 2 3 8
d. Look into your back- ground if you were to	q. Women 1 2 3 8
apply for such things as unemployment benefits,	r. Protestants 1 2 3 8
welfare, or a passport 1 5 6	s. Republicans
e. Require pollution equip- ment on new cars even	t. People on welfare 1 2 3 1
if it increases the price you will have to pay 1 5 6	u. Men
	v. Older people 1 2 3 8
f. Wiretap phones for national security reasons	w.Democrats 1 2 3 8
	x. Middle-class
4. (RB-Page 4) Some people think that certain groups have too much influence in American life and politics,	people
while other people feel that certain groups don't have as much influence as they deserve. Here are three	y. Conservatives 1 2 3 8
statements about how much influence a group might have. For each group I read to you, just tell me the	z. Black Militants 1 2 3 6
number of the statement that best says how you feel. The first group is Labor Unions.	aa. Businessmen 1 2 3 8
	COMMENTS:
1 TOO MUCH INFLUENCE 2 JUST ABOUT THE RIGHT AMOUNT OF INFLUENCE 3 TOO LITTLE INFLUENCE	COMMENTS.
8 DON'T KNOW	
a. Labor unions	
b. Poor people	
c. Jews	

B3.
Here we are trying to get an idea of how much government intrusion into their personal lives people are willing to tolerate in order to achieve desirable ends. In B3f we mean legitimate national security reasons. (Some respondents may chuckle and talk of Nixon's use of the national security umbrella.)

If R says he doesn't care one way or the other, mark "don't know."

B4.
Make sure that R is not answering strictly in terms of groups he likes or dislikes. We expect likes or dislikes and we expect to find that R will think that groups he dislikes (on the thermometer—yet to come) have 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.

--5-

1

- 2 SUPREME COURT
- DON'T KNOW
- 3 PRESIDENT 4 POLITICAL PARTIES

B5b. Which do you least often trust to do what's right?

- CONGRESS
- ALL
- SUPREME COURT → PRESIDENT
- 7 NONE DON'T KNOW
- POLITICAL PARTIES
- B6. We find that people differ in how much faith and confidence they have in various levels of government in this country. In your case, do you have more faith and confidence in the national government, the government of this state, or in the local government around here?

i	NATIONAL GOVERNMENT STATE GOVERNMENT LOCAL GOVERNMENT ALL GOVERNMENT ONNE GOTO B7 OTHER: COMBINATION TURN TO P. DON'T KNOW SECTION C
B6a.	Why is that?

B7. Which level do you have the least faith and confidence in-the national government, the government of this state, or the local government around here?

	NATIONAL GOVERNMENT STATE GOVERNMENT LOCAL GOVERNMENT ALL  NONE OTHER; COMBINATION SECTION C
B7a.	Why is that?

lst	6a 2nd	j	1st	7a 2nd	
0 0	0 0		0 0	0 0	

B5-B7a. In this section, we are trying to obtain what are called "complete rank-orderings" of four branches of government (B5-B5b) and then three levels of government (B6-B7a). We have tried to foresee all of the possible responses to the stem of each question that would make complete rank-orderings impossible (i.e., "all," "none," and "DK") and to supply skip instructions that will both make the remainder of the question sound intelligent and allow us to get at least a partial rank-ordering. Don't be put off by the apparent complexity of these questions--about 90% of the

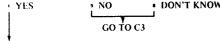
respondents will give you a straight

answer to the stems and you'll be on

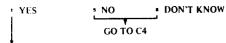
your way.

#### C. MEDIA

- C1. 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?
  - MOST OF THE TIME
  - 2 SOME OF THE TIME
  - 3 ONLY NOW AND THEN
  - 4 HARDLY AT ALL
  - DON'T KNOW
- C2. We're interested in this interview in finding out whether people paid much attention to the election campaign this year. Take radio for instance-did you listen to any speeches or discussions about the campaign on the radio?

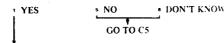


- C2a. How many programs about the campaign did you listen to on the radio-a good many, several, or just one or two?
  - + GOOD MANY
  - 2 SEVERAL
  - 3 JUST ONE OR TWO
  - DON'T KNOW
- C3. How about magazines--did you read about the campaign in any magazines?

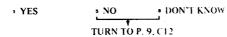


- C3a. How many magazine articles about the campaign would you say you read-a good many, several, or just one or two?
  - 1 GOOD MANY
  - 2 SEVERAL
  - 3 JUST ONE OR TWO
  - DON'T KNOW

C4. Did you watch any programs about the campaign on television?



- C4a. How many television programs about the campaigns would you say you watched--a good many. several, or just one or two?
  - + GOOD MANY
  - 2 SEVERAL
  - **JUST ONE OR TWO**
  - DON'T KNOW
- C5. Did you watch any of the televised debates between the presidential or vice-presidential candidates?



- C6. How many of the debates did you watch? (IF R GIVES RANGE, MARK LOWER VALUE)
  - · ONE
  - 2 TWO
  - 3 THREE
  - FOUR

-7-

- **5 FIVE OR MORE**
- ALL OF THEM
- DON'T KNOW

COMMENTS:		
:		

C2-C4.

If R says that he does not have a TV or 1 radio or doesn't read magazines, just mark the NO circle (questions C2, C3, C4 and C5). DO NOT write in R's statement.

We ask first about how much of the time R spent listening to the radio, watching TV, etc. about the election campaign, and then ask if he watched the debate. R may, of course, be thinking of the debates when he answers YES to these first questions; this is perfectly acceptable.

> If R watched part of a debate, count it as watching.

(12. (RBPage 6) Now I'm going to ask you how often you watch certain types of TV shows. Just tell me if you watch them <u>frequently</u> , <u>sometimes</u> , <u>rarely</u> .	C14. Would you say that this newspaper endorsed or took sides for one of the presidential candidates or parties, or that it did not endorse anyone?
How often do you watch	YES, ENDORSED NO, DID NOT ENDORSE DON'T KNOW
b. National news broadcasts in the early evening (like Cronkite, Chancellor and Brinkley, or Reasoner and Walters)	GO TO C15 C14a. Who was the newspaper for? FORD; REPUBLICAN CARTER; DEMOCRAT
c. Evening entertainment programs about police and crime	OTHER: SPECIFY:
d. Local news broadcasts in the late evening	C15. Did you read about the campaign in any newspaper?  YES  NO DON'T KNOW
13. How about newspapers. Do you read a daily newspaper?	C15a. How much did you read newspaper articles
YES OON'T KNOW GO TO C15  C13a. Which one or ones do you read? (GET COMPLETE NAME)	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
COMPLETE NAME)	DON'T KNOW
C13b. (IF MORE THAN ONE) What local daily pape do you read most for news about politics and current events? (GET COMPLETE NAME)	C13a-1 0 0 0 1 1 1 1 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2
C9-2nd         C9-3rd         C10-1st         C10-2nd           0	C10-3rd         C11-1st         C11-2nd         C11-3rd           0
- 9	<b>)</b> _

C12. This question attempts to get at the amount and type of television the respondent watches.

If R has no TV or his set is broken, mark the "NEVER" circles right down the list--don't write anything else--as this is all the information we need. Any stray marks will just hinder our computerized coding.

C12a.

"ENTERTAINMENT" and "DAY" should be emphasized. If R is unclear about either of these terms you can explain that "entertainment" means the regular programming of ongoing series, such as game shows, soap operas, talk shows, movies, etc. "Day" means the daylight hours--up to the early evening news.

Be sure to emphasize "NATIONAL" and "EARLY EVENING." If R is unclear what we mean you can mention that we mean those newscasts reported by Walter Cronkite (CBS), or John Chancellor, David Brinkley (NBC), or Harry Reasoner and Barbara Walters (ABC).

C12c.

Be sure to emphasize "POLICE AND CRIME." Such programs include Kojak, Hawaii Five-o, Streets of San Francisco, and so on.

C12d.

Be sure to emphasize "LOCAL" and "LATE EVENING." If R is unclear you can mention that the local news is the newscast produced by the local station and not the national networks. There is usually no late evening national newscast so this should not present a large problem. By "late evening" we mean the newscast that usually is aired at 11 pm or after the 9 o'clock movie.

Emphasize DAILY in this question. We do not want weekly papers.

It is obviously important that you get the FULL NAME OF THE PAPER if R can supply it. "The Tribune" won't help much--there must be 500 papers in this country called "The Tribune."

C14.

This will be straightforward for most paople. "Don't know" is, of course, a legitimate response. If R says his paper came out against one candidate, but for sure did not endorse another, record this as "did not endorse." This last instance should be a rarity, as most papers taking a position against a candidate will, perhaps half-heartedly, endorse his opponent. We are interested only in who the paper endorsed, not who they were against.

Even if R does not read a daily newspaper, he may have read about the campaign from time to time, or may read a weekly newspaper.

DO NOT WRITE IN THIS SPACE

C16-16g.
This question attempts to get at what R reads in the newspaper and how much time R spends reading different types of stories. If you have to, assure R that we don't expect people to read the paper every day. We are interested only in the days when R does read the paper. Note that we ask this question of all R's, including those who do not claim to read a daily newspaper. Most of these non-regular readers will go ahead and respond naturally for those times when they do read a paper.

If R insists he never reads a paper, merely mark the NEVER circles right down the list. Please do not make any additional marks; we will understand what has happened.

C17.

Dla.

This item is intended to us some idea of why R did not vote. We expect that he may choose more than one response so be sure to mark all the answers that apply. The skip is now to D7-don't forget D7 and D8. Please do not mark through questions D2-D6 because your marks will prevent our coding of the questionnaire by machine. Just skip these questions and we will handle the Inap procedure in coding.

If R says that none of the reasons apply to him, mark all of the items (a-i) under NOT MENTIONED. If R volunteers some other reason and says that none in the list apply, again mark NOT MENTIONED for all items (a-i) and write the volunteered reason in a comment box.

Every item (a-i) must be marked as either MENTIONED or NOT MENTIONED.

Note the skip instruction here. You may miss it if you write anything in the comment box.

D1.

D2-D2a.

Checkpoint A. The following states did not have any Senate races this year, and R's in these states should not be asked D3. Just skip D3, D0 NOT cross through it.

> Alabama Alaska Arkansas Colorado Georgia Idaho Illinois Iowa Kansas Kentucky Louisiana New Hampshire North Carolina Oklahoma Oregon South Carolina South Dakota Washington, D. C.

Checkpoint B. The following states did not have gubernatorial races this year and in these states should not be asked D5. Skip it but DON'T mark through it.

Minnesota

Nebraska

Nevada

Mississippi

Alaska Arizona California Colorado Connecticut Florida Georgia Hawaii Idaho Iowa Kansas Kentucky Louisiana Maine Maryland Massachusetts Michigan

Alabama

New Jersey New Mexico New York Ohio Oklahoma Oregon Pennsylvania South Carolina South Dakota Tennessee Texas Virginia Wisconsin Wyoming

Washington, D. C.

D5.

11

Ask of all R's that voted.

D3.

7 7 7

8 8 8

-- 11-

7 OTHER; SPECIFY

DON'T KNOW

6 6 6

7 7 7

list of some of the problems

o to vote. Please look at enter of any of the statements

D6. (RB-Page 9) Here

people face when

this list and tell m

E. IMPORTANT PROBLEMS

Now let's talk about some current issues.

acing this cou	ntry?	 

E1. What do you think are the most important problems

E1a. Anything else?

l	 			 
l				
ŀ				

#### CHECKPOINT C

R HAS NOT MENTIONED
ANY PROBLEMS TURN TO P. 13, E7
R HAS MENTIONED
ONE PROBLEM TURN TO P. 13, E2
R HAS MENTIONED MORE
THAN ONE PROBLEM TURN TO P. 13, E1b

DO NOT WRITE IN THIS SPACE

D6. We are trying to find out what sorts of inconveniences people are willing to put up with in order to vote. Be sure to mark as many items as R mentions. If R says "none," mark the NOT MENTIONED circle for all items (a-e). If R only volunteers some other response that does not fit our list, mark NOT MENTIONED for all items (a-e) and write R's response in a COMMENT Section.

Every item (a-c) should be marked as either MENTIONED or NOT MENTIONED.

Unlike most of our questions, this one

Read the question directly to R and

manner so as not to make R feel uncomfortable even if R's answer is

has a right answer, and some people may

feel a little uneasy about answering it.

record his response in a straightforward

In this question, nearly all the answers to the item will be political or governmental to start with. So, when you have R pinned down to what he considers the biggest national problem (in Elb or in Ela if he mentions only one problem), please probe to find out what R means if the response is not clear.

DON'T MISS THE CHECKPOINT C BETWEEN Ela AND Elb.

D8.
See previous instruction

incorrect.

1	YES	5	NO	TURN	то	P.	14.	E

E6a. Who was that? Anyone else? (MARK ALL THAT APPLY) E6b. Does this person usually pay more attention to public affairs than you, less than you or about the same? (ASK FOR EACH TYPE OF PERSON R TALKED

						£.
а.	YOUR WIFE/	NO	YES	*or	يو پي	Jan.
	HUSBAND	. 5 .	. •	٠ ١	3 5	•

b. ANOTHER **FAMILY** MEMBER OR RELATIVE ... 5 .. 1 --- 1 3 5 .. 8

c. SOMEONE AT WORK .... 5 .. 1 --- 1 3 5 .. 6

d. OTHER FRIEND OR NEIGHBOR. 5 . . 1 → 1 3 5 . . 8

., 5 ., 1 ---- 1 3 5 ., a

e. ANYONE ELSE; SPECIFY:

DON'T KNOW

E2. Is this problem something that affects you personally?

DON'T KNOW

s NO

E3. How good a job is the government doing in dealing

E4. Which political party do you think would be most

likely to get the government to do a better job in

Democrats, or wouldn't there be much difference

5 DEMOCRATS

dealing with this problem-the Republicans, the

GOOD JOB ONLY FAIR POOR JOB

with this problem-a good job, only fair, or a poor job?

E5. How much responsibility should the government in general have in solving this problem-a great deal, some, or none at all?

GREAT DEAL SOME NONE AT ALL

DON'T KNOW

faces?

· YES

DON'T KNOW

between them?

REPUBLICANS

3 NO DIFFERENCE

				_	EI									
	İst		Γ		2nd	1		3rd				Elb		
o	0	0		0	0	0		•	0	0	1	0	0	0
1	•	1		1	1	1		١,	1	•		1	,	
2	2	2		2	2	2	ļ	2	2	2	ļ	2	2	2
3	3	3		3	3	3		3	3	3		3	3	3
4	4	4		4	4	4		4	4	4		4	4	4
5	5	5		5	5	5		5	5	5		,	5	5
4	6	4		6	6	6		١.	6	6		6	•	•
7	7	7		7	7	7	ĺ	,	7	7		,	7	7
					•									•
9	9	,			9	9		,	9	9		•	•	

COMMENTS:

E2. We want to know if R feels that his most important problem has affected him personally. For example, R may cite the economy as the most important national problem, but may feel that he has done all right himself -- and so report that it has not had an effect on himself. On the other hand he may feel that if the economy were more perky he would have done better--then he would say that the economic doldrums have affected him personally.

E3. We want R to respond in terms of whatever level of government (national/ state/local) he thinks is most relevant to the problem. If he insists on giving responses for two or more levels use his answer for the NATIONAL government or the STATE if both state and local are given by R.

E4.

See instruction for E3. Also, by "responsibility" we don't mean blame for causing the problem, but how big a part the government should play in solving the problem.

E6. Here we are trying to get an idea of what types of people R talks with about "political" sorts of things. Most people will have talked with someone, but many who have talked with several types of people won't immediately mention the others. Be sure to probe with the "anyone else."

13

Also, for each type of person R talked to, be sure to ask E6b. If he talks to more than one person within a category, for example several friends at work, ask about the person within that category that R talks with most--in this example probably his best friend at work. This applies only within a category, as you will also ask about the person in each of the other categories R mentions--say his wife and his neighbor. Note that responses about a friend at work go into item E6e while other friends go into E6d.

-13-

7. (10 PLAYING CARDS). Now we'd like you to read through the issy these cards and tell me the letter of any iss is not at all important to you so we can put it assec
' ALL ARE IMPORTANT → GO TO E8
NONE IS IMPORTANT → TURN TO P. 15, SECTION F
Not Important Important
a. HONESTY IN GOVERNMENT. 1
b. HIGH TAXES.
c. INFLATION
d. ENERGY SHORTAGES
e. UNEMPLOYMENT
f. U.S. RELATIONS WITH FOREIGN COUNTRIES •
g. RACIAL ISSUES, INCLUDING BUSING 5
h. COMBATING CRIME AND DRUGS
i. CONSUMER PROTECTION 1 5
j. POLLUTION 1 5
COMMENTS:
;

has toward solving each problem- or none at all?						hin so		
	,	٦ :	Ų,	ف				
a. HONESTY IN GOVERNMENT	نگی	300	ج ح		YQ.	o Inar		
b. HIGH TAXES	•	3	5			0		
c. INFLATION	,	3	5			o		
d. ENERGY SHORTAGES	•	3	5		8	0		
e. UNEMPLOYMENT	•	3	5		8	0		
f. U.S. RELATIONS WITH FOREIGN COUNTRIES	,	3	5		8	o		
g. RACIAL ISSUES, INCLUDING BUSING	,	3	5		В	o		
h. COMBATING CRIME AND DRUGS	,	3	5		8	o		
i. CONSUMER PROTECTION .	1	3	5		6	0		
j. POLLUTION	1	3	5		8	0		
E9. Using the (remaining) cards, tell		th	a 1	~*		αf	41.	_
issue which is most important to most important? The third? The NUMBER OF RANK BY MARK CIRCLE)	e fo	u. ou	T th	he ?	se (R	coi EC	id Ol	RD.
most important? The third? The NUMBER OF RANK BY MARK	e fo IN	u. oui G.	T th AP	he ?	se (R RO	coi EC	id Ol	RD.
most important? The third? The NUMBER OF RANK BY MARK CIRCLE)  a. HONESTY IN	e fo	u. oui G .	T th AP	he ? PF	se (R RO	coi EC	id Ol	RD.
most important? The third? The NUMBER OF RANK BY MARK CIRCLE)  a. HONESTY IN GOVERNMENT	e fo	u. G	Toth AP	he ? PF	se (R RO	coi EC	id Ol	RD.
most important? The third? The NUMBER OF RANK BY MARK CIRCLE)  a. HONESTY IN GOVERNMENT	e fo	u. G	Toth AF	he ? PF Nk 3	se (R RO	coi EC	id Ol	RD.
most important? The third? The NUMBER OF RANK BY MARK CIRCLE)  a. HONESTY IN GOVERNMENT b. HIGH TAXES.	e fo	u. Oui G.	ThAP	he ? PF	se (R RO	coi EC	id Oli IA	TE deut
most important? The third? The NUMBER OF RANK BY MARK CIRCLE)  a. HONESTY IN GOVERNMENT b. HIGH TAXES. c. INFLATION. d. ENERGY SHORTAGES.	e fo	u. oui G .	Thath	he ? PFF Nk 3 3	se (R RO	coi EC	id Oli IA	RD TE
most important? The third? The NUMBER OF RANK BY MARK CIRCLE)  a. HONESTY IN GOVERNMENT b. HIGH TAXES. c. INFLATION. d. ENERGY SHORTAGES. e. UNEMPLOYMENT. f. U.S. RELATIONS WITH	e fo	u. oun G .	ThAF	he ? PF Nk 3 3 3 3 3	se (RO	coi EC	id Oli IA	
most important? The third? The NUMBER OF RANK BY MARK CIRCLE)  a. HONESTY IN GOVERNMENT. b. HIGH TAXES. c. INFLATION. d. ENERGY SHORTAGES. e. UNEMPLOYMENT. f. U.S. RELATIONS WITH FOREIGN COUNTRIES g. RACIAL ISSUES,	e fo	u. oun G	ThAP	he ? PF Nk 3 3 3 3 3	se (RO	coi EC	id Oli IA	
most important? The third? The NUMBER OF RANK BY MARK CIRCLE)  a. HONESTY IN GOVERNMENT. b. HIGH TAXES. c. INFLATION. d. ENERGY SHORTAGES. e. UNEMPLOYMENT. f. U.S. RELATIONS WITH FOREIGN COUNTRIES. g. RACIAL ISSUES, INCLUDING BUSING. h. COMBATING CRIME	e fo	u. oun G	ThAF	he ? PF Nk 3 3 3 3 3 3 3	se (RO	coi EC	id Oli IA	

E8. Using the (remaining) cards, tell me how much re-

E7.
Be sure to remove from the deck of cards any issues that are not at all important to R before going to E8. If the respondent is not certain if the issue is important to him or her use it in E8. Remove only those that R is sure are not important. Mark the NOT IMPORTANT circle for those playing cards that R puts aside. Then mark the IMPORTANT circle for the rest of the issues before asking E8.

Every item (a-j) should be marked as either IMPORTANT or NOT IMPORTANT.

E8. We want R to respond in terms of whatever level of government (national/state/local) he thinks is most relevant to the problem. If he insists on giving responses for two or more levels, use his response for the NATIONAL government, or the STATE if both state and local are given. By "responsibility" we don't mean "blame" for causing the problem, but how big a part government should play in solving the problem. Those items dropped in E7 should be marked in the "Inap" circle.

Every item (a-j) should be appropriately
marked.

E9.
Be sure to mark the <u>number</u> of the rank in the circle under RANK. So if issue g is most important to R you should mark a 1 in the circle for g under the RANK column. If b is second most important it should get rank of 2, and so on until four cards are ranked.

If R thinks that two or three issues are equally important give them all the same rank. If, for example, issues a, c, and e are mentioned as the most important, first try to get R to decide which is really the most important. If R insists on all three, give a, c and e a rank of 1 and go on to the issue that would be ranked 2. Try to get R to give a complete ranking of the 1st four but put down the same rank if R insists and we will handle the problem in coding. Note that we are asking R to rank only his first four issues, and not the whole set. This should greatly ease your task.

The rest of the issues should be marked "Inap." Every item (a-j) should be appropriately marked.

## F. PERSONAL EFFICACY AND POLITICAL TRUST

Now we have a few questions on other things besides politics.

- F1. Do you think it's better to plan your life a good way ahead, or would you say life is too much a matter of luck to plan ahead very far?
  - PLAN AHEAD
  - 5 TOO MUCH LUCK TO PLAN
  - DON'T KNOW
- F2. When you do make plans ahead, do you usually get to carry out things the way you expected, or do things usually come up to make you change your plans?
  - THINGS WORK OUT AS EXPECTED
  - 5 HAVE TO CHANGE PLANS
  - DON'T KNOW
- F3. Have you usually felt pretty sure your life would work out the way you want it to, or have there been times when you haven't been sure about it?
  - PRETTY SURE
  - 5 HAVEN'T BEEN SURE
  - DON'T KNOW
- F4. Some people feel they can run their lives pretty much the way they want to; others feel the problems of life are sometimes too big for them. Which are you most like?
  - 1 CAN RUN OWN LIFE
  - **PROBLEMS OF LIFE TOO BIG**
  - DON'T KNOW
- F5. In general, how satisfying do you find the way you're spending your life these days? Would you call it <u>completely</u> satisfying, <u>pretty</u> satisfying or <u>not very</u> satisfying?
  - COMPLETELY SATISFYING
  - PRETTY SATISFYING
  - NOT VERY SATISFYING
  - DON'T KNOW

- F6. 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?
  - · A GOOD DEAL
  - 3 SOME
  - NOT MUCH
  - DON'T KNOW
- F7. 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
  - NOT MUCH
  - DON'T KNOW
- F8. 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?
  - · A GOOD DEAL
  - 3 SOME
  - NOT MUCH
  - DON'T KNOW
- F9. 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?
  - + A GOOD DEAL
  - 3 SOME
  - » NOT MUCH
  - DON'T KNOW
- F10. Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted, or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people?
  - MOST PEOPLE CAN BE TRUSTED
  - CAN'T BE TOO CAREFUL
  - DON'T KNOW
- F11. Would you say that most of the time people try to be helpful, or that they are mostly just looking out for themselves?
- · I TRY TO BE HELPFUL
  - JUST LOOK OUT FOR THEMSELVES
  - DON'T KNOW

F1-F12.

R may want to the ose something inbetween the two choices given, or qualify his choice in some way. Just ask him to choose the one that comes closest to the way he feels. Mark "Don't Know" only if he can't make a choice.

- F12. Do you think ment people would try to take advantage of y cy got a chance, or would they try to be
  - WOULD TAKE ADVANTAGE OF YOU
  - 5 WOULD TRY TO BE FAIR
  - DON'T KNOW

#### G. ISSUES

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

- G1. 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?
  - 4 GOOD TOB
  - ONLY FAIR
  - 5 POOR
  - DON'T KNOW
- G2. Do you think that the problems of inflation and unemployment would be handled better by the Democrats, by the Republicans, or about the same by both?
  - BETTER BY DEMOCRATS
  - BETTER BY REPUBLICANS
  - 5 SAME BY BOTH
  - DON'T KNOW
- G3. People often blame different parts of the government or society for economic problems. Please look at the list on the next page of your booklet (RB-Page 11) and tell me who you feel is most responsible for the economic problems of the past few years: the Congress, the President, the Labor Unions, or Big Business.
  - CONGRESS
  - 2 THE PRESIDENT
  - 3 LABOR UNIONS
  - BIG BUSINESS
  - / OTHER; NONE
  - DON'T KNOW

G4. (RB-Page 12) As you know, even though America is a wealthy nation, there are still many people living here who are poor. I'm going to read you some reasons people have offered to explain why this is so. For each, I'd like you to tell me whether you agree a great deal, agree somewhat, disagree somewhat or disagree a great deal by giving me the number from the list that best expresses how you feel.

- d. The seniority system in most companies works against poor peoplethey're the last to be hired and the first to be fired.

In this question you are to read the separate items and have R give you one of the four Agree-Disagree categories in the Response Booklet. We are trying to get R's perceptions about the causes of poverty.

G1.
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 comment box and let us handle it.

G2.

G3.
Here we are talking about blame for causing the economic recession, not the responsibility for solving it. If R volunteers some other response than those indicated, mark the OTHER circle and write the response in a COMMENT box, not next to the question. If he chooses several to blame, emphasize that we want the one he judges "most responsible."

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

somewhere in between.

				see to job and person ge- good standard ahead on h			ch get his		
	,						1	DK	
a. YOURSELF, .		1 2	3	4	8	6	7	. •	
• HAVEN'T T	HOUGH	T M	ΙU	CH	_	-	G	то	Ge
Where would you	place				.01	n t	he s	cale?	
b. Gerald Ford		1 2	,	4		•	7	•	
c. Jimmy Carter.		1 2	,	4	5	•	7	. •	
d. The Demo- cratic party		1 2	3	•	5	•	,	. •	
e. The Repub- lican party	'	1 2	3	4	5	6	7	•	
f. Most poor people		1 2	3	4	5	•	7	•	
g. Most businessmen	'	1 Z	,		•	•	7	. •	
h. Most blacks , .		1 2	3	4	•	6	7	. •	
i. Most whites	'	1 2	3	4	5	6	,	. •	
				-					

G6. (RB-Page 14) Over the past few years there has been much discussion about the best way to deal with the problem of urban unrest and rioting. Some say it is more important to use all available force to maintain law and order-no matter what results. Others say it is more important to correct the problems of poverty and unemployment that give rise to the disturbances.

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

	Solve pov of pov unemp	en	ty a	ınd			ava	se a sila orc	ble		
		1						-		DK	
a, YOURSELF		1	2	3	4	5	6	7			
• HAVEN'T THO	UGHT	M	UC			R	N	го	P.	. 18, 0	G
Where would you	place				OI	tł	e:	sca	le'	?	
b. Gerald Ford		١	2	3	•	5	4	7		•	
c. Jimmy Carter		١	2	3	4	5	6	7			
d. The Demo- cratic party		1	2	3	4	5	6	7			
e. The Repub- lican party.		1	z	3	4	5	6	7		. 8	

COMMENTS:

G5-G5i.

We realize that these questions are demanding of both you and R; however, much valuable research information has already been derived from this technique, which was used in past election studies. Definitely try to get R to specify his response in terms of a number on the scale. If R gives a range (e.g., 5-7) ask R to give, if possible, a single number out of that range. If this is not possible for R, mark the point nearest the center of the scale. For example, "2 or 3" would be "3" and "6 or 7" would be "6". As you will note, all of these questions have "HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH ABOUT THIS"circles While we want as much information as possible, if the respondent has definitely not thought about the issue, mark the circle and follow the skip instruction.

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. Thus, our first task for the respondent is to place himself on the scale between, or at, one of the extreme positions of the particular issue. (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 to the next scale.)

G5b-h.

After G5a, R is to try to place the parties and the political leaders and groups on the scale. We have found that in general if R understands the questions and can place himself on the scale, the other parts of the questions are much easier for him to accomplish. If R gives a "Don't Know" or "No Opinion" for the political leaders or parties, it is a perfectly acceptable response. It is also important that R understand that he should place the parties and political leaders on the scale in terms of where he thinks they stand now, NOT in terms of where he

G5b-h (cont.) would like them to be. If you get a response with all 1's or all 7's, R may be falling into the trap of putting the objects where he wants them to be and not where he thinks they are. Whenever such confusion becomes apparent to you, please try to clarify the response in terms of where R thinks the candidate or party position is now. (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.)

All of the questions have been pretested and we think that their meaning will be fairly clear to everyone. If you are questioned about a particular term, just reply: "Whatever that means to you." Interpretation for one R without interpretation for all of them would create problems of comparability between interviews.

Because there are 7 points on the scales plus a DON'T KNOW category, the circles had to be placed rather close together. We apologize for this and ask you to be especially careful when marking these items so that you will not accidentally mark the wrong circle.

G7. (RB--Page 15) Soy marijuana should t the penalties for us than they are now. 'ple think that the use of legal. Others think that arijuana should be set higher

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

	Make us mariju lega	ana			h	igĥ	er t	ltie han nov	1	
	ļ						-	I	ΣK	
a. YOURSELF	i	2	3	4	5	•	7		•	
• HAVEN'T THO	UGHT	M	UC	Ή		-	GC	T	00	38
Where would you pla	ıce			. 01	n t	his	sc	ale	?	
b. Gerald Ford	•	2	3	4	5	•	7		•	
c. Jimmy Carter	<b>'</b>	2	3	4	5	•	7		٠	
d. The Demo- cratic party	1	2	3	•		•	,		•	
e. The Repub- lican party	. , 1	2	3	•	5	•	,		•	
f. Most young people	1	2	3	4	5	•	,		•	
g. Most older people	•	2	3	•	5	•	7		• .	

G8. (RB-Page 16) As you know, in our tax system people who earn a lot of money already have to pay higher rates of income tax than those who earn less. Some people think that those with high incomes should pay even more of their income into taxes than they do now. Others think that the rates shouldn't be different at all—that everyone should pay the same portion of their income, no matter how much they make.

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

Increase the

Have the same

	tax rate for high incomes	tax rate for everyone
		DK
a. YOURSELF	1 2 3	4 5 6 7 8
• HAVEN'T TH		TURN TO P. 19, G9
Where would you p	lace	on this scale?
b. Gerald Ford	1 2 3	4 5 6 7 ., 8
c. Jimmy Carter	1 2 3	4 5 6 7 8
d. The Demo- cratic party	1 2 3	4 5 6 7 , 8
e. The Repub- lican party	, 1 2 3	4 5 6 7 , 8
f. Most workingmen	, 1 2 3	4 5 6 7 , 8
g. Most poor people	1 2 3	4 5 6 7 8
h. Most businessmen	1 2 3,	4 5 6 7 8

COMMENTS:

We've had some trouble getting R's to understand this one. Make sure you understand it yourself. The left-hand option is to make the tax system more steeply graduated than it is now--that is, to make the difference in tax rates between high and low incomes greater than it is now. The right-hand option is to go back in time and un-graduate it altogether. Some of the confusion comes from Rs' inability to distinguish between tax rates and absolute tax payments. You can try to straighten this out for R, but only if he makes it clear to you that he's confused. One of the nice things about this question is that, since it tries to get at soak-therich sentiments, it often works even if R isn't making the distinction between rates and payments. So, don't push the distinction on him; let him ask.

about women's rights. Some people feel that women should have an equal role with men in running business, industry, and government. Others feel that women's place is in the home.	there has been some discussion about abortion during recent years. Which one of the opinions on this page best agrees with your view? You can just tell me the number of the opinion you choose.
Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?	ABORTION SHOULD NEVER BE PERMITTED.
Women and Women's men should place is have an in the equal role home	2 ABORTION SHOULD BE PERMITTED ONLY IF THE LIFE AND HEALTH OF THE WOMAN IS IN DANGER.
a. YOURSELF.	ABORTION SHOULD BE PERMITTED IF, DUE TO PERSONAL REASONS, THE WOMAN WOULD HAVE DIFFICULTY IN CARING FOR THE CHILL
• HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH → GO TO G10 Where would you place , on this scale?	4 ABORTION SHOULD NEVER BE FORBIDDEN, SINCE ONE SHOULD NOT REQUIRE A WOMAN TO HAVE A CHILD SHE DOESN'T WANT.
b. Gerald Ford	OTHER: SPECIFY:
d. The Demo- cratic party	
e. The Republican party.	• DON'T KNOW
f. Most women	
g. Most men	G11. In general, which party do you think would be most likely to support a constitutional amendment to make abortions illegal—the Republicans, the Democrats, or wouldn't there be much difference between the two."
i. Most older people	• REPUBLICANS • DEMOCRATS • NOT MUCH DIFFERENCE
	<ul><li>DON'T KNOW</li></ul>
COMMENTS:	G12. Sometimes a company has to lay off part of its labor force. Some people think that the first workers to be laid off should be women whose husbands have jobs. Others think that male and female employees should be treated the same. Which of these opinions do you agree with?  1. LAY OFF WOMEN FIRST 2. TREAT MALE AND FEMALE EMPLOYEES THE SAME  2. OTHER 4. DON'T KNOW
	b. Gerald Ford

G9.

\_10 -

G10.

19

G12.

G11.

APPROVE

DISAPPROVE

DON'T KNOW

G13a. Do you know whether your state considered passage of the Amendment?

+ YES, CONSIDERED

5 NO, DID NOT CONSIDER GO TO G14

G13b. Did your state pass or reject the Amendment?

+ PASSED

REJECTED

DON'T KNOW

G14. We'd like to ask you a few questions now about some of the differences between groups in our society. People have different ideas about these things. . . HAND R GREEN SHEET. For each set of statements in this booklet, we would like you to check the one that you agree with most. (IF R HAS DIFFICULTY READING, INTERVIEWER SHOULD READ QUESTIONS)

Which of these two?

- 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.

#### G15, And these?

- 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.

#### G16. And these?

- Women can best overcome discrimination by pursuing their individual career goals in as femini. 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.
- G17. 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 can't get a good job White people with the same skills wouldn't have any trouble.
- G18. ' 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 haven't prepared themselves enough to make use of the opportunities that come their way.
- G19. 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.
- G20. 1 It's more natural for men to have the top responsible jobs in a country. --or--
  - Sex discrimination keeps women from the top jobs.

COMMENTS:		

G13.

selects one. If the respondent feels that

G14-G25 (cont).

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. 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.

Each of the 12 questions in this section

gives two choices from which the respondent

You are to fill in the circles in the questionnaire itself from the green sheet when you are editing the interview. Your doing so will enable us to code these questions with our computerized system.

Don't forget to fill in the checkpoint Cl between G21 and G22.

G14-G25.

The 12 items in this section (G14-G25) are identical to those on the green sheet 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  ${\tt R}$ do it himself. Just ask, "Would you rather that I read them to you?" If you do read them, just ask R the first eight question (G14-G21), and skip (G22-G25). 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.

Indicate at checkpoint C1 whether R filled it out himself or you read it to him.

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.

#### CHECKPOINT CI

- · IF READING QUESTIONS TO R → TURN TO SECTION H
- R READ GREEN SHEET HIMSELF
- G22. By nature women are happiest when they are making a home and caring for children. --or-
  - Our society, not nature, teaches women to prefer homemaking to work outside the home.
- G23. 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 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.
- G24. Men have more of the top jobs because they are born with more drive to be ambitious and successful than women. --or--
  - Men have more of the top jobs because our society discriminates against women.
- G25. Blacks and other minorities no longer face unfair employment conditions. In fact, they are favored in many training and job programs. --or--
  - Even with the new programs, minorities still face the same old job discrimination once the program is over.

DO NOT WRITE
IN THIS
SPACE

Now I'm going to read some of the kinds of things people tell us when we interview them. Just tell me whether you agree or disagree with them.

	Agree	Disagree	ÐK
any say about what the	•	5	. 8
people like me can have any say about how the govern-	1 .	, , <b>s</b> , , ,	, <b>s</b>
government seem so com- plicated that a person like me can't really understand	1 .	, , <b>5</b> , ,	<b></b>
care much what people like		.,, <b>5</b> ,,	. в
we elect to Congress in Washington lose touch with		<b>5</b>	. 8
in people's votes but not	•.	, , , <b>5</b> ,	<b>6</b>
COMMENTS:			
	government does.  Voting is the only way that people like me can have any say about how the government runs things.  Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on.  I don't think public officials care much what people like me think.  Generally speaking, those we elect to Congress in Washington lose touch with the people pretty quickly.  Parties are only interested in people's votes but not in their opinions.	People like me don't have any say about what the government does.  Voting is the only way that people like me can have any say about how the government runs things.  Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on.  I don't think public officials care much what people like me think.  Generally speaking, those we elect to Congress in Washington lose touch with the people pretty quickly.  Parties are only interested in people's votes but not in their opinions.	any say about what the government does.  Voting is the only way that people like me can have any say about how the government runs things.  Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on.  I don't think public officials care much what people like me think.  Generally speaking, those we elect to Congress in Washington lose touch with the people pretty quickly.  Parties are only interested in people's votes but not in their opinions.

н1-н6.

G22-G25.

As indicated in the general instructions above, questions G22-G25 are to be answered by R's who fill out the green sheet themselves, but are not to be asked by you when there is a reading problem and you read the questions to R.

J1.	. We'd also like your feelings about some groups
	in American society. When I read the name of a
	group, we'd like you to rate it with what we call a
	feeling thermometer. It is on Page 19 of your bookle
	(RBPage 19) Ratings between 50° and 100° mean
	that you feel favorably and warm toward the group;
	ratings between 0° and 50° mean that you don't feel
	favorably towards the group and that you don't care
	too much for that group. If you don't feel particu-
	larly warm or cold toward a group you would rate
	them at 50°. 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 towards them?
	(WRITE NUMBER OF DEGREES OR DK
	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 towards them?
(WRITE NUMBER OF DEGREES OR D IN BOXES PROVIDED BELOW.)
a. Big business
b. Poor people
c. Liberals
d. Southerners
e. Chicanos, Mexican-Americans
f. Catholics
g. Radical students
h. Policemen
j. Older people
k. Women
m.The military
n. Blacks
p. Democrats
q. People on welfare

r. Republicans	
t. Young people.  u. Conservatives	r. Republicans
u. Conservatives	s. Labor unions
v. Women's Liberation movement         w. People who use marijuana         x. Black militants         y. Jews         z. Civil rights leaders         leaders         aa. Protestants         bb. Workingmen         cc. Whites         dd. Men         ee. Middle-class people         ff. Businessmen         Jla Jib Jic O O O O O O O O O O O O O O O O O O O	t. Young people
w. People who use marijuana	u. Conservatives
y. Jews	
z. Civil rights leaders	x. Black militants
leaders	y. Jews
bb. Workingmen	
cc. Whites	aa. Protestants
dd. Men	bb. Workingmen
ee. Middle-class people	cc. Whites
people	dd. Men
Jia         Jib         Jic         Jid         Jie         Jif           0 0 0	, , , , ,
0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0	ff. Businessmen
0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0	Jia Jib Jic Jid Jie Tif
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7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 8 8 8 8	5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5
إو و إ إو و إ إو د إ إد د إ إد « إ إه » إ	

Jla-h. These are the thermometer questions-and they require the RB. In this study we are using the thermometer to measure feelings towards a number of groups. If R says he doesn't know anything about a particular group do not assign a number, but record "DK" in the box.

Watch to be sure that warmth of feeling is not equated with anger. In order to avoid such a mix-up and others like it, we have consistently equated favorable with warm and unfavorable with cold in the response booklet. We understand that warm or favorable is the same as "liking" someone and cold means "disliking" someone.

We want the ratings entered in degrees on the interview schedule. If R wants to select a degree level which is not entered on the feeling thermometer, i.e., 95°, in order to indicate more accurately his feeling toward a group, by all means let him do so and record his response to the exact degree. When entering R's response, please use the two right most boxes for all numbers except 100. A response of thirty-eight degrees would be marked "blank-three-eight" and not "threeeight-blank." Of course "100" takes all three boxes. This procedure will make our coding task much easier.

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).

14

► TURN TO P. 27, J20

Mentioned Mentioned

J2. Much has been written about the individual' 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.

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 in RB page 21 and mark the one(s) he says he feels particulately close to. If he mentions more than one, ask J3--which one he feels closest to. We need R to pick out one group since the rest of the questions in Section J will refer to the one group he feels closest to. Every item (a - s) should be marked either under MENTIONED or NOT MENTIONED unless R says "None."

A few R's may refuse to check any group listed in J2. If so, follow the instruction in Checkpoint D and leave all items (a-s) blank.

Checkpoint D. Don't miss this. Please do not mark through the questions that are inappropriate—we will know it from your code on this checkpoint. Any extra marks will prevent the machine from reading the interview booklet.

J3.

Jlg	Jlh	Лij	Jlk	Jlm	Jin	Jlp
0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0
1 1	1 1	1 1	1 - 1	1	1 1	1 1
2 2	2 2	2 2	2 2	2 2	2 2	2 2
3 3	3 3	3 3	3 3	3 3	3 3	3 3
4 4	4 4	4 4	4 4	4 4	4 4	4 4
5 5	5 5	5 5	5 5	5 5	5 5	5 5
6 6	6 6	6 6	6 6	6 6	6 6	6 6
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8 8	8 8	8 8	• •	• •		
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2 2	2 2	2 2	2 2	2 2	2 2	2 2
3 3	3 3	3 3	3 3	3 3	3 3	3 3
4 4	4 4	4 4				4 4
5 5	5 5	5 5	5 5	5 5	5 5	5 5
6 6	6 6	6 6	6 6	6 6	6 6	6 6
, ,	7 /	7 7	7 7	, ,	7 ,	7 7
8 #	8 8					
9 9	9 9	9 9	9 9	9 9	9 9	9 9
Jix	Jly	Jiz	Jlaa	JIbb	Jicc	Jldd
0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0
1 1		1 1	1 1	1	' '	1 1
2 2	2 7	2 2	2 2	2 2	2 2	2 2
3 3	3 3	3 3	3 3	3 3	3 3	3 3
4 4	4 4	4 4	1 1	4 4	• •	4 4
5 5	5 5	5 5	5 5	5 5	5 5	5 5
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8 8	8 8	8 8	8 8		8 6	• •
9 9	9 9	9 9	9 9	9 9	9 9	9 9
Jlee	JIff					
0 0						
1 1	' '					

j.	Whites	
k.	. Blacks 5	
m	1. Conservatives	
n.	. Women	
p.	. Middle class people	
q.	. Workingmen	
r.	Farmers	
s.	Older people	
C	HECKPOINT D	
1	MORE THAN ONE GROUP MENTIONED GO TO ONLY ONE GROUP MENTIONED FURN TO P. 2-	
	NO GROUPS MENTIONED AND	
3	R IS WHITE TURN TO P. 26, J13	

13. Look at the list again (RB--Page 21), and tell me which one you feel closest to of those you mentione.

R IS BLACK-

a. Businessmen

f. Protestants.....

COMMENTS

to increase their influence, or is there not much

DO NOT WRITE IN THIS SPACE

TURN TO P. 25, J8

Be sure to indicate which group you are using for the following questions.

Questions J5 through J12 refer to the group R has mentioned as closest to him. Wherever the questions indicate (CLOSEST GROUP), substitute the group that R has indicated. For example, if R indicated that he feels closest to "Middle Class People," question J5 should read: "Do you belong to any organizations or take part in any activities that represent the interests and viewpoints of Middle Class People?"

To eliminate any chance of confusion, be sure to write in J4 the name of the group you will be using in Questions J5 through J12.

J5. The objective of this question is to give us some idea about how meaningful and important the group is to R, and how 'active" a group member he is.

J5a. 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 probe if an R who chose "workingmen" 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

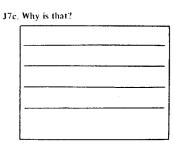
J6. The objective of this ion is also to get some indication of the degree of R's

involvement in the group.

24

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 is not too powerful, we want to know what, if anything, he feels could be done to increase its power. In the probe (J7b) 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.

Don't overlook the skip instruction at the bottom of the page (TURN TO P. 25, J8).



- J8. Do you think the influence of (R's CLOSEST GROUP) is increasing or decreasing--is it more or less than it used to be?
  - MORE
- 5 LESS 3 SAME
  - DON'T KNOW
- J9. (RB-Page 22) Some people feel that (R's CLOSEST GROUP) should organize, work together, and bring pressure as a group in order to have influence and to get things done. Others feel (R's 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 (R's CLOSEST GROUP) should organize as a group are at point number 1 on the scale. And suppose those who feel (R's CLOSEST GROUP) should work as individuals are at the other end of the scale.

Where would you place yourself on this scale?

	Organize as a group	work as individuals
	1	DK
. YOURSELF	1 2 3	4 5 6 7 , 8

			J7b & 7c	
J4	J5a	lst	2nd	3rd
0 0	0	0 0	0 0	0 0
1 1	1,1	1	, ,	1 1
2 2	2	2 2	2 2	2 2
3 3	3	3 3	3 3	3 3
4 4	14	4 4	4 4	4 4
5 5	8	3 3	5 5	5 5
6 6	6	6 6	6 6	6 6
, ,	7	7 7	7 7	7 7
8 8	•			
9 9	,	, ,	, ,	, ,

J10. How about if people in this group want to improve their economic position. Some people feel (R's CLOSEST GROUP) should organize as a group: others feel that each individual should work to get alread on his/her own.

Where would you put yourself on this scale?

	rgar a g				i		ork ivid	as uals
	1						1	DK
a. YOURSELF	. •	2	3	4	5	6	7	6

J11. (RB-Page 23) Here is a list of things some groups do to increase their influence or get something done. Some of these are things people can do individually some are things the group can do together. Eave you done any of these things in your local community that affect the interests of (R'S CLOSES) GROUP)? Just read me the letter of any activity you may have taken part in during the past few years. (MARK EACH ITEM APPROPRIATELY)

Men- Not tioned Mentioned

- b. REGISTER OTHER MEMBERS
  TO VOTE: GET MEMBERS TO
  THE POLLS ON ELECTION DAY.
- c. ATTEND A PUBLIC MEETING
  OR DEMONSTRATION TO GET A
  LAW CHANGED OR PROTEST A
  POLICY YOUR GROUP OPPOSES
- d. GET YOUR GROUP TO WORK
  WITH OTHER GROUPS WITH
  SIMILAR INTERESTS.....
- e. MOVE TO ANOTHER COMMU-NITY THAT BETTER REFLECTS YOUR GROUP'S INTERESTS....
- f. WORK ON GROUP PROJECTS
  THAT HELP THE GROUP
  EXPRESS OR KEEP ALIVE ITS
  OWN VALUES.

J8.
The objective in this question is again to get R's perception of his group's 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 J7. Responses of "increasing" should be equated with MORE and

"decreasing" with LESS.

J9. We noted in the instructions to J7 that we are particularly interested in whether R feels that his group should organize to exert its influence, or whether the way toward group advancement and influence is for individuals in the group to do their bit as individuals. Question J9 gets at this issue directly.

J10.

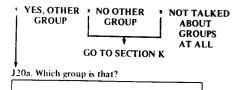
See instructions for J9. Note that this question focuses on  $\underline{\text{economic}}$  ends in particular.

J11. We expect multiple responses here. Mark all the items R mentions in the MENTIONED column and those that are not mentioned in the NOT MENTIONED column. Every item should be marked.

12.	Look at the fiy the letter of the to do, things the	> (RB-Page 23) and tell me ivities you think are good e effective and that (R's	115. Do you belong to any organizations or take part in any activities that represent the interests and viewpoints of (R'S ETHNIC GROUP)?
	CLOSEST GROUP	') should do, even if you haven't	•
	done them yoursel	f.	YES NO — GO TO J16
		Men- Not tioned Mentioned	J15a. What activities or organizations?
	a. GET MEMBERS	S TO VOTE AS A	
	BLOC: SUPPOR	RT A CANDIDATE	
	ENDORSED BY	THE GROUP	
	ь. REGISTER ОТ		
		MEMBERS TO	
	THE POLLS OF	FLECTION DAY. 1 5	
	c. ATTEND A PU	DISC MEETING	
		RATION TO GET A	
		D OR PROTEST A	
		GROUP OPPOSES 1	
			J16. Do you read any newspaper or magazine that par-
	d. GET YOUR GR		ticularly represents the interests and viewpoints of
		GROUPS WITH	this group?
	SIMILAR INTE	RESTS	NO. DONOT KNOW
	MONT TO AND	THER COMMU	' YES • NO • DON'T KNOW
	e. MOVE TO ANO	ETTER REFLECTS	
		'S INTERESTS 1	
	TOOK GROOT	S INTERESTS	J17. How much influence do you think (R'S ETHNIC
	f. WORK ON GRO	OUP PROJECTS	GROUP) has in American life and politics? Do they have a great deal of influence, some, not very much
	THAT HELP TI		or none?
		CEEP ALIVE ITS	or none;
	OWN VALUES	1 5	· GREAT DEAL
			2 SOME
.,	IE DIE DIAGN		NOT VERY MUCH NONE
13	. IF K IS BLACK	TURN TO P. 27, J20	• NONE
			DON'T KNOW
	In addition to the	groups we have talked about, many	
		e an ethnic or nationality group.	
		der your main ethnic or nationality	J18. Are there things this group can do to increase their
	group?		influence, or is there not much they can do?
		]	· CAN INCREASE · NOT MUCH CAN DO
			CAN INCREASE INOT MUCH CAN DO
	(IF NONE OR AM	ERICAN—— TURN TO P. 27, J20)	• DON'T KNOW
			J19. Do you think the influence of this group is increasing
14	Is this a group you	feel particularly close to?	or decreasing-is it more or less than it used to be?
	. is this a group you	ree particularly cross to	
	YES	NO DON'T KNOW	MORE LESS SAME
	1		<ul> <li>DON'T KNOW</li> </ul>
	TU	JRN TO P. 27, J20	
	•		
	we'd like to ask yo	ou some questions about that group.	

26 J12. J15. See instructions for J11. See instruction for J5. Remember that every item (a - f) must be marked as either MENTIONED or NOT MENTIONED. J16. See instruction for J6. J17. J13. The actual question J13 begins just under the skip instructions for Blacks. We are interested in such groupings as Irish or Polish. If R says "white, Anglo-Saxon Protestant," consider that response to be "American" and follow the skip pattern for NONE or AMERICAN. Again, don't mark through inappropriate questions-your marks will foul up our computer coding.
If R is black you will skip questions J13-J19. Don't skim through the instructions so fast that you do just the opposite! J18. J14. Note skip.

J19.



#### K. LOCAL EFFICACY

I'm going to read some of the kinds of things people tell us about their local town or community government when we interview them and ask you whether you agree or disagree with them.

- K1. People like me don't have Agree Disagree any say about what the local government does.
- K3. Generally speaking, those we clect to the local government lose touch with the people pretty quickly.
- K4. How much of the time do you think you can trust your local government to do what is right-just about always, most of the time, or only some of the time?
  - 1 JUST ABOUT ALWAYS
  - 3 MOST OF THE TIME
  - ONLY SOME OF THE TIME
  - PARTIES
  - DON'T KNOW
- K5. Would you say the local 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?
  - FEW BIG INTERESTS FOR BENEFIT OF ALL

~27+

DON'T KNOW

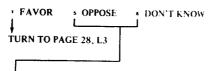
their disapproval or disagreement with government policies and actions.

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

- 1 APPROVE 5 DISAPPROVE 3 DEPENDS
- DON'T KNOW
- L. CRIME, FOREIGN AFFAIRS, VALUES

Let's return to some other issues facing the United States

- L1. Would you say that it is safe to go out walking around here alone at night?
  - YES
- NO
- \* DON'T KNOW
- L2. Some people favor stricter hand gun control while others feel that each person should be able to own a gun free from government control. How about you, do you favor or oppose stricter hand gun control?



- L2a. Would you favor or oppose gun control if this only required that each person obtain a permit before purchasing a hand gun?
  - FAVOR S OPPOSE S DON'T KNOW

								COMMENTS:
	113	_		J 1 5	a	12		
٥	0	0	-	0	Γ	•	0	
ı	1	1		•		١,	1	
2	2	2	ı	2		2	2	
3	3	3		3		3	3	l l
4	4	4		4			4	
5	5	5		3		5	5	
6	6	6		٤.		6	6	
7	7	,		7		١,	,	
		•						
,	9	,		,		١,	٩	L

J20. R's may find this is a slightly confusing question, so <u>be prepared</u>. R may give a number of responses that do not directly correspond to the response categories. Probe until you can fit R into one of the categories.

J20a. Don't spend any time pyobing R to mention a group in response to J20a. If they say "Don't know," or "no particular group," just write that in and go on. If they give more than one group, take only the first mentioned. We will accept any type of group as a "YES, OTHER GROUP" response, for example, "sewing circle," "church group," etc.

27

K6.

Note that the respondent coesn't have to engage in these acts himself. We merely want to know if R approves or disapproves of these actions as a means by which people in general can show disapproval of government policies.

Ll.

L2-L2a.

This is a two-part question for those who oppose or don't know about stricter gun control. We expect that many who oppose the broader "control" will endorse mere registration. Note that both questions refer to handguns.

K1-K5
Note these questions are about <u>local</u>
government. Local government could
mean the town or city but it could
also mean the county government.
As long as R is not focusing on the
government in Washington, we will take
whatever unit of government R thinks
of as local.

DO NOT
WRITE
IN THIS
SPACE

16. The government in Washington not only deals with problems in the United States, it is also faced with problems in its relations with other countries. What do you think are the mos: important problems in our relations with other countries throughout the world that the United States is facing today?


L7. I am going to read you two statements about U.S. foreign policy and I would like you to tell me whether you agree or disagree with each statement.

L7a. This country would be better off if we just stayed home and did not concern ourselves with problems in other parts of the world.

1 AGREE

DISAGREE

L6a. Anything else?

DON'T KNOW

L7b. The United States should give help to foreign countries even if they don't stand for the same things that we do.

AGREE

DISAGREE

DON'T KNOW

L3.

L6.
This question is a "most portant problem" question (see E1) for the international sphere. Please probe enough to get a good feel for what R means in his response--but of course don't push beyond the point of R's comfort and useful responses.

L4. Here we are getting some sense of R's response to the crime problem in terms of specific actions he may have taken to insulate himself from its effects. If R mentions more than one action be sure to mark all that apply in the MENTIONED column and those not mentioned in the NOT MENTIONED column.

Every item (a-e) should be marked.

L5.
This question measures R's experience with criminal acts. By immediate family we mean to include parents and children and anyone else in the household. Be sure to mark all R's experiences that he mentions and those not mentioned in the appropriate circles.

Every item (a-d) should be marked.

L7.

People who say this country must reduce the amount of energy it uses suggest different ways of doing this. Some say we should limit the amount of energy people are allowed to use. Others say it is better to charge higher prices for energy to discourage people from using more. Which do you prefer?	A: "To be ambitious (a hard working, aspiring person).  Is that important or not important to you?  Important
LIMIT THE AMOUNT OF ENERGY	a. TO BE AMBITIOUS (A HARD WORKING, ASPIRING PERSON)
• CHARGE HIGHER PRICES	ASPIRING LEASON)
3 BOTH 7 NEITHER	b. TO BE WELL-LIKED (A FRIENDLY,
• DON'T KNOW	PLEASANT PERSON) 1 5 8
	c. TO BE INDEPENDENT (A SELF-RELIANT, SELF- SUFFICIENT PERSON)
Let's change the subject for a moment. We like to have people tell us what sorts of problems they have to deal with in their daily lives. Can you tell me what some of the problems are that you face these days	d. TO BE HELPFUL (WORKING FOR THE BENEFIT OF OTHERS)*
in your own life?	e. TO BE RESPONSIBLE (A DEPENDABLE.
	RELIABLE PERSON)
	L10a. Would you please look at the card again and tell me which of these is most important to you, which comes next in importance, which is third, and so forth? (KEEP ASKING UNTH ALL VALUES HAVE BEEN RANKED-RECORD NUMBER OF RANK BY MARKING APPROPRIATE CIRCLE)
L9a. Anything else?	a. TO BE AMBITIOUS (A HARD WORKING, RANK DK ASPIRING PERSON) 1 2 3 4 5 8
	b. TO BE WELL-LIKED  (A FRIENDLY, PLEASANT PERSON) 1 2 3 4 5 4
	c. TO BE INDEPENDENT (A SELF-RELIANT, SELF-SUFFICIENT PERSON 1 2 3 4 5 8
L6 & L6a	d. TO BE HELPFUL (WORKING FOR THE BENEFIT OF OTHERS) 1 2 3 4 5 9
1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1	e. TO BE RESPONSIBLE (A DEPENDABLE, RELIABLE PERSON) 1 2 3 4 5 8
5 5 6 6 6 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 8 8 8 9 9 9 9 9 9 9	

L9

I.8. By "limit the amount people are allowed to use" we mean some sort of direct control, such as rationing, but we don't want to use the term "ration" because it has become emotion-laden beyond its meaning. The notion of higher prices discouraging consumption relies in the proposition that fewer people will purchase energy supplies as the price goes beyond most people's means.

L9.

If R wants to talk about his gall bladder operation or his kids orthodontia, that's fine—we don't want to in any way cut off or structure R's choice of his own biggest problem. The only case in which you should do any directive probing is if R does indeed pick a political or governmental problem as his own biggest one—in that case, please try to find out what R means, and how the problem affects R personally.

L10-L10a,

item (a-e) is marked.

29

The first question gives us a cut off point of importance for R. Many will choose most or all items as important. Be sure each

L10a is the core—we need a <u>complete</u> rank ordering if it is possible (including the items judged "not important") in question L10. Be sure to mark the number of the rank in the circle under RANK. So if item a is most important to R you would mark the 1 in the row of circles for b. If item is second most important it should get a rank of 2 and so on until all five items are ranked.

After reading R the question, prompt his answer by reading off the letters "a," "b," "c," and so on. The first prompt is in the question. Follow with "How about  $\underline{b}$ ?" Co on through e.

If R thinks that two or three items are equally important give them all the same rank. If, for example, items a, c, and e are mentioned as most important, first try to get R to decide on which is really the most important. If R insists on all these, give a, c, and e a rank of 1 and go on to the next item which would be ranked 2 (not 4). Try to get R to give a complete ranking.

WRITE	 _
IN THIS	
SPACE	

L11. See previous instructions in L10-L10a.

L12. Note here we only get the ...rst and second choice of Rs ordering.

L13. End of interview. Thank the respondent in your own words for having helped us so much. Then remember to get the recontact information on the cover sheet. This does not necessarily mean that we will recontact these respondents. At this point we do not plan to go back to them. We will use the information to mail all respondents a report on the study.

Don't forget to fill out the Observation Section, add any further comments and do a thumbnail sketch.

COMMENTS:

PI

-31-

PERSUASION LETTER TYPE "A" (YELLOW, PINK AND GREEN COVER SHEETS)

Date

Member of Household or Name Address City, State Zip

Dear . . .

One of our interviewers, (YOUR NAME) called on you recently in connection with our post election study. I understand that you did not wish to be interviewed at that time. Of course, the final decision rests with you, but I thought that if you knew more about the importance of our talking with you again, you might reconsider and grant an interview.

The Center for Political Studies, here at the University of Michigan, has been conducting election studies since 1948. A great deal of important information about the changing sentiments of the American people has been gathered during this time. This year we are interviewing people both before and after the election since we are particularly interested in learning about how people's attitudes change as a result of the political campaigns. Since we talked with you before the election we need to talk with you again now.

As we have said before, the identity of the persons with whom we talk is never disclosed to anyone, and every interview is held in strictest confidence. The results of all the interviews taken are combined in a report, a copy of which will be sent to you.

In light of this additional information, we hope you will allow an interview as soon as possible. We are asking (Mr/s., Initial LAST NAME) to call on you again within a few days after you receive this letter.

Thank you for your time and consideration.

Sincerely,

Stephen B. Withey Director

P.49456

Date

Member of Household or Name Address City, State Zip

Dear ...

One of our interviewers, (YOUR NAME) called on you recently in connection with our post election study. I understand that you did not wish to be interviewed at that time. Of course, the final decision rests with you, but I thought that if you knew more about the importance of our talking with you again, you might reconsider and grant an interview.

The Center for Political Studies, here at the University of Michigan, has been conducting election studies since 1948. Since 1972 we have been contacting a panel of the same people to learn more about how and why people change in their approach to elections in general, in the way they are affected by the newspapers and television, and the way they view their government. This last and final interview is very important in measuring both the changing and the constant sentiments of the American people.

As we have said before, the identity of the persons with whom we talk is never disclosed to anyone, and every interview is held in strictest confidence. The results of all the interviews taken are combined in a report, a copy of which will be sent to you.

In light of this additional information, we hope you will allow an interview as soon as possible. We are asking (Mr/s., Initial LAST NAME) to call on you again within a few days after you receive this letter.

Thank you for your time and consideration.

Sincerely,

Stephen B. Withey Director

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FORM

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P.495456

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We are interested in your reactions to this <u>P. 495456</u> 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.					
Ple	ase return this form to the Field Office by NOVEMBER 24	, 1976	······································		
1.	Did you find any confusing skip patterns? (IF YES) Which ones?	YES	NO		
2.	Were there any questions which did not provide enough space for recording respondent's answer?  (IF YES) Which questions?				
3.	Sometimes respondents will want to give you more than a one-word answer. Were there closed questions which were usually qualified by respondents and might have been better as open-ended questions?  (IF YES) Which ones and why?				
4.	Were there any words or phrases that respondents did not understand? (IF YES) Please specify the question numbers and words:				
5.	Were there any questions the respondent had difficulty answering in the frame of reference specified? (IF YES) Which ones and what was the difficulty?				
6.	Did the respondents feel that any of the questions were too personal? (IF YES) Which questions?				

(over)

Field Coordinator for this study:	INT'ER	INT'ER	TOTAL
Total Number of Cover Sheets	*		
Number of cover sheets in nonresponse cate- gories moved out of range, lost, deceased	+		
Substract line 2 from line l	+		
Number of interviews completed to date	+		
Number of cover sheets in nonresponse cate- gories Ref, NOC(AT), RU, NI-Other which will remain so for the entire study	+		
ADD line 4 and line 5	+		
SUBTRACT line 6 from line 3 to obtain the number of cover sheets on which you are still working (IS THIS CORRECT?)	+		
Total cover sheets in lines 2 and 6 which have been MAILED to the Field Office	+		
Percentage of cover sheets MAILED to the Field Office (line 8 divided by line 1). If you are on schedule this will be the same or higher than:			

S45.	Were you brought up mostly in the country, in a town, in a small city, or in a large city?	•	S45. Straightforward.
	1. COUNTRY 2. TOWN 3. SMALL CITY 4. LARGE CITY 7. OTHER, SPECITY:		
		i i	
	S45a. Where did you live when you were about 14 years old?  (CITY),(STATE)		
S46.	How long have you lived here in (CITY/TOWN/COUNTY)?(YEARS)		S46. Straightforward.
	and the second of the second o	ţ	
S47.	How long have you lived in this house (apartment)?(YEARS)  (IF ALL OF LIFE OR MORE THAN 20 YEARS: TURN TO P.55, INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT		S47. Straightforward.
S48.	How would you compare this neighborhood with the one you left?		S48. Straightforward.
	S48a. Is this one: 1. newer 5. older 3. about the same?		
	S48b. Is it: 1. less expensive 5. more expensive 3. about the same?		

INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT (SEE LISTING BOX ON COVERSHEET)

R ONLY FAMILY MEMBER 14 OR ABOVE 
TURN TO P.56,S50

R LIVES WITH OTHER FAMILY MEMBERS 14 OR ABOVE

(RB PAGE 17) Please look at this page and tell me the letter of the income group that includes the income of all members of your family in 1975 before taxes. This figure should include dividends, interest, salaries, wages, pensions, and all other income. (IF UNCERTAIN: What would be your best guess)?

E. \$5,000 - \$5,999	A.	NONE OR LESS THAN \$2,000	01	K. \$11,000 - \$11,999	11
D. \$4,000 - \$4,999       04       N. \$14,000 - \$14,999       14         E. \$5,000 - \$5,999       05       0. \$15,000 - \$16,999       15         F. \$6,000 - \$6,999       06       P. \$17,000 - \$19,999       16         G. \$7,000 - \$7,999       07       Q. \$20,000 - \$22,999       17         H. \$8,000 - \$8,999       08       R. \$23,000 - \$24,999       16	В.	\$2,000 - \$2,999	02	L. \$12,000 - \$12,999	12
E. \$5,000 - \$5,999	c.	\$3,000 - \$3,999	03	M. \$13,000 - \$13,999	13
E. \$3,000 - \$3,999	D.	\$4,000 - \$4,999	04	N. \$14,000 - \$14,999	14
G. \$7,000 - \$7,999 07 Q. \$20,000 - \$22,999 17  H. \$8,000 - \$8,999 08 R. \$23,000 - \$24,999 19	E.	\$5,000 - \$5,999	05	0. \$15,000 - \$16,999	15
H. \$8,000 - \$8,999 08 R. \$23,000 - \$24,999 19	F.	\$6,000 - \$6,999	06	P. \$17,000 - \$19,999	16
H. \$0,000 - \$0,777	G.	\$7,000 - \$7,999	07	Q. \$20,000 - \$22,999	17
I. \$9,000 - \$9,999 09 S. \$25,000 - \$34,999 1	H.	\$8,000 - \$8,999	08	R. \$23,000 - \$24,999	18
	ī.	\$9,000 - \$9,999	09	s. \$25,000 - \$34,999	19
J. \$10,000 - \$10,999 10 T. \$35,000 AND OVER 2	J.	\$10,000 - \$10,999	10	T. \$35,000 AND OVER	20

S49a. Now excluding the rest of your family, please look at this page again and tell me the income group that includes the income you had in 1975 before taxes.

25.3

(BEFORE TAXES)
TURN TO P.56, S51

S49. If necessary, make sure respondent understands that (1) this information is strictly confidential; (2) this information makes the information in the rest of the interview more valuable to us.

NOTE: That the figure we want is total family income from all sources before taxes, for the calendar year, 1975, not just respondent's own earnings. The question is designed so that respondent will not have to name a specific figure, or even to give a narrow range.

By family, we mean those living with R at the present time.

S49a. This includes only respondent's  $\underline{\text{own}}$  earnings for the calendar year 1975.