

(MALE)

Segment No. _____
8-

I'm from the national research firm of Louis Harris and Associates. We're conducting a survey for NEWSWEEK magazine. When it is finished, the results will be published in the magazine. We've been asking your neighbors some questions, and now we've come to your house. Let's see whom I'm supposed to interview here.

How many men 21 years of age or over live here?

Who's the oldest man who lives here? And the next oldest? (CONTINUE UNTIL YOU HAVE LISTED BY AGE, STARTING WITH THE OLDEST, ALL OF THE MEN. RECORD THE INFORMATION BELOW)

Identify by name or position in the household
(Husband, father, son, boarder, etc.)

Age

1. ☒ _____
2. _____
3. ☒ _____

HOW TO DETERMINE WHOM YOU ARE TO INTERVIEW IN THIS HOUSEHOLD

1. If only one man lives here, interview that person.
2. If more than one man lives here, start at the bottom of the list and move upward until you come to the first "X" next to which you have entered a name (or described by position). The person next to this "X" is the only person you can interview. Call back if necessary.

1. Did you vote in the last election for President in 1960, when Nixon and Kennedy ran?

Voted.....11-1
Didn't vote.. -2

2. Did you vote in the election for President back in 1956, the last time Stevenson and Eisenhower ran?

Voted.....12-1
Didn't vote.. -2

3. Regardless of how you may vote, what do you usually consider yourself, a Republican, a Democrat, or what?

Republican...13-1
Democrat..... -2
Independent.. -3
Other _____
(write-in) _____ -4
Not sure..... -5

4a. Are you registered to vote?

Registered.....14-1
Not registered..... -2
Registration not required..... -3

b. In which party are you registered?

Republican.....15-1
Democratic..... -2
Independent..... -3
Other party..... -4
Not sure..... -5

INSTRUCTIONS: IF DID NOT VOTE IN 1960 (Q. 1) OR IN 1956 (Q. 2) AND IF NOT REGISTERED TODAY (Q. 4a) SKIP TO FACTUAL ON REVERSE SIDE OF THIS SHEET AND TERMINATE. OTHERWISE, CONTINUE INTERVIEW.

PLEASE CHECK THROUGH THIS QUESTIONNAIRE TO SEE THAT ALL THE PAGES ARE INCLUDED. WE ARE USING A NEW COLLATING MACHINE AND WANT TO MAKE SURE IT IS OPERATING PROPERLY. YOU MAY HAVE A PAGE MISSING. IF SO, DISCARD THIS QUESTIONNAIRE - YOU HAVE EXTRA ONES FOR YOUR USE.

5. (IF VOTED IN 1960 IN Q. 1) In 1960, did you vote for Nixon, the Republican, or Kennedy, the Democrat, for President?

Nixon.....16-1
Kennedy..... -2
Can't recall..... -3

6. (IF VOTED IN 1956 IN Q. 2) In 1956, for President, did you vote for Stevenson, the Democrat, or Eisenhower, the Republican?

Stevenson.....17-1
Eisenhower..... -2
Can't recall..... -3

7. How would you rate the job President Kennedy is doing as President - excellent, pretty good, only fair, or poor?

Excellent.....18-1
Pretty good..... -2
Only fair..... -3
Poor..... -4
Not sure..... -5

8a. Suppose the 1964 election for President were being held today, and you had to make up your mind right now. If it were between Senator Barry Goldwater of Arizona for the Republicans, and President John F. Kennedy for the Democrats, whom would you vote for?

(SKIP TO Q. 9) { Goldwater...19-1
Kennedy.... -2

(ASK b).....Not sure... -3

b. (IF NOT SURE IN 8a) Well, whom would you lean toward, if you had to say - Goldwater, the Republican, or Kennedy, the Democrat?

Goldwater..20-1
Kennedy.... -2
Not sure... -3

9a. Suppose for President it were between Governor Nelson Rockefeller of New York for the Republicans and President John F. Kennedy for the Democrats, whom would you vote for?

(SKIP TO Q. 10) { Rockefeller..21-1
Kennedy..... -2

(ASK b).....Not sure..... -3

b. (IF NOT SURE IN Q. 9a) Well, whom would you lean toward, if you had to say - Rockefeller, the Republican, or Kennedy, the Democrat?

Rockefeller..22-1
Kennedy..... -2
Not sure..... -3

10a. Suppose for President it were between Governor George Romney of Michigan for the Republicans and President John F. Kennedy for the Democrats, whom would you vote for?

(SKIP TO Q. 11) { Romney.....23-1
Kennedy..... -2

(ASK b).....Not sure..... -3

b. (IF NOT SURE IN Q. 10a) Well, whom would you lean toward if you had to say - Romney, the Republican, or Kennedy, the Democrat?

Romney.....24-1
Kennedy..... -2
Not sure.... -3

3
11a. Suppose for President it were between former Vice President Richard Nixon for the Republicans and President John F. Kennedy for the Democrats, whom would you vote for?

(SKIP TO Q. 12) { Nixon....25-1
Kennedy.. -2

(ASK b).....Not sure. -3

b. (IF NOT SURE IN Q. 11a) Well, whom would you lean toward, if you had to say - Nixon, the Republican, or Kennedy, the Democrat?

Nixon....26-1
Kennedy.. -2
Not sure. -3

12a. What two or three things do you especially like about Senator Barry Goldwater of Arizona personally as a man? Anything else?

b. Is there anything about Senator Goldwater personally as a man you don't like so well? What's that? Anything else?

27-

28-

29-

30-

13a. What two or three things do you especially like about Governor Nelson Rockefeller of New York personally as a man? Anything else?

14a. What two or three things do you especially like about former Vice President Richard Nixon personally as a man? Anything else?

b. Is there anything about Governor Rockefeller personally as a man you don't like so well? What's that? Anything else?

b. Is there anything about Richard Nixon personally as a man you don't like so well? What's that? Anything else?

31-

32-

33-

34-

35-

36-

37-

38-

ASK Q. 15a OF ALL REPUBLICANS OR
INDEPENDENTS IN Q. 3. ALL OTHERS
SKIP TO Q. 16

15a. (IF REPUBLICAN OR INDEPENDENT IN
Q. 3) Here is a list of men who have
been prominently mentioned for the
Republican nomination for President in
1964. (HAND RESPONDENT YELLOW CARD)
If you had to choose one man you would
most like to see run from this list,
who would you choose? (RECORD BELOW)

b. If the man you just chose were out
of the running, who from this list.
would be your second choice for the
Republican nomination for President?
(RECORD BELOW)

c. Are there any of the men on that
list who you think you just wouldn't
vote for if he were nominated for
President on the Republican ticket in
1964? Who's that? Anyone else?

	a. First Choice	b. Second Choice	c. Could Not Vote For
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Senator Barry Goldwater of Arizona.....	39-1	40-1	41-1
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Senator Thruston Morton of Ken- tucky.....	-2	-2	-2
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Former Vice Pres- ident Richard Nixon... ..	-3	-3	-3
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Governor Nelson Rockefeller of New York.....	-4	-4	-4
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Governor George Romney of Michigan	-5	-5	-5
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Governor William Scranton of Pennsylvania....	-6	-6	-6
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Not sure or none.....	-7	-7	-7
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ASK EVERYONE

16a. Does it matter a lot, some but not
a lot, or only a little to you that the
man in the White House, President Kennedy,
is a Catholic?

A lot.....	42-1
Some, not a lot.....	-2
Only a little.....	-3
Doesn't matter (vol)...	-4
Not sure.....	-5

b. Why do you feel this way? Any
other reasons?

43-

44-

17. Does the divorce and remarriage of
Governor Nelson Rockefeller of New
York to a divorced woman matter a lot,
some but not a lot, or only a little
to you?

A lot.....	45-1
Some, not a lot.....	-2
Only a little.....	-3
Doesn't matter (vol)...	-4
Not sure.....	-5

18a. Do you feel Senator Barry Goldwater generally agrees with the John Birch Society or disagrees with them?

(ASK Q. 21b)...Agrees....46-1
 { Disagrees... -2
 (SKIP TO 21c) { Not sure... -3 ✓

b. Do you go along with Senator Goldwater on the John Birch Society or do you differ with him on them?

Go along...47-1 ✓
 Differ..... -2
 Not sure... -3

c. On the whole do you approve or disapprove of the John Birch Society?

Approve....48-1 ✓
 Disapprove. -2
 Not sure... -3

19. Where would you say each of these men stand politically - a liberal, conservative, or middle of the road?

	Lib- eral	Conser- vative	Middle of the Road	Not Sure
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President Kennedy	49-1	50-12	51-17	52-14
Senator Barry Goldwater.....	-2	-22	-23	-24
Richard M. Nixon...	-3	-32	-33	-34
Gov. George Romney.	-4	-4	-4	-4
Gov. Nelson Rockefeller.....	-5	-5	-5	-5
Gov. William Scranton.....	-6	-6	-6	-6
Yourselves.....	-7	-7	-7	-7

20a. President Kennedy has asked Congress to pass civil rights legislation to strengthen the rights of Negroes and other minority groups. From what you know or have heard, are you in favor of this civil rights legislation or opposed to it?

Favor...53-1 ✓
 Oppose... -2
 Not sure -3

b. What's the main reason you feel this way? Any other reasons?

c. President Kennedy has turned down some of the suggestions to change the civil rights bill in order to get it through Congress. Do you think the Administration Civil Rights bill is too weak, too strong, or about right?

Too weak....56-1
 Too strong.. -2
 About right. -3 ✓
 Not sure.... -4

21a. How would you rate the job President Kennedy is doing in handling the Vietnam situation - excellent, pretty good, only fair, or poor?

Excellent....57-1
Pretty good.. -2
Only fair.... -3 ✓
Poor..... -4
Not sure..... -5

b. What's the main reason you feel this way? Any other reasons?

58-
59-

c. Madame Nhu, the sister-in-law of the Vietnam Prime Minister, has been visiting the United States. Do you approve or disapprove of what Madame Nhu has been saying?

Approve.....60-1
Disapprove.. -2
Not sure..... -3

d. Why do you say that?

61-
62-
63-

21e. In the past year some American lives have been lost in the fighting in Vietnam. Our government is trying to help the non-Communist government there resist a Communist take-over. From what you know or have heard, do you favor or oppose the policy our government has followed in Vietnam?

Favor.....64-1
Oppose.... -2
Not sure.. -3

f. If it meant going to war with Red China over Vietnam, would you favor going to war or giving up Vietnam - if it came to that?

Favor war.....65-1
Give up Vietnam... -2
Not sure..... -3

22a. Our government has guaranteed the freedom of West Berlin. We have said if the Communists try to take over West Berlin, we will defend that city, even if it means war. Do you favor or oppose this policy on West Berlin?

Favor.....66-1
Oppose..... -2
Not sure..... -3

b. If Red China invaded India, would you favor or oppose our going to war to save India?

Favor.....67-1
Oppose..... -2
Not sure..... -3

c. Why do you feel this way? Any other reasons?

68-
69-

23a. For the first time in many years, the Russians seem willing to ease tensions in the Cold War. Would you favor or oppose (READ EACH STATEMENT BELOW)?

	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>
Sending a man to the moon with Russia...	70-1	71-1	72-1
Selling Russia surplus wheat and other food.....	-2	-2	-2
Exchanging students with Russia.....	-3	-3	-3
Selling Russia U.S. automobiles.....	-4	-4	-4
Exchanging musicians and artists between the two countries..	-5	-5	-5
Selling Russia machine tools and computers	-6	-6	-6
Selling Russia jet airplanes for commercial use.....	-7	-7	-7
Exchange engineers, physicists, and other scientists with Russia.....	-8	-8	-8

b. Since Russia agreed to a test ban on atomic testing, some people think Khrushchev has become more peace-minded. Do you think Russia is now really more for peace than before, or do you think there has been no real change?

Really more for peace..	73-1
No real change.....	-2
Not sure.....	-3

c. Why do you feel that way? Any other reasons?

74-

75-

76-

77-

78-

24a. Do you think that President Kennedy should insist that the Russians remove their troops from Cuba or not?

Should insist.....5-1 931
Should not insist... -2 165
Not sure..... -3 172
B=15

b. If the Russians do not remove their troops from Cuba, do you think we should put back the blockade on Cuba or not?

Put back blockade.....6-1 854
Don't put back blockade..... -2 196
Not sure..... -3 218
B=14

c. If the Russians do not remove their troops from Cuba, do you think we should invade Cuba with American troops or not?

Should invade.....7-1 408
Should not invade..... -2 552
Not sure..... -3 306
B=14

25a. Governor George Wallace of Alabama has charged that Communists are behind the Negro demonstrations around the country. Do you tend to believe this charge or not?

Believe.....8-1
Don't believe.. -2
Not sure..... -3

b. Why do you say this? Any other reasons?

9-

10-

26a. I want to read you some stands on issues that have been identified with Senator Goldwater. Do you tend to agree more or disagree more with Senator Goldwater on (READ STATEMENTS BELOW)?

Agree Disagree Not
More More Sure

The federal government should leave the race question mainly to the individual states...

11-1 12-1 13-1

A national right to work law restricting labor unions, should be passed.....

-2 -2 -2

The U.S. ought to consider withdrawing from the United Nations

-3 -3 -3

This country should not have signed the test ban treaty with Russia.....

-4 -4 -4

There should be no income tax cut until the federal budget is balanced.....

-5 -5 -5

The government should leave medical care for the aged insurance strictly to private insurance companies.....

-6 -6 -6

Government subsidies for farmers gradually should be done away with.....

-7 -7 -7

President Kennedy has around him too many ultra-liberals who may be soft on Communism.....

-8 -8 -8

27. How would you rate the job President Kennedy has done in handling this country's space program - excellent, pretty good, only fair, or poor?

Excellent.....14-1
Pretty good.... -2
Only fair..... -3
Poor..... -4
Not sure..... -5

28a. Do you agree or disagree with President Kennedy's objective of putting a man in space on the moon by 1970?

Agree.....15-1
Disagree..... -2
Not sure..... -3

b. Why do you feel this way?

16-

17-

29a. Now which man - Senator Goldwater or President Kennedy - would do a better job on:

	<u>Gold-</u> <u>water</u>	<u>Kennedy</u>	<u>Not</u> <u>Sure</u>
Handling Khrushchev...	18-1251	19-1646	20-1352
Keeping the country prosperous.....	-2246	-2624	-2344
Handling Castro and Cuba.....	-3314	-3604	-3332
Giving leadership to the free world.....	-4267	-4633	-4355
Keeping spending under control.....	-5514	-5401	-5335
Handling the farm programs.....	-6381	-6462	-6411
Working for peace in the world.....	-7218	-7694	-7349
Keeping U.S. military defenses strong.....	-8236	-8674	-8346
Keeping Communists in check at home.....	-9344	-9521	-9380
Moving the country ahead	-0218	-0623	-0349

29b. Leaving aside their parties and what they stand for, which do you find more appealing as a personality - Senator Goldwater or President Kennedy?

Goldwater....21-1
Kennedy..... -2
Not sure..... -3

c. Why do you feel that way? Any other reasons?

22-

23-

24-

30a. President Kennedy has asked Congress to cut personal income taxes. Do you favor or oppose this tax cut at this time?

Favor.....25-1
Oppose..... -2
Not sure..... -3

b. Do you feel a tax cut now will help or hurt the prosperity of the country in the next few years?

Help.....26-1
Hurt..... -2
Not sure.... -3

c. Some people have argued that the federal budget should be balanced before the government cuts taxes. The budget is not balanced now. Do you think the tax cut should be delayed until budget is balanced or do you feel there should be a tax cut anyhow?

Delay tax cut.....27-1
Don't delay tax cut -2
Not sure..... -3

31. How would you rate the job President Kennedy has done on (READ STATEMENT BELOW) - excellent, pretty good, only fair, or poor?

	<u>Excellent</u>	<u>Pretty Good</u>	<u>Only Fair</u>	<u>Poor</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>
Handling Khrushchev.....	28-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
Handling farm problems.....	29-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
Handling Castro and Cuba.....	30-1 149	-2 413	-3 272	-4 295	-5 79
Keeping the economy healthy.....	31-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
Giving foreign aid to countries abroad.....	32-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
Pushing for an income tax cut this year.....	33-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
Keeping Communists out of the federal government.....	34-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
Favoring federal aid to education	35-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
Moving the country ahead.....	36-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
10 Working for peace in the world..	37-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
Getting Russia to agree to an atomic test ban.....	38-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
Keeping spending under control..	39-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
Keeping corruption out of government.....	40-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
Standing firm in Berlin.....	41-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
Favoring medical care for the aged under Social Security.....	42-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
Getting Congress to act on his programs.....	43-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
Selling wheat to Russia.....	44-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
Keeping the military defense of the Country strong.....	45-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
Getting Latin American countries on their feet.....	46-1 134	-2 438	-3 305	-4 151	-5 226
Handling civil rights and race problems.....	47-1	-2	-3	-4	-5

32a. Here is a list of things people have suggested would be the most likely reasons why peace may some time be achieved. (HAND RESPONDENT PINK CARD) If you had to choose one, which would you say is the best hope for peace? (RECORD BELOW)

	<u>a. 1st choice</u>	<u>b. 2nd choice</u>
Fear of atomic devastation.....	48-1	49-1
All men living under one God.....	-2	-2
Strengthening United Nations.....	-3	-3
Collapse of Communist regimes.....	-4	-4
Finding more areas of agreement with Russia.....	-5	-5
Keeping U.S. military strong.....	-6	-6
Total disarmament by all nations....	-7	-7
Not sure.....	-8	-8

b. And what would be your second choice as a hope for peace? (RECORD ABOVE)

FASTUAL

33a. Were all four of your grandparents born in the United States?

(SKIP TO 34)...Yes...50-1

(ASK b).....No.... -2

b. What country or countries were your grandparents born in? (MULTIPLE RECORD IF BORN IN MORE THAN ONE COUNTRY)

America

U.S.A.....51-1

Canada, and other North/South America(write in)..... -2

Europe

7 Ireland..... -3

England or Scotland..... -4

Poland..... -5

Norway, Sweden, Denmark..... -6

Germany..... -7

Italy..... -8

Other Western Europe(write in)..... -9

Austria or Hungary..... -0

Poland..... -X

Russia..... -Y

Other Eastern Europe (write in)..... 52-1

Other (write in)..... -2

34. What type of work do you (head of household) usually do? What is your (the) job called?

7 Professional.....53-1

Executive..... -2

Small business..... -3

White collar, civil service..... -4

Personal service..... -5

Labor..... -6

Skilled labor..... -7

Farmer..... -8

Military..... -9

Unemployed..... -0

Retired, widowed..... -X

Other(write in)..... -Y

IF FARMER WRITE IN KIND OF FARMING DONE MOST:

54-

35. Are you a member of a labor union or is any member of your family a member of a labor union?

Union member.....55-1

Union member in family..... -2

No union member in family..... -3

36. What is the last grade of school you attended?

8th grade or less.....56-1

High school..... -2

Some college..... -3

College graduate..... -4

Post graduate..... -5

37a. What is your religion?

(ASK b).....Protestant..... 57-1

(SKIP TO Q. 38)

Catholic..... -2

Jewish..... -3

Other(write in)..... -4

None..... -5

b. And what is your denomination?

Methodist.....58-1

Baptist..... -2

Presbyterian..... -3

Lutheran..... -4

Episcopalian..... -5

Congregationalist..... -6

Fundamentalist..... -7

Other (write in)..... -8

38. What was your age on your last birthday?

(WRITE IN AGE OF MALE HERE) Male

.....21-34.....59-2

.....35-49..... -3

.....50 Plus..... -4

(WRITE IN AGE OF FEMALE HERE) Female

.....21-34..... -7

.....35-49..... -8

.....50 Plus..... -9

39a. Are you married, widowed, divorced or single?

(ASK 39b)

Married..60-1

Widowed.. -2

Divorced.. -3

(SKIP TO Q. 40)....Single... -4

b. How many children do you have under 18 years of age?

None.....61-1

One..... -2

Two..... -3

Three..... -4

Four or over.. -5

RECORD THE FOLLOWING - DO NOT ASK

Race

Economic Level

White.....62-1

A.....63-1

Negro..... -2

B..... -2

Other..... -3

C..... -3

D..... -4

CHECK WHICH:

Male.....64-1

Female (Mrs.)... -2

(Miss)... -3