

INSTRUCTION BOOKLET

Post-Election Survey

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I. GENERAL INFORMATION ABOUT THE STUDY

- A. What the Study is about This interview serves as the post-election followup for the fall election panel study. Almost all of you helped to carry out the first portion of the project. Although we go to press well before all of the interviews are in on the pre-election part of the study, we have been deeply impressed by the quality of the interviews which you have submitted to date. They appear to us to be the best which we have seen in the twelve years of our studies. Congratulations.

The primary purpose of the post-election followup is to find out how the people with whom we talked before the election really ended up voting. As we write there seems to be enough indecision in the electorate that we feel our re-interview this year has even more importance than usual.

Since most of you will be returning to talk to the same people you visited a few weeks before, we hope that the problem of following our panel people will be reduced to a minimum. Occasionally someone may have moved since you last interviewed them, but this will be very rare. You will receive the same cover sheets which you had for the pre-election interview, to help refresh your memory on any unusual situations.

- B. The Questionnaire We believe that the questionnaire is exceptionally straightforward and relatively brief. There is only one form, although we do ask you, when interviewing a respondent who had been handled by some other interviewer before the election, to indicate this fact on the face sheet of the questionnaire and ask one short series of additional personal data questions. The responses to these added items will help to assure us that there was no confusion in the choice of appropriate respondent. Where you do talk to the same respondent which you interviewed in the Pre-election part of the study, we are assuming there need be no further check on the proper identity of the respondent.

There are several standard points to make concerning the format of the questionnaire.

1. Inasmuch as many of the questions have been used before, we have done a considerable amount of "pre-coding" on the questionnaires themselves. This means that in many cases we have inserted a number as well as the answer choice, in the box which you are to check. As far as your interviewing is concerned, you should disregard these numbers; the alternatives will always be stated, and that is all you need be concerned with. Check all the appropriate boxes, whether they have numbers in them or not.

2. In some places the answer boxes are very close together, so please be careful to make your check marks clear and distinct. Make sure we can tell which answers you intended to check; don't let your check marks fall between two boxes or include more than one box.

3. We have made use of contingencies throughout the questionnaires. You will see that many questions are asked only of people who have given a particular answer to a previous question. Study these questions carefully, and pay particular attention to the question-by-question objectives for them.

- C. The Introduction viewers Be sure to read again pages 22-28 of the Manual for Inter- making your introduction to the respondent. The study is sponsored by a private philanthropic foundation which is non-partisan and finances research in the public interest; be sure to stress the objective, research-oriented nature of the project.

We shall interview only respondents who have been interviewed at some time or other, if not several times, since 1956. In this regard, it may help you in the introduction to point out that this is a relatively brief followup questionnaire. None of the earlier interviews in this panel series have averaged less than an hour in length; this post-election interview, however, does not appear to run over a half-hour on the average.

We expect that this is the last time which we will attempt to interview people whom we have followed since 1956. However, we are not entirely certain. In some cases it might make access easier if you could say that this was the final interview, in cases where the respondent is starting to feel we have depended on them too much for too long. Since we feel the chances are slight that we shall interview these people again, we suggest that you point out this is the last interview in any cases where such an indication will make the difference between a successful interview and a refusal. However, save this for an "ace-in-the hole." If you can get the interview without committing us to take no further interviews, do not make the commitment. If you do say that this is the final interview in the series, it will be important to note this fact clearly in your thumbnail comments on the cover sheet, for our future reference.

You can assure respondents that the findings of the study will be published, and therefore, will be available to everyone interested in public opinion on the election. However, you will want to stress again that no individual is ever identified in the reports of Center studies.

II. FIELD NOTES

- A. **Interviewing** The post-election study dates are November 9 through December
Dates 17, a period of eight weeks. No interviews are to be taken
 on the post-election part of P. 440 before November 9, 1960.

The post-election study deadline will not, of course, be controlled by an "outside" date, as was the pre-election study by Election Day. We are aware that you may have difficulty in completing the sample in your PSU, either because of the winter weather or because you will be working two studies (P. 695 until November 30) at the same time.

We will expect that all of your P. 440 materials will be in the mail to us by midnight, December 17, however, unless you have notified us of some difficulty, and we have given you a time extension. Please do not ask for an extension unless it is essential for we will have processing staffs (editors and coders) working and waiting for your interviews, and the Christmas Holidays may cause you further difficulties.

- B. **Scheduling** As was discussed in the P. 695 Instruction Book, it is essential
 Your that one study is not ignored to meet the demands of the other.
Production You will have the B portion of the Omnibus study (P. 695) to
 complete by November 30, and all of the post-election sample
 (P. 440) by December 17. A little planning before you start on
 the time you allot to each should prove a big step in helping you
 meet the deadline demands on both projects.

The following production schedule, which takes into consideration both studies' deadlines, is the one we would like you to follow. Let us know immediately if you foresee any delays or experience any difficulties which interfere with meeting this schedule.

Dates	Weekly Percentage of Sample to be Completed	
	Post-election Study (P. 440)	Fall Omnibus Study (P. 695)
Oct. 31 - Nov. 7	DO NOT INTERVIEW UNTIL NOV. 9	5%
Nov. 9 - 13	10%	45%
Nov. 14 - 20	40%	85%
Nov. 21 - 27	60%	100%
Nov. 28 - Dec. 4	80%	EVERYTHING IN THE MAIL BY NOV. 30
Dec. 5 - 11	90%	
Dec. 12 - 17	100% EVERYTHING IN THE MAIL BY DEC. 17	

- C. How Your Sample Was Drawn If you took a pre-election interview with a respondent, the cover sheet is included in the post-election sample. The post-election study sample will consist only of panel people, those who were interviewed on the pre-election portion of P. 440, and a few cases where we were not able to reach a respondent on the pre-election but have interviewed him on one of the election studies conducted since 1956. There will be no new respondents, and no calls at new addresses unless an old R has moved to a new address.
- D. Mailing of Materials to PSUs We took all of the pre-election cover sheets we had received as of October 14 to make up the first mailing of your post-election sample. Do not be surprised if there is a cover sheet missing which you know you mailed to us before this date. It could be held up for a number of reasons (i.e., we are checking on a particular problem concerning it; it will not be a part of your post-election sample, etc.). Some of you will receive only a small portion of the cover sheets, perhaps because the majority of your pre-election cover sheets did not arrive here until after October 14. The rest will follow in the second mailing of P. 440 post-election sample, sometime after November 8.

The second mailing on the post-election study cannot be made until we have received every pre-election cover sheet, with or without an interview. When they are all in, we will make a second check, thus preparing them for a return to you. This will be completed as soon as possible after November 8, and forwarded immediately to you. Additional supplies will be sent to you with the second mailing if your second sample size indicates you will need them.

- E. Materials You Should Have We will enclose a "Field Office Check List of Materials" with the shipment of supplies to the Office Contact in each PSU. Please check the materials you receive against the list, and let us know if there are any discrepancies.

1. Instruction Book - 1 per Interviewer, plus 1 per PSU
2. Questionnaires - 1 per sample, plus 2 extra per Interviewer
3. Project Completion Form - 2 per PSU
4. Immediate Action Forms - 5 per PSU
5. Envelope of Sampling Material (Cover Sheets)

- F. Check Cover Sheets for Questions We would like to ask that each of you check your pre-election cover sheets returned to you for post-election interviewing. In some cases we have asked a question regarding address clarification; in others we have indicated an omission of information on your part during the pre-election study (like "take time" or the number of DUs at an address). If each of you will look over the cover sheets returned to you as though they were new ones to be completed, you will catch the questions or earlier omissions, thus helping us a great deal at this end of the line.

G. Practice Interviews The taking of a practice interview on the post-election study will prove awkward for two reasons: 1) it is a re-interview of a formerly contacted person; and 2) it is applicable only after Nov. 8, thus delaying the start of your production interviewing. We still ask that you take a practice interview, and forward it to your supervisor -- with the following exceptions to your usual procedure.

1. Take a practice interview with someone you know, who will role-play the part of a previously interviewed person. We ask that you do this so you will be completely familiar with the difficult contingencies in the schedule.

2. Mail the practice interview immediately to your supervisor, but go ahead on your production interviewing without waiting to hear from her (him) -- unless you have a question you need answered before you actually contact your sample Rs. The supervisor will let you know as soon as possible if there were any particular problems you should watch.

H. Address at Which to Locate R If you are working with the cover sheet for an R you yourself interviewed on the pre-election study, there should be no difficulty in knowing at which address the R was finally located. For those of you who are assigned cover sheets where the original contact was made by a different interviewer, please check the entire cover sheet for address notations. There are a few cases where addresses have been entered in the thumbnail sketch space on page 3 of the cover sheet -- or on page 2 where there is some blank space -- and even one or two cases where it is entered on page 4 of the cover sheet. We have tried to catch these cases, and make entries and corrections for you on the front of the cover sheet; hopefully, we didn't miss any.

You should, of course, attempt to reach your Rs at their last known addresses, those at which they were reached on the pre-election study.

OFFICE CONTACTS - NOTE: The Sample Address Summary Sheets, which will be sent to you with the cover sheets for your PSU on both the first and second mailings, will give the address at which respondents were located on the pre-election portion of P. 440. If there is some question within your PSU as to which is the right address to use for post-election contact, please check on your Summary Sheets for verification. Let us know if we have made an error in giving you an address where an R was located during the pre-election study.

I. Following Movers The same general rule that was used on the pre-election study on following respondents who have moved will apply here. That is:

1. If the respondent has moved to an address which is no further than 1 hour travel time from the nearest sample address where you will be interviewing, please go to the address and try to locate the respondent. If he is living there or even close by at another address, interview him.

2. If the respondent has moved to an address which is more than 1 hour travel time from the nearest sample address where you will be interviewing, do not try to follow him. Return the cover sheet to us with an explanation.

We do not anticipate you will find too many respondents who have moved since our earlier contact with them this fall. If you have any questions or doubts about following an R, by all means write to us for a decision. If an R has moved to another part of the country, please try to return the cover sheet to us as soon as possible so it can be reassigned to another interviewer.

J. Address Entries When you find an R who is a "new" mover, one who has moved since our last contact with him, you will need to enter his new address on the cover sheet. In some cases these Rs may have moved from a "1b" address so we do not want to suggest that you enter the new address in the "1b" space if it is blank. We would like to have a consistent approach to this so we will know where to look for new addresses.

Make all new address entries in one of two places:

1. Page 2 of the cover sheet on the bottom half of the page, in that section of the page entitled "Post-election."

or

2. Page 3 of the cover sheet on the bottom half of the page, in that section of the page entitled "Post-election Thumbnail Sketch."

If we do not find any address entries in one of these two places, we will assume the R is at the address where he was interviewed on the pre-election study.

K. Choosing the Respondent This should be a particularly easy task on P. 440 post-election interviewing. We are asking that each of you take the cover sheets for respondents you interviewed on the pre-election study. We ask this simply because we feel you will recognize your own former Rs and will know you have the right person. You will also have your pre-election cover sheet with your notes on it to help you if there is any question.

If you indicate on the face sheet of the questionnaire that you took the pre-election interview, we will assume we have the right respondent.

There will, of course, be some exceptions to this: some pre-election interviewers will not be working on the post-election study; some interviewers may be new to staff; some interviewers may be assigned a cover sheet which one of the other interviewers in the PSU feels can be best handled by a "new face."

If you did not work on the pre-election study, we feel it is important that you not only study this Instruction Book for the post-election portion of P. 440, but also familiarize yourself with the information given in the Pre-election Instruction Book. The Office Contact in each PSU should have a copy available for new interviewers' use.

If you did not take the pre-election interview with a respondent and you are assigned a cover sheet for him on the post-election, be sure you indicate this on the face sheet of the questionnaire, and ask the short series of personal data questions on Page 13 which will allow us to verify he is the person we want.

- L. Pre-election "Future" Refusals We are returning the cover sheets of all completed pre-election interviews, even if the respondent was one of those who said in effect never to darken his door again. This was done after careful consideration for the following reason.

In many cases we could not be sure that a post-election visit would only result in a refusal, and we found it was impossible to make a decision on which to return and which to keep here. We will accept your decision on the handling of these difficult respondents. If you do not feel you can return to a particular R again and that it would not help to have one of the other interviewers in your PSU try to obtain the post-election interview, please complete the non-interview form for the post-election study which is on the back page of the cover sheet, and return it to us. Simply state that the pre-election attitude of the R does not allow you to return.

We are, of course, interested in getting every possible interview. The post-election questionnaire is a short one and the interview will not take as long as any of the others your respondent may have answered. If you are not sure of an R's reaction, give it a try.

- M. Callbacks We will follow our usual procedure on callbacks, that is; make at least four calls on all addresses in cities or towns (three callbacks after the initial one), in rural areas make at least three calls (two callbacks after the initial one). Additional calls may be made if more interviews are needed to reach the minimum acceptable response rate.
- N. Writing to Us Re Problems When you have a problem on which you would like our help, please be sure to identify your respondent and his cover sheet by the 1960 interview number. This is a number assigned by us during the pre-election study. You will find it, written in red pencil, in the top right-hand corner of the cover sheets. If it is a four-digit number, the result of the pre-election interview was an interview. If it is a three-digit number, the result of the pre-election contact was a non-interview of one type or another. Of course, the more information you give us, the easier it is for us here to trace an address and a respondent back through our records; the respondent's name, his address, the segment or cluster number, the line number -- all these things help.

- O. Mailing Interviews Please do not let more than three interviews collect at any one time without forwarding them to us. In this way, we will maintain a steady flow of them through the Field Office and on to the editors and coders.

We ask that you send your first or first couple of interviews in via Air Mail. We are anxious to receive your early interviews as quickly as possible for they help us to set up the codes by which all interviews will be processed when official coding starts. It is not necessary to mail your interviews to us by Air Mail during the middle of the study but we do ask that your early ones and those you mail during the last week of a study be send in by the fastest means possible.

- P. Day-by-Days and Time Cards We will require that you fill in Day-by-Days on the post-election portion of P. 440, sending them in every two weeks with your time cards. Remember that some of you will be working two projects at one time, so it is especially important that all interviewers clearly indicate on their pay records which project (P. 440 or P. 695) should receive the charges.
- Q. Progress Reports Toward the middle of the post-election study period, we will send a form to the Office Contacts on which they will report the progress in their PSU. It will help your Office Contact and us if you will keep your records up-to-date and keep in touch with your Office Contact regarding your progress.
- R. Project Completion Form The Project Completion Form should be filled out by the Office Contact and sent in to us with the final mailing of interviews and study materials when the post-election interviewing is completed in your PSU.
- S. Request for Study Report by Rs If some of your Rs would like to receive a report on the election study, please send us a memo, giving us the R's name, mail address, and the project number. Do not enter such requests on either the cover sheet or on the questionnaire. They will not be noted if you do this, and the R's name will not get on to the mail list for a study report. Please tell people who ask for a report that we will send them one, but it will be some months before it is completed.
- T. Respondent Letters There will be no respondent letters for the post-election P. 440.

III. QUESTION-BY-QUESTION OBJECTIVES

The blocks of questions in the questionnaire indicate the brief objectives of this followup interview. We want to know where the R picked up his information about the election (Q.1-11); how he voted for various offices if he did vote (Q.12-23); any political activities he may have undertaken during the campaign (Q.24-25); some general information on his political involvement and perceptions of the parties (roughly, Q.26-35); more items on his outlook toward life (Q.36-45); and some final personal data items.

There are several unusual contingencies (Q.6-9, Q.31-32, Q.P3-P7, Q.P14-P18 in particular) which should be studied thoroughly before attempting your first interviews.

- Q.1-11 In these questions we are interested in measuring the amount of R's exposure to the different mass information media (that is, newspapers, radio, television, etc.) as well as his dependence on friends and family for political information. Questions 1-5 are an old series that was asked of the panel in 1956; we have added Q.6-9 to probe for degree of exposure to the media. Ordinarily probes of this sort would fall most smoothly if inserted in the parent questions. That is, having found out that R read some newspaper (Q.1), we would ordinarily go on to ask how much newspaper reading was done in the same question, rather than postpone it until Q.6. However, we wished to keep the series Q.1-5 exactly as they had been asked before, even though we wished at the same time to get the measure of degree. Therefore, note that you run through each of the mass media in Q.1-4, and then, in Q.6-9, you go back to each medium which R says he has used to get further information.
- Q.1a Here we want to find out the specific newspaper which the R reads, if any, for political news. Record the name of the paper as well as the city in which it is published. If R mentions more than one paper, record them both but underline the one he reads most.
- Q.2-4 Self-evident.
- Q.5 We are also interested in learning which one of the media R used the most to follow the campaign; therefore, Q.5 should be asked of all R's who mention having followed the campaign at all on more than one medium. Do not ask this question of someone who mentioned only one medium (e.g., who mentions following the campaign only on television and not at all on anything else), nor of someone who didn't follow the campaign on any of the four media. In some cases the R may find it hard to pick the one medium he used most, and will answer by mentioning two -- e.g., "radio and television." In such cases, do not try to force R to choose one, but check all those which R regards as equally important.
- Q.6-8 Straightforward questions measuring degree of exposure to each medium, when R has followed the campaign on that medium. Note that we skip over the followup concerning television, postponing it until Q.9.

- Q.9-10 Here we measure degree of television exposure, but also go on to probe for some reactions to the Nixon-Kennedy TV debates, where R watched any of these.
- Q.10a,b, Q.10a-b are distinct from Q.10c-d in that they attempt to measure any change in feeling toward the candidates as personalities which may have been touched off by seeing them in personal combat. Q.10c-d aim instead at policy positions taken in the debates which may have affected R's feelings about the candidates.
- c,d
- Q.11, Some people get more of their political information from friends than from the mass media. Here we check for this possibility. In Q.11a we want to find out his primary source of information. As in Q.5, however, if R finds it hard to pick one alternative over the others, do not force him to choose one, but check all those he felt really gave him much information. If neither of the three alternatives (family, friends, people you work with) cover R's case, be sure to take down what he says as "Other."
- 11a
- Q.12 This question is intended to separate voters from non-voters. This question is important. The purpose of the introductory statement is to prevent any feeling of embarrassment or guilt on the part of the people who didn't vote, and to make it easier for them to admit that they didn't vote. This introductory statement should not be omitted.

QUESTIONS 13 THROUGH 20 ARE TO BE ASKED ONLY OF PEOPLE WHO SAY THAT THEY DID VOTE

- Q.13 This question requires only the name of the presidential candidate or party voted for. Since the terms in which R answers may be significant, try to record R's exact words in response to this question. (i.e., record whether R answers by giving the candidate's name, the political party, or what).
- Q.13a This question should be answered as completely and specifically as possible. Thus, if R says that he voted for a party because of its stand on issues, probe for examples of such issues; if R says it's a "better" party, probe for why R thinks it's ~~better~~; if he says he voted for the "better" man, probe for why R thinks he was better.

Do not be satisfied with some of the standard adjectives, clichés and slogans that are used. When R gives such responses as "time for a change," "party of the working man," "more progressive," "socialistic," etc., use some probes such as "could you tell me a little more about this?", "can you give me some examples of what you mean?", etc.

- Q.14 This question requires a definite statement of time, such as "since the convention," "only a day or two before the election," etc. While it is not desirable to force a reply in terms of actual dates, there must be reference to an approximate time period. General statements such as "quite a while ago," etc. are not satisfactory. We would like to be able to identify the time of R's decision in terms of more specific time periods such as "before the conventions" or "election day," or some other specific point in the campaign.
- Q.15 A straightforward ~~repetition~~ of a question asked once before in the pre-election questionnaire.
- Q.16 In this question we want to identify the people who change their minds during the campaign, or who were at least undecided sometime during the campaign. (By "opposite candidate" in this question we mean the candidate opposite the one R voted for, not the candidate opposite to the one who wins the election. In those few cases where R reports that he voted for a minor party presidential candidate, ask him if he ever thought during the campaign that he might vote for "either Nixon or Kennedy.")
- Q.16a This should bring out the reasons why R changed his mind and did not vote for the candidate mentioned in Q.13. Reasons here may be negative, in terms of the decision not to vote for a candidate or party, or they may be stated in terms of the things R likes about the candidate or party finally selected. As in the case of Q.13a, responses to Q.16a should be as complete and specific as possible; vague, general responses should be probed.
- Q.17 In this question we are attempting to find out how strongly the R felt about voting for the candidate or party of his choice. This is to give us a rough measure of the intensity of his partisanship in voting. Some R's may vote for the party and not care about the candidate, and some may vote only on the basis of candidate preference and not care about the party. Regardless of their relative interest in parties and candidates, DO NOT SUBSTITUTE THE NAME OF THE CANDIDATE OR PARTY THE R VOTED FOR WHEN ASKING THIS QUESTION; USE THE PHRASE "THE REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE," OR "THE DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE," whichever is appropriate.
- Q.18 This is a counterpart to Q.17. Here we want the intensity of R's participation; we want to know how important it was to him to go through the act of voting. In some cases, intense partisanship will be accompanied by intense participation. In other cases this will not be true. For example, although the R may have felt there was little difference between the candidates or parties, he may still have felt that it was very important to vote. On the other hand, some R's may have been very strongly in favor of one candidate or one party and yet felt that it didn't make much difference if they voted. Many respondents will probably give similar answers to Q.17 and Q.18; try to make sure that they see the difference between the two questions and are not just responding twice to the same vague idea that it is important to vote.

Q.19-21 These questions are designed to get information on whether R voted a straight ticket or split-ticket. We ask specifically about vote for Senator and Congressman, with a general question about all other state and local offices.

In. Q.19 and Q.20, try to get down R's exact words, i.e. we want to know if he answers by giving candidate or party name. If R answers by saying he doesn't know whom he voted for or doesn't remember the candidate's name, probe to see whether R remembers which party he voted for. Once before our instructions were not sufficiently clear and we ended up with about 15% of the voters telling us they didn't know the candidate's name and then not telling us which party he represented.

Q.19;19a Special instructions to interviewers in:

Arizona	North Dakota
California	Ohio
Connecticut	Pennsylvania
Florida	Utah
Indiana	Vermont
Maryland	Washington
Nevada	Washington, D.C.
New York	Wisconsin
Hawaii	

Since there were no races for United States Senator in your states, omit this question.

Q.20,20a, Special instructions to interviewers in Alaska, Connecticut,
20b Delaware, Nevada, New Mexico, Vermont, and Wyoming.

Since in your states there was one Congressman-at-Large elected by all voters in the state in addition to the regular Congressmen elected one to a district, you should get two statements of how R voted for Congressman. Q.20b is self-evident.

Q.21,21a This is a general question about state and local offices other than Senator and Congressman which are covered by previous questions. By voting a "straight ticket" we mean voting for all candidates of one party. If R is a Democrat and has voted for all Democratic candidates excepting one Republican, he has voted a split ticket according to our definition. If R says he has voted "mostly" for one party, get some indication of what this means -- how many votes on each side, etc.

QUESTIONS 22 THROUGH 23 ARE TO BE ASKED ONLY OF PEOPLE WHO SAY THEY DID NOT VOTE

- Q.22 This question requires only the name of the presidential candidate or party for whom R would have voted. This answer is to be obtained even if R never votes or is ineligible to vote. We are interested in his preference nevertheless. If R has no preference, hasn't yet made up his mind, or for any other reason does not favor a particular candidate or party, be sure to get this down. Do not force the R to choose if he actually isn't inclined that way. -- In some cases, Q.22 may take some probing. This is an important question. If R mentions one of the minor party candidates, take this down since we're interested in these kinds of preferences too.
- Q.22a This is the non-voters' counterpart to Q.13a. As in Q.13a strive for specificity and detail in R's response; probe clichés and vague statements whenever you think R may have more to offer.
- Q.23 This question should bring out the basic reason for R's not voting. Habit, ineligibility, inability to pay poll taxes are acceptable reasons. "Didn't register" should be explained more fully -- why didn't R register? In some cases R won't be sure why he didn't vote. In these cases you will need to give him some time to think about it, and perhaps probe a little to determine whether R was merely apathetic or whether he had a specific reason for not voting. If he had a specific reason, be sure to get this.

ASK THE REMAINING QUESTIONS OF ALL R'S

- Q.24-24h. Here we cover an important objective of the study: the citizen's involvement in political affairs. This is primarily a check list of activities, although we do insert two probes (Q.24b and Q.24e).
- Q.25 In this question we want to find out how many people were contacted at all by any party representative at any time during the campaign. This includes not only official party members, but volunteer party workers or anyone else whom R sees as representing one of the parties.
- Q.25b We are interested here in knowing how much personal contact work by party people is concentrated on the presidential campaign as compared to emphasis on state or local contests; or party work in general which does not touch on the presidential race specifically.
- Q.26-27 Once again we want to test the R's sense of political involvement, first in the 1960 campaign, and then in politics more generally outside of the campaign period when more people pay attention to politics. In each question, try to pin R down to one of the categories offered.
- Q.28-29 Straight information questions. We need to know, for analysis purposes, whether R knows who controlled Congress from 1958 to 1960, and who is going to control it for the next session.

- Q.30 This is a repetition of a question asked in fuller form in the pre-election study. We want to know if people have the same view of what is important after the election which they held before. If R starts to mention several problems, ask him which he personally feels is most important, and only try to record the responses relevant to this problem.
- Q.31 Here we want to find out what R sees as important differences between the parties in broadest (even philosophical) terms. For R's who answer in Q.31 that they see no differences, we go on to probe with Q.31c-d. We do this because two types of people may say "no differences" to Q.31: (a) those who know a great deal about politics but are currently aggravated because they feel the parties do not offer much in the way of alternatives; and (b) those who see no differences because they know almost nothing about politics anyway. Q.31c-d should help us sort out these two types.
- Q.32,32a, 32b,32c In this question we wish to find out what the familiar terms "conservative" and "liberal" mean to people, and how they associate the terms with the two major parties. Therefore it is very important that you avoid saying anything which might give the R any clue as to a response. Specifically, never attempt to explain the terms "conservative" or "liberal." If R does not know what they mean, this is precisely what we would like to find out. If R asks you what we mean by these terms, reply that we would like him to use whatever meaning he would give these words. Actually, the probe Q.32b is put in to find out what kind of meaning R attaches to these words when they are used to describe a party. An adequate response to Q.32b must reveal what specifically the word "conservative" means to the R.
- Q32d, 32e These probes are added because once again, people who respond "no" to Q.32 may be of two clearly distinct types. The first type may say "no" because of the fact that while he is well versed in the liberal-conservative distinction, he feels that the parties fail to offer real differences anymore. The other type may say "no" to Q.32 because he does not understand the terms "conservative" and "liberal." We hope that Q.32d and 32e will help us distinguish between these two types.
- Q.33-34 We are repeating two of our old, familiar issue questions in somewhat different dress here. We are interested now in attaching the two parties to opposite stands on the two issues. Since the stands which leaders of the two parties take on issues like these may be different in different sections of the country, it is possible that an R may feel that (for example) most Republicans that he knows are against economic aid to foreign countries. For this reason we have taken pains to say throughout "many Democrats (Republicans)" take this position, and not that most do. If an R ever protests the question, read it again stressing the "many."

- Q.35 This is another issue question from 1956, still in its 1956 form, which we would like to repeat here. As with our other issue questions, we permit the R first to indicate whether or not he has an opinion on the subject, and only when he says he does have an opinion, do we ask for the opinion (Q.35a).
- Q.36-45 These questions are all designed to measure R's feelings of competence about the conduct of his life, a general attitude which we find to be related to R's ideas about politics. Often in the past we have asked questions of this type in simple agree-disagree form. But we have found that this often leads to rapid-fire, thoughtless answers that fall into a routine pattern of "agree" or "disagree" no matter what the question. Therefore, we have recently sought to focus R's attention on a choice between two content alternatives. If R tries to get you to enlarge on the remarks, tell him that they are just general choices and that he is to choose the alternative which he finds more nearly attractive, if neither suits him. If he says that "it depends," ask him, "Well, in general how do you feel?"

PERSONAL DATA

- Q. P1-P23 This abbreviated personal data section should go quite easily, since most of the questions are straightforward and have been used in other studies.
- Q. P3-P7 Note that these questions are filled in only if R was interviewed, pre-election, by some other interviewer. Since there are sometimes confusions as to who is the proper respondent, especially in the case of a new interviewer at the address, this information will help assure us that the proper R was re-interviewed.
- Q. P8 If you already know the answer here, simply check the appropriate box.
- Q. P10,
10a Here, as you see, we are interested in getting not only the broad creed (Protestant, Catholic or Jewish) but the actual denomination or sect within the Protestant church as well. For any of the large denominations, such as Baptists, Methodists, Lutherans, Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Episcopalians and the like there will be no problem. For some smaller sects and evangelical churches, the proper name for the denomination may be less clear, and R may not be sure of it himself. In this case it will be important to secure the most complete name that R knows for his church. Furthermore, if R begins by giving you the name of his local church, probe to see if he can give a broader name for the denomination as it would be known nationally. It is important that we obtain information which we can recognize and code here. When in doubt, simply press for the most complete information R can provide.

Q. P11a, 11b We are interested in any sort of response which R makes here. If he answers "yes" to P11a, P11b should pick up a description indicating the direction of things heard, (that is, pro- or anti-Kennedy, in most cases) as well as something of the content.

Q. P12 After we have pressed R for his denomination (if Protestant) in P10a, we hope that he will continue to respond here in terms of denomination, not simply Protestant, Catholic, or Jewish. We use the word "church preference" rather than "denomination" because we are afraid not all R's will understand the word "denomination." However, feel free here, as in P19 and P20, to replace "church preference" with "denomination" in the case of Protestant families.

Q. P14-16 These questions are simple and straightforward, but you will have to be quite alert in tailoring them to R's creed or sect. You see that all three questions require you to insert a word frequently which will represent R's church preference. For some denominations (Baptists, Methodists, Catholics, Congregationalists, etc.) the terms to insert will come to you easily. However, there are no such simple "tags" for people who belong, for example, to the Church of the Nazarene. You must be prepared, in these cases, to insert longer phrases such as are used in the following examples:

P14. Would you call yourself a strong member of the Church of the Nazarene or a not very strong member?

P15. Some Church of the Nazarene members feel they have a lot in common with other Church of the Nazarene people; but others we talk to don't feel this way so much. How about you -- would you say that you feel pretty close to Church of the Nazarene people in general, or that you don't feel much closer to them than you do to other people?

P16. How much interest would you say you have in how Church of the Nazarene people as a whole are getting along in this country? Do you have...(etc.)

These substitutions should not be difficult once you get accustomed to them. But if you have not prepared yourself mentally to make them in some of the more awkward cases, you may find yourself groping in mid-question the first time you encounter an awkward case.

Notice that these questions ask for the insertion of the church preference as given in Q. P10 or P10a. Therefore, for Protestants you will use the preference in P10a, and for non-Protestants the preference in P10. However, you may encounter Protestants who feel that they are "simply Protestants": they cannot give, or do not consider themselves, any more precise denomination. In this case, P14-16

should be asked of them as Protestants. That is, we want to know whether they consider themselves strong Protestants in P14, etc. If for any reason you fail to use the most specific denomination given in P10 or P10a, you should indicate this fact on the questionnaire, so that we may know how P14-16 were actually worded.

One other caution. As the questions are laid out, you may have the statement of a church preference written conveniently under P12a as you approach P14-16. Remember this is not the preference which you should be inserting in P14-16; it is instead the preference of the spouse and different from that of R by definition. P14-16 depend on R's preference, and not on the spouse's, where the two preferences are different.

- Q. P17-18 These are routine counterparts of P15-16, asked of Jewish people.
- Q. P19-20 Here again we would like the denomination specified in the case of Protestants. Otherwise, these questions should be routine.
- Q. P21-22 Although these questions have to do with Catholic groups and in times past have been asked only of Catholics, this year we would like to ask them of all respondents.
- Q. P23 Here we wish to measure, for the last time, the respondent's "party identification." By party identification we mean a person's feeling of attachment or belonging to a party. The question is intended to pin down the respondent's "usual" or customary sense of party affiliation, not particularly how he may have voted in the election just past. This means that a response such as "Oh, I have been a Democrat off and on, but I voted Republican this year" classifies the R as a Democrat (probably, in P23b, a not very strong Democrat), and not as an Independent.

A few R's may shy away from the question with responses such as "I am an American." Such evasions should be probed further with something such as "Well, a lot of us who feel that we are good Americans also think of ourselves as Democrats, Republicans, and so forth. Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself..."