New Haven Community Study

(1959)
WHO GOVERNS?

Democracy and Power in an American City

BY ROBERT A. DAHL

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Questionnaire A

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1. First of all, I'd like to ask you some general questions. One of the things we're interested in is what people are concerned with these days. In your opinion what kinds of things do people around here talk about the most?

(IF NECESSARY, PROBE) Just, in general, what do people usually talk about?

2. As nearly as you can tell what kinds of things do people around here worry about the most?

3. What about you—what things are you most concerned with these days?

4. One of the things we're most interested in is the problems facing New Haven. In your opinion what are the most important problems in New Haven?

(IF NEEDED) Any other problems important in New Haven?

(1) _______________________________________________________________________

(2) _______________________________________________________________________

(3) _______________________________________________________________________

5. Now let me see if I have these right. (REPEAT THE PROBLEMS) First, ... (1)... do you have any particular views on that?

(1) _______________________________________________________________________

Second you mentioned ... (2)... do you have any particular views on that?

(2) _______________________________________________________________________

Then you mentioned ... (3) ... do you have any particular views on that?

(3) _______________________________________________________________________

6. Some people feel that political affairs are important and some people feel they are not so important. Thinking back over the last month or so would you say that you have been __________ very much interested in political affairs, __________ somewhat interested, or __________ not interested at all?

7. Generally speaking would you say that __________ you care a great deal about what goes on in politics, __________ that you care somewhat, or __________ that you don't care too much?

8. People get information about political affairs in different ways. Would you say that you get more of your information from newspapers, magazines, radio, television, or from talking with people?

magazines  newspapers  radio  television  talking with people

9. When you and your friends get together, do you ever talk about New Haven politics and local affairs? __________ Yes  __________ No

(IF YES)

9a. What kinds of political affairs do you talk about?

__________________________________________________________________________

10. Aside from personal contacts where do you think you get better information—from newspapers, radio, television, or magazines?

newspapers  radio  television  magazines

11. Of all the people you read or hear about is there anyone you admire very much?

11a. What is it about ... you admire?

__________________________________________________________________________
G1. I'd like to ask you a few questions about some men in politics and government. Could you tell me the names of the men who hold the following positions?

(a) Mayor of New Haven 

(b) Governor of Connecticut 

(c) The member of the United States House of Representatives from New Haven 

(d) Chairman of the local Democratic Party 

(e) Chairman of the local Republican Party 

(f) Alderman from your ward 

G2. In your opinion what kind of man makes the best political leader? 

G3. What kind of man makes the worst political leader? 

G4. If you had a son just getting out of school, would you like to see him go into politics as a lifework? 

Yes  No 

G5. We'd like to know what people think of government jobs and government workers too. If these jobs are about the same in kind of work, pay, and so forth, which have the most prestige?

(a) a stenographer in a life insurance company or a stenographer in a city tax assessor's office 

(b) an accountant in the New Haven Department of Public Works or an accountant in a private accounting firm 

(c) a night watchman in a bank or a night watchman in the City Hall 

(d) a doctor in the Veterans Administration Hospital or a doctor on the staff of a private hospital 

G6. Would you say that generally you get more courteous attention in dealing with city employees than in dealing with employees of big companies? Yes  No 

G7. In general, would you say that your dealings with public employees were excellent, good, fair, or poor? Excellent  Good  Fair  Poor 

G8. Assuming the pay is the same, would you prefer a job with the city government or with a private firm? 

D1. Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, or what? 

(DIA. Would you call yourself a strong ... or a not very strong ...? 

Yes  No 

DIB. Was there ever a time when you thought of yourself as a member of the other party? Yes  No 

DIC. (IF YES) When did you change? 

DID. If your party nominated a candidate you didn't like, would you vote for him anyway, vote for the candidate of the other party, or not vote at all? 

DIE. Do you feel you have much influence or little influence over what your political party does? Much  Little 

(DIF INDEPENDENT) 

DIF. Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican or the Democratic Party? 

Yes  No 

DIG. Was there ever a time when you thought of yourself as a Republican or a Democrat? Yes  No 

DII. (IF YES) Which party was that? 

DII. When did you change?
D12. Have you ever written or talked to your Congressman or Senator to let them know what you would like them to do on something you were interested in?  
  
☐ Yes ☐ No

D13. What about locally—have you ever contacted any local public officials or politicians to let them know what you would like them to do on something you were interested in?

  
☐ Yes ☐ No

(IF YES)

D13a. Whom did you contact? __________________________

D13b. What was it about? __________________________

D14. Do you know anyone personally who is active in the Democratic Party here in New Haven?  
  
☐ Yes ☐ No

(IF YES) D14a. Does he (she) hold an office in the party?

D15. Do you know anyone personally who is active in the Republican Party here in New Haven?  
  
☐ Yes ☐ No

(IF YES) D15a. Does he (she) hold an office in the party?

D16. During the past year or so have you yourself done anything actively in connection with some local issue or local problem—political or non-political?  
  
☐ Yes ☐ No

(IF YES)

D16a. What was that? __________________________

D16b. What did you do? __________________________
D17. In the past year or so have you had any contact with political or governmental officials in New Haven?  
☐ Yes  ☐ No

(IF YES)

D17a. What was it about? ___________________________

D17b. Whom did you contact? ___________________________

D17c. How did it come out? ___________________________

D17d. Were you satisfied with the treatment you got?  

H1. Three years ago, in 1956, you remember that Mr. Stevenson ran against Mr. Eisenhower. Do you remember whether or not you voted in that election?  

H1a. (IF YES, DID VOTE) Which one did you vote for? ________

H2. In 1957, here in New Haven, Mr. Lee ran for mayor against Mrs. Cook and Mr. Malkan. Do you remember whether or not you voted in that election?  

H3. Last year Mr. Ribicoff ran against Mr. Zeller for governor. Do you remember whether or not you voted in that election?  

H3a. (IF YES, DID VOTE) Which one did you vote for? ________

F1. Now I'd like to ask you about groups and organizations you may belong to here in New Haven. Do you belong to any organizations that take stands on local issues or are active in local affairs?  

(IF YES)

F1a. Which organizations?  

Organizations  Stands and activities  Officer

(1) __________________________

(2) __________________________

(3) __________________________

F1b. On what has ... taken stands?  

F1c. In what other ways has ... been active?  

F1d. Have you ever been an officer in any of these organizations?  

Fle. Are you an active member or inactive member of ...?  

(1) ________ Active  Inactive

F1f. (2) ________ Active  Inactive

F1g. (3) ________ Active  Inactive

F1h. As a member of ... do you feel you have much influence over the stands the organizations takes on public issues?  

(1) ________ Much  Little

F1i. (2) ________ Much  Little

F1j. (3) ________ Much  Little
F2. Now, I'd like to ask about some specific issues in New Haven. First, about the redevelopment program—would you say that redevelopment has been good or bad for New Haven?
☐ Good ☐ Qualified response ☐ Bad

F3. Is there anything in particular you like about the redevelopment program?

Anything else?

F4. Is there anything in particular you don't like about redevelopment?

Anything else?

F5. Are you a member of any organizations which have been concerned with redevelopment?
☐ Yes ☐ No

(IF YES)

F5a. Which organization?

F5b. Have you ever been an officer in any of these organizations?

F5c. As a member of ... do you feel you have much influence or little influence over the stands the organization takes on public issues?
☐ Much ☐ Little

F6. Do you ever talk about redevelopment with anyone.
☐ Yes ☐ No

(IF YES) F6a. With whom?

F7. Do you get information on redevelopment in other ways besides talking to people?
☐ Yes ☐ No

(IF YES) F7a. How?

F8. How about the school system—do you feel that the New Haven public schools are excellent, good, fair, or poor?
☐ Excellent ☐ Good ☐ Fair ☐ Poor

F9. Is there anything in particular you like about the New Haven public school system?

F10. Is there anything in particular you don't like about the public schools?

F11. Are you a member of any organizations which are concerned with the public schools in New Haven?
☐ Yes ☐ No

(IF YES)

F11a. Which organizations?

F11b. Have you ever been an officer in any of these organizations?

F11c. As a member of ... do you feel you have much influence or little influence over the stands the organizations take on public issues?
☐ Much ☐ Little

F12. Is there any particular way you keep informed on what's going on in the public schools in New Haven?
F13. Revision of the City Charter has been an issue twice in recent years in New Haven. Do you happen to be for or against revision of the City Charter?

☐ Yes, for ☐ Yes, against ☐ Neither

(IF EITHER FOR OR AGAINST) F13a. Is there any particular reason why you feel that way?

______________________________

F14. Are you a member of any organizations concerned with the revision of the City Charter?

☐ Yes ☐ No

(IF YES)

F14a. Which organizations?

______________________________

F14b. Have you ever been an officer in any of these organizations?

______________________________

F14c. As a member of ... do you feel you have much influence over the stands the organization takes on public issues?

☐ Much ☐ Little

F15. Do you happen to remember how you got information on the proposed revisions of the City Charter in the past?

______________________________

F16. Are you a member of any organizations concerned with the nominations of candidates for public office by the political parties?

☐ Yes ☐ No

(IF YES)

F16a. Which organizations?

______________________________

F16b. Have you ever been an officer in any of these organizations?

______________________________

F16c. As a member of ... do you feel you have much influence or little influence over the stands the organization takes on public issues?

☐ Much ☐ Little

F17. Is there any particular way you keep informed about what's going on in the political parties in New Haven?

______________________________

F18. In addition to the organizations you have already mentioned do you belong to any other clubs or organizations in New Haven?

☐ Yes ☐ No

(IF YES)

F18a. What are these organizations? (Officer)

(1) __________________________

(2) __________________________

(3) __________________________

F18b. Have you ever been an officer in any of these organizations?

______________________________

F18c. Are you an active member or inactive member of...?

(1) __________________________ ☐ Active ☐ Inactive

(2) __________________________ ☐ Active ☐ Inactive

(3) __________________________ ☐ Active ☐ Inactive

F19. In general how would you describe Mayor Lee?

______________________________

F20. Is there anything in particular you like about Mayor Lee?

______________________________

______________________________
F21. Is there anything in particular you don't like about Mayor Lee?

F22. Are there things Mayor Lee has done that you particularly like?

F23. Are there things Mayor Lee has done that you particularly don't like?

F24. Now, I'm going to ask you to imagine certain situations that might occur here in New Haven, and then I'll ask you to tell me what you think ought to be done under these circumstances. First, what do you think ought to be done if the city was considering the redevelopment of this area and you would have to move.

(FIF ACTION SUGGESTED BY R) Would you personally do anything?

F25. What do you think ought to be done if the city decided to give financial aid to the Catholic schools?

(FIF ACTION SUGGESTED BY R) Would you personally do anything?

F26. What do you think ought to be done if a revision of the City Charter was proposed which would make the mayor stronger?

(FIF ACTION SUGGESTED BY R) Would you personally do anything?

F27. What do you think ought to be done if the high school and grade school teachers went on strike against the city?

(FIF ACTION SUGGESTED BY R) Would you personally do anything?

F28. What do you think ought to be done if the mayor began doing things you didn't like?

(FIF ACTION SUGGESTED BY R) Would you personally do anything?

F29. What do you think ought to be done if more businesses began leaving New Haven?

(FIF ACTION SUGGESTED BY R) Would you personally do anything?

F30. What do you think ought to be done if the city were to increase the amount of welfare payments?

(FIF ACTION SUGGESTED BY R) Would you personally do anything?
F31. What do you think ought to be done if you heard that the nominations in your party had been made dishonestly?

__________________________

(IF ACTION SUGGESTED BY R) Would you personally do anything?

__________________________

E1. Here are some statements about local politics and government. Now I'd like to read them to you 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.

Ela. People like me don't have any say about what the local government does. [Agree] [Disagree]

Elb. Voting is the only way that people like me can have a say about how the local government runs things. [Agree] [Disagree]

Elc. It isn't so important to vote when you know your party doesn't have a chance to win. [Agree] [Disagree]

Eld. So many people vote in local elections that it doesn't matter much to me whether I vote or not. [Agree] [Disagree]

Ele. Sometimes local politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on. [Agree] [Disagree]

Elf. If a person doesn't care how an election comes out he shouldn't vote in it. [Agree] [Disagree]

Elg. A good many local elections aren't important enough to bother with. [Agree] [Disagree]

Elh. I don't think local public officials care much what people like me think. [Agree] [Disagree]

P5. Do you own your home here, rent, or what?

[ ] Own  [ ] Rent  [ ] other

P6. Were you brought up mostly on a farm, in a town, or in a city?

[ ] Farm  [ ] Town  [ ] City

P7. Where were you born?

__________________________

P8. Were both your parents born in this country? [ ] Yes  [ ] No

(IF YES)

P8a. Which country did your father's parents come from?

__________________________

P8b. Which country did your mother's parents come from?

__________________________

(IF NO)

P8c. Which country was your father born in?

__________________________

P8d. Which country was your mother born in?

__________________________

P9. What was your father's occupation while you were growing up?

__________________________

P10. Do you take any newspapers here? [ ] Yes  [ ] No

(IF YES) Which ones? [ ] Journal-Courier  [ ] Evening-Register  [ ] others

P11. Do you have television here? [ ] Yes  [ ] No

(IF YES) About how many hours do you watch a day?

__________________________

P12. Do you have a radio in the house or in a car? [ ] Yes  [ ] No

(IF YES) About how many hours do you listen a day?

__________________________

P13. Most people we talk to say they belong either to the middle class or the working class. Do you ever think of yourself as being in one of these classes?

__________________________
(IF NEEDED) Which class?

Would you say that you are about an average ... class person or that you are in the upper part of the ... class?

P14. Are you a member of a labor union? ☐ Yes ☐ No

P15. About how old are you? _______________________

P16. How many grades of school did you finish? ________

P17. What is your religious preference?

☐ Protestant/ ☐ Catholic/ ☐ Jewish/ ☐ other ______

P18. Are you married, single, divorced, separated, or widowed?

☐ Married/ ☐ Single/ ☐ Divorced/ ☐ Separated/ ☐ Widowed

P19. What is your occupation?

P19a. (IF R IS UNEMPLOYED) What kind of work do you usually do?

P19b. (IF R IS RETIRED) What kind of work did you do before you retired?

(ASK ONLY IF R IS NOT THE HEAD OF THE HOUSEHOLD)

P20. What kind of work does the head of household do?

P20a. (IF HEAD IS UNEMPLOYED) What kind of work does he (she) usually do?

P20b. (IF HEAD IS RETIRED) What kind of work did he (she) do before retiring?

P21. What was the first full-time job you held? ________

P22. About how much income will you and your immediate family make this year? I mean before taxes?

(IF R REFUSES) Could you tell me whether your income will be less than $2,000, from $2,000 to $5,000, from $5,000 to $8,000, or over $8,000?