

1956 PRE-ELECTION QUESTIONNAIRE

(P 417)

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

1. Who do you think will be elected president in November?

1a. (If R makes choice) Do you think it will be a close race or will (answer to Q.1) win by quite a bit?

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

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

3. Is there anything in particular that you like about the Democratic party? (What is that?)

4. Is there anything in particular that you don't like about the Democratic party? (What is that?)

5. Is there anything in particular that you like about the Republican party? (What is that?)

6. Is there anything in particular that you don't like about the Republican party? (What is that?)

7. Now I'd like to ask you about the good and bad points of the two candidates for president. Is there anything in particular about Stevenson that might make you want to vote for him? (What is it?)

8. Is there anything in particular about Stevenson that might make you want to vote against him? (What is it?)

9. Is there anything in particular about Eisenhower that might make you want to vote for him? (What is it?)

10. Is there anything in particular about Eisenhower that might make you want to vote against him? (What is that?)

11. How about the candidates for vice-president. Aside from their parties, do you have any strong opinions about either of them? (How is that?)

Around election time people talk about different things that our government in Washington is doing or should be doing. Now I would like to talk to you about some of the things that our government might do. Of course, different things are important to different people, so we don't expect everyone to have an opinion about all of these.

12. I would like you to look at this card as I read each question and tell me how you feel about the question. If you don't have an opinion, just tell me that; if you do have an opinion, choose one of the other answers.

12a. "The government ought to cut taxes even if it means putting off some important things that need to be done."

Now, would you say you have an opinion on this or not?  Yes  No

(IF "NO", GO ON TO Q.12b)  
(IF "YES"): Do you agree that the government should do this or do you think the government should not do it?

- Agree strongly; government definitely should
- Agree but not very strongly
- Not sure; it depends
- Disagree but not very strongly
- Disagree strongly; government definitely should not
- Don't know

(GO ON TO Q.12b)

(DO NOT ASK Q.13 OR 14 IF "NO OPINION" OR "DON'T KNOW" TO COUNTERPART ON Q.12)

13a. On the question of cutting taxes, is the government in Washington going too far, doing less than it should, or doing just about right?

- Haven't heard what the government in Washington is doing
- Definitely too far
- A little too far
- About right
- A little less than it should
- A lot less than it should
- Don't know

(DO NOT ASK Q.14a IF R ANSWERS "HAVEN'T HEARD" OR "DON'T KNOW" TO Q.13a)

14a. If the Democrats win the election this fall, would they be closer to what you want on this issue, would the Republicans be closer, or wouldn't there be any difference between them on this?

- Dems closer
- Reps closer
- No difference
- Don't know

(GO ON TO Q.13b)

12b. "The government in Washington ought to see to it that everybody who wants to work can find a job."

NOTE: QUESTIONS 12b THROUGH 12p FOLLOW THE SAME SEQUENCE AND USE THE SAME RESPONSE CATEGORIES AS Q.12a.

12c. "This country would be better off if we just stayed home and did not concern ourselves with problems in other parts of the world."

12d. "The government ought to help people get doctors and hospital care at low cost."

12e. "The United States should give economic help to the poorer countries of the world even if they can't pay for it."

12f. "If Negroes are not getting fair treatment in jobs and housing, the government in Washington should see to it that they do."

12g. "The government ought to see to it that big business corporations don't have much say about how the government is run."

12h. "The best way for this country to deal with Russia and Communist China is to act just as tough as they do."

(DO NOT ASK Q.13b IF "NO OPINION" OR "DON'T KNOW" TO Q.12b)

13b. On the question of the government seeing to it that everybody who want to work can find a job, is the government going too far, doing less than it should, or doing just about right?

NOTE: QUESTIONS 13b THROUGH 13p AND 14b THROUGH 14p FOLLOW THE SAME SEQUENCE AND USE THE SAME RESPONSE CATEGORIES AS QUESTIONS 13a AND 14a.

14b. (FOR ALL Q.14's, SEE 14a)

13c. On the question of our country concerning itself with problems in other parts of the world, is the government going too far, doing less than it should, or what?

13d. On the question of the government helping people get doctors and hospital care at low cost, is the government going too far, doing less than it should, or what?

13e. On the question of the United States giving economic help to the poorer countries of the world even though they can't pay for it, is the government going too far, doing less than it should, or what?

13f. On the question of the government seeing to it that Negroes get fair treatment in jobs and housing, is the government in Washington going too far, doing less than it should, or what?

13g. On the question of seeing to it that big business corporations don't have much say about how the government is run, is the government going too far, doing less than it should, or what?

13h. On the question of the U.S. being tough in dealing with Russia and Communist China, is the government going too far, doing less than it should, or what?

12i. "If cities and towns around the country need help to build more schools, the government in Washington ought to give them the money they need."

12j. "The United States should keep soldiers overseas where they can help countries that are against communism."

12k. "The government should leave things like electric power and housing for private businessmen to handle."

12l. "The government ought to see to it that labor unions don't have much say about how the government is run."

12m. "The United States should be willing to go more than half-way in being friendly with the other countries of the world."

12n. "The government ought to fire any government worker who is accused of being a communist even though they don't prove it."

12o. "The United States should give help to foreign countries even if they are not as much against communism as we are."

12p. "The government in Washington should stay out of the question of whether white and colored children go to the same school."

15. We are also interested in how people are getting along financially these days. So far as you and your family are concerned, would you say that you are pretty well satisfied with your present financial situation, more-or-less satisfied, or not satisfied at all?

13i. On the question of the government in Washington giving money to cities and towns around the country if they need help to build more schools, is the government going too far, doing less than it should, or what?

13j. On the question of the United States keeping soldiers overseas where they can help countries that are against communism, is the government going too far, doing less than it should, or what?

13k. On the question of the government leaving things like electric power and housing for private businessmen to handle, is the government going too far, doing less than it should, or what?

13l. On the question of seeing to it that labor unions don't have much say about how the government is run, is the government going too far, doing less than it should, or what?

13m. On the question of the U.S. being friendly with the other countries of the world, is the government going too far, doing less than it should, or what?

13n. On the question of firing government workers accused of being communists, is the government going too far, doing less than it should, or what?

13o. On the question of the United States giving help to countries that are not as much against communism as we are, is the government going too far, doing less than it should, or what?

13p. On the question of the government in Washington being concerned about white and colored children going to the same schools, is the government going too far, doing less than it should, or what?

16. During the last few years, has your financial situation been getting better, getting worse, or has it stayed the same?

16a. How is that?

17. Now looking ahead and thinking about the next few years, do you expect your financial situation will stay about the way it is now, get better, or get worse?

17a. How is that?

18. Do you think it will make any difference in how you and your family get along financially whether the Republicans or Democrats win the election? (How is that?)

18a. (IF MAKES A DIFFERENCE AND NOT ANSWERED IN Q.18) Do you think you'll be better off or worse off financially if the Democrats win the election?

19. Now I'd like to ask you some questions about the chances of our country getting into war. Would you say that at the present time you are pretty worried about this country getting into another war, somewhat worried, or not worried at all?

20. During the last few years do you think our chances of staying out of war have been getting better, getting worse, or stayed the same?

21. Now looking ahead, do you think the problem of keeping out of war would be handled better in the next four years by the Republicans, or by the Democrats, or about the same by both?

21a. (IF REPUBLICANS OR DEMOCRATS WOULD HANDLE BETTER) Why is that?

Now I would like to ask you a little more about the political parties.

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

(IF REPUBLICAN OR DEMOCRAT TO Q.22)

22a. Would you call yourself a strong (R)(D) or a not very strong (R)(D)?

22b. Was there ever a time when you thought of yourself as a (R)(D) rather than a (D)(R)?

(IF "YES" TO 22b) 22c. When did you change?

22d. What was the main thing that made you change?

(IF INDEPENDENT OR OTHER TO Q.22)

22e. Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican or Democratic party?

22f. Was there ever a time when you thought of yourself as a Democrat or a Republican? (IF YES) Which party was that?

(IF "YES" TO 22f) 22g. When did you change?

22h. What was the main thing that made you change?

(ASK OF EVERYONE)

23. In the elections for president since you have been old enough to vote, would you say that you have voted in all of them, most of them, some of them, or none of them?

(IF HAS EVER VOTED FOR PRESIDENT)

24. Have you always voted for the same party or have you voted for different parties for president?

(IF "SAME") 24a. Which party was that?

25. Eight years ago, in 1948, you remember that Mr. Truman ran against Mr. Dewey. Not many people voted that year, but do you remember for sure whether or not you voted in that election?

(IF "YES, DID VOTE") 25a. Who did you vote for -- Truman? Dewey? Wallace? or Thurmond? Other Don't know

26. Now, in 1952 you remember that Mr. Stevenson ran against Mr. Eisenhower. Do you remember for sure whether or not you voted in that election?

(IF "YES, DID VOTE") 26a. Which one did you vote for? Stevenson? Eisenhower? Other Don't know

(ASK OF EVERYONE)

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

28. Now how about the election this November? Do you know if you are (registered) (eligible to vote) so that you could vote in the November election if you wanted to?

(IF NECESSARY) 28a. Are you (registered) (eligible to vote)?

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

(IF PLANS TO VOTE)

30. How do you think you will vote for president in this election?

(IF MENTIONS CANDIDATE OR PARTY) 30a. What would you say is the most important reason why you are going to vote for (ANSWER TO Q.30)?

30b. Has the question of President Eisenhower's health made any difference to you in deciding how you would vote? (How is that?)

(IF NOT PLANNING TO VOTE)

31. If you were going to vote -- how do you think you would vote for president in this election?

(IF MENTIONS CANDIDATE OR PARTY) 31a. What would you say is the most important reason why you would vote for (ANSWER TO Q.31)?

31b. Has the question of President Eisenhower's health made any difference to you in deciding how you would vote? (How is that?)

(ASK OF EVERYONE)

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

32a. People like me don't have any say about what the government does.

32b. Voting is the only way that people like me can have any say about how the government runs things.

32c. It isn't so important to vote when you know your party doesn't have any chance to win.

32d. So many other people vote in the national elections that it doesn't matter much to me whether I vote or not.

32e. Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on.

32f. If a person doesn't care how an election comes out he shouldn't vote in it.

32g. A good many local elections aren't important enough to bother with.

32h. I don't think public officials care much what people like me think.

## (PERSONAL DATA - ASK OF EVERYONE)

PD1. What is your occupation? I mean, what kind of work do you do?

(IF NOT ASCERTAINED) What kind of business is that?

(IF R IS EMPLOYED) PD1a. Do you work for yourself or for someone else?

(IF R IS UNEMPLOYED) PD1b. What kind of work do you usually do?

(IF R IS RETIRED) PD1c. What kind of work did you do before you retired?

(ASK ONLY IF R IS NOT HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD)

PD2. What kind of work does (HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD) do?

(IF NOT ASCERTAINED) What kind of business is that?

(IF HEAD IS EMPLOYED) PD2a. Does he work for himself or for someone else?

(IF HEAD IS UNEMPLOYED) PD2b. What kind of work does he usually do?

(IF HEAD IS RETIRED) PD2c. What kind of work did he do before he retired?

## (ASK OF EVERYONE)

PD3. Does anyone in this household belong to a labor union?  Yes  No

(IF YES) PD3a. Who is it that belongs? - Respondent? Head (not R)?  
Someone else in household?

PD3b. What union is that? -- (e.g. UMW, AFI, UAW, ILGW)

PD4. Is your church preference Protestant, Catholic or Jewish?

PD4a. Would you say you go to church -- regularly? often? seldom? or never?

Now I'd like to ask you some questions about how you think other people will vote in this election.

## (ASK OF ALL Rs GIVING FARM OCCUPATIONS, FOR SELF IN PD1 OR HEAD, PD2)

PD5. For instance, how about farmers in general -- do you think more farmers around the country will vote Republican, more will vote Democratic, or do you think they will be about evenly split?

(IF DEMOCRAT OR REPUBLICAN) PD5a. Would you say a lot more of them will vote (REPUBLICAN)(DEMOCRATIC), or will it only be a few more?

(FARMERS - IF DEMOCRAT )  
(OR REPUBLICAN - cont'd)

(IF DEMOCRAT OR REPUBLICAN  
OR SPLIT)

PD5b. What reasons do you feel farmers around the country will have for voting more (DEMOCRATIC)(REPUBLICAN)?

PD5c. How about farmers you know around here. Will they be voting about the same as other farmers around the country, or will they be voting differently? (IF DIFFERENTLY) How is that? What reasons will they have for voting differently?

PD6. Now how about farm leaders around the country -- do you think that more of them will vote Republican, more will vote Democratic, or do you think they will be about evenly split?

(IF MORE DEMOCRAT OR  
REPUBLICAN)

PD6a. Would you say a lot more of them will vote (REPUBLICAN)(DEMOCRATIC), or will it only be a few more?

PD6b. Are you thinking of any particular farm leaders or organizations? (IF YES) What ones are those?

PD7. Now here is a problem that farmers are concerned about these days. Would you tell me whether you would agree or disagree with this statement:

If a farmer can't sell things he raises at a profit, the government should buy them and limit the amount the farmer can produce. (STRONGLY OR NOT SO STRONGLY?)

## (ASK OF EVERYONE)

PD8. Now how about working-class people -- do you think more working-class people will vote Republican, more will vote Democratic, or do you think they will be about evenly split?

(IF MORE DEMOCRATIC OR REPUBLICAN)

PD8a. Would you say a lot more of them will vote (REPUBLICAN)(DEMOCRATIC) or will it be only a few more?

PD8b. What reasons do you feel working-class people will have for voting more (DEMOCRATIC)(REPUBLICAN) than (REPUBLICAN)(DEMOCRATIC)?

FD9. Now how about middle-class people -- do you think more of them will vote Republican, more will vote Democratic, or do you think they will be about evenly split?

(IF MORE DEMOCRATIC OR REPUBLICAN) FD9a. Would you say a lot more of them will vote (REPUBLICAN)(DEMOCRATIC) or will it be only a few more?

FD9b. What reasons do you feel middle-class people will have for voting more (DEMOCRATIC)(REPUBLICAN) than (REPUBLICAN)(DEMOCRATIC)?

(ASK ONLY IN HOUSEHOLDS WHERE EITHER R OR HEAD IS UNION MEMBER)

FD10. Now take your (your HEAD's) union. Do you think more of the main leaders of your (his) union will vote Republican, more will vote Democratic, or do you think they will be about evenly split?

(IF MORE REPUBLICAN OR DEMOCRATIC) FD10a. Would you say a lot more of them will vote (REPUBLICAN)(DEMOCRATIC), or will it be only a few more?

FD11. Now how about union members in general around the country. Do you think more union members will vote Republican, more will vote Democratic, or do you think they will be about evenly split?

(IF DEMOCRATIC OR REPUBLICAN, ASK FD11a, 11b AND 11c) FD11a. Would you say a lot more of them will vote (REPUBLICAN)(DEMOCRATIC), or will it be only a few more?

FD11b. What reasons do you feel union members around the country will have for voting more (DEMOCRATIC)(REPUBLICAN)?

(IF SPLIT, ASK ONLY FD11c)

FD11c. How about the members of your (his) union. Will they be voting about the same as union members in general around the country, or will they be voting differently? (IF DIFFERENTLY) How is that? What reasons do you think they will have for voting differently?

(IF DON'T KNOW, ASK ONLY FD11d)

FD11d. How about the members of your (his) union? Do you think more of them will vote Republican, more will vote Democratic, or do you think they will about evenly split?

(IF MORE DEMOCRATIC OR REPUBLICAN)

FD11e. Would you say a lot more of them will vote (REPUBLICAN)(DEMOCRATIC), or will it be only a few more?

(IF MORE DEMOCRATIC OR REPUBLICAN - cont'd)  
FD11f. What reasons do you think members of your (his) union will have for voting more (REPUBLICAN)(DEMOCRATIC)?

(ASK ONLY OF NEGROES)

FD12. How about Negroes in general around the country? Do you think more of them will vote Republican, more will vote Democratic, or do you think they will be about evenly split?

(IF MORE DEMOCRATIC OR REPUBLICAN)

FD12a. Would you say a lot more of them will vote (REPUBLICAN)(DEMOCRATIC) or will it be only a few more?

FD12b. What reasons do you feel Negroes around the country will have for voting more (DEMOCRATIC)(REPUBLICAN)?

FD13. Now take the main leaders of the Negro people. Do you think more of them will vote Republican, more will vote Democratic, or do you think they will be about evenly split?

(IF MORE DEMOCRATIC OR REPUBLICAN)

FD13a. Would you say a lot more of them will vote (REPUBLICAN)(DEMOCRATIC) or will it be only a few more?

FD13b. Are you thinking of any particular leaders or organizations there? (IF YES) What ones are those?

(ASK ONLY OF CATHOLICS)

FD14. Now how about people in different religious groups, like Protestants, Catholics, and Jews? For instance, how about Protestants -- do you think more Protestants around the country will vote Republican, more will vote Democratic, or do you think they will be about evenly split?

FD15. How about Catholics in general around the country -- do you think more of them will vote Republican, more will vote Democratic, or do you think they will be about evenly split?

(IF MORE REPUBLICAN OR DEMOCRATIC)

FD15a. Would you say a lot more of them will vote (REPUBLICAN)(DEMOCRATIC) or will it be only a few more?

FD15b. What reasons do you feel Catholics around the country will have for voting more (DEMOCRATIC)(REPUBLICAN)?

(CATHOLICS cont'd)

PD16. Now take the main Catholic leaders. Do you think more of them will vote Republican, more will vote Democratic, or do you think they will be about evenly split?

(IF MORE REPUBLICAN OR DEMOCRATIC)

PD16a. Would you say a lot more of them will vote (REPUBLICAN) (DEMOCRATIC) or will it be only a few more?

PD16b. Are you thinking of any particular leaders or organizations there? (IF YES) What ones are those?

(ASK ONLY OF JEWS)

PD17. Now how about people in different religious groups, like Protestants, Catholics, and Jews? For instance, how about Protestants -- do you think more Protestants around the country will vote Republican, more will vote Democratic, or do you think they will be about evenly split?

PD18. How about Jews in general around the country -- do you think more of them will vote Democratic, or do you think they will be about evenly split?

(IF MORE REPUBLICAN OR DEMOCRATIC)

PD18a. Would you say a lot more of them will vote (REPUBLICAN) (DEMOCRATIC) or will it be only a few more?

PD18b. What reasons do you feel Jews around the country will have for voting more (DEMOCRATIC) (REPUBLICAN)?

PD19. Now take the main Jewish leaders. Do you think more of them will vote Republican, more will vote Democratic, or do you think they will be evenly split?

(IF MORE REPUBLICAN OR DEMOCRATIC)

PD19a. Would you say a lot more of them will vote (REPUBLICAN) (DEMOCRATIC) or will it be only a few more?

PD19b. Are you thinking of any particular leaders or organizations there? (IF YES) What ones are those?

(ASK OF EVERYONE)

PD20. (BY OBSERVATION) Sex -- male, female

PD21. (BY OBSERVATION) Race -- White, Negro, Other (specify)

ENTER FROM LISTING BOX OF COVER SHEET

PD22. Number of adults in household

PD23. Relationship of R to head -- R is head, wife, other

PD24. Age of R \_\_\_\_\_

PD25. Age of Head, if R not head -- 21-24 / 25-34 / 35-44 / 45-54 / 55-64 / 65 and over / under 21

PD26. (IF NOT ALREADY ASCERTAINED) Are you married, single, divorced, separated, or widowed?

PD27. How many children are there under 18 years old in this family?

PD28. How old is the youngest child?

PD29. How many grades of school did you finish?

None / 1 / 2 / 3 / 4 / 5 / 6 / 7 / 8 / 9 / 10 / 11 / 12

(IF HIGH SCHOOL) PD29a. Have you had any schooling other than high school? Yes / No

(IF YES) PD29b. What other schooling have you had?

(IF ATTENDED COLLEGE) PD29c. Do you have a college degree? Yes / No

PD30. Where were you born? (IF UNITED STATES, which state?)

(DO NOT ASK OF NEGROES OR FOREIGN-BORN)

PD31. Were both your parents born in this country? Yes / No

(IF YES) PD31a. Which country did your father's parents come from?

PD31b. Which country did your mother's parents come from?

(IF NO) PD31c. Which country was your father born in?

PD31d. Which country was your mother born in?

(ASK OF EVERYONE)

FD32. What kind of work did your father do for a living while you were growing up?

FD33. What part of the United States did you grow up in? (Which state or states?)

FD34. Were you brought up mostly on a farm, in a town, in a small city, or in a large city? (IF SMALL OR LARGE CITY) Which city was that?

FD35. About what do you think your total income will be this year for yourself and your immediate family?

Under \$1000 \$1,000-1,999 \$2,000-2,999 \$3,000-3,999 \$4,000-4,999

\$5,000-5,999 \$6,000-7,499 \$7,500-9,999 \$10,000 and over