American National Election Study, 2000:
Pre- and Post-Election Survey

Data Collection Instrument

Nancy Burns, Donald R. Kinder, Steven J. Rosenstone,
Virginia Sapiro, and the National Election Studies

AMERICAN NATIONAL ELECTION STUDY, 2000:
PRE- AND POST-ELECTION SURVEY

(ICPSR 3131)

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DATA COLLECTION DESCRIPTION

Nancy Burns, Donald R. Kinder, Steven J. Rosenstone, Virginia Sapiro, and the National Election Studies
    AMERICAN NATIONAL ELECTION STUDY, 2000: PRE- AND POST-ELECTION SURVEY (ICPSR 3131)

SUMMARY: This study is part of a time-series collection of national surveys fielded continuously since 1952. The election studies are designed to present data on Americans' social backgrounds, enduring political predispositions, social and political values, perceptions and evaluations of groups and candidates, opinions on questions of public policy, and participation in political life. The 2000 National Election Study (NES) entailed both a pre-election interview and a post-election reinterview. A freshly drawn cross-section of the electorate was taken to yield 1,807 cases. Because the study includes a carefully designed mode experiment, the data represent two presidential studies in 2000, side by side. The core study preserves the past commitment to probability area sampling and face-to-face interviewing: 1,000 respondents were interviewed prior to the election and 694 were reinterviewed face-to-face after the election. Supporting the core study, random-digit dial sampling and telephone interviewing were used: 803 respondents were interviewed by phone prior to the election and 862 respondents were interviewed by phone after the election. As such, the experiment examines the differences between the two modes and provides a preview of what shifting to telephone interviewing will mean for the NES time-series. The content of the 2000 election study reflects its dual purpose as a traditional presidential election year time-series data collection and as a mode study. Many of the substantive themes included in the 2000 questionnaires are a continuation of past topics. Interest in politics and the election was examined through questions regarding interest in the political campaigns, concern about the outcome, attentiveness to the media's coverage of the campaign, and information about politics. Respondents' knowledge of candidates and the political parties was ascertained through questions evaluating the presidential candidates and placement of presidential candidates on various issue dimensions, knowledge of the religious background of the major presidential and vice-presidential candidates, partisanship and evaluations of the political parties, and knowledge of and evaluation of United States House and United States Senate candidates. Respondents were also asked about their political participation (in the November general election and in other forms of electoral campaign activity), and their choice for president, the United States House, and the United States Senate, as well as second choice for president. Respondents were also asked about the

Clinton legacy and knowledge of George Bush Sr. and his administration. Additional items focused on respondents' perceptions of personal and national economic well-being, their positions on social welfare issues (including government health insurance, federal budget priorities, and the role of government in the provision of jobs and a good standard of living), campaign finance and preference for divided government, social issues (including gun control, abortion, women's roles, the rights of homosexuals, the death penalty, school vouchers, environmental policy), racial and ethnic stereotypes, affirmative action, attitudes toward immigrants, and views on the nation's most important problem. Respondents' values and political predispositions (including moral traditionalism, political efficacy, egalitarianism, humanitarianism, individualism, and trust in government), views on fairness in elections, satisfaction with democracy, and the value of voting were also assessed. Other questions addressed social altruism, social connectedness, feeling thermometers on a wide range of political figures and political groups, affinity with various social groups, and detailed demographic information and measures of religious affiliation and religiosity. Several new concepts were also addressed in the 2000 study and include measures of social trust derived from perceptions of the trustworthiness of neighbors and coworkers. Voter turnout was also investigated with expanded response categories to help respondents be more accurate in determining whether they did in fact vote in November 2000. The concept of political knowledge was also addressed with new instructions encouraging respondents to take their best guesses when answering the political knowledge questions. The 2000 study also incorporated a social network battery, based entirely on the perceptions of survey respondents regarding the characteristics of their identified discussants. Two brief but reliable measures of cognitive style, the need for cognition and the need to evaluate, were also included in this study. Another important feature of the 2000 NES is the mode experiment, which supplies the ability to compare interviews taken in person with interviews taken over the phone. This carefully designed mode experiment, driven by theoretical and practical interest, allows scholars to test the consequences of survey mode on data quality and reliability. The 2000 study incorporates numerous experiments that examine the effects of mode: 7-point scales and branching, response order, "don't know" filters, and social desirability. Demographic variables include gender, race, employment status, and length of residency in the community.

UNIVERSE: All United States citizens of voting age on or before Election Day (November 6, 2000), residing in housing units other than on military reservations in the 48 coterminous states.

SAMPLING: National multistage area probability sample.

NOTE: (1) The SAS transport file was created using the SAS CPORT procedure. (2) The codebook and data collection instrument are provided as Portable Document Format (PDF) files. The PDF file format was developed by Adobe Systems Incorporated and can be accessed using PDF reader software, such as the Adobe Acrobat Reader. Information on how to obtain a copy of the Acrobat Reader is provided on the ICPSR Web site.

EXTENT OF COLLECTION: 1 data file + machine-readable documentation (PDF) + SAS data definition statements + SPSS data definition statements + data collection instrument (PDF)

EXTENT OF PROCESSING: CONCHK.PR/ MDATA.PR/ UNDOCCHK.PR/ REFORM.DOC

DATA FORMAT: Logical Record Length with SAS and SPSS data definition statements with SAS transport file and SPSS export file

File Structure: rectangular
Cases: 1,807
Variables: 1,904
Record Length: 3,093
Records Per Case: 1

2000 NES Pre-election Questionnaire w/ QxQ and Final Variable Nos.

FTF and RDD *(telephone in bold italics with flag T)*

<u>orange underlined</u> – highlighted on laptop screen
⟹ Surveycraft QxQ text
** see note at end

RELEASE VARIABLE NUMBER

SECTION A

A1-A2 - CURRENT CAMPAIGN/ELECTION

A1.   Spec: **130__**   **V000301**

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

1 VERY MUCH INTERESTED
3 SOMEWHAT INTERESTED
5 NOT MUCH INTERESTED
8 DON'T KNOW

A2.   Spec: **131__**   **V000302**

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

1 CARE A GOOD DEAL
3 DON'T CARE VERY MUCH
8 DON'T KNOW

A3 - LAST PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

A3.   Spec: **132___**   **V000303**

In 1996 Bill Clinton ran on the Democratic ticket against Bob Dole for the Republicans, and Ross Perot as
an independent candidate. Do you remember for sure whether or not you voted in that election?
[DO NOT PROBE 'DK' RESPONSE]

1 YES, VOTED
5 NO, DIDN'T VOTE   →SKIP TO A4/A5
8 DON'T KNOW   -->SKIP A4/A5

⟹ Do not probe DON'T KNOW responses on either A3 or A3a

   A3a.   Spec: **133__**   **V000304**
   (IF YES)

Which one did you vote for? [DO NOT PROBE 'DK' RESPONSE]

1 BILL CLINTON
3 BOB DOLE
5 ROSS PEROT
7 OTHER (SPECIFY)
8 DON'T KNOW

⟹ Do not probe DON'T KNOW responses on either A3 or A3a

1

A4-A5 - PRES. CAND LIKES-DISLIKES

A4. (Now I'd like to ask you about the good and bad points of the major candidates for President.)

<u>**R**ANDOMIZE ORDER OF **A4**A-**A4**D SERIES / **A5**A-**A5**D SERIES</u>

A4a.   **Spec: 138__**   **V000305**

Is there anything in particular about Vice President Al Gore that might make you want to vote for him?

1 YES.
5 NO,   →SKIP TO A4c
8 DON'T KNOW   -->SKIP TO A4c

⇒ Here, we want to get as complete a picture as possible of what R feels are the positive and negative characteristics of the major party candidates for the presidency. Therefore, if R mentions only one thing, probe "Anything else?", and continue probing until R says "NO." This probe is written into the questions.

⇒ Specificity probes are also particularly important for this set of questions. You are likely to get responses such as: "I like his stand on issues" – we want to know what issues and what stands; "He is a better candidate" – but why is he better?; or "He favors certain interests" – which interests?
We'd also like you to probe a little behind the standard adjectives, clichés, and slogans that are used. When R gives such response as "He is more progressive" or "It's time for a change" use such probes as: "Can you give me some examples of what you mean?" [Record this probe "GE".], etc. We recognize the necessity, however, of not forcing R to respond beyond the point at which s/he has something meaningful to say. It is very important to set the tone here. Also, the probing should not be carried to the point of being offensive and irritating to the R who cannot provide more particulars.

⇒ A4 is R's first experience with an open-ended question, and therefore will be the most difficult for both you and the R. Nail R down on this one, get him/her to give you what you need to know on this question, and the rest will be much easier – the respondent will have learned how to answer the question and what kind of information you need.

     A4b.   **Spec: 139__**   **V000306-0310**
     (IF YES)
     (What is that?) (Probe: Anything else? Until R says "NO")
     _____*OPENEND*_____

A4c.   **Spec: 140__**   **V000311**

Is there anything in particular about Al Gore that might make you want to vote against him?

1 YES.
5 NO,   →SKIP TO A5a or A6
8 DON'T KNOW   -->SKIP TO A5a or A6

⇒ Here, we want to get as complete a picture as possible of what R feels are the positive and negative characteristics of the major party candidates for the presidency. Therefore, if R mentions only one thing, probe "Anything else?", and continue probing until R says "NO." This probe is written into the questions.

⇒ Specificity probes are also particularly important for this set of questions. You are likely to get responses such as: "I like his stand on issues" – we want to know what issues and what stands; "He is a better candidate" – but why is he better?; or "He favors certain interests" – which interests?
We'd also like you to probe a little behind the standard adjectives, clichés, and slogans that are used. When R gives such response as "He is more progressive" or "It's time for a change" use such probes as: "Can you give me some examples of what you mean?" [Record this probe "GE".], etc. We recognize the necessity, however, of not forcing R to respond beyond the point at which s/he has something meaningful to say. It is

very important to set the tone here. Also, the probing should not be carried to the point of being offensive and irritating to the R who cannot provide more particulars.

⇒ A4 is R's first experience with an open-ended question, and therefore will be the most difficult for both you and the R. Nail R down on this one, get him/her to give you what you need to know on this question, and the rest will be much easier – the respondent will have learned how to answer the question and what kind of information you need.

A4d.
 (IF YES)
(What is that?) (Probe: Anything else? Until R says "NO")
_____*OPENEND*_____

A5a.
Is there anything in particular about Texas Governor George W. Bush that might make you want to vote for him?

1 YES,	
5 NO,	→SKIP TO A5c
8 DON'T KNOW	-->SKIP TO A5c

⇒ Here, we want to get as complete a picture as possible of what R feels are the positive and negative characteristics of the major party candidates for the presidency. Therefore, if R mentions only one thing, probe "Anything else?", and continue probing until R says "NO." This probe is written into the questions.

⇒ Specificity probes are also particularly important for this set of questions. You are likely to get responses such as: "I like his stand on issues" – we want to know what issues and what stands; "He is a better candidate" – but why is he better?; or "He favors certain interests" – which interests?
We'd also like you to probe a little behind the standard adjectives, clichés, and slogans that are used. When R gives such response as "He is more progressive" or "It's time for a change" use such probes as: "Can you give me some examples of what you mean?" [Record this probe "GE".], etc. We recognize the necessity, however, of not forcing R to respond beyond the point at which s/he has something meaningful to say. It is very important to set the tone here. Also, the probing should not be carried to the point of being offensive and irritating to the R who cannot provide more particulars.

⇒ A4 is R's first experience with an open-ended question, and therefore will be the most difficult for both you and the R. Nail R down on this one, get him/her to give you what you need to know on this question, and the rest will be much easier – the respondent will have learned how to answer the question and what kind of information you need.

A5b.
 (IF YES)
(What is that?) (Probe: Anything else? Until R says "NO")
_____*OPENEND*_____

A5c.
Is there anything in particular about George W. Bush that might make you want to vote against him?

1 YES,	
5 NO,	→SKIP TO A4a or A6
8 DON'T KNOW	-->SKIP TO A4a or A6

A5d.
 (IF YES)
(What is that?) (Probe: Anything else? Until R says "NO")
_____*OPENEND*_____

A6.   Spec: **149__**   **V000329**

How many days in the past week did you watch the national network news on TV?

0 NONE   → SKIP TO A7
1 ONE DAY
2 TWO DAYS
3 THREE DAYS
4 FOUR DAYS
5 FIVE DAYS
6 SIX DAYS
7 EVERY DAY
8 DON'T KNOW

⇒ These are traditional items regarding R's attention to – and potential influence by – the media.
The questions ask for number of days, not number of times.
⇒ We are interested in full-length national programs (not "News Break")
Response options include numbers, use 7 for EVERY DAY.

A6a.   Spec: **150__**   **V000330**
(IF ANY DAYS/DK)
Please look at page 1 of the booklet.
How much attention do you pay to news on national news shows about the campaign for President –
a great deal, quite a bit, some, very little, or none?

T   *A6a.T*
(IF ANY DAYS/DK)
How much attention do you pay to news on national news shows about the campaign for President –
a great deal, quite a bit, some, very little, or none?
1 A GREAT DEAL
2 QUITE A BIT
3 SOME
4 VERY LITTLE
5 NONE
8 DON'T KNOW

A7.   Spec: **151__**   **V000331**

How many days in the past week did you watch the local TV news shows such as "Eyewitness News" or
"Action News" in the late afternoon or early-evening?

0 NONE
1 ONE DAY
2 TWO DAYS
3 THREE DAYS
4 FOUR DAYS
5 FIVE DAYS
6 SIX DAYS
7 EVERY DAY
8 DON'T KNOW

⇒ These are traditional items regarding R's attention to – and potential influence by – the media.
The questions ask for number of days, not number of times.
⇒ Full-length local (city/town at or near R) news is what is being asked about. The question text
refers to two common names for local news shows.
⇒ An important component of this question is to get a measure of what time they are sitting in front
of the TV. However, the terms "early" and "late" evening are relative to the respondent; early evening

4

means whatever it means to the respondent.

A8.

How many days <u>in the past week</u> did you watch the <u>local</u> TV news shows in the <u>late evening</u>?

0 NONE
1 ONE DAY
2 TWO DAYS
3 THREE DAYS
4 FOUR DAYS
5 FIVE DAYS
6 SIX DAYS
7 EVERY DAY
8 DON'T KNOW

⇒ These are traditional items regarding R's attention to – and potential influence by – the media.
The questions ask for number of days, not number of times.

⇒ Full-length local (city/town at or near R) news is what is being asked about. The question text refers to two common names for local news shows.
An important component of this question is to get a measure of what time they are sitting in front of the TV.
However, the terms "early" and "late" evening are relative to the respondent; early evening means whatever it means to the respondent.

A8a.

(IF NUMBER OF DAYS WATCHED IS NOT 0 FOR BOTH EARLY AND LATE LOCAL NEWS)

Please look at page 1 of the booklet. How much attention do you pay to news on <u>local</u> news shows about the campaign for President -- a great deal, quite a bit, some, very little, or none?

T   *A8a. T*
(IF NUMBER OF DAYS WATCHED IS NOT 0 FOR BOTH EARLY AND LATE LOCAL NEWS)
How much attention do you pay to news on <u>local</u> news shows about the campaign for President –
a great deal, quite a bit, some, very little, or none?

1 A GREAT DEAL
2 QUITE A BIT
3 SOME
4 VERY LITTLE
5 NONE
8 DON'T KNOW

A9.

Do you have either cable or satellite television?

1 YES
5 NO
8 DON'T KNOW

⇒ Satellite can refer to the small disk (DBS=direct broadcast satellite) as well as large free standing ones.
Cable service is where the television is connected to a wire that comes into the house from a utility pole and the resident pays a monthly fee to the company that provides the cable. It doesn't necessarily mean that R gets cable channels like HBO or CNN. Some people only get cable so that the signal from the local broadcast television stations comes in more clearly.

A10.

How many days <u>in the past week</u> did you read a daily newspaper?

0 NONE	→SKIP TO A11
1 ONE DAY	
2 TWO DAYS	

3 THREE DAYS
4 FOUR DAYS
5 FIVE DAYS
6 SIX DAYS
7 EVERY DAY
8 DON'T KNOW

⇒ These are traditional items regarding R's attention to – and potential influence by – the media. The questions ask for number of days, not number of times.

⇒ We are asking about the number of days R reads a newspaper, not the number of papers. We're interested in daily newspapers, as opposed to weekly papers.

A10a.   Spec: **156__**   **V000336**
(IF ANY DAYS/DK)

Did you read about the campaign in any newspaper?
1 YES
5 NO   -->SKIP TO A11
8 DON'T KNOW   -->SKIP TO A11

⇒ We mean the campaign in general, not just last week.

A10b.   Spec: **157__**   **V000337**
(IF YES)

(Please look at page 1 of the booklet.) How much attention do you pay to newspaper articles about the campaign for President -- a great deal, quite a bit, some, very little, or none?

T

A10b.T
(IF YES)

How much attention do you pay to newspaper articles about the campaign for President – a great deal, quite a bit, some, very little, or none?
1 A GREAT DEAL
2 QUITE A BIT
3 SOME
4 VERY LITTLE
5 NONE
8 DON'T KNOW

A11.   Spec: **158__**   **V000338**

Do you recall seeing any ads for political candidates on television this fall?
1 YES
5 NO
8 DON'T KNOW

⇒ We're thinking of THIS year's campaign.

| **A12 - APPROVE PRESIDENT** |

A12.   Spec: **159__**   **V000339**

Do you approve or disapprove of the way Bill Clinton is handling his job as president?
1 APPROVE
5 DISAPPROVE
8 DON'T KNOW   -->SKIP TO B1

⇒ The format of these questions is identical to that used in the Gallup Polls. Therefore, we want to use the present format to ensure comparability with Gallup. Respondents may want to know if "approve" means the same as "satisfied" (Answer: "Whatever it means to you"), or whether they can choose a

middle category (Answer: "Well, in general, which is closer to the way you feel?" Repeat question).

A12a.   Spec: **160__**   **V000340**
(IF ANSWER IS NOT DK/REF)
Strongly or not strongly?
1 STRONGLY
5 NOT STRONGLY
8 DK

                                                                          V000341 SUMMARY

SECTION B

B1-B3 - CANDIDATE RECALL

B1.   Spec: **171__**   **V000342**
As you know, representatives to Congress in Washington are being chosen in this election from congressional
districts all around the country. How much would you say that you personally care about the way the election
to the U.S. House of Representatives comes out: do you care very much, pretty much, not very much or not at all?
1 VERY MUCH
2 PRETTY MUCH
3 NOT VERY MUCH
4 NOT AT ALL
8 DK

B2.   Spec: **172__**   **V000343**
Do you happen to remember the names of the candidates for Congress -- that is, for the House of
Representatives in Washington -- who are running in the November election from this district?
1 YES
5 NO   → SKIP TO B3
8 DK   → SKIP TO B3
⇒ If a respondent remembers the name of just one candidate, that still qualifies as a "YES"
response. Probe the response.

B2a., B2b., B2c.   Spec:**173,175,177** **V000344,0348,0352**
(IF YES)
Who are they? (PROBE: Any others?)
_____*OPENEND*_____
⇒ Enter name, then probe, if needed, for party. Probe for additional names until R says
she/he can't think of more. Accept any name R gives you, even if you know it to be a "wrong"
answer. If R gives a party other than Democrat or Republican for a candidate, use the F2
comment key while in the Democrat response option to enter the name of the other party.
When you pres enter to continue, you will see a "note" symbol in the Democrat response option.

B2a1., B2b1, B2c1.   Spec:**174,176,178** **V000345,0349,0353**
(IF YES)
(ASK FOR EACH NAME GIVEN) What is [NAME'S] party?
1 DEMOCRAT
2 REPUBLICAN

7

7 OTHER PARTY; SPECIFY
8 DK

V000346,0350,0354 **[party]**
V000347,0351,0355 **[accuracy]**

B3.   Spec: **180_**   V000356

Do you approve or disapprove of the way the U.S. Congress has been handling its job?

1 APPROVE
5 DISAPPROVE
8 DON'T KNOW   -->SKIP TO C1

B3a.   Spec: **181__**   V000357
(IF B3 NOT DK/REF)
Strongly or not strongly?
1 STRONGLY
5 NOT STRONGLY
8 DK

V000358 **SUMMARY**

SECTION C

C1-C2 - THERMOMETERS

ADMINISTER C1A FIRST. NEXT, RANDOMIZE AND ADMINISTER C1B-C1E, THEN RANDOMIZE AND ADMINISTER C1F-C1G, THEN RANDOMIZE AND ADMINISTER C1H-C1J, THEN ADMINISTER C1K. NEXT, RANDOMIZE AND ADMINISTER C2A-C2C. FINALLY, ADMINISTER C2D.

C1.

Please look at page 2 of the booklet. I'd like to get your feelings toward some of our political leaders and other people who are in the news these days. I'll read the name of a person and I'd like you to rate that person using something we call the feeling thermometer. Ratings between 50 degrees and 100 degrees mean that you feel favorable and warm toward the person. Ratings between 0 degrees and 50 degrees mean that you don't feel favorable toward the person and that you don't care too much for that person. You would rate the person at the 50 degree mark if you don't feel particularly warm or cold toward the person. If we come to a person whose name you don't recognize, you don't need to rate that person. Just tell me and we'll move on to the next one.
PROBE FOR DON'T KNOW RESPONSE: When you say "don't know" do you mean that you don't know who the person is or do you have something else in mind?

𝑻 *C1.T*
I'd like to get your feelings toward some of our political leaders and other people who are in the news these days. I'll read the name of a person and I'd like you to rate that person using something we call the feeling thermometer. The feeling thermometer can rate people from 0 to 100 degrees.

Ratings between 50 degrees and 100 degrees mean that you feel favorable and warm toward the person. Ratings between 0 degrees and 50 degrees mean that you don't feel favorable toward the person. Rating the person at the midpoint, the 50 degree mark, means you don't feel particularly warm or cold toward the person. If we come to a person whose name you don't recognize, you don't need to rate that person. Just tell me and we'll move on to the next one.
PROBE FOR DON'T KNOW RESPONSE: When you say "don't know" do you mean that you don't know who the person is or do you have something else in mind?

C1a.　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　**Spec: 196_1**　　　　**V000359**
(Looking at page 2 of the booklet) (How would you rate:)
Bill Clinton
𝑻 **C1a.T**

The first person is
Bill Clinton
Where on that feeling thermometer would you rate Bill Clinton?

C1b.　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　**Spec: 196_2**　　　　**V000360**
(Looking at page 2 of the booklet) (How would you rate:)
Al Gore
𝑻 **C1b.T**

The next person is
Al Gore
(Where on that feeling thermometer would you rate him?)

C1c.　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　**Spec: 196_3**　　　　**V000361**
(Looking at page 2 of the booklet) (How would you rate:)
George W. Bush
𝑻 **C1c.T**

The next person is
George W. Bush
 (Where on that feeling thermometer would you rate him?)

C1d.　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　**Spec: 196_4**　　　　**V000362**
(Looking at page 2 of the booklet) (How would you rate:)
Pat Buchanan
𝑻 **C1d.T**

The next person is
Pat Buchanan
 (Where on that feeling thermometer would you rate him?)

C1e.　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　**Spec: 196_5**　　　　**V000363**
(Looking at page 2 of the booklet) (How would you rate:)
Ralph Nader

𝒯 C1e.T

The next person is
Ralph Nader
 (Where on that feeling thermometer would you rate him?)

C1f.   Spec: **196_6**   **V000364**

(Looking at page 2 of the booklet) (How would you rate:)
John McCain

𝒯 C1f.T

The next person is
John McCain
 (Where on that feeling thermometer would you rate him?)

C1g.   Spec: **196_7**   **V000365**

(Looking at page 2 of the booklet) (How would you rate:)
Bill Bradley

𝒯 C1g.T

The next person is
Bill Bradley
 (Where on that feeling thermometer would you rate him?)

C1h.   Spec: **196_8**   **V000366**

(Looking at page 2 of the booklet) (How would you rate:)
Joseph Lieberman

𝒯 C1hT

The next person is
Joseph Lieberman
 (Where on that feeling thermometer would you rate him?)

C1j.   Spec: **196_9**   **V000367**

(Looking at page 2 of the booklet) (How would you rate:)
Dick Cheney

𝒯 C1j.T

The next person is
Dick Cheney
 (Where on that feeling thermometer would you rate him?)

C1k.   Spec: **196_10**   **V000368**

(Looking at page 2 of the booklet) (How would you rate:)
Hillary Clinton

10

T C1k.T

The next person is
Hillary Clinton
 (Where on that feeling thermometer would you rate her?)

0-100
997 DON'T RECOGNIZE
998 DK WHERE TO RATE

⇒ In this study we are using the feeling thermometer to measure R's feeling toward important political figures. The list of political figures includes the Democrat and Republican congressional and senatorial candidates, some possible future candidates, and some other national figures.

⇒ Make sure that warmth of feeling is not equated with anger. In order to avoid such a   mix-up, make ure that R understand that warm or favorable is the same as "liking" someone and cold means "disliking."

⇒ If R asks what capacity (NAME) is to be rated on (e.g., his personality? His performance in office?), we mean "In general…"

⇒ We want the rating entered in degrees in the SurveyCraft questionnaire. If R wants to select a degree level that is not pictured on the feeling thermometer in the Respondent Booklet (for example, 93 degrees) in order to indicate more accurately his/her feeling toward a person, by all means let him/her do so and record this response to the exact degree. The marks in the RB are merely anchors.

⇒ Any whole number from 0 to 100 is acceptable. Answers outside the 0 to 100 scale are not acceptable. If a respondent wants to select a range, you can inform him or her that the computer will only accept a whole number.

C2.

Still using the thermometer, how would you rate:

C2a.   **Spec: 201_1**   **V000369**
the Democratic Party

C2b.   **Spec: 201_2**   **V000370**
the Republican Party

C2c.   **Spec: 201_3**   **V000371**
the Reform Party

C2d.   **Spec: 201_4**   **V000372**
Political parties in general

0-100
997 DON'T RECOGNIZE
998 DK WHERE TO RATE

<u>SECTION D</u>

D1-D4 - PARTY LIKES-DISLIKES

RANDOMIZE ORDER OF THE TWO SERIES (D1-D2 SEREIS AND D3-D4 SERIES),
'DISLIKE' QUESTION ALWAYS FOLLOWS THE 'LIKE' QUESTION IN EACH SERIES.

D0.
I'd like to ask you what you think are the good and bad points about the two national parties.

D1.

Is there anything in particular that you like about the Democratic party?

1 YES,
5 NO,   →SKIP TO D2
8 DON'T KNOW   -->SKIP TO D2

⇒ Here we want to get as complete a picture as possible of what R feels are the positive and negative characteristics of the two parties. Probe "Anything else (you like about the Democratic Party)?" until R tells you "no."

⇒ Specificity probes are also particularly important for this set of questions. You are likely to get responses such as: "I like the party's stand on issues" – we want to know what issues and what stands; "It is a better party" – but why? [Use the "GE" probe.]

> **D1a.**
>
> **(IF YES)**
>
> (IF NECESSARY: What is that?) (PROBE: "Anything else you like about the Democratic party?" UNTIL R SAYS "NO.")
>
> _____*OPENEND*_____

D2.

Is there anything in particular that you don't like about the Democratic party?

1 YES,
5 NO,   →SKIP TO D3 or D5
8 DON'T KNOW   -->SKIP TO D3 or D5

⇒ Here we want to get as complete a picture as possible of what R feels are the positive and negative characteristics of the two parties. Probe "Anything else (you like about the Democratic Party)?" until R tells you "no."

⇒ Specificity probes are also particularly important for this set of questions. You are likely to get responses such as: "I like the party's stand on issues" – we want to know what issues and what stands; "It is a better party" – but why? [Use the "GE" probe.]

> **D2a.**
>
> **(IF YES)**
>
> (IF NECESSARY: What is that?) (PROBE: "Anything else you don't like about the Democratic party?" UNTIL R SAYS "NO.")
>
> _____*OPENEND*_____

D3.

Is there anything in particular that you like about the Republican party?

1 YES,
5 NO,   →SKIP TO D4
8 DON'T KNOW   -->SKIP TO D4

⇒ Here we want to get as complete a picture as possible of what R feels are the positive and negative characteristics of the two parties. Probe "Anything else (you like about the Democratic Party)?" until R tells you "no."

⇒ Specificity probes are also particularly important for this set of questions. You are likely to get responses such as: "I like the party's stand on issues" – we want to know what issues and what stands; "It is a better party" – but why? [Use the "GE" probe.]

D3a. Spec: **223__**   V000386-0390

(IF YES)

(IF NECESSARY: What is that?) (PROBE: "Anything else you like about the
Republican party?" UNTIL R SAYS "NO.")

_____*OPENEND*_____

D4. Spec: **224__**   V000391

Is there anything in particular that you don't like about the Republican party?

1 YES,
5 NO,   →SKIP TO D1 or D5
8 DON'T KNOW   -->SKIP TO D1 or D5

⇒ Here we want to get as complete a picture as possible of what R feels are the positive and negative
characteristics of the two parties. Probe "Anything else (you like about the Democratic Party)?" until R
tells you "no."

⇒ Specificity probes are also particularly important for this set of questions. You are likely to get responses
such as: "I like the party's stand on issues" – we want to know what issues and what stands; "It is a better
party" – but why? [Use the "GE" probe.]

D4a. Spec: **225__**   V000392-0396

(IF YES)

(IF NECESSARY: What is that?) (PROBE: "Anything else you don't like about the
Republican party?" UNTIL R SAYS "NO.")

_____*OPENEND*_____

<div style="text-align:center; color:red; font-weight:bold">D5 - PARTY CONTROL</div>

D5. Spec: **227__**   V000397

Do you think it is better when one party controls both the presidency and Congress, better when control is
split between the Democrats and Republicans, or doesn't it matter?

1 BETTER WHEN ONE PARTY CONTROLS BOTH
3 BETTER WHEN CONTROL IS SPLIT
5 IT DOESN'T MATTER
8 DK

<div style="text-align:center"><u>**SECTION E**</u></div>

<div style="text-align:center; color:red; font-weight:bold">E1-E3 - R'S FINANCIAL SITUATION</div>

RESPONDENT IS RANDOMLY SELECTED TO GET SECTION E IN PRE OR POST.

E1. Spec: **241__**   V000398

We are interested in how people are getting along financially these days. Would you say that you (and your
are better off, worse off, or just about the same financially as you were a year ago?

☎ E1.T

We are interested in how people are getting along financially these days. Would you say that you (and your family) are better off, worse off, or just about the same financially as you were <u>a year ago</u>?

1 BETTER	
3 WORSE	Skip to →E1b
5 THE SAME	Skip to →E2
8 DK	Skip to E2

⇒ We think economics is an extremely powerful factor in how people assess issues, candidates, and the government. These questions have to do with R's personal economics -- how things are going for R and R's family.

⇒ If R says they are "better off" in some respects and "worse off" in others, probe by asking, "Overall, would you say…" Remember, this series is about circumstances particular to the R and need not be linked to national economic trends and events.

⇒ R's loss of a job, the sale of some property -- these are quite appropriate for R to be thinking about at this point. However, we do not need to have all of R's spoken mental calculations recorded. It's what he/she decides that is important, not how he/she got there (unless you have strong reason to believe that s/he has misunderstood the questions).

E1a.   Spec: **242__**   **V000399**
(IF BETTER)

Much better or somewhat better?

1 MUCH BETTER	SKIP to →E2
5 SOMEWHAT BETTER	SKIP to →E2
8 DK	Skip to E2

E1b.   Spec: **243__**   **V000400**
(IF WORSE)

Much worse or somewhat worse?

1 MUCH WORSE
5 SOMEWHAT WORSE
8 DK

V000401 SUMMARY

E2.   Spec: **244__**   **V000402**

<u>In the past year</u> did you (or anyone in your family living here) put off medical or dental treatment because ou didn't have the money?

☎ E2.T

<u>In the past year</u> did you (or anyone in your family) put off medical or dental treatment because you didn't have the money?

1 YES,
5 NO,
8 DK

E3.   Spec: **245__**   **V000403**

Now looking ahead, do you think that <u>a year from now</u> you (and your family living here) will be better off financially, worse off, or just about the same as now?

☎ E3.T

Now looking ahead, do you think that <u>a year from now</u> you (and your family) will be better off financially, worse off, or just about the same as now?

⇒ Here we want to know what R actually expects financially in the coming year. Responses in terms of what R "hopes" will happen are not acceptable. If you get a "hopes" response, repeat the question, emphasizing the word "think."

E3a.   **Spec: 246__**   **V000404**

(IF BETTER)

Much better off or somewhat better off?

1 MUCH BETTER   SKIP to →F1
5 SOMEWHAT BETTER   SKIP to →F1
8 DK   SKIP to F1

E3b.   **Spec: 247__**   **V000405**

(IF WORSE)

Much worse off or somewhat worse off?

1 MUCH WORSE
5 SOMEWHAT WORSE

8 DK   **V000406 SUMMARY**

SECTION F

F1-F3 - PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE AFFECTS

THE ORDER OF THE 3 'AFFECTS' SERIES --F1 (GORE), F2 (BUSH), AND F3 (BUCHANAN) — WILL BE RANDOMIZED BUT EACH CANDIDATE'S COMPLETE SET OF AFFECT QUESTIONS ARE ADMINISTERED BEFORE THE NEXT SET BEGINS. WITHIN EACH SET THE LIST OF AFFECTS FOR THAT CANDIDATE WILL APPEAR IN RANDOM ORDER (FOLLOW-ONS WILL STAY WITH THE CORRESPONDING AFFECT).

F0.

Now we would like to know something about the feelings you have toward the candidates for President. I am going to name a candidate, and I want you to tell me whether something about that person, or something he has done, has made you have certain feelings like anger or pride.

F1.

(Think about Al Gore.) Has Al Gore (because of the kind of person he is, or because of something he has done) -- ever made you feel:

F1a.   **Spec: 254_1**   **V000407**

Angry

1 YES
5 NO   SKIP→to next F1 in randomization
8 DK   SKIP→ to next F1 in randomization

F1aa.
(IF YES, GORE HAS MADE R ANGRY)

Spec: **255_1**   **V000408**

How often would you say you've felt angry -- very often, fairly often, occasionally, or rarely?
1 VERY OFTEN
2 FAIRLY OFTEN
3 OCCASIONALLY
4 RARELY
8 DK

F1b.
Hopeful

Spec: **254_2**   **V000409**

1 YES
5 NO   SKIP➜ to next F1 in randomization
8 DK   SKIP➜ to next F1 in randomization

F1bb.
(IF YES, GORE HAS MADE R HOPEFUL)

Spec: **255_2**   **V000410**

How often would you say you've felt hopeful -- very often, fairly often, occasionally, or rarely?
1 VERY OFTEN
2 FAIRLY OFTEN
3 OCCASIONALLY
4 RARELY
8 DK

F1c.
Afraid

Spec: **254_3**   **V000411**

1 YES
5 NO   SKIP➜ to next F1 in randomization
8 DK   SKIP➜ to next F1 in randomization

F1cc.
(IF YES, GORE HAS MADE R AFRAID)

Spec: **255_3**   **V000412**

How often would you say you've felt afraid -- very often, fairly often, occasionally, or rarely?
1 VERY OFTEN
2 FAIRLY OFTEN
3 OCCASIONALLY
4 RARELY
8 DK

F1d.
Proud

Spec: **254_4**   **V000413**

1 YES
5 NO   SKIP➜ to next F1 in randomization
8 DK   SKIP➜ to next F1 in randomization

F1dd.
(IF YES, GORE HAS MADE R PROUD)

Spec: **255_4**   **V000414**

How often would you say you've felt proud -- very often, fairly often, occasionally, or rarely?

16

1 VERY OFTEN
2 FAIRLY OFTEN
3 OCCASIONALLY
4 RARELY
8 DK

F2.
(Think about George W. Bush.) Has George W. Bush (because of the kind of person he is, or because of
something he has done --) ever made you feel:

F2a.   Spec: **259_1**   **V000415**
Angry

1 YES
5 NO   SKIP➔to next F2 in randomization
8 DK   SKIP➔ to next F2 in randomization

⇒ These questions measure in depth people's evaluations of individuals who aspire to political
leadership. Respondents tend to enjoy them.
⇒ If R says they can't answer, code it as DK.

   F2aa.   Spec: **260_1**   **V000416**
   (IF YES, GEORGE W. BUSH HAS MADE R ANGRY)
   How often would you say you've felt angry -- very often, fairly often, occasionally, or rarely?
   1 VERY OFTEN
   2 FAIRLY OFTEN
   3 OCCASIONALLY
   4 RARELY
   8 DK

F2b.   Spec: **259_2**   **V000417**
Hopeful

1 YES
5 NO   SKIP➔ to next F2 in randomization
8 DK   SKIP➔ to next F2 in randomization

   F2bb.   Spec: **260_2**   **V000418**
   (IF YES, GEORGE W. BUSH HAS MADE R HOPEFUL)
   How often would you say you've felt hopeful -- very often, fairly often, occasionally, or rarely?
   1 VERY OFTEN
   2 FAIRLY OFTEN
   3 OCCASIONALLY
   4 RARELY
   8 DK

F2c.   Spec: **259_3**   **V000419**
Afraid

1 YES
5 NO   SKIP➔ to next F2 in randomization
8 DK   SKIP➔ to next F2 in randomization

   F2cc.   Spec: **260_3**   **V000420**
   (IF YES, GEORGE W. BUSH HAS MADE R AFRAID)
   How often would you say you've felt afraid -- very often, fairly often, occasionally, or rarely?

1 VERY OFTEN
2 FAIRLY OFTEN
3 OCCASIONALLY
4 RARELY
8 DK

F2d.   **Spec: 259_4**   **V000421**
Proud

1 YES	
5 NO	SKIP→ to next F2 in randomization
8 DK	SKIP→ to next F2 in randomization

F2dd.   **Spec: 260_4**   **V000422**
(IF YES, GEORGE W. BUSH HAS MADE R PROUD)
How often would you say you've felt proud -- very often, fairly often, occasionally, or rarely?
1 VERY OFTEN
2 FAIRLY OFTEN
3 OCCASIONALLY
4 RARELY
8 DK

(MAY TURN F3 QUESTIONS OFF UNLESS BUCHANAN GETS HOT:)

F3.
(Think about Pat Buchanan.) Has Pat Buchanan (because of the kind of person he is, or because of
something he has done --) ever made you feel:

F3a.   **Spec: 264_1**   **V000423**
Angry

1 YES	
5 NO	SKIP→to next F3 in randomization
8 DK	SKIP→ to next F3 in randomization

⇒ These questions measure in depth people's evaluations of individuals who aspire to political
leadership. Respondents tend to enjoy them.
⇒ If R says they can't answer, code it as DK.

F3aa.   **Spec: 265_1**   **V000424**
(IF YES, BUCHANAN HAS MADE R ANGRY)
How often would you say you've felt angry -- very often, fairly often, occasionally, or rarely?
1 VERY OFTEN
2 FAIRLY OFTEN
3 OCCASIONALLY
4 RARELY
8 DK

F3b.   **Spec: 264_2**   **V000425**
Hopeful

1 YES	
5 NO	SKIP→ to next F3 in randomization
8 DK	SKIP→ to next F3 in randomization

F3bb.　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　Spec: **265_2**　　　**V000426**
(IF YES, BUCHANAN HAS MADE R HOPEFUL)
How often would you say you've felt hopeful -- very often, fairly often, occasionally, or rarely?
1 VERY OFTEN
2 FAIRLY OFTEN
3 OCCASIONALLY
4 RARELY
8 DK

F3c.　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　Spec: **264_3**　　　**V000427**
Afraid
1 YES
5 NO　　　SKIP→ to next F3 in randomization
8 DK　　　SKIP→ to next F3 in randomization

F3cc.　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　Spec: **265_3**　　　**V000428**
(IF YES, BUCHANAN HAS MADE R AFRAID)
How often would you say you've felt afraid -- very often, fairly often, occasionally, or rarely?
1 VERY OFTEN
2 FAIRLY OFTEN
3 OCCASIONALLY
4 RARELY
8 DK

F3d.　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　Spec: **264_4**　　　**V000429**
Proud
1 YES
5 NO　　　SKIP→ to next F3 in randomization
8 DK　　　SKIP→ to next F3 in randomization

F3dd.　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　Spec: **265_4**　　　**V000430**
(IF YES, BUCHANAN HAS MADE R PROUD)
How often would you say you've felt proud -- very often, fairly often, occasionally, or rarely?
1 VERY OFTEN
2 FAIRLY OFTEN
3 OCCASIONALLY
4 RARELY
8 DK

F6-F9 – MOST IMPORTANT PROBLEM(S)

F6-F9 ADMINISTERED TO RANDOMLY SELECTED HALF SAMPLE

F6.　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　Spec: **268__**　　　**V000431-0434**
What do you think are the most important problems facing this country?
[PROBE: Any other important problems facing the country? UNTIL R SAYS NONE]
_____*OPENEND*_____

F6x.   Spec: **269**__   **V000435**

INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT: NUMBER OF IMPORTANT PROBLEMS MENTIONED BY R
[IF UNSURE WHETHER ONE PROBLEM OR MORE THAN ONE PROBLEM CODE MORE THAN 1]
0 R HAS NOT MENTIONED ANY PROBLEMS   →G1/G1.E
1 R HAS MENTIONED ONLY ONE PROBLEM   →F8
2 R HAS MENTIONED 2 OR MORE PROBLEMS   →F7

F7.   Spec: **270**__   **V000436**

(IF R HAS MENTIONED 2 OR MORE PROBLEMS)

Of those you've mentioned, what would you say is the single most important problem the country faces?

_____*OPENEND*_____

F8.   Spec: **271**__   **V000437**

(IF R HAS MENTIONED ANY PROBLEM)

How good a job is the government in Washington doing in dealing with this problem – a good job, only fair, or a poor job?
1 A GOOD JOB
3 ONLY FAIR
5 A POOR JOB
8 DK

F9.   Spec: **272**__   **V000438**

(IF R HAS MENTIONED ANY PROBLEM)

Which political party do you think would be most likely to get the government to do a better job in dealing with this problem – the Republicans, the Democrats, or wouldn't there be much difference between them?
1 REPUBLICANS
3 DEMOCRATS
5 THERE WOULDN'T BE MUCH DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THEM
7 NEITHER PARTY [VOL]
8 DK

SECTION G

<div style="border:1px solid black; padding:8px;">

G1-G10 - LIBERAL-CONSERVATIVE

</div>

RESPONDENTS SHOULD BE RANDOMLY SELECTED TO RECEIVE EITHER THE G1/G1.T SERIES OR THE G6. E SERIES.

G1.
Please look at page 3 of the booklet. We hear a lot of talk these days about liberals and conservatives. Here is a seven-point scale on which the political views that people might hold are arranged from extremely liberal to extremely conservative.

T *G1.T*
We hear a lot of talk these days about liberals and conservatives.

G1a.

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

T *G1a.T*

When it comes to politics, do you usually think of yourself as extremely liberal, liberal, slightly liberal; moderate or middle of the road, slightly conservative, conservative, extremely conservative, or haven't you thought much about this?

1 EXTREMELY LIBERAL	Skip to G2
2 LIBERAL	Skip to G2
3 SLIGHTLY LIBERAL	Skip to G2
4 MODERATE; MIDDLE OF THE ROAD	→ G1b
5 SLIGHTLY CONSERVATIVE	Skip to G2
6 CONSERVATIVE	Skip to G2
7 EXTREMELY CONSERVATIVE	Skip to G2
8 DK	→G1b
0 HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH [DO NOT PROBE] →G1b	

⇒ If you've worked on election studies before, you're familiar with this "proximity format" for determining where R stands on issues in relation to where he/she thinks political leaders and groups stand. We realize that these questions are demanding of both you and R; however, much valuable research information has already been derived from this technique.

⇒ Our first task for the respondent is to place himself/herself on the scale. Note that if R responds with DK, MODERATE, NEITHER, or HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH ABOUT THIS with regard to his/her own placement on the scale at G1a, you do not probe, but go directly to G1b, asking R, "If you had to choose…" If R still responds DK, the skip leads to where he/she would place the presidential candidates. We are interested in knowing whether respondents who have trouble figuring out where they stand may nevertheless have a good idea where political figures stand.

⇒ It is important that R understands that he/she should place the groups and the political leaders on the scale in terms of where he/she thinks they stand now, NOT in terms of where he/she would like them to be. If you get a response with all 1's or all 7's, R may be falling into the trap of putting the leaders or groups where he/she wants them to be and not where he/she thinks they are.

⇒ Whenever such confusion becomes apparent to you, please try to get R to think in terms of where he/she thinks the leader or party position is now. (Needless to say, it is possible that R does think everyone is at 1 or 7, and that's a legitimate answer--just make sure that that is what you are getting before you go on.)

⇒ Definitely try to get R to specify his/her response in terms of a number on the scale. If R gives a range (e.g. 5-7), record this in a F2 comment, but also ask R to give, if possible, a single number within that range. "Which would you say is closest to the way you feel?" A "Don't Know" answer for any of the groups or political leaders is a perfectly acceptable response to be handled by pausing to be sure the R doesn't want to change his/her mind, and then entering the DK and moving on to the next group or person on the list.

⇒ In other words, DO NOT PROBE "DON'T KNOW" responses here or on any other part of their "placements" throughout the interview. To do so probably invites R to guess, and often elicits "random" responses.

▶ Finally, you may find that people have different interpretations of what liberal or conservative entails. That's fine, that's part of what we're trying to get at. DO NOT DEFINE THE TERM FOR THEM. We want them to use their understanding of the terminology.

G1b.

(IF MODERATE, DK OR HAVEN'T THOUGHT)

If you had to choose, would you consider yourself a liberal or a conservative?

1 LIBERAL
3 CONSERVATIVE
5 MODERATE
7 R REFUSES TO CHOOSE
8 DK

G2.   Spec: **287_1**   **V000448**

Where would you place Bill Clinton on this scale? [DO NOT PROBE 'DK']

𝒯 *G2.T*   Spec: **291_1**   **V000448a**

What about Bill Clinton? Do you think he is extremely liberal, liberal, slightly liberal, moderate or middle of the road, slightly conservative, conservative, or extremely conservative? [DO NOT PROBE 'DK']

1 EXTREMELY LIBERAL
2 LIBERAL
3 SLIGHTLY LIBERAL
4 MODERATE; MIDDLE OF THE ROAD
5 SLIGHTLY CONSERVATIVE
6 CONSERVATIVE
7 EXTREMELY CONSERVATIVE
8 DK

⇒ If you've worked on election studies before, you're familiar with this "proximity format" for determining where R stands on issues in relation to where he/she thinks political leaders and groups stand. We realize that these questions are demanding of both you and R; however, much valuable research information has already been derived from this technique.

⇒ Our first task for the respondent is to place himself/herself on the scale. Note that if R responds with DK, MODERATE, NEITHER, or HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH ABOUT THIS with regard to his/her own placement on the scale at G1a, you do not probe, but go directly to G1b, asking R, "If you had to choose…" If R still responds DK, the skip leads to where he/she would place the presidential candidates. We are interested in knowing whether respondents who have trouble figuring out where they stand may nevertheless have a good idea where political figures stand.

⇒ It is important that R understands that he/she should place the groups and the political leaders on the scale in terms of where he/she thinks they stand now, NOT in terms of where he/she would like them to be. If you get a response with all 1's or all 7's, R may be falling into the trap of putting the leaders or groups where he/she wants them to be and not where he/she thinks they are.

⇒ Whenever such confusion becomes apparent to you, please try to get R to think in terms of where he/she thinks the leader or party position is now. (Needless to say, it is possible that R does think everyone is at 1 or 7, and that's a legitimate answer--just make sure that that is what you are getting before you go on.)

⇒ Definitely try to get R to specify his/her response in terms of a number on the scale. If R gives a range (e.g. 5-7), record this in a F2 comment, but also ask R to give, if possible, a single number within that range. "Which would you say is closest to the way you feel?" A "Don't Know" answer for any of the groups or political leaders is a perfectly acceptable response to be handled by pausing to be sure the R doesn't want to change his/her mind, and then entering the DK and moving on to the next group or person on the list.

⇒ In other words, DO NOT PROBE "DON'T KNOW" responses here or on any other part of their "placements" throughout the interview. To do so probably invites R to guess, and often elicits "random" responses.

Ᵽ Finally, you may find that people have different interpretations of what liberal or conservative entails. That's fine, that's part of what we're trying to get at. DO NOT DEFINE THE TERM FOR THEM. We want them to use their understanding of the terminology.

V000449 COMBINED FTF/PH

FTF: **G3, G4, AND G5 ARE RANDOMIZED**

TELEPHONE: G3.T, G4.T, AND G5.T ARE RANDOMIZED

G3.   Spec: **287_2**   **V000455**

Where would you place Al Gore on this scale? [DO NOT PROBE 'DK']

T *G3.T*   Spec: **291_2**   **V000455a**

What about Al Gore? (Do you think he is extremely liberal, liberal, slightly liberal, moderate or middle of the road, slightly conservative, conservative, or extremely conservative?) [DO NOT PROBE 'DK']

1 EXTREMELY LIBERAL
2 LIBERAL
3 SLIGHTLY LIBERAL
4 MODERATE; MIDDLE OF THE ROAD
5 SLIGHTLY CONSERVATIVE
6 CONSERVATIVE
7 EXTREMELY CONSERVATIVE
8 DK   →SKIP TO NEXT PRES. CAND OR G11

⇒ If you've worked on election studies before, you're familiar with this "proximity format" for determining where R stands on issues in relation to where he/she thinks political leaders and groups stand. We realize that these questions are demanding of both you and R; however, much valuable research information has already been derived from this technique.

⇒ Our first task for the respondent is to place himself/herself on the scale. Note that if R responds with DK, MODERATE, NEITHER, or HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH ABOUT THIS with regard to his/her own placement on the scale at G1a, you do not probe, but go directly to G1b, asking R, "If you had to choose…" If R still responds DK, the skip leads to where he/she would place the presidential candidates. We are interested in knowing whether respondents who have trouble figuring out where they stand may nevertheless have a good idea where political figures stand.

⇒ It is important that R understands that he/she should place the groups and the political leaders on the scale in terms of where he/she thinks they stand now, NOT in terms of where he/she would like them to be. If you get a response with all 1's or all 7's, R may be falling into the trap of putting the leaders or groups where he/she wants them to be and not where he/she thinks they are.

⇒ Whenever such confusion becomes apparent to you, please try to get R to think in terms of where he/she thinks the leader or party position is now. (Needless to say, it is possible that R does think everyone is at 1 or 7, and that's a legitimate answer--just make sure that that is what you are getting before you go on.)

⇒ Definitely try to get R to specify his/her response in terms of a number on the scale. If R gives a range (e.g. 5-7), record this in a F2 comment, but also ask R to give, if possible, a single number within that range. "Which would you say is closest to the way you feel?" A "Don't Know" answer for any of the groups or political leaders is a perfectly acceptable response to be handled by pausing to be sure the R doesn't want to change his/her mind, and then entering the DK and moving on to the next group or person on the list.

⇒ In other words, DO NOT PROBE "DON'T KNOW" responses here or on any other part of their "placements" throughout the interview. To do so probably invites R to guess, and often elicits "random" responses.

Þ Finally, you may find that people have different interpretations of what liberal or conservative entails. That's fine, that's part of what we're trying to get at. DO NOT DEFINE THE TERM FOR THEM. We want them to use their understanding of the terminology.

V000456 COMBINED FTF/PH

G3a.   Spec: **288_2**   **V000457**
T *G3a.T*   Spec: **292_2**   **V000458**
(IF NOT DK)

How certain are you of this? Very certain, pretty certain or not very certain?

1 VERY CERTAIN   → NEXT PRES. CANDIDATE OR G11
3 PRETTY CERTAIN   → NEXT PRES. CANDIDATE OR G11
5 NOT VERY CERTAIN   → NEXT PRES. CANDIDATE OR G11
8 DK   → NEXT PRES. CANDIDATE OR G11

G4.   Spec: **287_3**   **V000465**
Where would you place George W. Bush on this scale? [DO NOT PROBE 'DK']

T *G4.T*   Spec: **291_3**   **V000465a**

What about George W. Bush? (Do you think he is extremely liberal, liberal, slightly liberal, moderate or middle of the road, slightly conservative, conservative, or extremely conservative?) [DO NOT PROBE 'DK']

1 EXTREMELY LIBERAL
2 LIBERAL
3 SLIGHTLY LIBERAL
4 MODERATE; MIDDLE OF THE ROAD
5 SLIGHTLY CONSERVATIVE
6 CONSERVATIVE
7 EXTREMELY CONSERVATIVE
8 DK   →SKIP TO NEXT PRES CAND OR G11

⇒ If you've worked on election studies before, you're familiar with this "proximity format" for determining where R stands on issues in relation to where he/she thinks political leaders and groups stand. We realize that these questions are demanding of both you and R; however, much valuable research information has already been derived from this technique.

⇒ Our first task for the respondent is to place himself/herself on the scale. Note that if R responds with DK, MODERATE, NEITHER, or HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH ABOUT THIS with regard to his/her own placement on the scale at G1a, you do not probe, but go directly to G1b, asking R, "If you had to choose…" If R still responds DK, the skip leads to where he/she would place the presidential candidates. We are interested in knowing whether respondents who have trouble figuring out where they stand may nevertheless have a good idea where political figures stand.

⇒ It is important that R understands that he/she should place the groups and the political leaders on the scale in terms of where he/she thinks they stand now, NOT in terms of where he/she would like them to be. If you get a response with all 1's or all 7's, R may be falling into the trap of putting the leaders or groups where he/she wants them to be and not where he/she thinks they are.

⇒ Whenever such confusion becomes apparent to you, please try to get R to think in terms of where he/she thinks the leader or party position is now. (Needless to say, it is possible that R does think everyone is at 1 or 7, and that's a legitimate answer--just make sure that that is what you are getting before you go on.)

⇒ Definitely try to get R to specify his/her response in terms of a number on the scale.   If R gives a range (e.g. 5-7), record this in a F2 comment, but also ask R to give, if possible, a single number within that range. "Which would you say is closest to the way you feel?" A "Don't Know" answer for any of the groups or political leaders is a perfectly acceptable response to be handled by pausing to be sure the R doesn't want to change his/her mind, and then entering the DK and moving on to the next group or person on the list.

⇒ In other words, DO NOT PROBE "DON'T KNOW" responses here or on any other part of their "placements" throughout the interview. To do so probably invites R to guess, and often elicits "random" responses.

P Finally, you may find that people have different interpretations of what liberal or conservative entails. That's fine, that's part of what we're trying to get at. DO NOT DEFINE THE TERM FOR THEM. We want them to use their understanding of the terminology.

                                                              V000466 COMBINED FTF/PH

        G4a.   Spec: **288_3**   **V000467**
T   *G4a.T*   Spec: **292_3**   **V000468**
         (IF NOT DK)

         How certain are you of this? Very certain, pretty certain or not very certain?
         1 VERY CERTAIN   → NEXT PRES. CANDIDATE OR G11
         3 PRETTY CERTAIN   → NEXT PRES. CANDIDATE OR G11
         5 NOT VERY CERTAIN   → NEXT PRES. CANDIDATE OR G11
         8 DK   → NEXT PRES. CANDIDATE OR G11

G5.   Spec: **287_4**   **V000475**

Where would you place Pat Buchanan on this scale? [DO NOT PROBE 'DK']

𝘛 G5.T   Spec: **291_4**   **V000475a**

What about Pat Buchanan? (Do you think he is extremely liberal, liberal, slightly liberal, moderate or middle of the road, slightly conservative, conservative, or extremely conservative?) [DO NOT PROBE 'DK']

```
1 EXTREMELY LIBERAL
2 LIBERAL
3 SLIGHTLY LIBERAL
4 MODERATE; MIDDLE OF THE ROAD
5 SLIGHTLY CONSERVATIVE
6 CONSERVATIVE
7 EXTREMELY CONSERVATIVE
8 DK              -->SKIP TO NEXT PRES CAND OR G11
```

⇒ If you've worked on election studies before, you're familiar with this "proximity format" for determining where R stands on issues in relation to where he/she thinks political leaders and groups stand. We realize that these questions are demanding of both you and R; however, much valuable research information has already been derived from this technique.

⇒ Our first task for the respondent is to place himself/herself on the scale. Note that if R responds with DK, MODERATE, NEITHER, or HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH ABOUT THIS with regard to his/her own placement on the scale at G1a, you do not probe, but go directly to G1b, asking R, "If you had to choose…" If R still responds DK, the skip leads to where he/she would place the presidential candidates. We are interested in knowing whether respondents who have trouble figuring out where they stand may nevertheless have a good idea where political figures stand.

⇒ It is important that R understands that he/she should place the groups and the political leaders on the scale in terms of where he/she thinks they stand now, NOT in terms of where he/she would like them to be. If you get a response with all 1's or all 7's, R may be falling into the trap of putting the leaders or groups where he/she wants them to be and not where he/she thinks they are.

⇒ Whenever such confusion becomes apparent to you, please try to get R to think in terms of where he/she thinks the leader or party position is now. (Needless to say, it is possible that R does think everyone is at 1 or 7, and that's a legitimate answer--just make sure that that is what you are getting before you go on.)

⇒ Definitely try to get R to specify his/her response in terms of a number on the scale. If R gives a range (e.g. 5-7), record this in a F2 comment, but also ask R to give, if possible, a single number within that range. "Which would you say is closest to the way you feel?" A "Don't Know" answer for any of the groups or political leaders is a perfectly acceptable response to be handled by pausing to be sure the R doesn't want to change his/her mind, and then entering the DK and moving on to the next group or person on the list.

⇒ In other words, DO NOT PROBE "DON'T KNOW" responses here or on any other part of their "placements" throughout the interview. To do so probably invites R to guess, and often elicits "random" responses.

ᴘ Finally, you may find that people have different interpretations of what liberal or conservative entails. That's fine, that's part of what we're trying to get at. DO NOT DEFINE THE TERM FOR THEM. We want them to use their understanding of the terminology.

V000476 COMBINED FTF/PH

G5a.   Spec: **288_4**   **V000477**

𝘛 G5a.T   Spec: **292_4**   **V000478**

(IF NOT DK)

How certain are you of this? Very certain, pretty certain or not very certain?

```
1 VERY CERTAIN            → NEXT PRES. CANDIDATE OR G11
3 PRETTY CERTAIN          → NEXT PRES. CANDIDATE OR G11
5 NOT VERY CERTAIN        → NEXT PRES. CANDIDATE OR G11
8 DK                      → NEXT PRES. CANDIDATE OR G11
```

G6.E

We hear a lot of talk these days about liberals and conservatives. When it comes to politics, do you usually think of yourself as a liberal, a conservative, a moderate, or haven't you thought much about this?

1 A LIBERAL	→SKIP TO G6b.E
3 A CONSERVATIVE→SKIP TO	→SKIP to G6c.E
5 A MODERATE	→G6a.E
7 NEITHER [VOL]	→G6a.E
8 DK	→G6a.E
0 HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH [DO NOT PROBE]	→G6a.E

⇒ This battery of questions is slightly different from those in G1. Rather than start with the full 7-point scale, it starts with a 3 point scale, then fills in the remaining points with skip sequences.
As with G1, it is important that we get the respondent to place himself/herself on the scale. Again, note that if R responds with DK, MODERATE, NEITHER, or HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH ABOUT THIS with regard to his/her own placement on the scale at G1E, do not probe. Instead, go directly to G1Ea, asking R, "If you had to choose…".

G6a.E
(IF DK, HTM, NEITHER, OR MODERATE)

If you had to choose, would you consider yourself a liberal or a conservative?

1 LIBERAL	→SKIP TO G7.E
3 CONSERVATIVE	→SKIP TO G7.E
5 MODERATE[VOL]	→SKIP TO G7.E
7 R REFUSES TO CHOOSE [VOL]	-->SKIP TO G7.E
8 DON'T KNOW	-->SKIP TO G7.E

G6b.E
(IF LIBERAL)

Would you call yourself a strong liberal or a not very strong liberal?

1 STRONG LIBERAL	-->SKIP TO G7.E
5 NOT VERY STRONG LIBERAL	-->SKIP TO G7.E
8 DK	-->SKIP TO G7.E

G6c.E
(IF CONSERVATIVE)

Would you call yourself a strong conservative or a not very strong conservative?

1 STRONG CONSERVATIVE
5 NOT VERY STRONG CONSERVATIVE
8 DK

G7.E

What about Bill Clinton? Is Bill Clinton a liberal, a conservative, or a moderate? [DO NOT PROBE 'DK']

1 LIBERAL	→G7a.E
2 CONSERVATIVE	→SKIP TO G7b.E
3 MODERATE	→SKIP TO RANDOMIZED G8.E, G9.E, OR G10.E
8 DON'T KNOW	→SKIP TO RANDOMIZED G8.E, G9.E, OR G10.E

G7a.E
(IF LIBERAL)

Would you call Bill Clinton a strong liberal or a not very strong liberal?

```
1 STRONG LIBERAL                →SKIP TO G8.E, G9.E, OR G10.E
5 NOT VERY STRONG LIBERAL       →SKIP TO G8.E, G9.E, OR G10.E
8 DK                            → SKIP TO G8.E, G9.E OR G10.E
```

G7b.E   Spec: **302_1**   **V000452**

(IF CONSERVATIVE)

Would you call Bill Clinton a strong conservative or a not very strong conservative?
```
1 STRONG CONSERVATIVE
5 NOT VERY STRONG CONSERVATIVE
8 DK
```

V000453 5-PT BR SUMMARY
V000454 COMB.7PT/BR SUMM

<u>**G8E, G9E, AND G10E ARE RANDOMIZED**</u>

G8.E   Spec: **300_2**   **V000459**

What about Al Gore? (Is Al Gore a liberal, a conservative, or a moderate?) [DO NOT PROBE 'DK']
```
1 LIBERAL               →G8a.E
2 CONSERVATIVE          →SKIP TO G8b.E
3 MODERATE              →SKIP TO  G8c.E
8 DON'T KNOW            →SKIP TO NEXT NAME IN RANDOMIZATION
```

G8a.E   Spec: **301_2**   **V000460**

(IF LIBERAL)

Would you call Al Gore a strong liberal or a not very strong liberal?
```
1 STRONG LIBERAL                →SKIP TO G8c.E
5 NOT VERY STRONG LIBERAL       →SKIP TO G8c.E
8 DON'T KNOW                    -->SKIP TO NEXT  NAME IN RANDOMIZATION
```

G8b.E   Spec: **302_2**   **V000461**

(IF CONSERVATIVE)

Would you call Al Gore a strong conservative or a not very strong conservative?
```
1 STRONG CONSERVATIVE              →G8c.E
5 NOT VERY STRONG CONSERVATIVE     →G8c.E
8 DON'T KNOW                       →SKIP TO NEXT NAME IN RANDOMIZATION
```

V000462 5-PT BR SUMMARY
V000463 COMB.7PT/BR SUMM

G8c.E   Spec: **303_2**   **V000464**
                                                                            V000464a COMB 7PT/BR SUMM
(IF GORE IS MODERATE) OR

(IF ANSWER FOR STRONG OR NOT STRONG LIBERAL/CONSERVATIVE IS NOT DK)

How certain are you of this? Very certain, pretty certain or not very certain?
```
1 VERY CERTAIN            → NEXT PRES. CANDIDATE OR G11
3 PRETTY CERTAIN         → NEXT PRES. CANDIDATE OR G11
5 NOT VERY CERTAIN       → NEXT PRES. CANDIDATE OR G11
8 DK                     → NEXT PRES. CANDIDATE OR G11
```

G9. E   Spec: **300_3**   **V000469**

What about George W. Bush? (Is George W. Bush a liberal, a conservative, or a moderate?) [DO NOT
PROBE 'DK']

27

G9a.E
(IF LIBERAL)   Spec: **301_3**   **V000470**

Would you call George W. Bush a strong liberal or a not very strong liberal?

1 STRONG LIBERAL   →SKIP TO G9c.E
5 NOT VERY STRONG LIBERAL   →SKIP TO G9c.E
8 DON'T KNOW   →SKIP TO NEXT NAME IN RANDOMIZATION

G9b.E
(IF CONSERVATIVE)   Spec: **302_3**   **V000471**

Would you call George W. Bush a strong conservative or a not very strong conservative?\

1 STRONG CONSERVATIVE   →G9c.E
5 NOT VERY STRONG CONSERVATIVE   →G9c.E
8 DON'T KNOW   →SKIP TO NEXT NAME IN RANDOMIZATION

V000472 5-PT BR SUMMARY
V000473 COMB.7PT/BR SUMM

G9c. E
(IF GEORGE W. BUSH IS MODERATE) OR
(IF ANSWER FOR STRONG OR NOT STRONG LIBERAL/CONSERVATIVE IS NOT DK)

Spec: **303_3**   **V000474**
V000474a COMB 7PT/BR SUMM

How certain are you of this? Very certain, pretty certain or not very certain?

1 VERY CERTAIN   → NEXT PRES. CANDIDATE OR G11
3 PRETTY CERTAIN   → NEXT PRES. CANDIDATE OR G11
5 NOT VERY CERTAIN   → NEXT PRES. CANDIDATE OR G11
8 DK   → NEXT PRES. CANDIDATE OR G11

G10. E
Spec: **300_4**   **V000479**

What about Pat Buchanan? (Is Pat Buchanan a liberal, a conservative, or a moderate?) [DO NOT PROBE 'DK']

1 LIBERAL   →G10a.E
2 CONSERVATIVE   →SKIP TO G10b.E
3 MODERATE   →SKIP TO G10c.E
8 DON'T KNOW   →SKIP TO NEXT NAME IN RANDOMIZATION

G10a. E
(IF LIBERAL)   Spec: **301_4**   **V000480**

Would you call Pat Buchanan a strong liberal or a not very strong liberal?

1 STRONG LIBERAL   →SKIP TO G10c.E
5 NOT VERY STRONG LIBERAL   →SKIP TO G10c.E
8 DON'T KNOW   →SKIP TO next NAME in randomization

G10b. E
(IF CONSERVATIVE)   Spec: **302_4**   **V000481**

Would you call Pat Buchanan a strong conservative or a not very strong conservative?

1 STRONG CONSERVATIVE   → G10c.E
5 NOT VERY STRONG CONSERVATIVE   → G10c.E
8 DON'T KNOW   →SKIP TO NEXT NAME IN RANDOMIZATION

V000482 5-PT BR SUMMARY
V000483 COMB.7PT/BR SUMM

28

G10c. E

(IF BUCHANAN IS MODERATE) OR
(IF ANSWER FOR STRONG OR NOT STRONG LIBERAL/CONSERVATIVE IS NOT DK)

How certain are you of this? Very certain, pretty certain or not very certain?

1 VERY CERTAIN   → NEXT PRES. CANDIDATE OR G11
3 PRETTY CERTAIN   → NEXT PRES. CANDIDATE OR G11
5 NOT VERY CERTAIN   → NEXT PRES. CANDIDATE OR G11
8 DK   → NEXT PRES. CANDIDATE OR G11

G11 - ANTICIPATED OUTCOME OF NOVEMBER ELECTION

G11.

Who do you think will be elected President in November?

1 AL GORE
3 GEORGE W. BUSH
5 PAT BUCHANAN
6 RALPH NADER
7 OTHER (SPECIFY) [VOL]
8 DK   SKIP to →G11b

⇒ Obviously, we are interested in their prediction, not their knowledge of who is going to win.

G11a.

(IF NAME GIVEN)

Do you think the Presidential race will be close or will [NAME GIVEN] win by quite a bit?

1 WILL BE CLOSE   SKIP to →H1 or H1.E
5 WIN BY QUITE A BIT   SKIP to → H1 or H1.E
8 DK   SKIP to → H1 or H1.E

G11b.

(IF DON'T KNOW)

Do you think the Presidential race will be close or will one candidate win by quite a bit?

1 WILL BE CLOSE
5 WIN BY QUITE A BIT
8 DK

SECTION H

H1-H4 - NATIONAL ECONOMY

H1, H2, & H4 SHOULD EACH BE ADMINISTERED TO AN INDEPENDENT RANDOM SELECTION OF HALF THE SAMPLE AND H1.E, H2.E, & H4.E SHOULD EACH BE ADMINISTERED TO THE REMAINING HALVES, FOLLOWING UP WHERE APPROPRIATE TO EITHER VERSION

H1.   Spec: **315__**   **V000488a**

Now thinking about the economy in the country as a whole, would you say that OVER THE PAST YEAR the nation's economy has gotten better, stayed about the same, or gotten worse?

1 GOTTEN BETTER	→SKIP TO H1a.
3 STAYED ABOUT THE SAME	→SKIP TO H2
5 GOTTEN WORSE	→SKIP TO H1b
8 DK	→SKIP TO H2

⇒ Throughout these questions, we are interested in R's "perceptions" as opposed to knowledge on different economic topics.
In this series, the respondent is likely to "catch on" after H1 and start answering "MUCH BETTER" or "SOMEWHAT BETTER", "MUCH WORSE", or "SOMEWHAT WORSE" to the stem. You do not need to read the follow-up question in this case, but please make sure you enter the appropriate answers in both the stem and follow-up question before moving on to the next question.

H1. E   Spec: **316__**   **V000488b**

Now thinking about the economy in the country as a whole, would you say that OVER THE PAST YEAR the nation's economy has gotten worse, stayed about the same, or gotten better?

1 GOTTEN WORSE.	→SKIP TO H1b
3 STAYED ABOUT THE SAME	→SKIP TO H2
5 GOTTEN BETTER	
8 DK	→SKIP TO H2

    H1a.   Spec: **317__**   **V000489**
    (IF BETTER)

    Much better or somewhat better?

1 MUCH BETTER	→SKIP TO H2
5 SOMEWHAT BETTER	→SKIP TO H2
8 DK	→SKIP TO H2

    H1b.   Spec: **318__**   **V000490**
    (IF WORSE)

    Much worse or somewhat worse?

1 SOMEWHAT WORSE	
5 MUCH WORSE	
8 DK	**V000491 SUMMARY**

H2.   Spec: **320__**   **V000492a**

Would you say that OVER THE PAST YEAR, it has gotten harder for people across the country to find enough work, stayed about the same, or gotten easier for people to find enough work?

1. GOTTEN HARDER	→SKIP TO H2a
3. STAYED THE SAME	→SKIP TO H4
5. GOTTEN EASIER	→SKIP TO H2b
8. DK	→SKIP TO H4

⇒ Throughout these questions, we are interested in R's "perceptions" as opposed to knowledge on different economic topics.
In this series, the respondent is likely to "catch on" after H1 and start answering "MUCH BETTER" or "SOMEWHAT BETTER", "MUCH WORSE", or "SOMEWHAT WORSE" to the stem. You do not need to read the follow-up question in this case, but please make sure you enter the appropriate answers in

both the stem and follow-up question before moving on to the next question.

⇒ By people we mean <u>people in general</u>.

H2. E Spec: **321__** **V000492b**

Would you say that OVER THE PAST YEAR, it has gotten easier for people across the country to find enough work, stayed about the same, or gotten harder for people to find enough work?

1. GOTTEN EASIER	→SKIP TO H2b
3. ABOUT THE SAME	→SKIP TO H4
5. GOTTEN HARDER	
8. DK	→SKIP TO H4

⇒ By people we mean people in general.

    H2a. Spec: **322__** **V000493**

    (IF HARDER)

    Much harder or a little harder?

1 MUCH HARDER	→H4
5 A LITTLE HARDER	→H4
8 DK	→H4

    H2b. Spec: **323__** **V000494**

    (IF EASIER)

    Much easier or a little easier?

1 MUCH EASIER	
5 A LITTLE EASIER	
8 DK	

    V000495 SUMMARY

H4. Spec: **330__** **V000496a**

What about THE NEXT 12 MONTHS? Do you expect the economy, in the country as a whole, to get better, stay about the same , or get worse?

1 GET BETTER	→SKIP TO H4a
3 STAY ABOUT THE SAME	→SKIP TO H5
5 GET WORSE	→SKIP TO H4b
8 DK	→SKIP TO H5

⇒ Throughout these questions, we are interested in R's "perceptions" as opposed to knowledge on different economic topics.
In this series, the respondent is likely to "catch on" after H1 and start answering "MUCH BETTER" or "SOMEWHAT BETTER", "MUCH WORSE", or "SOMEWHAT WORSE" to the stem. You do not need to read the follow-up question in this case, but please make sure you enter the appropriate answers in both the stem and follow-up question before moving on to the next question.

H4. E Spec: **331__** **V000496b**

What about THE NEXT 12 MONTHS? Do you expect the economy, in the country as a whole, to get worse, stay about the same, or get better?

1 GET WORSE	→SKIP TO H4b
3 STAY ABOUT THE SAME	→SKIP TO H5
5 GET BETTER	
8 DK	→SKIP TO H5

    H4a. Spec: **332__** **V000497**

    (IF BETTER)

    Much better or somewhat better?

1 MUCH BETTER	→SKIP TO H5
5 SOMEWHAT BETTER	→SKIP TO H5
8 DK	→SKIP TO H5

31

H4b.   Spec: **333__**   **V000498**

(IF WORSE)

Much worse or somewhat worse?

1 MUCH WORSE
5 SOMEWHAT WORSE
8 DK   **V000499 SUMMARY**

H5 - APPROVE PRESIDENT HANDLING OF ECONOMY

H5.   Spec: **335__**   **V000500**

Do you approve or disapprove of the way Bill Clinton is handling the economy?

1 APPROVE
5 DISAPPROVE   SKIP to →H5b
8 DK   SKIP to →H6

⇒ The format of this question is identical to that used in the Gallup Polls. Therefore, we want to use
the present format to ensure comparability with Gallup. Respondents may want to know if "approve"
means the same as "satisfied" (Answer: "Whatever it means to you"), or whether they can choose a
middle category (Answer: "Well, in general, which is closer to the way you feel?" Repeat question.)
⇒ If R asks about time period, "Do you mean overall or just in the last few months?" Repeat the question
and emphasize "is handling." The time period for the question is right now.

H5a.   Spec: **336__**   **V000501**

(IF APPROVE)

Do you approve strongly or not strongly?

1 STRONGLY   SKIP to →H7
5 NOT STRONGLY   SKIP to →H7
8 DK   SKIP to →H7

H5b.   Spec: **337__**   **V000502**

(IF DISAPPROVE)

Do you disapprove strongly or not strongly?

1 STRONGLY
5 NOT STRONGLY
8 DK   **V000503 SUMMARY**

H6.   Spec: **338__**   **V000504**

Do you personally, or jointly with a spouse, have any money invested in the stock market right now –
either in an individual stock or in a mutual fund?

1 YES
5 NO
8 DK

H7-H8 - PARTY PERFORMANCE

H7.

Which party do you think would do a better job of handling the nation's economy…, the Democrats, the Republicans, or wouldn't there be much difference between them? [IF 'DK' OR 'NEITHER PARTY' IS VOLUNTEERED, DO NOT PROBE]

Spec: **341__**   V000505

1 DEMOCRATS
3 REPUBLICANS
5 WOULDN'T BE MUCH DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THEM/NO DIFFERENCE
7 NEITHER PARTY [VOL]
8 DK

H8.

Looking ahead, do you think the problem of keeping out of war would be handled better IN THE NEXT FOUR YEARS by the Democrats, the Republicans, or about the same by both? [IF 'DK' OR 'NEITHER PARTY' IS VOLUNTEERED, DO NOT PROBE]

Spec: **342__**   V000506

1 DEMOCRATS
3 REPUBLICANS
5 ABOUT THE SAME BY BOTH
7 NEITHER PARTY [VOL]
8 DK

H9-H12 - NATION : STRENGTH, IMMIGRATION, IMPORTS, ISOLATION

H9.

Turning to some other types of issues facing the country. during the past year, would you say that
the United States' position in the world has grown weaker, stayed about the same, or has it grown stronger?

Spec: **343__**   V000507

1 WEAKER
3 STAYED ABOUT THE SAME
5 STRONGER
8 DK

⇒ Respondents may want to know what we mean by "position" – Militarily? Economically?
Answer: "Whatever position means to you."

H10.

Do you think the number of immigrants from foreign countries who are permitted to come to the
United States to live should be increased, decreased, or left the same as it is now?

Spec: **344__**   V000508

1 INCREASED
3 DECREASED
5 LEFT THE SAME AS IT IS NOW   →SKIP TO H11 OR H11.E
8 DON'T KNOW   -->SKIP TO H11 OR H11.E

⇒ Respondents may want you to specify which immigrants. Here you can re-read the question,
stressing "foreign countries", meaning any country other than the United States.

H10a.
(IF INCREASED OR DECREASED)
A little or a lot?

Spec: **345__**   V000509

1 A LITTLE
5 A LOT
8 DK

V000510 **SUMMARY**

33

H11 SHOULD BE ADMINISTERED TO HALF THE SAMPLE AND **H11.**E SHOULD BE ADMINISTERED
TO THE OTHER HALF

H11.   **Spec: 348__**   **V000511a**

Some people have suggested placing new limits on foreign imports in order to protect American jobs. Others
say that such limits would raise consumer prices and hurt American exports. Do you favor or oppose placing
new limits on imports, or haven't you thought much about this?

1 FAVOR	→ SKIP TO H12
5 OPPOSE	→ SKIP TO H12
7 HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH ABOUT THIS	→ SKIP TO H12
8 DK	→ SKIP TO H12

H11. E   **Spec: 349__**   **V000511b**

Some people have suggested placing new limits on foreign imports in order to protect American jobs. Others
say that such limits would raise consumer prices and hurt American exports. Do you favor or oppose placing
new limits on imports?

1 FAVOR
5 OPPOSE
8 DK

                                                  V000512 COMBINED VERSIONS

H12 SHOULD BE ADMINISTERED TO HALF THE SAMPLE AND **H12**E SHOULD BE ADMINISTERED
TO THE OTHER HALF

H12.   **Spec: 351__**   **V000513a**

Do you agree or disagree with this statement:
This country would be better off if we just stayed home and did not concern ourselves with problems in other
parts of the world.

1 AGREE	SKIP to →H13
5 DISAGREE	SKIP to →H13
8 DK	SKIP to →H13

H12. E   **Spec: 352__**   **V000513b**

Do you think this country would be better off if we just stayed home and did not concern ourselves with
problems in other parts of the world, or do you think that this country would be better off trying to
solve some problems in other parts of the world?

1 BETTER OFF IF WE JUST STAYED HOME
5 BETTER OFF TRYING TO SOLVE SOME PROBLEMS
8 DK

                                                  V000514 COMBINED VERSIONS

H13.   Spec: **353**__   **V000515**

Do you approve or disapprove of the way Bill Clinton is handling our relations with
foreign countries?

1 APPROVE
5 DISAPPROVE   SKIP to →H13b
8 DK   SKIP to →K1

> **H13a.**   Spec: **354**__   **V000516**
> **(IF APPROVE)**
>
> Do you approve strongly or not strongly?
> 1 STRONGLY   →SKIP TO K1
> 5 NOT STRONGLY   →SKIP TO K1
> 8 DK   SKIP to K1
>
> **H13b.**   Spec: **355**__   **V000517**
> **(IF DISAPPROVE)**
>
> Do you disapprove strongly or not strongly?
> 1 STRONGLY
> 5 NOT STRONGLY
>
>   **V000518 SUMMARY**
> 8 DK

SECTION K

K1.   Spec: **375**__   **V000519**

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

1 DEMOCRAT
2 REPUBLICAN   →SKIP TO K1b
3 INDEPENDENT   →SKIP TO K1c
4 OTHER PARTY [SPECIFY] →SKIP TO K1c
5 NO PREFERENCE   →SKIP TO K1c
8 DK   →SKIP TO K1c

⇒ Here we are attempting to measure the respondent's party identification. By party identification, we
mean a person's feeling of attachment of belonging to a party. The question is intended to pin down the
respondent's usual or customary general sense of party affiliation, not particularly how he/she voted in
the election. This means that a response such as, "Oh, I have been a Democrat but I really don't know
about this year" classifies the R as a Democrat (probably, when R responds to K1a, a "not very strong"
Democrat), and not as an Independent. The people who are deviating from a usual party preference are
identified by questions on vote choice. At this point, we want to know if they have a usual party.

⇒ If the R calls himself/herself a member of a party other than the Democratic or the Republican, enter
"other" rather than classifying him/her as an "Independent."

⇒ A few respondents 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...?"

⇒ In the K1a, K1b, and K1c probes concerning strength and closeness, we are again interested in R's
usual party feelings. However, if R mentions any change in his/her feeling toward a party, be sure to

K1a.   Spec: **376__**   **V000520**
(IF DEMOCRAT)
Would you call yourself a strong Democrat or a not very strong Democrat?
1 STRONG   →SKIP TO K2, K3, OR K4
5 NOT VERY STRONG   →SKIP TO K2, K3, OR K4
8 DK   →SKIP TO K2, K3, OR K4

K1b.   Spec: **377__**   **V000521**
(IF REPUBLICAN)
Would you call yourself a strong Republican or a not very strong Republican?
1 STRONG   →SKIP TO K2, K3, OR K4
5 NOT VERY STRONG   →SKIP TO K2, K3, OR K4
8 DK   →SKIP TO K2, K3, OR K4

K1c.   Spec: **378__**   **V000522**
(IF INDEPENDENT, NO PREFERENCE, OTHER OR DK)
Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party or to the Democratic party?
1 CLOSER TO REPUBLICAN
3 NEITHER [VOL]
5 CLOSER TO DEMOCRATIC
8 DK

V000523 PARTY ID SUMMARY

K2-K4 – PRES. CANDIDATE TRAITS

THE ORDER IN WHICH THE 3 SERIES K2, K3, AND K4 ARE ADMINISTERED WILL BE RANDOMIZED.
WITHIN EACH SERIES, THE ORDER OF THE TRAITS ABOUT THAT CANDIDATE WILL BE RANDOMIZED.

K1z.
Please look at page 4 of the booklet. I am going to read a list of words and phrases people may use to
describe political figures. For each, tell me whether the word or phrase describes the candidate I name.

T *K1z.T*
I am going to read a list of words and phrases people may use to describe political figures. For each, please tell
me whether the word or phrase describes the candidate I name.

K2.
Think about **Al Gore**.
In your opinion, does the phrase 'he is K2' describe Al Gore extremely well, quite well, not too well, or
not well at all?
(What about <trait>? [Does this phrase describe Gore extremely well, quite well, not too well, or not
well at all?]) [DO NOT PROBE "DK"]

K2a.   **Spec: 383_1**   **V000524**
MORAL

K2b.   **Spec: 383_2**   **V000525**
REALLY CARES ABOUT PEOPLE LIKE YOU

K2c.   **Spec: 383_3**   **V000526**
KNOWLEDGEABLE

K2d.   **Spec: 383_4**   **V000527**
PROVIDES STRONG LEADERSHIP

K2e.   **Spec: 383_5**   **V000528**
DISHONEST

K2f.   **Spec: 383_6**   **V000529**
INTELLIGENT

K2g.   **Spec: 383_7**   **V000530**
OUT OF TOUCH WITH ORDINARY PEOPLE

1 EXTREMELY WELL
2 QUITE WELL
3 NOT TOO WELL
4 NOT WELL AT ALL
8 DK

⇒ In this section we are asking R to evaluation the major candidate according to a list of qualities that reflect aspects of political leadership. Please pay attention to the aspect being evaluated, as the word "is" may not always be appropriate. We expect you to make the appropriate adjustments to the question.
⇒ If respondents say they don't know or can't decide, pause to let them think about it. If they don't change their response, accept the "don't know" or "can't decide," and move on.
⇒ If you need to, you may remind R (by rereading the stem and stressing "your") that we are interested in his/her opinion, and not what others might think.

K3.

Think about **George W. Bush**.

In your opinion, does the phrase 'he is K3' describe George W. Bush extremely well, quite well, not too well, or not well at all?

(What about <trait>? [Does this phrase describe George W. Bush extremely well, quite well, not too well, or not well at all?])

K3a.   **Spec: 383_8**   **V000531**
MORAL

K3b.   **Spec: 383_9**   **V000532**
REALLY CARES ABOUT PEOPLE LIKE YOU

K3c.   **Spec: 383_10**   **V000533**
KNOWLEDGEABLE

K3d.   **Spec: 383_11**   **V000534**
PROVIDES STRONG LEADERSHIP

K3e.   **Spec: 383_12**   **V000535**
DISHONEST

K3f.   **Spec: 383_13**   **V000536**
INTELLIGENT

K3g.　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　
OUT OF TOUCH WITH ORDINARY PEOPLE

1 EXTREMELY WELL
2 QUITE WELL
3 NOT TOO WELL
4 NOT WELL AT ALL
8 DK

⇒ In this section we are asking R to evaluation the major candidate according to a list of qualities that
reflect aspects of political leadership. Please pay attention to the aspect being evaluated, as the word
"is" may not always be appropriate. We expect you to make the appropriate adjustments to the question.

⇒ If respondents say they don't know or can't decide, pause to let them think about it. If they don't
change their response, accept the "don't know" or "can't decide," and move on.

⇒ If you need to, you may remind R (by rereading the stem and stressing "your") that we are interested
in his/her opinion, and not what others might think.

K4.

Think about **Pat Buchanan**.

In your opinion, does the phrase 'he is K4' describe Pat Buchanan extremely well, quite well, not too well,

or not well at all?

(What about <trait>? [Does this phrase describe Buchanan extremely well, quite well, not too

well, or not well at all?])) [DO NOT PROBE "DK"]

K4a.　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　
MORAL

K4b.　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　
REALLY CARES ABOUT PEOPLE LIKE YOU

K4c.　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　
KNOWLEDGEABLE

K4d.　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　
PROVIDES STRONG LEADERSHIP

K4e.　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　
DISHONEST

K4f.　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　
INTELLIGENT

K4g.　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　
OUT OF TOUCH WITH ORDINARY PEOPLE

1 EXTREMELY WELL
2 QUITE WELL
3 NOT TOO WELL
4 NOT WELL AT ALL
8 DK

⇒ In this section we are asking R to evaluation the major candidate according to a list of qualities that reflect
aspects of political leadership. Please pay attention to the aspect being evaluated, as the word "is" may not
always be appropriate. We expect you to make the appropriate adjustments to the question.

⇒ If respondents say they don't know or can't decide, pause to let them think about it. If they don't
change their response, accept the "don't know" or "can't decide," and move on.

⇒ If you need to, you may remind R (by rereading the stem and stressing "your") that we are interested
in his/her opinion, and not what others might think.

L1 - SERVICES/SPENDING TRADEOFF

L1.

Please look at page 5 of the booklet.

Some people think the government should provide fewer services even in areas such as health and education in order to reduce spending. Suppose these people are at one end of a scale, at point 1. Other people feel it is important for the government to provide many more services even if it means an increase in spending. Suppose these people are at the other end, at point 7. And, of course, some other people have opinions somewhere in between, at points 2,3,4,5 or 6.

L1a.   Spec: **400__**   **V000545**

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

```
   1---------------------2-----------3-----------4------------5----------6-------------------7
```

GOVERNMENT SHOULD PROVIDE	GOVERNMENT SHOULD PROVIDE
MANY FEWER SERVICES; REDUCE	MANY MORE SERVICES;
SPENDING A LOT	INCREASE SPENDING A LOT

1 GOVT SHOULD PROVIDE MANY FEWER SERVICES	→L1b
2	→L1b
3	→L1b
4	→L1b
5	→L1b
6	→L1b
7 GOVT. SHOULD PROVIDE MANY MORE SERVICES	→L1b
0 HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH ABOUT THIS	→L1b
8 DK	→L1b

⇒ Read this question slowly and allow time for the respondent to digest the information. The question poses a complicated trade-off situation. It's not just a matter of whether government should provide more or fewer services, but whether the government should do one or the other in light of what happens to spending. Thus, people may feel that 7 is the preferred answer for the desired amount of government services, yet come down to settling for point 5 because they feel government spending must be curtailed.

⇒ Again, we feel that R's who can't decide to place themselves may possibly have a pretty good idea of where the Democratic and Republican parties stand on this issue.

T L1.T

Some people think the government should provide fewer services even in areas such as health and education in order to reduce spending. Other people feel it is important for the government to provide many more services even if it means an increase in spending.

T   L1a.T   Spec: **391_**   **V000546**

Which is closer to the way you feel or haven't you thought much about this?

1 FEWER SERVICES; REDUCE SPENDING	→L1a1.T
5 MORE SERVICES; INCREASE SPENDING	→L2.T
7 SHOULD STAY THE SAME AS IT IS NOW [VOL]	→L1b.T
0 HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH ABOUT THIS	→L1b.T
8 DK	→L1b.T

T   L1a1.T   Spec: **392_**   **V000547**

(IF REDUCE SERVICES AND SPENDING)

Should the government reduce services and spending a great deal or (reduce services and spending) only some?

L1a2.T   **Spec: 393_**   **V000548**

(IF MORE SERVICES AND SPENDING)

Should the government increase services and spending a great deal or (increase services and spending)
only some?

1 A GREAT DEAL   →L1b.T
5 ONLY SOME   →L1b.T
8 DK   →L1b.T

V000549 5-PT BR SUMMARY
V000550 COMB.5PT/BR SUMM

FTF: L1B IS ADMINISTERED FIRST, THEN L1C AND L1D ARE RANDOMLY ADMINISTERED AS THE 2ND OR 3RD NAMES. L1E AND L1F ARE THEN RANDOMLY ADMINISTERED AS THE 4TH OR 5TH NAMES.

L1b.   **Spec: 404_1**   **V000551**

Where would you place Bill Clinton on this issue? [DO NOT PROBE DK]

L1c.   **Spec: 404_2**   **V000557**

Where would you place Al Gore (on this issue)? [DO NOT PROBE DK]

L1d.   **Spec: 404_3**   **V000563**

Where would you place George W. Bush (on this issue)? [DO NOT PROBE DK]

L1e.   **Spec: 404_4**   **V000569**

Where would you place the Democratic Party (on this issue)? [DO NOT PROBE DK]

L1f.   **Spec: 404_5**   **V000575**

Where would you place the Republican Party (on this issue)? [DO NOT PROBE DK]

1 GOVT SHOULD PROVIDE MANY FEWER SERVICES   →NEXT NAME /PARTY OR →L2
2   →NEXT NAME /PARTY OR →L2
3   →NEXT NAME /PARTY OR →L2
4   →NEXT NAME /PARTY OR →L2
5   →NEXT NAME /PARTY OR →L2
6   →NEXT NAME /PARTY OR →L2
7 GOVT. SHOULD PROVIDE MANY MORE SERVICES   →NEXT NAME /PARTY OR →L2
8 DK   →NEXT NAME /PARTY OR →L2

⇒ If the Respondents reply that they "Haven't thought much about this", enter it as "Don't Know".

TELEPHONE: L1B.T IS ADMINISTERED FIRST, THEN L1C.T AND L1D.T ARE RANDOMLY ADMINISTERED AS THE 2ND OR 3RD NAMES. L1E.T AND L1F.T ARE THEN RANDOMLY ADMINISTERED AS THE 4TH OR 5TH NAMES.

𝒯 *L1b.T*   **Spec: 396_1**   **V000552**

What about Bill Clinton? Do you think he would like the government to provide fewer services in order to reduce spending or provide more services even if it means an increase in spending? [DO NOT PROBE DK]

1 FEWER SERVICES; REDUCE SPENDING→L1b1.T
5 MORE SERVICES; INCREASE SPENDING   →L1b2.T
7 SHOULD STAY THE SAME AS IT IS NOW [VOL]   →NEXT NAME
8 DK   →NEXT NAME

T   **L1b1.T**   **Spec: 397_1**   **V000553**

(IF CLINTON WOULD LIKE TO REDUCE SERVICES AND SPENDING)

(Do you think he would like to) reduce services and spending a great deal or (reduce services and spending) only some?

T   **L1b2.T**   **Spec: 398_1**   **V000554**

(IF CLINTON WOULD LIKE TO INCREASE SERVICES AND SPENDING)

(Do you think he would like to) increase services and spending a great deal or (increase services and spending) only some?

```
1 A GREAT DEAL          →NEXT NAME
5 ONLY SOME             →NEXT NAME
8 DK                    →NEXT NAME
```

V000555 5-PT BR SUMMARY
V000556 COMB.5PT/BR SUMM

T **L1c.T**   **Spec: 396_2**   **V000558**

What about Al Gore? (Do you think he would like the government to provide fewer services in order to reduce spending or provide more services even if it means an increase in spending?) [DO NOT PROBE DK]

```
1 FEWER SERVICES; REDUCE SPENDING→L1c1.T
5 MORE SERVICES; INCREASE SPENDING          →L1c2.T
7 SHOULD STAY THE SAME AS IT IS NOW [VOL]              →NEXT NAME /PARTY OR →L2.T
8 DK                                                  →NEXT NAME /PARTY OR →L2.T
```

T   **L1c1.T**   **Spec: 397_2**   **V000559**

(IF GORE WOULD LIKE TO REDUCE SERVICES AND SPENDING)

(Do you think he would like to) reduce services and spending a great deal or (reduce services and spending) only some?

T   **L1c2.T**   **Spec: 398_2**   **V000560**

(IF GORE WOULD LIKE TO INCREASE SERVICES AND SPENDING)

(Do you think he would like to) increase services and spending a great deal or (increase services and spending) only some?

```
1 A GREAT DEAL            →NEXT NAME /PARTY OR →L2.T
5 ONLY SOME               →NEXT NAME /PARTY OR →L2.T
8 DK                      →NEXT NAME /PARTY OR →L2.T
```

V000561 5-PT BR SUMMARY
V000562 COMB.5PT/BR SUMM

T **L1d.T**   **Spec: 396_3**   **V000564**

What about George W. Bush? (Do you think he would like the government to provide fewer services in order to reduce spending or provide more services even if it means an increase in spending?) [DO NOT PROBE DK]

```
1 FEWER SERVICES; REDUCE SPENDING→L1d1.T
5 MORE SERVICES; INCREASE SPENDING          →L1d2.T
7 SHOULD STAY THE SAME AS IT IS NOW [VOL]              →NEXT  NAME/PARTY OR →L2.T
8 DK                                                  →NEXT NAME/PARTY OR →L2.T
```

T   *L1d1.T*   **Spec: 397_3**   **V000565**

(IF GEORGE W. BUSH WOULD LIKE TO REDUCE SERVICES AND SPENDING)

(Do you think he would like to) reduce services and spending a great deal or (reduce services and spending) only some?

T   *L1d2.T*   **Spec: 398_3**   **V000566**

(IF GEORGE W. BUSH WOULD LIKE TO INCREASE SERVICES AND SPENDING)

(Do you think he would like to) increase services and spending a great deal or (increase services and spending) only some?

1 A GREAT DEAL	→NEXT NAME /PARTY OR →L2.T
5 ONLY SOME	→NEXT NAME /PARTY OR →L2.T
8 DK	→NEXT NAME /PARTY OR →L2.T

V000567 5-PT BR SUMMARY
V000568 COMB.5PT/BR SUMM

T   *L1e.T*   **Spec: 396_4**   **V000570**

What about the Democratic Party? (Do you think they would like the government to provide fewer services in order to reduce spending or provide more services even if it means an increase in spending?) [DO NOT PROBE DK]

1 FEWER SERVICES; REDUCE SPENDING→L1e1.T	
5 MORE SERVICES; INCREASE SPENDING	→L1e2.T
7 SHOULD STAY THE SAME AS IT IS NOW [VOL]	→NEXT PARTY OR →L2.T
8 DK	→NEXT PARTY OR →L2.T

T   *L1e1.T*   **Spec: 397_4**   **V000571**

(IF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY WOULD LIKE TO REDUCE SERVICES AND SPENDING)

(Do you think they would like to) reduce services and spending a great deal or (reduce services and spending) only some?

T   *L1e2.T*   **Spec: 398_4**   **V000572**

(IF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY WOULD LIKE TO INCREASE SERVICES AND SPENDING)

(Do you think they would like to) increase services and spending a great deal or (increase services and spending) only some?

1 A GREAT DEAL	→NEXT PARTY OR →L2.T
5 ONLY SOME	→NEXT PARTY OR →L2.T
8 DK	→NEXT PARTY OR →L2.T

V000573 5-PT BR SUMMARY
V000574 COMB.5PT/BR SUMM

T   *L1f.T*   **Spec: 396_5**   **V000576**

What about the Republican Party? (Do you think they would like the government to provide fewer services in order to reduce spending or provide more services even if it means an increase in spending?) [DO NOT PROBE DK]

1 FEWER SERVICES; REDUCE SPENDING→L1f1.T	
5 MORE SERVICES; INCREASE SPENDING	→L1f2.T
7 SHOULD STAY THE SAME AS IT IS NOW [VOL]	→NEXT PARTY OR →L2.T
8 DK	→NEXT PARTY OR →L2.T

𝒯   **L1f1.T**   Spec: **397_5**   **V000577**
(IF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY WOULD LIKE TO REDUCE SERVICES AND SPENDING)
(Do you think they would like to) reduce services and spending a great deal or (reduce services and spending) only some?

𝒯   **L1f2.T**   Spec: **398_5**   **V000578**
(IF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY WOULD LIKE TO INCREASE SERVICES AND SPENDING)
(Do you think they would like to) increase services and spending a great deal or (increase services and spending) only some?

```
1 A GREAT DEAL        →NEXT PARTY OR →L2.T
5 ONLY SOME           →NEXT PARTY OR →L2.T
8 DK                  →NEXT PARTY OR →L2.T
```

V000579 5-PT BR SUMMARY
V000580 COMB.5PT/BR SUMM

L2 - DEFENSE SPENDING

L2.
Please look at page 6 of the booklet.
Some people believe that we should spend much less money for defense. Suppose these people are at one end
of a scale, at point 1. Others feel that defense spending should be greatly increased. Suppose these people are
at the other end, at point 7. And, of course, some other people have opinions somewhere in between, at points
2,3,4,5 or 6.

L2a.   Spec: **416_**   **V000581**
Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?

```
1---------------2--------------3------------------4-----------------------5-------------6---------------7
GREATLY DECREASE                                          GREATLY INCREASE
DEFENSE SPENDING                                          DEFENSE SPENDING
1 GOVT SHOULD DECREASE DEFENSE SPENDING  →L2b
2                                        →L2b
3                                        →L2b
4                                        →L2b
5                                        →L2b
6                                        →L2b
7 GOVT. SHOULD INCREASE DEFENSE SPENDING →L2b
0 HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH ABOUT THIS        →L2b
8 DK                                     →L2b
```

𝒯 *L2.T*
*Some people believe that we should spend much less money for defense. Others feel that defense
spending should be greatly increased.*

𝒯 *L2a.T*   Spec: **407_**   **V000582**
Do you have an opinion on this issue or haven't you thought much about this?

```
1 YES, HAVE AN OPINION
5 NO, NO OPINION (HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH )  →L2b.T
8 DK                                      →L2b.T
```

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T　*L2a1.T*
(IF R HAS AN OPINION)
Do you feel the government should decrease defense spending, increase defense spending, or is the government spending on defense about the right amount now?

```
1 DECREASE DEFENSE SPENDING      →L2a1a.T
3 INCREASE DEFENSE SPENDING      →L2a1b.T
5 ABOUT THE  RIGHT AMOUNT        →L2b.T/L2c.T
8 DK                             →L2b.T/L2c.T
```

T　　*L2a1a.T*
(IF DECREASE DEFENSE SPENDING)
Should the government reduce defense spending a lot or a little?

```
1 A LOT      →L2bT/L2c.T
5 A LITTLE   →L2b.T/L2c.T
8 DK         →L2b.T/L2c.T
```

T　　　*L2a1b.T*
(IF INCREASE DEFENSE SPENDING)
Should the government increase defense spending a lot or a little?

```
1 A LOT      →L2b.T/L2c.T
5 A LITTLE   →L2b.T/L2c.T
8 DK         →L2b.T/L2c.T
```

FTF:　L2B AND L2C ARE RANDOMLY ADMINISTERED AS THE 1ST OR 2ND NAMES.
**　　　L2E AND L2F ARE THEN RANDOMLY ADMINISTERED AS THE 3RD OR 4TH NAMES.**

L2b.
(Still looking at Page 6).
Where would you place Al Gore on this issue? [DO NOT PROBE DK]

L2c.
(Still looking at Page 6).
Where would you place George W. Bush (on this issue)? [DO NOT PROBE DK]

L2d.
(Still looking at Page 6).
Where would you place the Democratic Party (on this issue)? [DO NOT PROBE DK]

L2e.
(Still looking at Page 6).
Where would you place the Republican Party (on this issue)? [DO NOT PROBE DK]

```
1 GOVT SHOULD DECREASE DEFENSE SPENDING  →NEXT  NAME/PARTY OR → L3
2                                        →NEXT  NAME/PARTY OR → L3
3                                        →NEXT  NAME/PARTY OR → L3
4                                        →NEXT  NAME/PARTY OR → L3
5                                        →NEXT  NAME/PARTY OR → L3
6                                        →NEXT  NAME/PARTY OR → L3
7 GOVT. SHOULD INCREASE DEFENSE SPENDING →NEXT  NAME/PARTY OR → L3
8 DK                                     →NEXT  NAME/PARTY OR → L3
```

⇒ If the Respondents reply that they "Haven't thought much about this", enter it as a "Don't Know" with an F2 note specifying their response.

TELEPHONE: L2b.T AND L2c.T ARE RANDOMLY ADMINISTERED AS 1ST OR 2ND NAMES.
L2d.T AND L2e.T ARE THEN RANDOMLY ADMINISTERED AS 3RD OR 4TH NAMES.

T *L2b.T* Spec: **413_1** **V000589**

What about Al Gore? Do you think he believes we should decrease defense spending, increase defense spending, or that Government spending on defense is about the right amount now? [DO NOT PROBE DK]

1 DECREASE DEFENSE SPENDING	→L2b1.T
3 INCREASE DEFENSE SPENDING	→L2b1.T
5 ABOUT THE RIGHT AMOUNT	→NEXT NAME/PARTY
8 DK	→NEXT NAME/PARTY

T *L2b1.T* Spec: **414_1** **V000590**

(IF DECREASE/INCREASE DEFENSE SPENDING)

A lot or a little?

1 A LOT	→NEXT NAME/PARTY OR →L3.T
5 A LITTLE	→NEXT NAME/PARTY OR →L3.T
8 DK	→NEXT NAME.PARTY OR →L3.T

V000591 5-PT BR SUMMARY
V000592 COMB.5PT/B R SUMM

T *L2c.T* Spec: **413_2** **V000594**

What about George W. Bush? (Do you think he believes we should decrease defense spending, increase defense spending, or that Government spending on defense is about the right amount now?) [DO NOT PROBE DK]

1 DECREASE DEFENSE SPENDING	→L2c1.T
3 INCREASE DEFENSE SPENDING	→L2c1.T
5 ABOUT THE RIGHT AMOUNT	→NEXT NAME/PARTY OR →L3.T
8 DK	→NEXT NAME/PARTY OR →L3.T

T *L2c1.T* Spec: **414_2** **V000595**

(IF DECREASE/INCREASE DEFENSE SPENDING)

A lot or a little?

1 A LOT	→NEXT NAME/PARTY OR →L3.T
5 A LITTLE	→NEXT NAME/PARTY OR →L3.T
8 DK	→NEXT NAME/PARTY OR →L3.T

V000596 5-PT BR SUMMARY
V000597 COMB.5PT/BR SUMM

T *L2d.T* Spec: **413_3** **V000599**

What about the Democratic Party? (Do you think they believe we should decrease defense spending, increase defense spending, or that Government spending on defense is about the right amount now? [DO NOT PROBE DK]

1 DECREASE DEFENSE SPENDING	→L2d1.T
3 INCREASE DEFENSE SPENDING	→L2d1.T
5 ABOUT THE RIGHT AMOUNT	→NEXT PARTY OR →L3.T
8 DK	→NEXT PARTY OR →L3.T

T   *L2d1.T*   **Spec: 414_3**   **V000600**

(IF DECREASE/INCREASE DEFENSE SPENDING)

A lot or a little?

1 A LOT	→NEXT PARTY OR →L3.T
5 A LITTLE	→NEXT PARTY OR →L3.T
8 DK	→NEXT PARTY OR →L3.T

V000601 5-PT BR SUMMARY
V000602 COMB.5PT/BR SUMM

T L2e.T   **Spec: 413_4**   **V000604**

What about the Republican Party? (Do you think they believes we should decrease defense spending, increase defense spending, or that Government spending on defense is about the right amount now?)
[DO NOT PROBE DK]

1 DECREASE DEFENSE SPENDING	→L2e1.T
3 INCREASE DEFENSE SPENDING	→L2e1.T
5 ABOUT THE RIGHT AMOUNT	→NEXT PARTY OR →L3.T
8 DK	→NEXT PARTY OR →L3.T

T   *L2e1.T*   **Spec: 414_4**   **V000605**

(IF DECREASE/INCREASE DEFENSE SPENDING)

A lot or a little?

1 A LOT	→NEXT PARTY OR L3.T
5 A LITTLE	→NEXT PARTY OR L3.T
8 DK	→NEXT PARTY OR L3.T

V000606 5-PT BR SUMMARY
V000607 COMB.5PT/BR SUMM

L3 - GOVERNMENT MEDICAL INSURANCE

FTF: **L3 SHOULD BE ADMINISTERED TO HALF THE SAMPLE AND L3.E SHOULD BE ADMINISTERED TO THE OTHER HALF**

TELEPHONE: L3.T SHOULD BE ADMINISTERED TO HALF THE SAMPLE AND L3.TE SHOULD BE ADMINISTERED TO THE OTHER HALF

V000608 CKPT: FTF/Ph, reg/exp.

L3.
Please look at page 7 of the booklet.
There is much concern about the rapid rise in medical and hospital costs. Some people feel there should
be a government insurance plan which would cover all medical and hospital expenses for everyone. Suppose
these people are at one end of a scale, at point 1. Others feel that all medical expenses should be paid by

individuals through private insurance plans like Blue Cross or other company paid plans. Suppose these people are at the other end, at point 7. And, of course, some other people have opinions somewhere in between, at points 2,3,4,5, or 6.

L3a.

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

```
1-------------2-------------3--------------------4-----------------------5-------------6-------------7
GOVERNMENT INSURANCE                                      PRIVATE INSURANCE
PLAN                                                      PLAN
```

1 GOVT INSURANCE PLAN	→ SKIP TO L4
2	→ SKIP TO L4
3	→ SKIP TO L4
4	→ SKIP TO L4
5	→ SKIP TO L4
6	→ SKIP TO L4
7 PRIVATE INSURANCE PLAN	→ SKIP TO L4
0 HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH ABOUT THIS	→ SKIP TO L4
8 DK	→ SKIP TO L4

L3. E

Please look at page 8 of the booklet.

There is much concern about the rapid rise in medical and hospital costs. Some people feel that all medical expenses should be paid by individuals through private insurance plans like Blue Cross or other company paid plans. Suppose these people are at one end of a scale, at point 1. Others feel there should be a government insurance plan which would cover all medical and hospital expenses for everyone. Suppose these people are a t the other end, at point 7. And, of course, some other people have opinions somewhere in between, at points 2,3,4,5, or 6.

L3a.E

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

```
1---------------2---------------3-------------------4-----------------------5---------------6----------------7
PRIVATE INSURANCE                                       GOVERNMENT INSURANCE
 PLAN                                                   PLAN
```

1 PRIVATE INSURANCE PLAN	→L4
2	→L4
3	→L4
4	→L4
5	→L4
6	→L4
7 GOVT INSURANCE PLAN	→L4
0 HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH ABOUT THIS	→L4
8 DK	→L4

T *L3.T*

There is much concern about the rapid rise in medical and hospital costs. Some people feel there should be a government insurance plan which would cover all medical and hospital expenses for everyone. Others feel that all medical expenses should be paid by individuals through private insurance plans like Blue Cross or other company paid plans.

T *L3a.T*   Spec: **422__**   **V000610a**

Which is closer to the way you feel or haven't you thought much about this?

1 SHOULD BE A GOVT INSURANCE PLAN	→ SKIP TO L3a1.T
5 INDIVIDUALS SHOULD PAY MEDICAL EXPENSES THROUGH PRIVATE INSURANCE PLAN	→ SKIP TO L3a2.T
7 SHOULD STAY THE SAME AS IT IS NOW [VOL]	→ SKIP TO L4
0 HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH ABOUT THIS	→ SKIP TO L4.T
8 DK	→ SKIP TO L4.T

T *L3.TE*

There is much concern about the rapid rise in medical and hospital costs. Some people feel that all
medical expenses should be paid by individuals through private insurance plans like Blue Cross
or other company paid plans. Others feel there should be a government insurance plan which would
cover all medical and hospital expenses for everyone.

T *L3a.TE*   Spec: **423__**   **V000610b**

Which is closer to the way you feel or haven't you thought much about this?

1 INDIVIDUALS SHOULD PAY MEDICAL EXPENSES THROUGH PRIVATE INSURANCE PLAN	→L3a2.T
5 SHOULD BE A GOVT INSURANCE PLAN	→L3a1.T
7 SHOULD STAY THE SAME AS IT IS NOW	→L4.T
0 HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH ABOUT THIS	→L4.T
8 DK	→L4.T

                                                                                                                                   V000611 COMB. PH VERSIONS

T   *L3a1.T*   Spec: **424__**   **V000612**

(IF GOVERNMENT INSURANCE PLAN)
Do you feel strongly or not strongly that there should be a a government insurance plan?
L3a2.T
(IF PRIVATE INSURANCE PLAN)
Do you feel strongly or not strongly that individuals should pay through private insurance plan?

1 STRONGLY	→ L4.T
5 NOT STRONGLY	→ L4.T
8 DK	→ L4.T

                                                                                                                                   V000613 5-PT BR SUMMARY
                                                                                                                                   V000614 COMB.5PT/BR SUMM

L4 - GUARANTEED JOB/STANDARD OF LIVING

L4.

Please look at page 9 of the booklet.

Some people feel the government in Washington should see to it that every person has a job and a good
standard of living. Suppose these people are at one end of a scale, at point 1. Others think the government
should just let each person get ahead on their own. Suppose these people are at the other end, at point 7. And,
of course, some other people have opinions somewhere in between, at points 2,3,4,5, or 6.

L4a.

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

```
          1-----------2-----------3---------------4-----------------5-----------6-----------7
GOVERNMENT SHOULD                                   GOVERNMENT SHOULD
SEE TO A JOB AND                                    LET EACH PERSON
GOOD STANDARD OF LIVING                             GET AHEAD ON OWN
```

1 GOVT SHOULD SEE TO JOBS AND STANDARD OF LIVING	→L4b.
2	→L4b.
3	→L4b.
4	→L4b.
5	→L4b.
6	→L4b.
7 GOVT. SHOULD LET EACH PERSON GET AHEAD ON OWN	→L4b.
0 HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH ABOUT THIS	→L4b.
8 DK	→L4b.

𝑻 *L4.T*

Some people feel the government in Washington should see to it that every person has a job and a good standard of living. Others think the government should just let each person get ahead on their own.

𝑻 *L4a.T*

Which is closer to the way you feel or haven't you thought much about this?

1 GOVT SHOULD SEE TO JOBS AND STANDARD OF LIVING	→L4a1.T
5 GOVT. SHOULD LET EACH PERSON GET AHEAD ON OWN	→L4a2.T
7 OTHER, IT DEPENDS, NEITHER [VOL]	→L4b.T / L4c.T
0 HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH ABOUT THIS	→L4b.T / L4c.T
8 DK	→L4b.T / L4c.T

𝑻   *L4a1.T*

(IFGOVT SHOULD SEE TO JOBS AND STANDARD OF LIVING)

Do you feel strongly that the government should see to it that every person has a job and a good standard of living, or not so strongly?

1 STRONGLY	→ L4b.T/L4c.T
5 NOT STRONGLY	→ L4b.T/ L4c.T
8 DK	→ L4b.T/ L4c.T

𝑻   *L4a2T*

(IFGOVT SHOULD LET EACH PERSON GET AHEAD ON OWN)

Do you feel strongly that the government should just let each person get ahead on their own, or not so strongly?

1 STRONGLY	→ L4b.T/L4c.T
5 NOT STRONGLY	→ L4b.T/L4c.T
8 DK	→ L4b.T/L4c.T

FTF: L4B AND L4C ARE RANDOMLY ADMINISTERED AS THE 1ST OR 2ND NAMES. L4E AND L4F ARE THEN RANDOMLY ADMINISTERED AS THE 3RD OR 4TH NAMES.

L4b.

(Still looking at Page 9)

Where would you place Al Gore on this issue? [DO NOT PROBE DK]

L4c.

(Still looking at Page 9)

Where would you place George W. Bush (on this issue)? [DO NOT PROBE DK]

Spec: **441_2**   **V000626**

L4d.

(Still looking at Page 9)

Where would you place the Democratic Party (on this issue)? [DO NOT PROBE DK]

Spec: **441_3**   **V000631**

L4e.

(Still looking at Page 9)

Where would you place the Republican Party (on this issue)? [DO NOT PROBE DK]

Spec: **441_4**   **V000636**

1 GOVT SHOULD SEE TO JOBS AND STANDARD OF LIVING	→NEXT NAME/PARTY OR →L5.
2	→NEXT NAME/PARTY OR →L5.
3	→NEXT NAME/PARTY OR →L5
4	→NEXT NAME/PARTY OR →L5
5	→NEXT NAME/PARTY OR →L5
6	→NEXT NAME/PARTY OR →L5
7 GOVT. SHOULD LET EACH PERSON GET AHEAD ON OWN	→NEXT NAME/PARTY OR →L5
8 DK	→NEXT NAME/PARTY OR →L5

⇒ If the Respondents reply that they "Haven't thought much about this", enter it as a "Don't Know" with an F2 note specifying their response.

TELEPHONE: L4B.T AND L4C.T ARE RANDOMLY ADMINISTERED AS THE 1ST OR 2ND NAMES.
L4E.T AND L4F.T ARE THEN RANDOMLY ADMINISTERED AS THE 3RD OR 4TH NAMES.

T *L4b.T*

Spec: **434_1**   **V000622**

What about Al Gore? Do you think he feels government should see to it that every person has a job and a good standard of living, or that government should just let each person get ahead on their own?
[DO NOT PROBE DK]

1 GOVT SHOULD SEE TO JOBS AND STANDARD OF LIVING	→L4b1.T
5 GOVT. SHOULD LET EACH PERSON GET AHEAD ON OWN	→ L4b2T
7 OTHER/ITDEPENDS/NEITHER [VOL]	→ NEXT NAME/PARTY OR →L5.T
8 DK	→NEXT NAME/PARTY OR →L5.T

T   *L4b1.T*

Spec: **435_1**   **V000623**

(IF GORE POSITION IS THAT GOVT SHOULD SEE TO JOB AND STANDARD OF LIVING)
Do you think he feels strongly or not strongly that the government should see to jobs and a good standard of living?
L4b2.T

T   *(IF GORE POSITION IS THAT GOVT SHOULD LET EACH ON OWN)*
Do you think he feels strongly or not strongly that the government should just let each person get ahead on their own?

1 STRONGLY	→NEXT NAME/PARTY OR →L5.T
5 NOT STRONGLY	→NEXT NAME/PARTY OR →L5.T
8 DK	→NEXT NAME.PARTY OR →L5.T

V000624 5-PT BR SUMMARY
V000625 COMB.5PT/BR SUMM

50

𝑻 *L4c.T*　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　Spec: **434_2**　　　　**V000627**

What about George W. Bush? (Do you think he feels government should see to it that every person has a
job and a good standard of living, or that government should just let each person get ahead on their own?)
[DO NOT PROBE DK]

1 GOVT SHOULD SEE TO JOBS AND STANDARD OF LIVING →L4c1.T
5 GOVT. SHOULD LET EACH PERSON GET AHEAD ON OWN → L4c1.T
7 OTHER/ITDEPENDS/NEITHER [VOL]　　　　　　　→ NEXT NAME/PARTY OR →L5.T
8 DK　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　→NEXT NAME/PARTY OR →L5.T

𝑻　　　　*L4c1.T*　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　Spec: **435_2**　　　　**V000628**

(IF GEORGE W. BUSH POSITION IS THAT GOVT SHOULD SEE TO JOB AND STANDARD OF LIVING)
Do you think he feels strongly or not strongly that the government should see to jobs and a good
standard of living?

𝑻　　　*L4c2.T*

(hF GEORGE W. BUSH POSITION IS THAT GOVT SHOULD LET EACH ON OWN)
Do you think he feels strongly or not strongly that the government should just let each person get
ahead on their own ?

1 STRONGLY　　　　　→NEXT NAME/PARTY OR →L5.T
5 NOT STRONGLY　→NEXT NAME/PARTY OR →L5.T
8 DK　　　　　　　　→NEXT NAME.PARTY OR →L5.T

V000629 5-PT BR SUMMARY
V000630 COMB.5PT/BR SUMM

𝑻 *L4d.T*　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　Spec: **434_3**　　　　**V000632**

What about the Democratic Party? (Do you think they feel government should see to it that every person
has a job and a good standard of living, or that government should just let each person get ahead on their
own?) [DO NOT PROBE DK]

1 GOVT SHOULD SEE TO JOBS AND STANDARD OF LIVING →L4d1.T
5 GOVT. SHOULD LET EACH PERSON GET AHEAD ON OWN → L4d1.T
7 OTHER/ITDEPENDS/NEITHER [VOL]　　　　　　　→ NEXT PARTY OR →L5.T
8 DK　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　→NEXT PARTY OR →L5.T

𝑻　　　　*L4d1.T*　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　Spec: **435_3**　　　　**V000633**

(IF DEM PARTY POSITION IS THAT GOVT SHOULD SEE TO JOB AND STANDARD OF LIVING
Do you think they feel strongly or not strongly that the government should see to jobs and a good
standard of living?

𝑻　　　*L4d2.T*

(IF DEM PARTY POSITION IS THAT GOVT SHOULD LET EACH ON OWN)
Do you think they feel strongly or not strongly that the government should just let each person get
ahead on their own ?

1 STRONGLY　　　　→NEXT PARTY OR →L5.T
5 NOT STRONGLY　→NEXT PARTY OR →L5.T
8 DK　　　　　　　→NEXT PARTY OR →L5.T

V000634 5-PT BR SUMMARY
V000635 COMB.5PT/BR SUMM

T *L4e.T*

What about the Republican Party? (Do you think they feel government should see to it that every person has a job and a good standard of living, or that government should just let each person get ahead on their own?) [DO NOT PROBE DK]

1 GOVT SHOULD SEE TO JOBS AND STANDARD OF LIVING   →L4e1.T
5 GOVT. SHOULD LET EACH PERSON GET AHEAD ON OWN   →NEXT PARTY OR →L5.T
7 OTHER/ITDEPENDS/NEITHER [VOL]   →L4e1.T
8 DK   →NEXT PARTY OR →L5.T

T   *L4e1.T*   Spec: **435_4**   **V000638**
          (IF REPUB PARTY POSITION IS THAT GOVT SHOULD SEE TO JOB AND STANDARD OF LIVING
          Do you think they feel strongly or not strongly that the government should see to jobs and a good standard of living?

T   *L4e2.T*
          (IF REPUB PARTY POSITION IS THAT GOVT SHOULD LET EACH ON OWN)
          Do you think they feel strongly or not strongly that the government should just let each person get ahead on their own ?

1 STRONGLY   →NEXT PARTY OR L5.T
5 NOT STRONGLY   →NEXT PARTY OR L5.T
8 DK   →NEXT PARTY OR L5.T

                                                          V000639 5-PT BR SUMMARY
                                                          V000640 COMB.5PT/BR SUMM

| **L5 - AID TO BLACKS** |

L5.

Please look at page 10 of the booklet.

Some people feel that the government in Washington should make every effort to improve the social and economic position of blacks. (Suppose these people are at one end of a scale, at point 1.) Others feel that the government should not make any special effort to help blacks because they should help themselves. (Suppose these people are at the other end, at point 7.) And, of course, some other people have opinions somewhere in between, at points 2,3,4,5, or 6.

L5a.   Spec: **455__**   **V000641**

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

```
          1-----------2-----------3-----------4-----------5-----------6-----------7
GOVERNMENT SHOULD                                 BLACKS SHOULD
HELP BLACKS                                       HELP THEMSELVES
```

1 GOVT SHOULD HELP BLACKS   →L5b.
2   →L5b.
3   →L5b.
4   →L5b.
5   →L5b.
6   →L5b.
7 BLACKS SHOULD HELP THEMSELVES   →L5b.
0 HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH ABOUT THIS →L5b.
8 DK   →L5b.

T L5.T

Some people feel that the government in Washington should make every effort to improve the social and economic position of blacks. Others feel that the government should not make any special effort to help blacks because they should help themselves.

T L5a.T   Spec: **443__**   **V000642**

Which is closer to the way you feel, or haven't you thought much about this?

1 GOVT SHOULD HELP BLACKS	→L5a1.T
5 BLACKS SHOULD HELP THEMSELVES	→L5a1.T
7 OTHER, IT DEPENDS, NEITHER [VOL]	→L5b.T
0 HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH ABOUT THIS	→L5b.T
8 DK	→L5b.T

T   **L5a1.T**   Spec: **444__**   **V000643**

    (IFOPINION IS THAT GOVT SHOULD HELP BLACKS)

    Should the government help blacks to a great extent or only to some extent?

    L5a2.T

    (IF OPINION IS THAT BLACKS SHOULD HELP THEMSELVES)

    Should blacks have to help themselves to a great extent or only to some extent?

1 GREAT EXTENT	→ L5b.T
5 ONLY SOME	→ L5b.T
8 DK	→ L5b.T

V000644 5-PT BR SUMMARY
V000645 COMB.5PT/BR SUMM

FTF: **L5B IS ADMINISTERED FIRST, THEN L5C AND L5D ARE RANDOMLY ADMINISTERED AS THE 2ND**
        OR 3RD NAMES. L5E AND L5F ARE THEN RANDOMLY ADMINISTERED AS THE 4TH OR 5TH NAMES.

L5b.
(Still looking at page 10)   Spec: **459_1**   **V000646**
Where would you place Bill Clinton on this issue? [DO NOT PROBE DK]
L5c.
(Still looking at page 10)   Spec: **459_2**   **V000651**
Where would you place Al Gore (on this issue)? [DO NOT PROBE DK]
L5d.
(Still looking at page 10)   Spec: **459_3**   **V000656**
Where would you place George W. Bush (on this issue)? [DO NOT PROBE DK]
L5e.
(Still looking at page 10)   Spec: **459_4**   **V000661**
Where would you place the Democratic Party (on this issue)? [DO NOT PROBE DK]
L5f.
(Still looking at page 10)   Spec: **459_5**   **V000666**
Where would you place the Republican Party (on this issue)? [DO NOT PROBE DK]

1 GOVT SHOULD HELP BLACKS	→NEXT NAME/PARTY OR →L6.
2	→NEXT NAME/PARTY OR →L6.
3	→NEXT NAME/PARTY OR →L6.
4	→NEXT NAME/PARTY OR →L6.

5	→NEXT NAME/PARTY OR →L6.
6	→NEXT NAME/PARTY OR →L6.
7 BLACKS SHOULD HELP THEMSELVES	→NEXT NAME/PARTY OR →L6.
8 DK	→NEXT NAME/PARTY OR →L6.

⇒ If the Respondents reply that they "Haven't thought much about this", enter it as a "Don't Know" with an F2 note specifying their response.

TELEPHONE: **L5B.T IS ADMINISTERED FIRST, THEN L5C.T AND L5D.T ARE RANDOMLY ADMINISTERED AS THE 2ND OR 3RD NAMES. L5E.T AND L5F.T ARE THEN RANDOMLY ADMINISTERED AS THE 4TH OR 5TH NAMES.**

T *L5b.T*   Spec: **447_1**   **V000647**

What about Bill Clinton? (Do you think he feels that government should make every effort to improve the social and economic position of blacks, or that government should not make any special effort to help blacks because they should help themselves?) [DO NOT PROBE DK]

1 GOVT SHOULD HELP BLACKS	→L5b1.T
5 BLACKS SHOULD HELP THEMSELVES	→L5b1.T
7 OTHER/ITDEPENDS/NEITHER [VOL]	→NEXT NAME
8 DK	→NEXT NAME

T   *L5b1.T*   Spec: **448_1**   **V000648**

(IFCLINTON THINKS GOVT SHOULD HELP BLACKS)
(Do you think he feels the government should) help blacks to a great extent or only to some extent?

T   *L5b2.T*
(IF CLINTON THINKS BLACKS SHOULD HELP THEMSELVES)
(Do you think he feels blacks should have to) help themselves to a great extent or only to some extent?

1 GREAT EXTENT	→NEXT NAME
5 ONLY SOME	→NEXT NAME
8 DK	→NEXT NAME

V000649 5-PT BR SUMMARY
V000650 COMB.5PT/BR SUMM

T *L5c.T*   Spec: **447_2**   **V000652**

What about Al Gore? (Do you think he feels that government should make every effort to improve the social and economic position of blacks, or that government should not make any special effort to help blacks because they should help themselves?) [DO NOT PROBE DK]

1 GOVT SHOULD HELP BLACKS	→L5c1.T
5 BLACKS SHOULD HELP THEMSELVES	→L5c1.T
7 OTHER/ITDEPENDS/NEITHER [VOL]	→NEXT NAME./PARTY
8 DK	→NEXT NAME./PARTY

T   *L5c1.T*   Spec: **448_2**   **V000653**

(IF GORE THINKS GOVT SHOULD HELP BLACKS)
(Do you think he feels the government should) help blacks to a great extent or only to some extent?

𝗧   *L5c2.T*

    (IF GORE THINKS BLACKS SHOULD HELP THEMSELVES)

    (Do you think he feels blacks should have to) help themselves to a great extent or only to some extent?

1 GREAT EXTENT   →NEXT NAME./PARTY
5 ONLY SOME   →NEXT NAME./PARTY
8 DK   →NEXT NAME./PARTY

                                                  V000654 5-PT BR SUMMARY
                                                  V000655 COMB.5PT/BR SUMM

𝗧 *L5d.T*   **Spec: 447_3**   **V000657**

    What about George W. Bush?   (Do you think he feels that government should make every effort to improve the social and economic position of blacks, or that government should not make any special effort to help blacks because they should help themselves?) [DO NOT PROBE DK]

1 GOVT SHOULD HELP BLACKS   →L5d1.T
5 BLACKS SHOULD HELP THEMSELVES →L5d1.T
7 OTHER/ITDEPENDS/NEITHER [VOL]   →NEXT NAME/PARTY.
8 DK   →NEXT NAME/PARTY

𝗧   *L5d1.T*   **Spec: 448_3**   **V000658**

    (IF GEORGE W. BUSH THINKS GOVT SHOULD HELP BLACKS)

    (Do you think he feels the government should) help blacks to a great extent or only to some extent?

𝗧   *L5d2.T*

    (IF GEORGE W. BUSH THINKS BLACKS SHOULD HELP THEMSELVES)

    (Do you think he feels blacks should have to) help themselves to a great extent or only to some extent?

1 GREAT EXTENT   →NEXT NAME/PARTY
5 ONLY SOME   →NEXT NAME/PARTY
8 DK   →NEXT NAME.PARTY

                                                  V000659 5-PT BR SUMMARY
                                                  V000660 COMB.5PT/BR SUMM

𝗧 *L5e.T*   **Spec: 447_4**   **V000662**

    What about the Democratic Party? (Do you think they feel that government should make every effort to improve the social and economic position of blacks, or that government should not make any special effort to help blacks because they should help themselves?) [DO NOT PROBE DK]

1 GOVT SHOULD HELP BLACKS   →L5e1.T
5 BLACKS SHOULD HELP THEMSELVES →L5e1.T
7 OTHER/ITDEPENDS/NEITHER [VOL]   →NEXT PARTY OR → L6.
8 DK   →NEXT PARTY OR →L6.

𝗧   *L5e1.T*   **Spec: 448_4**   **V000663**

    (IF DEMOCRATIC PARTY THINKS GOVT SHOULD HELP BLACKS)

    (Do you think they feel the government should) help blacks to a great extent or only to some extent?

𝗧   *L5e2.T*

    (IF DEMOCRATIC PARTY THINKS BLACKS SHOULD HELP THEMSELVES)

    (Do you think they feel blacks should have to) help themselves to a great extent or only to some extent?

```
1 GREAT EXTENT      →NEXT PARTY OR →L6.
5 ONLY SOME         →NEXT PARTY OR →L6.
8 DK                →NEXT PARTY OR →L6.
```

V000664 5-PT BR SUMMARY
V000665 COMB.5PT/BR SUMM

𝑻 *L5f.T*　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　Spec: **447_5**　　**V000667**

What about the Republican Party? (Do you think they feel that government should make every effort to
improve the social and economic position of blacks, or that government should not make any special
effort to help blacks because they should help themselves?) [DO NOT PROBE DK]

```
1 GOVT SHOULD HELP BLACKS           →L5fl.T
5 BLACKS SHOULD HELP THEMSELVES     →L5f1.T
7 OTHER/ITDEPENDS/NEITHER [VOL]     →NEXT PARTY OR → L6.
8 DK                                →NEXT PARTY OR →L6.
```

𝑻　　*L5f1.T*　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　Spec: **448_5**　　**V000668**

(IF REPUBLICAN PARTY THINKS GOVT SHOULD HELP BLACKS)

(Do you think they feel the government should) help blacks to a great extent or only to some extent?

𝑻　　*L5f2.T*

(IF REPUBLICAN PARTY THINKS BLACKS SHOULD HELP THEMSELVES)

(Do you think they feel blacks should have to) help themselves to a great extent or only to some extent?

```
1 GREAT EXTENT    →NEXT PARTY OR L6.
5 ONLY SOME       →NEXT PARTY OR L6.
8 DK              →NEXT PARTY OR L6.
```

V000669 5-PT BR SUMMARY
V000670 COMB.5PT/BR SUMM

L6 - AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

L6 SHOULD BE ADMINISTERED TO HALF THE SAMPLE AND L6.E SHOULD BE ADMINISTERED TO
THE OTHER HALF

L6.　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　Spec: **466__**　　**V000671a**

Some people think that if a company has a history of discriminating against blacks when making
hiring decisions, then they should be required to have an affirmative action program that gives
blacks preference in hiring. What do you think? Should companies that have discriminated against
blacks have to have an affirmative action program?

```
1 YES, THEY SHOULD HAVE TO HAVE AFFIRMATIVE ACTION          →GOTO L6a
5 NO, THEY SHOULD NOT HAVE TO HAVE AFFIRMATIVE ACTION       →GOTO L6b
7 OTHER (SPECIFY) [VOL]                                     →GOTO L7
8 DK                                                        →GO TO L7
```

L6. E

Some people think that if a company has a history of discriminating against blacks when making hiring decisions, then they should be required to have an affirmative action program that gives blacks preference in hiring. What do you think? Should companies that have discriminated against blacks have to have an affirmative action program or should companies <u>not</u> have to have an affirmative action program?

```
1 YES, THEY SHOULD HAVE TO HAVE AFFIRMATIVE ACTION          GOTO L6a
5 NO, THEY SHOULD NOT HAVE TO HAVE AFFIRMATIVE ACTION        GOTO L6b
7 OTHER (SPECIFY) [VOL]                                      GOTO L7
8 DK                                                         GOTO L7
```

L6a.

(IF SHOULD HAVE TO HAVE)

Do you feel strongly or not strongly (that they should have to have affirmative action)?

```
1 STRONGLY                            →GOTO L7
5 NOT STRONGLY                        →GOTO L7
8 DK                                  →GOTO L7
```

L6b.

(IF SHOULD NOT HAVE TO HAVE)

Do you feel strongly or not strongly (that they should not have to have affirmative action)?

```
1 STRONGLY
5 NOT STRONGLY
8 DK
```

V000674 SUMMARY

L7-L9 - FEDERAL BUDGET

L7.

Next I am going to read you a list of federal programs. For each one, I would like you to tell me whether you would like to see spending increased or decreased. The first program is :

L7a.

Building and repairing highways.

If you had a say in making up the federal budget this year, should federal spending on BUILDING AND REPAIRING HIGHWAYS be increased decreased or kept about the same?)

```
1 INCREASED
3 DECREASED
5 KEPT ABOUT THE SAME
7 CUT OUT ENTIRELY
8 DK
```

⇒ We have printed the stem of the question ("Should federal spending on _____ be increased, decreased, or kept about the same?") in the first two questions (L7 and L7b). Please repeat it as often as necessary to keep the answer categories in the respondent's mind.

⇒ These are specific government programs. If R asks what these are, the answer is "whatever it means to you."

⇒ The "cut-out entirely" response is always a volunteered one, and never read to R.

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L7B-L7P RANDOMIZED

What about <L7b-L7p>? (Should federal spending on <L7b-L7p> be increased, decreased, or kept about the same?)

L7b. WELFARE PROGRAMS?	Spec: **473_1**	**V000676**
L7c. SPENDING ON AIDS RESEARCH?	Spec: **473_2**	**V000677**
L7d. FOREIGN AID	Spec: **473_3**	**V000678**
L7e. FOOD STAMPS	Spec: **473_4**	**V000679**
L7f. AID TO POOR PEOPLE	Spec: **473_5**	**V000680**
L7g. SOCIAL SECURITY	Spec: **473_6**	**V000681**
L7h. ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION	Spec: **473_7**	**V000682**
L7j. PUBLIC SCHOOLS	Spec: **473_8**	**V000683**
L7k. DEALING WITH CRIME	Spec: **473_9**	**V000684**
L7m. CHILD CARE	Spec: **473_10**	**V000685**
L7n. TIGHTENING BORDER SECURITY TO PREVENT ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION	Spec: **473_11**	**V000686**
L7p. AID TO BLACKS	Spec: **473_12**	**V000687**

1 INCREASED
3 DECREASED
5 KEPT ABOUT THE SAME
7 CUT OUT ENTIRELY [VOL]
8 DK

L8.   Spec: **479__**   **V000688**

Recently, there has been a lot of talk about how to spend the extra money the federal government is likely to have in the near future. Some people have proposed that most of the expected federal budget surplus should be used to cut taxes. Do you approve or disapprove of this proposal?

1 APPROVE
5 DISAPPROVE
8 DON'T KNOW   →SKIP TO L9

L8a.   Spec: **480__**   **V000689**
(IF APPROVE)
Do you approve of this proposal strongly or not strongly?

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L8b.

(IF DISAPPROVE)

Do you disapprove of this proposal strongly or not strongly?

1 STRONGLY
5 NOT STRONGLY
8 DK

V000690 SUMMARY

L9.

Spec: **481__**   **V000691**

Some people have proposed that most of the expected federal budget surplus should go to protecting social security and Medicare. Do you approve or disapprove of this proposal?

1 APPROVE
5 DISAPPROVE
8 DON'T KNOW   →SKIP TO M1

L9a.

Spec: **482__**   **V000692**

(IF APPROVE)

Do you approve of this proposal strongly or not strongly?

1 STRONGLY
5 NOT STRONGLY
8 DK

L9b.

(IF DISAPPROVE)

Do you approve of this proposal strongly or not strongly?

1 STRONGLY
5 NOT STRONGLY
8 DK

V000693 SUMMARY

SECTION M

M1-M3 - ABORTION

M1.

Spec: **491__**   **V000694**

Please look at page 11 of the booklet.

There has been some discussion about abortion during recent years. Which one of the opinions on this page best agrees with your view? You can just tell me the number of the opinion you choose.

𝕋 *M1.T*

There has been some discussion about abortion during recent years. I am going to read you a short list of opinions. Please tell me which one of the opinions best agrees with your view? You can just tell me the number of the opinion you choose.

1. BY LAW, ABORTION SHOULD NEVER BE PERMITTED.
2 THE LAW SHOULD PERMIT ABORTION ONLY IN CASE OF RAPE, INCEST, OR WHEN THE WOMAN'S LIFE IS IN DANGER.
3 THE LAW SHOULD PERMIT ABORTION FOR REASONS OTHER THAN RAPE, INCEST, OR DANGER TO THE WOMAN'S LIFE,
  BUT ONLYAFTER THE NEED FOR THE ABORTION HAS BEEN CLEARLY ESTABLISHED.

4 BY LAW, A WOMAN SHOULD ALWAYS BE ABLE TO OBTAIN AN ABORTION AS A MATTER OF PERSONAL CHOICE.
7 OTHER (SPECIFY) [VOL]
8 DK

⇒ The respondent reads the response options to this question. Give R plenty of time to think this one over. People usually have strong feelings on the subject, but it takes them a while to match their feelings with one of the response options.
⇒ If R says, "none of these agrees with my view," enter "OTHER, SPECIFY" and PROBE for R's view. (Try not to let a digression develop – a one sentence equivalent of the other alternatives is just fine.)

M1a.   Spec: **492__**   **V000695**

How important is this issue to you personally? Not at all important, not too important, somewhat important, very important, or extremely important?

1 NOT AT ALL IMPORTANT
2 NOT TOO IMPORTANT
3 SOMEWHAT IMPORTANT
4 VERY IMPORTANT
5 EXTREMELY IMPORTANT

THE ORDER IN WHICH ABORTION ITEMS M1B/M1B.T AND M1C/M1C.T ARE ADMINISTERED FOR PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES IS RANDOMIZED (WITH M1B1 AND M1C1 FOLLOW-UPS ALWAYS IMMEDIATELY TIED TO APPROPRIATE LEAD-IN)

M1b.   Spec: **494_1**   **V000696**

Where would you place Al Gore on abortion? [DO NOT PROBE DK]

T M1b.T

What about Al Gore (on abortion)? Which opinion best agrees with his views? [DO NOT PROBE DK]

1. BY LAW, ABORTION SHOULD NEVER BE PERMITTED.
2 THE LAW SHOULD PERMIT ABORTION ONLY IN CASE OF RAPE, INCEST, OR WHEN THE WOMAN'S LIFE IS IN DANGER.
3 THE LAW SHOULD PERMIT ABORTION FOR REASONS OTHER THAN RAPE, INCEST, OR DANGER TO THE WOMAN'S LIFE,
   BUT ONLYAFTER THE NEED FOR THE ABORTION HAS BEEN CLEARLY ESTABLISHED.
4 BY LAW, A WOMAN SHOULD ALWAYS BE ABLE TO OBTAIN AN ABORTION AS A MATTER OF PERSONAL CHOICE.
7 OTHER (SPECIFY) [VOL]
8 DK   → SKIP TO M1c OR M2

M1b1.   Spec: **495_1**   **V000697**
(IF NOT DK/REF)
How certain are you of Al Gore's position? Very certain, pretty certain, or not very certain?
1 VERY CERTAIN
3 PRETTY CERTAIN
5 NOT VERY CERTAIN
8 DK

M1c.   Spec: **494_2**   **V000698**

Where would you place George W. Bush (on abortion)? [DO NOT PROBE DK]

T M1c.T

What about George W. Bush (on abortion)? Which opinion best agrees with his views? [DO NOT PROBE DK]

1. BY LAW, ABORTION SHOULD NEVER BE PERMITTED.
2 THE LAW SHOULD PERMIT ABORTION ONLY IN CASE OF RAPE, INCEST, OR WHEN THE WOMAN'S LIFE IS IN DANGER.
3 THE LAW SHOULD PERMIT ABORTION FOR REASONS OTHER THAN RAPE, INCEST, OR DANGER TO THE WOMAN'S LIFE,
   BUT ONLYAFTER THE NEED FOR THE ABORTION HAS BEEN CLEARLY ESTABLISHED.

⇒ We think R's will answer these placements on the abortion question easily. Don't probe
DON'T KNOW. If Respondent says DON'T KNOW, enter alt-D.

M1c1.   Spec: **495_2**   **V000699**

 (IF NOT DK/REF)

How certain are you of George W. Bush's position? Very certain, pretty certain, or not very certain?
1 VERY CERTAIN
3 PRETTY CERTAIN
5 NOT VERY CERTAIN
8 DK

M2.   Spec: **497__**   **V000700**

Would you favor or oppose a law in your state that would require a teenage girl under age 18 to
receive her parent's permission before she could obtain an abortion?
1 FAVOR
5 OPPOSE
8 DK

M2a.   Spec: **498__**   **V000701**

(IF NOT DK/REF)

Strongly or not strongly?
1 STRONGLY
5 NOT STONGLY

8 DK   **V000702 SUMMARY**

M3.   Spec: **499__**   **V000703**

There has been discussion recently about a proposed law to ban certain types of late-term abortions, sometimes
called partial birth abortions. Do you favor or oppose a law that would make these types of abortions illegal?
1 FAVOR
5 OPPOSE
8 DK

M3a.   Spec: **500__**   **V000704**

(IF NOT DK/REF)

Do you strongly or not strongly favor a law that would that would make these types of abortions illegal?

M3b.

Do you strongly or not strongly oppose a law that would that would make these types of abortions illegal?
1 STRONGLY
5 NOT STRONGLY

8 DK   **V000705 SUMMARY**

M4 - PROTECT ENVIRONMENT

FTF: M4 SHOULD BE ADMINISTERED TO HALF THE SAMPLE AND M4.E SHOULD BE ADMINISTERED TO THE OTHER HALF (M4 PRECEDES BOTH).

TELEPHONE: M4.T SHOULD BE ADMINISTERED TO HALF THE SAMPLE AND M4.TE SHOULD BE ADMINISTERED TO THE OTHER HALF.

V000706 CKPT: FTF/Ph, reg/exp.

M4.

Please look at page 12 of the booklet

Some people think it is important to protect the environment even if it costs some jobs or otherwise reduces our standard of living. (Suppose these people are at one end of the scale, at point number 1) Other people think that protecting the environment is not as important as maintaining jobs and our standard of living. (Suppose these people are at the other end of the scale, at point number 7. And of course, some other people have opinions somewhere in between, at points 2,3,4,5, or 6)

M4a.   Spec: **512__**   **V000707a**

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

1-------------2-------------3-------------4-------------5-------------6-------------7

PROTECT ENVIRONMENT   JOBS & STANDARD OF LIVING
EVEN IF IT COSTS JOBS &   MORE IMPORTANT THAN ENVIRONMENT
STANDARD OF LIVING

1 PROTECT ENVIRONMENT, EVEN IF IT COSTS JOB & STANDARD OF LIVING	→ SKIP TO M4b
2	→ SKIP TO M4b
3	→ SKIP TO M4b
4	→ SKIP TO M4b
5	→ SKIP TO M4b
6	→ SKIP TO M4b
7 JOBS & STANDARD OF LIVING MORE IMPORTANT THAN ENVIRONMENT	→ SKIP TO M4b
0 HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH ABOUT THIS	→ SKIP TO M4b
8 DK	→ SKIP TO M4b

M4a.E.   Spec: **513__**   **V000707b**

Where would you place yourself on this scale?

1 PROTECT ENVIRONMENT, EVEN IF IT COSTS JOB & STANDARD OF LIVING	→ SKIP TO M4b
2	→ SKIP TO M4b
3	→ SKIP TO M4b
4	→ SKIP TO M4b
5	→ SKIP TO M4b
6	→ SKIP TO M4b
7 JOBS & STANDARD OF LIVING MORE IMPORTANT THAN ENVIRONMENT	→ SKIP TO M4b
8 DK	→ SKIP TO M4b

V000708 COMB. FTF VERSIONS

☎ M4.T

Some people think it is important to protect the environment even if it costs some jobs or otherwise reduces our standard of living. Other people think that protecting the environment is not as important as maintaining jobs and our standard of living.

☎ M4a.T   Spec: **504__**   **V000709a**

Which is closer to the way you feel, or haven't you thought much about this?

1 PROTECT ENVIRONMENT, EVEN IF IT COSTS JOB & STANDARD OF LIVING	→ M4a1.T/
5 JOBS & STANDARD OF LIVING MORE IMPORTANT THAN ENVIRONMENT	→ M4a1.T
7 OTHER, IT DEPENDS, NEITHER [VOL]	→ SKIP TO M4b/M4c.T
0 HAVEN' THROUGH MUCH ABOUT IT	→ SKIP TO M4b/M4c.T
8 DK	→ SKIP TO M4b/M4c.T

𝑻 *M4a.TE*   Spec: **505__**   **V000709b**

Which is closer to the way you feel?

1 PROTECT ENVIRONMENT, EVEN IF IT COSTS JOB & STANDARD OF LIVING	→ M4a1.T/
5 JOBS & STANDARD OF LIVING MORE IMPORTANT THAN ENVIRONMENT	→ M4a1.T
7 OTHER, IT DEPENDS, NEITHER [VOL]	→ SKIP TO M4b/M4c.T
8 DK	→ SKIP TO M4b/M4c.T

V000710 COMB. Ph VERSIONS

𝑻   *M4a1.T*   Spec: **506__**   **V000711**

   (IF PROTECTING ENVIRONMENT IS MORE IMPORTANT)
   Is protecting the environment much more important (than maintaining jobs and standard of
   living) or only somewhat more important?

𝑻   *M4a2.T*

   (IF MAINTAINING JOBS AND STANDARD OF LIVING ARE MORE IMPORTANT)
   Are maintaining jobs and standard of living much more important (than protecting the environment)
   or only somewhat more important?

1 MUCH MORE IMPORTANT	→ M4b.T/M4c.T
5 ONLY SOMEWHAT MORE IMPORTANT	→ M4b.T/M4c.T
8 DK	→ M4b.T/M4c.T

V000712 5-PT BR SUMMARY
V000713 COMB.5PT/BR SUMM

FTF: M4B AND M4C ARE ADMINISTERED IN RANDOM ORDER.

M4b.   Spec: **517_1**   **V000714**

Where would you place Al Gore on this issue? [DO NOT PROBE DK]

1 PROTECT ENVIRONMENT, EVEN IF IT COSTS JOB & STANDARD OF LIVING	→ M4c. OR M5.
2	→ M4c. OR M5.
3	→ M4c. OR M5.
4	→ M4c. OR M5.
5	→ M4c. OR M5.
6	→ M4c. OR M5.
7 JOBS & STANDARD OF LIVING MORE IMPORTANT THAN ENVIRONMENT	→ M4c. OR M5.
8 DK	→ M4c. OR M5.

M4c.   Spec: **517_2**   **V000719**

Where would you place George W. Bush (on this issue)? [DO NOT PROBE DK]

1 PROTECT ENVIRONMENT, EVEN IF IT COSTS JOB & STANDARD OF LIVING	→ M4b. OR M5.
2	→ M4b. OR M5.
3	→ M4b. OR M5.
4	→ M4b. OR M5.
5	→ M4b. OR M5.
6	→ M4b. OR M5.
7 JOBS & STANDARD OF LIVING MORE IMPORTANT THAN ENVIRONMENT	→ M4b. OR M5.
8 DK	→ M4b. OR M5.

T **M4b.T**   **Spec: 508_1**   **V000715**

What about Al Gore? Do you think he thinks it is important to protect the environment even if it costs some jobs, OR that protecting the environment is not as important as maintaining jobs and our standard of living? [DO NOT PROBE DK]

1 PROTECT ENVIRONMENT, EVEN IF IT COSTS JOB & STANDARD OF LIVING   → SKIP TO M4c.T OR →M5.
5 JOBS & STANDARD OF LIVING MORE IMPORTANT THAN ENVIRONMENT   → SKIP TO M4c.T OR →M5.
7 OTHER, IT DEPENDS , NEITHER [VOL]   → SKIP TO M4c.T OR →M5.
8 DK   → SKIP TO M4c.T OR →M5.

T   *M4b1.T*   **Spec: 509_1**   **V000716**

(IF GORE THINKS PROTECTING ENVIRONMENT IS MORE IMPORTANT)
Does he think protecting the environment much more important (than maintaining jobs and standard of living) or only somewhat more important?

T   *M4b2.T*
(IF GORE THINKS MAINTAINING JOBS AND STANDARD OF LIVING ARE MORE IMPORTANT)
Does he think maintaining jobs and standard of living much more important (than protecting the environment) or only somewhat more important?

1 MUCH MORE IMPORTANT
5 SOMEWHAT MORE IMPORTANT
8 DK

                                                                        V000717 5-PT BR SUMMARY
                                                                        V000718 COMB.5PT/BR SUMM

M4c.T   **Spec: 508_2**   **V000720**

What about George W. Bush? Do you think he thinks it is important to protect the environment even if it costs some jobs, OR that protecting the environment is not as important as maintaining jobs and our standard of living? [DO NOT PROBE DK]

1 PROTECT ENVIRONMENT, EVEN IF IT COSTS JOB & STANDARD OF LIVING   → SKIP TO M4b.T OR →M5.
5 JOBS & STANDARD OF LIVING MORE IMPORTANT THAN ENVIRONMENT   → SKIP TO M4b.T OR →M5.
7 OTHER, IT DEPENDS , NEITHER [VOL]   → SKIP TO M4b.T OR →M5.
8 DK   → SKIP TO M4b.T OR →M5.

T   *M4c1.T*   **Spec: 509_2**   **V000721**

(IF GEORGE W. BUSH THINKS PROTECTING ENVIRONMENT IS MORE IMPORTANT)
Does he think protecting the environment much more important (than maintaining jobs and standard of living) or only somewhat more important?

T   *M4c2.T*
(IF GEORGE W. BUSH THINKS MAINTAINING JOBS AND STANDARD OF LIVING ARE MORE IMPORTANT)
Does he think maintaining jobs and standard of living much more important (than protecting the environment) or only somewhat more important?

1 MUCH MORE IMPORTANT
5 SOMEWHAT MORE IMPORTANT
8 DK

M5 – HOMOSEXUALS IN THE ARMED FORCES

M5.   Spec: **520__**   **V000724**

Do you think homosexuals should be allowed to serve in the United States Armed Forces or don't you think so?

1 HOMOSEXUALS SHOULD BE ALLOWED TO SERVE	→ M5a
5 HOMOSEXUALS SHOULD NOT BE ALLOWED TO SERVE	→ M5b
8 DK	→ M6a

M5a.   Spec: **521__**   **V000725**

(IF SHOULD BE ALLOWED TO SERVE)

Do you feel strongly or not strongly that homosexuals should be allowed to serve?

1 STRONGLY	→M6a
5 NOT STRONGLY	→M6a
8 DK	→M6a

M5b.   Spec: **522__**   **V000726**

(IF SHOULD NOT BE ALLOWED TO SERVE)

Do you feel strongly or not strongly that homosexuals should not be allowed to serve?

1 STRONGLY
5 NOT STRONGLY
8 DK

V000727 SUMMARY

M6 - GUN CONTROL

M6a.   Spec: **525__**   **V000728**

Do you think the federal government should make it more difficult for people to buy a gun than it is now, make it easier for people to buy a gun, or keep these rules about the same as they are now?

1 MORE DIFFICULT	SKIP TO→ M6a1
3 MAKE IT EASIER	SKIP to → M6a2
5 KEEP THESE RULES ABOUT THE SAME	SKIP to → M6a3
8 DK	SKIP to → M6a3

⇒ Here the R may want you to specify the rules. Again, re-read the question. If the R is still unclear, answer "Whatever you think the rules are now."

M6a1.   Spec: **526__**   **V000729**

(IF MORE DIFFICULT)

A lot more difficult or somewhat more difficult?

1 A LOT MORE DIFFICULT	→SKIP TO M6a3
5 SOMEWHAT MORE DIFFICULT	→SKIP TO M6a3
8 DK	→SKIP TO M6a3

M6a2.
(IF EASIER)
A lot easier or somewhat easier?
1 A LOT EASIER
5 SOMEWHAT EASIER
8 DK

Spec: **527__**   **V000730**

V000731 SUMMARY

M6a3.
(ALL RESPONDENTS)
How important is this issue to you personally? Not at all important, not too important, somewhat important, very important, or extremely important?
1 NOT AT ALL IMPORTANT
2 NOT TOO IMPORTANT
3 SOMEWHAT IMPORTANT
4 VERY IMPORTANT
5 EXTREMELY IMPORTANT
8 DK

Spec: **528__**   **V000732**

M6B AND M6C ARE ADMINISTERED IN RANDOM ORDER (STRENGTH, CERTAINTY FOLLOWING APPROPRIATELY).

M6b.
Where would you place Al Gore? Do you think he would like to make it more difficult for people to buy a gun, make it easier for people to buy a gun, or keep these rules about the same as they are now?
[DO NOT PROBE DK]
1 MORE DIFFICULT
3 MAKE IT EASIER
5 KEEP THESE RULES ABOUT THE SAME→SKIP TO M6b3
8 DK   → SKIP TO M6c

Spec: **530_1**   **V000733**

M6b1.
(IF EASIER)
A lot easier or somewhat easier?
M6b2.
(IF MORE DIFFICULT)
A lot more difficult or somewhat more difficult?
1 A LOT   →M6b3
5 SOMEWHAT   →M6b3
8 DK   → SKIP TO M6c

Spec: **531_1**   **V000734**

V000735 SUMMARY

M6b3.
(IF CANDIDATE POSITION IS EASIER/MORE DIFFICULT) AND
(IF ANSWER FOR A LOT OR SOMEWHAT IS NOT DK)
How certain are you of Al Gore's position? Very certain, pretty certain, or not very certain?

Spec: **532_1**   **V000736**

1 VERY CERTAIN
3 PRETTY CERTAIN
5 NOT VERY CERTAIN
8 DK

M6c.   Spec: **530_2**   **V000737**

Where would you place George W. Bush? Do you think he would like to make it more difficult for people to buy a gun, make it easier for people to buy a gun, or keep these rules about the same as they are now?
[DO NOT PROBE DK]

1 MORE DIFFICULT
3 MAKE IT EASIER
5 KEEP THESE RULES ABOUT THE SAME   →SKIP TO M6c3
8 DK   →SKIP TO N1/N1.E

    M6c1.   Spec: **531_2**   **V000738**
    (IF EASIER)
    A lot easier or somewhat easier?

    M6c2.
    (IF MORE DIFFICULT)
    A lot more difficult or somewhat more difficult?

    1 A LOT   →M6c3
    5 SOMEWHAT   →M6c3

    8 DK   →SKIP TO N1/N1.E   **V000739 SUMMARY**

        M6c3.   Spec: **532_2**   **V000740**
        (IF CANDIDATE POSITION IS KEEP THE SAME) OR
        (IF ANSWER FOR HOW MUCH EASIER/MORE DIFFICULT IS NOT DK)
        How certain are you of George W. Bush's position? Very certain, pretty certain, or not very certain?
        1 VERY CERTAIN
        3 PRETTY CERTAIN
        5 NOT VERY CERTAIN
        8 DK

SECTION N

N1 - SCHOOL VOUCHERS

N1 SHOULD BE ADMINISTERED TO HALF THE SAMPLE AND N1.E SHOULD BE ADMINISTERED TO THE OTHER HALF. BOTH GET FOLLOW-UP

N1.   Spec: **537__**   **V000741a**

Do you favor or oppose a school voucher program that would allow parents to use tax funds to send their children to the school of their choice, even if it were a private school?

N1. E   Spec: **538__**   **V000741b**

Do you favor or oppose a school voucher program that would allow parents to use tax funds to send their
children to the school of their choice, even if it were a private school, or haven't you thought much about this?

1 FAVOR SCHOOL VOUCHER PROGRAM   → N1a
5 OPPOSE SCHOOL VOUCHER PROGRAM   → N1a
0 HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH ABOUT THIS   →SKIP TO N2
8 DK   →SKIP TO N2

V000742 COMBINED VERSIONS

  N1a.   Spec: **539__**   **V000743**
  (IF FAVORS SCHOOL VOUCHER PROGRAM)
  Do you favor a school voucher program strongly or not strongly ?
  N1b.
  (IF OPPOSES SCHOOL VOUCHER PROGRAM)
  Do you oppose a school voucher program strongly or not strongly ?

  1 STRONGLY
  5 NOT STRONGLY

  8 DK   **V000744 SUMMARY**

<div style="text-align:center">

N2 - ENGLISH AS OFFICIAL LANGUAGE

</div>

N2.   Spec: **541__**   **V000745**

Do you favor a law making English the official language of the United States, meaning government business
would be conducted in English only, or do you oppose such a law?

1 FAVOR
3 NEITHER FAVOR NOR OPPOSE [VOL]
5 OPPOSE
8 DON'T KNOW

<div style="text-align:center">

N3 - SCHOOL INTEGRATION

</div>

N3.   Spec: **542__**   **V000746**

Some people say that the government in Washington should see to it that white and black children go to the
same schools. Others claim that this is not the government's business. Have you been interested enough in this
question to favor one side over the other?

1 YES
5 NO   →SKIP TO N4
8 DK   →SKIP TO N4

N3a.   **Spec: 543__**   **V000747**

(IF YES)

Do you think the government in Washington should see to it that white and black children go to the same schools or stay out of this area as it is not the government's business?

1 SEE TO IT THAT WHITE AND BLACK CHILDREN GO TO THE SAME SCHOOLS
5 STAY OUT OF THIS AREA AS IT IS NOT THE GOVERNMENT'S BUSINESS
7 OTHER; DEPENDS:
8 DK

N4 – ADOPTION BY HOMOSEXUALS

N4.   **Spec: 544__**   **V000748**

Do you think gay or lesbian couples, in other words, homosexual couples, should be legally permitted to adopt children?

1 YES
5 NO
8 DK

N5 – DEATH PENALTY

N5.   **Spec: 545__**   **V000749**

Do you favor or oppose the death penalty for persons convicted of murder?

1 FAVOR →SKIP TO N5a
5 OPPOSE→ SKIP TO N5b
8 DK   →SKIP TO P1

    N5a.   **Spec: 546__**   **V000750**

    (IF FAVOR)

    (Do you favor the death penalty for persons convicted of murder) strongly or not strongly?

    1 STRONGLY   →P1/P1.E
    5 NOT STRONGLY   →P1/P1.E
    8 DK   →P1/P1.E

    N5b.   **Spec: 547__**   **V000751**

    (IF OPPOSE)

    (Do you oppose the death penalty for persons convicted of murder) strongly or not strongly?

    1 STRONGLY
    5 NOT STRONGLY

    8 DK   **V000752 SUMMARY**

SECTION P

P1 - WOMEN'S ROLE

FTF: **P1** SHOULD BE ADMINISTERED TO HALF THE SAMPLE AND **P1.E** SHOULD BE ADMINISTERED TO THE OTHER HALF

TELEPHONE: **P1.T** SHOULD BE ADMINISTERED TO HALF THE SAMPLE AND **P1.TE** SHOULD BE ADMINISTERED TO THE OTHER HALF

V000753 CKPT: FTF/Ph, reg/exp.

P1.
Please look at page 13 of the booklet.
Recently there has been a lot of talk about women's rights. Some people feel that women should have an equal role with men in running business, industry, and government. (Suppose these people are at one end of a scale, at point 1.) Others feel that a woman's place is in the home. (Suppose these people are at the other end, at point 7.) And, of course, some other people have opinions somewhere in between, at points 2,3,4,5 or 6.

P1a.   Spec: **562__**   **V000754a**
 Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?

P1a.E   Spec: **563__**   **V000754b**
 Where would you place yourself on this scale?

         1------------2------------3------------4------------5------------6------------7
WOMEN AND MEN SHOULD   A WOMAN'S PLACE
HAVE EQUAL ROLES   IS IN THE HOME

1 WOMEN AND MEN SHOULD HAVE EQUAL ROLES	→SKIP TO P1.b/P1c.
2	→SKIP TO P1.b/P1c.
3	→SKIP TO P1.b/P1c.
4	→SKIP TO P1.b/P1c.
5	→SKIP TO P1.b/P1c.
6	→SKIP TO P1.b/P1c.
7 A WOMAN'S PLACE IS IN THE HOME	→SKIP TO P1.b/P1c.
0 HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH ABOUT THIS	→SKIP TO P1.b/P1c.
8 DK	→SKIP TO P1.b/P1c.

⇒ See instructions to section L.

V000755 COMB. FTF VERSIONS

☎ P1.T
Recently there has been a lot of talk about women's rights. Some people feel that women should have an equal role with men in running business, industry, and government. Others feel that a woman's place is in the home.

☎ P1a.T   Spec: **552__**   **V000756a**
Which is closer to the way you feel, or haven't you thought much about this?

1 WOMEN AND MEN SHOULD HAVE EQUAL ROLES	→P1a1.T
5 A WOMAN'S PLACE IS IN THE HOME	→P1a1.T
7 OTHER, IT DEPENDS, NEITHER [VOL]	→P1b.T/P1c.T
0 HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH	→P1b.T/P1c.T
8 DK	→P1b.T/P1c.T

☎ P1a.TE   Spec: **553__**   **V000756b**
Which is closer to the way you feel?

1 WOMEN AND MEN SHOULD HAVE EQUAL ROLES	→P1a1.T
5 A WOMAN'S PLACE IS IN THE HOME	→P1a1.T
7 OTHER, IT DEPENDS, NEITHER [VOL]	→P1b.T/P1c.T
8 DK	→P1b.T/P1c.T

V000757 COMB. Ph. VERSIONS

𝐓　　　**P1a1.T**　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　Spec: **554__**　　　**V000758**
(IF MEN AND WOMEN SHOULD HAVE EQUAL ROLES)
Do you feel strongly or not strongly that men and women should have equal roles?

𝐓　　　**P1a2.T**
(IF A WOMAN'S PLACE IS IN THE HOME)
Do you feel strongly or not strongly that a woman's place is in the home?
1 STRONGLY　　　→SKIP TO P1b.T/P1c.T
5 NOT STRONGLY　→SKIP TO P1b.T/P1c.T
8 DK　　　　　　→SKIP TO P1b.T/P1c.T

V000759 5-PT BR SUMMARY
V000760 COMB.5PT/BR SUMM

　FTF:　　　　　P1B AND P1C ARE ADMINISTERED IN RANDOM ORDER.

　TELEPHONE: P1B.T AND P1C.T ARE ADMINISTERED IN RANDOM ORDER.

P1b.　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　Spec: **567_1**　　　**V000761**
(Still looking at page 13)
Where would you place Al Gore (on this issue)? [DO NOT PROBE DK]
1 WOMEN AND MEN SHOULD HAVE EQUAL ROLES　　　→SKIP TO P1c./P2
2　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　→SKIP TO P1c./P2
3　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　→SKIP TO P1c./P2
4　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　→SKIP TO P1c./P2
5　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　→SKIP TO P1c./P2
6　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　→SKIP TO P1c./P2
7 A WOMAN'S PLACE IS IN THE HOME　　　　　　→SKIP TO P1c./P2
8 DK　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　→SKIP TO P1c./P2

P1c.　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　Spec: **567_2**　　　**V000766**
(Still looking at page 13)
Where would you place George W. Bush (on this issue)? [DO NOT PROBE DK]
1 WOMEN AND MEN SHOULD HAVE EQUAL ROLES　　　→SKIP TO P1b./P2
2　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　→SKIP TO P1b./P2
3　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　→SKIP TO P1b./P2
4　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　→SKIP TO P1b./P2
5　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　→SKIP TO P1b./P2
6　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　→SKIP TO P1b./P2
7 A WOMAN'S PLACE IS IN THE HOME　　　　　　→SKIP TO P1b./P2
8 DK　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　→SKIP TO P1b./P2

𝐓　**P1b.T**　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　Spec: **557_1**　　　**V000762**
What about Al Gore? Do you think he feels that women should have an equal role with men in running
business, industry and government, OR that a woman's place is in the home? [DO NOT PROBE DK]
1 WOMEN AND MEN SHOULD HAVE EQUAL ROLES　　　→P1b1.T
5 A WOMAN'S PLACE IS IN THE HOME　　　　　　→P1b1.T
7 OTHER, IT DEPENDS, NEITHER [VOL]　　　　　→P1c.T OR →P2.T
8 DK　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　→P1c.T OR →P2.T

𝐓　　　**P1b1.T**　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　Spec: **558_1**　　　**V000763**
(IF GORE POSITION IS WOMEN SHOULD HAVE EQUAL ROLE)
Do you think he feels strongly or not strongly that men and women should have equal role?

𝕋 **P1b2.T**
 (IF GORE POSITION IS THAT A WOMAN'S PLACE IS IN THE HOME)
 Do you think he feels strongly or not strongly that a woman's place is in the home?

```
1 STRONGLY        →P1c.T OR →P2.T
5 NOT STRONGLY    →P1c.T OR →P2.T
8 DK              →P1c.T OR →P2.T
```

V000764 5-PT BR SUMMARY
V000765 COMB.5PT/BR SUMM

𝕋 **P1c.T**   **Spec: 557_2** **V000767**

What about George W. Bush? Do you think he thinks it is important to protect the environment even if it costs some jobs, OR that protecting the environment is not as important as maintaining jobs and our standard of living? [DO NOT PROBE DK]

```
1 WOMEN AND MEN SHOULD HAVE EQUAL ROLES          →P1c1.T
5 A WOMAN'S PLACE IS IN THE HOME                 →P1c1.T
7 OTHER, IT DEPENDS, NEITHER [VOL]               →P1b.T OR →P2.T
8 DK                                             →P1b.T OR →P2.T
```

𝕋 **P1c1.T**   **Spec: 558_2** **V000768**
 (IF GEORGE W. BUSH POSITION IS WOMEN SHOULD HAVE EQUAL ROLE)
 Do you think he feels strongly or not strongly that men and women should have equal roles?

𝕋 **P1c2.T**
 (IF GEORGE W. BUSH POSITION IS THAT A WOMAN'S PLACE IS IN THE HOME)
 Do you think he feels strongly or not strongly that a woman's place is in the home?

```
1 STRONGLY        →P1c.T OR →P2.T
5 NOT STRONGLY    →P1c.T OR →P2.T
8 DK              →P1c.T OR →P2.T
```

V000769 5-PT BR SUMMARY
V000770 COMB.5PT/BR SUMM

     P2 - ENVIRONMENTAL REGULATION

P2.
Please look at page 14 of the booklet.
Some people think we need much tougher government regulations on business in order to protect the environment.
(Suppose these people are at one end of a scale, at point 1.) Others think that current regulations to protect the environment are already too much of a burden on business. Suppose these people are at the other end, at point 7.
And, of course, some other people have opinions somewhere in between, at points 2,3,4,5, or 6.)

P2a.   **Spec: 573__** **V000771**
Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?

```
    1-------------2-------------3-------------4-------------5-------------6-------------7
TOUGHER REGULATIONS                            REGULATIONS TO PROTECT
ON BUSINESS NEEDED TO PROTECT                  ENVIRONMENT ALREADY
ENVIRONMENT                                    TOO MUCH A BURDEN
                                               ON BUSINESS
```

```
1 TOUGHER REGULATIONS ON BUSINESS NEEDED TO PROTECT ENVIRONMENT
2
3
4
5
6
7 REGULATIONS TO PROTECT ENVIRONMENT ALREADY TOO MUCH A BURDEN ON BUSINESS
0 HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH ABOUT THIS
8 DK
```
⇒ See instructions to section L.
It is possible that the respondent will complain that he or she has already answered this question.
However, this is a different question from M4. If a R objects to answering the question, you may
reply "Last time I asked about the environment versus jobs. Now I am asking about regulation."
Then re-read the question.

T *P2.T*

Some people think we need much tougher government regulations on business in order to protect the
environment. Others think that current regulations to protect the environment are already too much
of a burden on business.

T *P2a.T*   Spec: **570__**   **V000772**

Which is closer to the way you feel, or haven't you thought much about this?
```
1 TOUGHER REGULATIONS ON BUSINESS NEEDED TO PROTECT ENVIRONMENT
5 REGULATIONS TO PROTECT ENVIRONMENT ALREADY TOO MUCH A BURDEN ON BUSINESS
7 OTHER, IT DEPENDS, NEITHER [VOL]
0 HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH ABOUT THIS
8 DK
```

T   *P2a1.T*   Spec: **571__**   **V000773**
         (IF TOUGHER REGULATION ON BUSINESS NEEDED)
         Do we need to toughen regulations to protect the environment a lot, or just somewhat?
```
 1 A LOT             →P2a3
 5 SOMEWHAT          →P2a3
 8 DK                →P2a3
```
T   *P2a2.T*   Spec: **572__**   **V000774**
         (IF REGULATIONS ALREADY TOO MUCH OF A BURDEN ON BUSINESS)
         Are regulations to protect the environment way too much of a burden on business or just
         somewhat of a burden?
```
 1 WAY TOO MUCH
 5 SOMEWHAT
 8 DK
```

                                                                               V000775 5-PT BR SUMMARY
                                                                               V000776 COMB.5PT/BR SUMM

P2aa.   Spec: **574__**   **V000777**
(ALL RESPONDENTS)
How important is this issue to you personally? Not at all important, not too important,
somewhat important, very important, or extremely important?

FTF: **P2B AND P2C ARE ADMINISTERED IN RANDOM ORDER.**

TELEPHONE: P2B.T AND P2C.T ARE ADMINISTERED IN RANDOM ORDER.

P2b.   Spec: **578_1**   **V000778**
Where would you place Al Gore on this issue? [DO NOT PROBE DK]

1 TOUGHER REGULATIONS ON BUSINESS NEEDED TO PROTECT ENVIRONMENT	-->P2bb	
2		-->P2bb
3		-->P2bb
4		-->P2bb
5		-->P2bb
6		-->P2bb
7 REGULATIONS TO PROTECT ENVIRONMENT ALREADY TOO MUCH A BURDEN ON BUSINESS		
8 DK	→SKIP TO P2c OR P3	

𝑻 *P2b.T*   Spec: **579_1**   **V000779**

What about Al Gore? Do you think he believes we need much tougher government regulations on business in order to protect the environment, OR that current regulations to protect the environment are already too much of a burden on business? [DO NOT PROBE DK]

1 TOUGHER REGULATIONS ON BUSINESS NEEDED TO PROTECT ENVIRONMENT
5 REGULATIONS TO PROTECT ENVIRONMENT ALREADY TOO MUCH A BURDEN ON BUSINESS
7 OTHER, IT DEPENDS, NEITHER [VOL]
0 HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH ABOUT THIS
8 DK

𝑻   *P2b1.T*   Spec: **580_1**   **V000780**
(IF GORE POSITION IS TOUGHEN REGULATIONS TO PROTECT ENVIRONMENT)
Do you think he believes that we need to toughen regulations to protect the environment a lot, or just somewhat?

1 A LOT	→P2bb
5 SOMEWHAT	→P2bb
8 DK	→P2c.T OR →P3.

𝑻   *P2b2.T*   Spec: **581_1**   **V000781**
(IF GORE POSITION IS ALREDY TOO MUCH OF A BURDEN ON BUSINESS)
Do you think he believes regulations to protect the environment are way too much of a burden on business or just somewhat of a burden?

1 WAY TOO MUCH	→P2bb
5 SOMEWHAT	→P2bb
8 DK	→P2c.T OR →P3.

V000782 5-PT BR SUMMARY
V000783 COMB.5PT/BR SUMM

P2bb.   Spec: **582_1**   **V000784**

(IF R'S PLACEMENT OF GORE IS NOT DK OR OTHER/DEPENDS/NEITHER:)

How certain are you of Al Gore's position? Very certain, pretty certain, or not very certain?

1 VERY CERTAIN
3 PRETTY CERTAIN
5 NOT VERY CERTAIN
8 DK

P2c.   Spec: **578_2**   **V000785**

Where would you place George W. Bush (on this issue)? [DO NOT PROBE DK]

1 TOUGHER REGULATIONS ON BUSINESS NEEDED TO PROTECT ENVIRONMENT	-->P2cc	
2	-->P2cc	
3	-->P2cc	
4	-->P2cc	
5	-->P2cc	
6	-->P2cc	
7 REGULATIONS TO PROTECT ENVIRONMENT ALREADY TOO MUCH A BURDEN ON BUSINESS	-->P2cc	
8 DK	→SKIP TO P2b OR P3	

𝑻 P2c.T   Spec: **579_2**   **V000786**

What about George W. Bush? ? Do you think he believes we need much tougher government regulations on business in order to protect the environment, OR that current regulations to protect the environment are already too much of a burden on business? [DO NOT PROBE DK]

1 TOUGHER REGULATIONS ON BUSINESS NEEDED TO PROTECT ENVIRONMENT
5 REGULATIONS TO PROTECT ENVIRONMENT ALREADY TOO MUCH A BURDEN ON BUSINESS
7 OTHER, IT DEPENDS, NEITHER [VOL]
0 HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH ABOUT THIS
8 DK

𝑻   **P2c1.T**   Spec: **580_2**   **V000787**

(IF GEORGE W. BUSH POSITION IS TOUGHEN REGULATIONS TO PROTECT ENVIRONMENT)
Do you think he believes that we need to toughen regulations to protect the environment a lot, or just somewhat?

1 A LOT   →P2cc
5 SOMEWHAT   →P2cc
8 DK   →P2b.T OR →P3.

𝑻   **P2c2.T**   Spec: **581_2**   **V000788**

(IF GEORGE W. BUSH POSITION IS ALREADY TOO MUCH OF A BURDEN ON BUSINESS)
Do you think he believes regulations to protect the environment are way too much of a burden on business or just somewhat of a burden?

1 WAY TOO MUCH →P2cc
5 SOMEWHAT   →P2cc
8 DK   →P2b.T OR →P3.

V000789 5-PT BR SUMMARY
V000790 COMB.5PT/BR SUMM

P2cc   Spec: **582_2**   **000791**

(IF R'S PLACEMENT OF GW BUSH IS NOT DK OR OTHER/DEPENDS/NEITHER)

How certain are you of George W. Bush's position? Very certain, pretty certain, or
not very certain?

1 VERY CERTAIN
3 PRETTY CERTAIN
5 NOT VERY CERTAIN
8 DK

P3 - TURNOUT/VOTE INTENT

P3.   Spec: **584__**   **V000792**

So far as you know now, do you expect to vote in the national elections this coming November or not?

1 YES
5 NO   →SKIP TO P3c
8 DON'T KNOW   →SKIP TO P3c

⇒ Recognizing that many people may be uncertain as to who they will (or might) vote for in the election
for president this year, we have printed you a probe which has been very effective in eliciting an answer
for those respondents who were hedging. We would like to have respondents pick a preferred candidate;
however, avoid brow-beating the respondent into a choice. If after using the probe, the respondent is still
unwilling to state a choice, accept the "DON'T KNOW" answer.

⇒ You may encounter respondents who will flatly and unequivocally tell you something like: "I simply will not
vote in November," or "I refuse to vote this year because the choices for president are absurd" or other comments
of this nature. Here you may wish to make an initial probe to the effect "If you were going to vote, who would
you vote for." However, if the R remains recalcitrant, just record R's remarks as comments and move on.

P3a.   Spec: **585__**   **V000793**

(IF YES)

Who do you think you will vote for in the election for President?
(PROBE: Needless to say, the election for President of the United States is a long time away
in November. But I'd like to ask you for your best guess about who you will vote for in the
election for President in November.)

1 AL GORE
2 GEORGE W. BUSH
3 PAT BUCHANAN
4 RALPH NADER
5 NONE (if voter, will not vote for president) [VOL]   →SKIP TO P3c
7 OTHER, (SPECIFY):
8 DON'T KNOW   →SKIP TO P4

P3b.   Spec: **586**   **V000794**

(IF PRES. VOTE INTENT IS NOT NONE NOR DK)

Would you say that your preference for [GORE/BUSH/BUCHANAN/OTHER] is strong or
not strong?

1 STRONG   →SKIP TO P4
5 NOT STRONG   →SKIP TO P4
8 DK   →SKIP TO P4

P3c.   Spec: **587__**   **V000795**

(IF TURNOUT INTENT IS: WILL NOT/DK IF WILL VOTE IN NOVEMBER) OR
(IF TURNOUT INTENT IS: WILL VOTE) AND (IF PRES. VOTE INTENT IS: NONE)

If you were going to vote, who do you think you would vote for in the election for President?
(PROBE: Needless to say, the election for President of the United States is a long time away in
November. But I'd like to ask you for your best guess about who you would vote for in the election
for President in November.)

P3d.   Spec: **588__**   **V000796**

(IF NOT NONE NOR DK IN P3c)

Would you say that your preference for <CANDIDATE NAMED> is strong or not strong?

1 STRONG
5 NOT STRONG
8 DK

P4–P5 - ANTICIPATED PARTY CONTROL AFTER ELECTION

P4.   Spec: **590__**   **V000797**

The next couple of questions are about what you think will happen as a result of the upcoming elections.
After the November election, which party do you think will have the most members in the U.S. House of
Representatives --the Republicans or the Democrats?

1 REPUBLICANS
5 DEMOCRATS
8 DK

P5.   Spec: **591__**   **V000798**

Again, after the November election, which party do you think will have the most members in the U.S. Senate,
--the Republicans or the Democrats?

1 REPUBLICANS
5 DEMOCRATS
8 DK

P6–P7 – FAIR AND PREFERENTIAL TREATMENT FOR BLACKS

P6.   Spec: **592__**   **V000799**

Some people feel that if black people are not getting fair treatment in jobs, the government in Washington
ought to see to it that they do. Others feel that this is not the federal government's business. Have you had
enough interest in this question to favor one side over the other?

1 YES, HAVE INTEREST IN QUESTION   →P6a
5 NO, HAVEN'T HAD INTEREST   →P7
8 DK   →P7

P6a.   Spec: **593__**   **V000800**

(IF R HAS HAD INTEREST)

How do you feel? Should the government in Washington see to it that black people get fair
treatment in jobs OR is this not the federal government's business?

1 GOVERNMENT IN WASHINGTON SHOULD SEE TO IT THAT BLACK PEOPLE
  GET FAIR TREATMENT IN JOBs
5 THIS IS NOT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT'S BUSINESS
7 OTHER (SPECIFY)
8 DK   →P7

P6a1.   Spec: **594__**   **V000801**
(IF R'S REPLY IS NOT DK)
Do you feel strongly or not strongly about that?
1 STRONGLY
5 NOT STRONGLY
8 DK   **V000802 SUMMARY**

P7.   Spec: **595__**   **V000803**
Some people say that because of past discrimination, blacks should be given preference in hiring and
promotion. Others say that such preference in hiring and promotion of blacks is wrong because it gives
blacks advantages they haven't earned. What about your opinion—are you for or against preferential hiring
and promotion of blacks?
1 FOR PREFERENTIAL HIRING AND PROMOTION OF BLACKS   →P7a
5 AGAINST PREFERENTIAL HIRING AND PROMOTION OF BLACKS   →P7b
7 OTHER (SPECIFY)   →section Q as randomly selected
8 DK   →section Q as randomly selected

P7a.   Spec: **596__**   **V000804**
(IF FAVOR)
Do you favor preference in hiring and promotion strongly or not strongly?
1 STRONGLY
5 NOT STRONGLY
8 DK

P7b.   Spec: **597__**   **V000805**
(IF OPPOSE)
Do you oppose preference in hiring and promotion strongly or not strongly?
1 STRONGLY
5 NOT STRONGLY
8 DK   **V000806 SUMMARY**

SECTION Q

Q1-Q11 - CLINTON LEGACY

Q0. Now I'd like to talk to you about Bill Clinton

RESPONDENTS ARE RANDOMLY ASSIGNED EITHER TO THE RETROSPECTIVE ASSESSMENTS BATTERY (Q1-Q11) OR THE AFFECTS AND TRAITS BATTERY (Q14-Q15). IF R DOES NOT GET SELECTED FOR THE RETROSPECTIVE BATTERY IN THE PRE ELECTION INSTRUMENT THEY SHOULD RECEIVE THIS IN THE POST (S1-S11) AND VICE VERSA.

Q1.   Spec: **607__**   **V000807**

As you know, Bill Clinton was first elected President in November 1992. He will soon be leaving office after 8 years as President. The next several questions ask whether you think things have changed since Clinton came into office.

First, would you say that compared to 1992, the federal budget deficit is now smaller, larger, or about the same?

1 GOTTEN SMALLER
3 GOTTEN LARGER   →SKIP TO Q1b
5 STAYED ABOUT THE SAME   →SKIP TO Q2
8 DK   →SKIP TO Q2

⇒ The respondent may ask you what the difference is between debt or deficit. Answer: "Whatever it means to you." On the other hand, the R may insist that he or she doesn't know what has happened to the deficit. In this case, try to elicit a response anyway. We are interested in what the respondent thinks.

> **Q1a.**   Spec: **608__**   **V000808**
> **(IF SMALLER)**
> (Would you say that the budget deficit is) much smaller or somewhat smaller?
> 1 MUCH SMALLER   →SKIP TO Q2
> 5 SOMEWHAT SMALLER   →SKIP TO Q2
> 8 DK   →SKIP TO Q2
>
> **Q1b.**   Spec: **609__**   **V000809**
> **(IF LARGER)**
> (Would you say that the budget deficit is) much larger or somewhat larger?
> 1 MUCH LARGER
> 5 SOMEWHAT LARGER
>
> 8 DK   **V000810 SUMMARY**

Q2.   Spec: **610__**   **V000811**

Has federal spending on assistance to the poor been increased, decreased, or has it stayed about the same as in 1992?

1 INCREASED
3 DECREASED
5 STAYED ABOUT THE SAME →SKIP TO Q3
8 DK   →SKIP TO Q3

> **Q2a.**   Spec: **611__**   **V000812**
> **(IF NOT SAME NOR DK)**
> A lot or somewhat?
> 1 A LOT
> 5 SOMEWHAT
>
> 8 DK   **V000813 SUMMARY**

79

Q3.   Spec: **613__**   **V000814**

Would you say that compared to 1992, the nation's economy is better, worse, or about the same?

1 BETTER
3 WORSE   SKIP TO →Q3b
5 THE SAME   SKIP TO →Q4
8 DK   SKIP TO Q4

Q3a.   Spec: **614__**   **V000815**
(IF BETTER)
(Would you say) much better or somewhat better?

1 MUCH BETTER   →SKIP TO Q4
5 SOMEWHAT BETTER   →SKIP TO Q4
8 DK   →SKIP TO Q4

Q3b.   Spec: **615__**   **V000816**
(IF WORSE)
(Would you say) much worse or somewhat worse?

1 MUCH WORSE
5 SOMEWHAT WORSE

8 DK   **V000817 SUMMARY**

Q4.   Spec: **616__**   **V000818**

Since 1992, would you say President Clinton has made the nation's economy better, made the economy worse, or had no effect on the economy one way or the other?

1 MADE THE ECONOMY BETTER
3 MADE THE ECONOMY WORSE   SKIP TO →Q4b
5 NO EFFECT   SKIP TO →Q5
8 DK   SKIP TO →Q5

Q4a.   Spec: **617__**   **V000819**
(IF BETTER)
Much better or somewhat better?

 1 MUCH BETTER   SKIP TO Q5
5 SOMEWHAT BETTER   SKIP TO Q5
8 DK   SKIP TO Q5

Q4b.   Spec: **618__**   **V000820**
(IF WORSE)
Much worse or somewhat worse?

1 MUCH WORSE
5 SOMEWHAT WORSE

8 DK   **V000821 SUMMARY**

Q5.   Spec: **619___**   **V000822**

Have you personally been helped or have you been hurt economically by the Clinton Administration, or hasn't it affected you one way or the other?

1 HELPED
3 HURT
5 NOT AFFECTED
8 DK

Q6.   Spec: **620__**   **V000823**

Would you say that <u>compared to 1992</u>, the United States is more secure from its foreign enemies, less secure, or hasn't this changed very much?

```
1 MORE SECURE
3 LESS SECURE          SKIP TO →Q6b
5 NO CHANGE            SKIP TO →Q7
8 DK                   SKIP TO Q7
```

> **Q6a.**   Spec: **621__**   **V000824**
> **(IF MORE SECURE)**
>
> (Would you say) much more secure or somewhat more secure?
> ```
> 1 MUCH MORE SECURE        →SKIP TO Q7
> 5 SOMEWHAT MORE SECURE →SKIP TO Q7
> 8 DK                      →SKIP TO Q7
> ```
>
> **Q6b.**   Spec: **622__**   **V000825**
> **(IF LESS SECURE)**
>
> (Would you say) much less secure or somewhat less secure?
> ```
> 1 MUCH LESS SECURE
> 5 SOMEWHAT LESS SECURE
> 8 DK
> ```
>   **V000826 SUMMARY**

Q7.   Spec: **623__**   **V000827**

Would you say that <u>Clinton administration</u> has made the United States more secure from its foreign enemies, less secure, or hasn't it made much difference either way?

```
1 MORE SECURE
3 LESS SECURE          SKIP TO →Q7b
5 NO CHANGE            SKIP TO →Q8
8 DK                   SKIP TO Q8
```

> **Q7a.**   Spec: **624__**   **V000828**
> **(IF MORE SECURE)**
>
> Much more secure or somewhat more secure?
> ```
> 1 MUCH MORE SECURE        →SKIP TO Q8
> 5 SOMEWHAT MORE SECURE →SKIP TO Q8
> 8 DK                      →SKIP TO Q8
> ```
>
> **Q7b.**   Spec: **625__**   **V000829**
> **(IF LESS SECURE)**
>
> Much less secure or somewhat less secure?
> ```
> 1 MUCH LESSSECURE
> 5 SOMEWHAT LESS SECURE
> 8 DK
> ```
>   **V000830 SUMMARY**

Q8.   Spec: **626__**   **V000831**

Would you say that <u>compared to 1992</u> the nation's crime rate has gotten better, gotten worse, or stayed about the same?

```
1 BETTER
3 WORSE                SKIP TO →Q8b
5 THE SAME             SKIP TO →Q9
8 DK                   SKIP TO →Q9
```

Q8a.   Spec: **627__**   **V000832**

(IF BETTER)

(Would you say) much better or somewhat better?

1 MUCH BETTER   →SKIP TO Q9
5 SOMEWHAT BETTER   →SKIP TO Q9
8 DK   →SKIP TO Q9

Q8b.   Spec: **628__**   **V000833**

(IF WORSE)

(Would you say) much worse or somewhat worse?

1 MUCH WORSE
5 SOMEWHAT WORSE

8 DK   **V000834 SUMMARY**

Q9.   Spec: **629__**   **V000835**

Would you say that <u>Clinton administration</u> has made the nation's crime rate better, worse, or hasn't
it made much difference either way?

1 BETTER
3 WORSE   SKIP TO →Q9b
5 NO DIFFERENCE   SKIP TO →Q10
8 DK   SKIP TO Q10

Q9a.   Spec: **630__**   **V000836**

(IF BETTER)

Much better or somewhat better?

1 MUCH BETTER   →SKIP TO Q10
5 SOMEWHAT BETTER   →SKIP TO Q10
8 DK   →SKIP TO Q10

Q9b.   Spec: **631__**   **V000837**

(IF WORSE)

Much worse or somewhat worse?

1 MUCH WORSE
5 SOMEWHAT WORSE

8 DK   **V000838 SUMMARY**

Q10.   Spec: **632__**   **V000839**

Would you say that <u>compared to 1992</u>, the nation's moral climate has gotten better, stayed about the
same, or gotten worse?

1 BETTER
3 WORSE   SKIP TO →Q10b
5 THE SAME   SKIP TO →Q11
8 DK   SKIP TO Q11

Q10a.   Spec: **633__**   **V000840**

(IF BETTER)

(Would you say) much better or somewhat better?

1 MUCH BETTER   →SKIP TO Q11
5 SOMEWHAT BETTER   →SKIP TO Q11
8 DK   →SKIP TO Q11

Q10b.
(IF WORSE)
(Would you say) much worse or somewhat worse?
1 MUCH WORSE
5 SOMEWHAT WORSE
8 DK

Spec: **634__**

V000841

V000842 SUMMARY

Q11.

Spec: **635__**

V000843

Has the Clinton administration made the nation's moral climate better, worse, or hasn't it made much difference either way?

1 BETTER
3 WORSE   SKIP TO →Q11b
5 NO DIFFERENCE   SKIP TO →Q14
8 DK   SKIP TO Q14

Q11a.
(IF BETTER)
Much better or somewhat better?
1 MUCH BETTER   →SKIP TO Q14
5 SOMEWHAT BETTER   →SKIP TO Q14
8 DK   →SKIP TO Q14

Spec: **636__**

V000844

Q11b.
(IF WORSE)
Much worse or somewhat worse?
1 MUCH WORSE
5 SOMEWHAT WORSE
8 DK

Spec: **637__**

V000845

V000846 SUMMARY

Q14 - CLINTON AFFECTS

CLINTON AFFECTS ARE ASKED IN RANDOM ORDER.

Q14a.
(Has Bill Clinton -- because of the kind of person he is or because of something he has done, ever made you feel:)
ANGRY

1 YES
5 NO   SKIP→to next affect
8 DK   SKIP→to next affect

Spec: **644_1**

V000847

Q14a1.
(IF YES)
How often would you say you've felt angry -- very often, fairly often, occasionally, or rarely?

Spec: **645_1**

V000848

1 VERY OFTEN
2 FAIRLY OFTEN
3 OCCASIONALLY
4 RARELY
8 DK

Q14b.

Spec: **644_2**   **V000849**

(Has Bill Clinton -- because of the kind of person he is or because of something he has done, ever made you feel:)

HOPEFUL

1 YES
5 NO   SKIP➔ to next affect
8 DK   SKIP➔to next affect

Q14b1.

Spec: **645_2**   **V000850**

(IF YES)

How often would you say you've felt hopeful -- very often, fairly often, occasionally, or rarely?

1 VERY OFTEN
2 FAIRLY OFTEN
3 OCCASIONALLY
4 RARELY
8 DK

Q14c.

Spec: **644_3**   **V000851**

(Has Bill Clinton -- because of the kind of person he is or because of something he has done, ever made you feel:)

AFRAID

1 YES
5 NO   SKIP➔to next affect
8 DK   SKIP➔to next affect

Q14c1.

Spec: **645_3**   **V000852**

(IF YES)

How often would you say you've felt afraid -- very often, fairly often, occasionally, or rarely?

1 VERY OFTEN
2 FAIRLY OFTEN
3 OCCASIONALLY
4 RARELY
8 DK

Q14d.

Spec: **644_4**   **V000853**

(Has Bill Clinton -- because of the kind of person he is or because of something he has done, ever made you feel:)

PROUD

1 YES
5 NO   SKIP➔to next affect
8 DK   SKIP➔to next affect

Q14d1.

Spec: **645_4**   **V000854**

(IF YES)

How often would you say you've felt proud -- very often, fairly often, occasionally, or rarely?

1 VERY OFTEN
2 FAIRLY OFTEN
3 OCCASIONALLY
4 RARELY
8 DK

Q15 - CLINTON TRAITS

CLINTON TRAITS ARE ASKED IN RANDOM ORDER.

Q15a-Q15g.
Please look at page 4 of the booklet.
In your opinion, does the phrase 'he is <trait>?" describe Bill Clinton extremely well, quite well, not too well, or not well at all?
(What about <trait>? [Does this phrase describe Bill Clinton extremely well, quite well, not too well, or not well at all?])   [DO NOT PROBE "DK"]

T *Q15a.T-g.T*
In your opinion, does the phrase 'he is <trait>?" describe Bill Clinton extremely well, quite well, not too well, or not well at all?
(What about <trait>? [Does this phrase describe Bill Clinton extremely well, quite well, not too well, or not well at all?])   [DO NOT PROBE "DK"]

Q15a.   Spec: **652_1**   **V000855**
MORAL

1 EXTREMELY WELL
2 QUITE WELL
3 NOT TOO WELL
4 NOT WELL AT ALL
8 DK

⇒ This question requires you to use the word "is" when appropriate, and leave it out when inappropriate. Thus, for "really cares about people like you" and "provides strong leadership", leave out the "is" from the phrase. In the other cases, include it.

Q15b.   Spec: **652_2**   **V000856**
REALLY CARES ABOUT PEOPLE LIKE YOU

1 EXTREMELY WELL
2 QUITE WELL
3 NOT TOO WELL
4 NOT WELL AT ALL
8 DK

Q15c.   Spec: **652_3**   **V000857**
KNOWLEDGEABLE

1 EXTREMELY WELL
2 QUITE WELL
3 NOT TOO WELL
4 NOT WELL AT ALL
8 DK

Q15d.
PROVIDES STRONG LEADERSHIP

Spec: **652_4**   V000858

1 EXTREMELY WELL
2 QUITE WELL
3 NOT TOO WELL
4 NOT WELL AT ALL
8 DK

Q15e.
DISHONEST

Spec: **652_5**   V000859

1 EXTREMELY WELL
2 QUITE WELL
3 NOT TOO WELL
4 NOT WELL AT ALL
8 DK

Q15f.
INTELLIGENT

Spec: **652_6**   V000860

1 EXTREMELY WELL
2 QUITE WELL
3 NOT TOO WELL
4 NOT WELL AT ALL
8 DK

Q15g.
OUT OF TOUCH WITH ORDINARY PEOPLE

Spec: **652_7**   V000861

1 EXTREMELY WELL
2 QUITE WELL
3 NOT TOO WELL
4 NOT WELL AT ALL
8 DK

SECTION R

R1-R3 – OPINIONS AND COMPLEX DECISIONS

R1.

Spec: **663__**   V000862

Some people have opinions about almost everything; other people have opinions about just some things;
and still other people have very few opinions. What about you? Would you say you have opinions about
almost everything, about many things, about some things, or about very few things?

1 ALMOST EVERYTHING
2 MANY THINGS
3 SOME THINGS
4 VERY FEW THINGS
8 DK

R1a.

Spec: **664__**   V000863

Compared to the average person do you have fewer opinions about whether things are good or bad, about the
same number of opinions, or more opinions?

1 FEWER OPINIONS
3 ABOUT THE SAME NUMBER OF OPINIONS
5 MORE OPINIONS
8 DK

R1a1.
(IF MORE OPINIONS)

Spec: **665__**   V000864

Would you say that you have a lot more opinions or just somewhat more opinions?

1 A LOT MORE OPINIONS   →SKIP TO R2
5 SOMEWHAT MORE OPINIONS   →SKIP TO R2
8 DK   →SKIP TO R2

R1a2.
(IF FEWER OPINIONS)

Spec: **666__**   V000865

Would you say that you have a lot fewer opinions or just somewhat fewer opinions?

1 A LOT FEWER OPINIONS
5 SOMEWHAT FEWER OPINIONS
8 DK

V000866 SUMMARY

R2.

Spec: **669__**   V000867

Some people like to have responsibility for handling situations that require a lot of thinking, and other people don't like to have responsibility for situations like that. What about you? Do you like having responsibility for handling situations that require a lot of thinking, do you dislike it, or do you neither like it nor dislike it?

1 LIKE
3 DISLIKE   →SKIP TO R2b
5 NEITHER LIKE OR DISLIKE   →SKIP TO R3
8 DK   →SKIP TO R3

⇒ This question may strike some respondents as curious in a study about the election. If asked, you may reply something to the effect of "Many social scientists believe that this is a good predictor of social and political attitudes and behavior."

R2a.
(IF LIKE)

Spec: **670__**   V000868

Do you like it a lot or just somewhat?

1 A LOT   →SKIP TO R3
5 SOMEWHAT   →SKIP TO R3
8 DK   →SKIP TO R3

R2b.
(IF DISLIKE)

Spec: **671__**   V000869

Do you dislike it a lot or just somewhat?

1 DISLIKE IT A LOT
5 DISLIKE IT SOMEWHAT
8 DON'T KNOW

V000870 SUMMARY

R3.

Spec: **672__**   V000871

Some people prefer to solve simple problems instead of complex ones, whereas other people prefer to solve more complex problems. Which type of problem do you prefer to solve: simple or complex?

1 SIMPLE
5 COMPLEX
8 DON'T KNOW

SECTION S

S1-S5 - RELIGIOSITY

S1.   Spec: **683__**   **V000872**

Do you consider religion to be an important part of your life, or not?

1 IMPORTANT
5 NOT IMPORTANT   →SKIP TO S3
8 DON'T KNOW   →SKIP TO S3

S2.   Spec: **684__**   **V000873**
(IF IMPORTANT)

Would you say your religion provides <u>some</u> guidance in your day-to-day living, quite a bit
of guidance, or a great deal of guidance in your day-to-day life?

1 SOME
3 QUITE A BIT
5 A GREAT DEAL
8 DK

S3.   Spec: **685__**   **V000874**

Please look at page 15 of the booklet.
People practice their religion in different ways. Outside of attending religious services, do you pray several
times a day, once a day, a few times a week, once a week or less or never?

S3.T

𝕋 *People practice their religion in different ways. Outside of attending religious services, do you pray several*
times a day, once a day, a few times a week, once a week or less or never?

1 SEVERAL TIMES A DAY
2 ONCE A DAY
3 A FEW TIMES A WEEK
4 ONCE A WEEK OR LESS
5 NEVER
7 OTHER (SPECIFY)
8 DK

S4.   Spec: **686__**   **V000875**

Still looking at page 15 of the booklet.
Outside of attending religious services, do you read the Bible several times a day, once a day, a few times a
week, once a week or less or never?

𝕋 **S4.T**

Outside of attending religious services, do you read the Bible several times a day, once a day, a few times a
week, once a week or less or never?

S5.　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　Spec: **687__**　　　　**V000876**

Please look at page 16 of the booklet.
Which of these statements comes closest to describing your feelings about the Bible? You can just give me
the number of your choice.

𝑻 **S5.T**

I am going to read you a short list of statements. Please tell me which of these statements comes closest to describing your feelings about the Bible? You can just give me the number of the statement you choose.

1 THE BIBLE IS THE ACTUAL WORD OF GOD AND IS TO BE TAKEN LITERALLY, WORD FOR WORD.
2 THE BIBLE IS THE WORD OF GOD BUT NOT EVERYTHING IN IT SHOULD BE TAKEN LITERALLY, WORD FOR WORD.
3 THE BIBLE IS A BOOK WRITTEN BY MEN AND IS NOT THE WORD OF GOD.
7 OTHER (SPECIFY) [VOL]
8 DK

SECTION X

X1-X9 – RELIGIOUS IDENTIFICATION

X1.　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　Spec: **693__**　　　　**V000877**

Lots of things come up that keep people from attending religious services even if they want to. Thinking about
your life these days, do you ever attend religious services, apart from occasional weddings, baptisms or funerals?

1 YES　　→ SKIP TO X2
5 NO　　 → SKIP TO X1a
8 DK　　 → SKIP TO X1a

⇒ Section X is devoted to the religious affiliation battery, which was introduced on the National Election
Study in 1990. After several complaints that our old measure failed to discriminate among denominations
with different political tendencies and behaviors, the Board of Overseers commissioned the development
of a new measure to a group of scholars specializing in the sociological and political impact of religious
affiliation. This group came to be known as the Religion and Politics group and worked closely with the
staffing the development of the new measure using the 1989 Pilot to test it, before its use in the filed in
the 1990 Election Study.
⇒ The most complicated cases will require a maximum of 3 questions to identify R's denomination. Although
forbidding looking, the section administers easily.
⇒ If R asks, why are we asking these questions? You can answer something to the effect, "we want to know
how people with different kind of backgrounds answer our questions."

X1a.　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　Spec: **694__**　　　　**V000878**

(IF NO OR DK)
Regardless of whether you now attend any religious services do you ever think of
yourself as part of a particular church or denomination?

```
1 YES      → X3
5 NO       → GO TO Y1
8 DK       → GO TO Y1
```

X2.
(IF YES)
Spec: **695__** V000879

Do you go to religious services every week, almost every week, once or

twice a month, a few times a year, or never?
```
1 EVERY WEEK                    → X2a
2 ALMOST EVERY WEEK             → X3
3 ONCE OR TWICE A MONTH         → X3
4 A FEW TIMES A YEAR            → X3
5 NEVER                         → X3
8 DK                            → X3
```

X2a.
Spec: **696__** V000880

(IF EVERY WEEK)

Would you say you go to religious services once a week or more often than once a week?
```
1 ONCE A WEEK
2 MORE OFTEN THAN ONCE A WEEK
8 DK
```

X3.
Spec: **698__** V000881

(IF R ATTENDS IN X1) OR

(IF R DOES NOT ATTEND IN X1 BUT THINKS OF SELF AS PART OF CHURCH/DENOMINATION IN X1a)

CHECKPOINT: DOES R ATTEND CHURCH?
```
1 YES  (yes in X1; any code except never in X2) → X3a
5 NO   (no or DK in X1; never in X2) → X3b
```

X3a.
Spec: **700__** V000882

(IF ATTENDS IN CHECKPOINT)

Do you mostly attend a place of worship that is Protestant, Roman Catholic, Jewish, or

something else?
```
1 PROTESTANT    → X4
2 CATHOLIC      → X7
3 JEWISH        → X6a
7 OTHER         → X4
8 DK            → SKIP TO Y1
```

X3b.
Spec: **701__** V000883

(IF DOES NOT ATTEND IN CHECKPOINT)

Do you consider yourself Protestant, Roman Catholic, Jewish, or something else?
```
1 PROTESTANT    → X4
2 CATHOLIC      → SKIP TO X7
3 JEWISH        → SKIP TO X6b
7 OTHER         → X4
8 DK            → SKIP TO Y1
```

X4.

(IF ATTENDS/CONSIDERS SELF PROTESTANT OR 'OTHER')

What church or denomination is that?

1 BAPTIST	→SKIP TO X4b
2 EPISCOPALIAN/ANGLICAN/CHURCH OF ENGLAND	→ SKIP TO X7
3 LUTHERAN	→SKIP TO X4c
4 METHODIST	→SKIP TO X4d
5 JUST PROTESTANT	→ SKIP TO X7
6 PRESBYTERIAN	→SKIP TO X4e
7 REFORMED	→SKIP TO X4f
8 BRETHREN	→ SKIP TO X4g
9 EVANGELICAL UNITED BRETHREN	→SKIP TO X7
10 CHRISTIAN OR JUST CHRISTIAN	→SKIP TO X4h
11 CHRISTIAN SCIENTIST	→SKIP TO X7
12 CHURCH (or CHURCHES) OF CHRIST	→SKIP TO X4i
13 UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST	→SKIP TO X7
14 DISCIPLES OF CHRIST	→SKIP TO X7
15 CHURCH OF GOD	→SKIP TO X4j
16 ASSEMBLY OF GOD	→SKIP TO X7
17 CONGREGATIONALIST	→SKIP TO X7
18 HOLINESS	→SKIP TO X4k
19 PENTACOSTAL	→SKIP TO X4k
20 FRIENDS, QUAKER	→SKIP TO X7
21 ORTHODOX, e.g. Greek, Russian (SPECIFY);C	→SKIP TO X7
22 NON-DENOMINATIONAL – PROTESTANT	→SKIP TO X7
23 MORMONS	→SKIP TO X7
24 JEHOVAH'S WITNESSES	→SKIP TO X7
25 LATTER DAY SAINTS	→SKIP TO X7
26 UNITARIAN/UNIVERSALIST	→SKIP TO X7
27 BUDDHIST	→SKIP TO X7
28 HINDU	→SKIP TO X7
29 MUSLIM/ISLAM	→SKIP TO X7
30 NATIVE AMERICAN	→SKIP TO X7
97 OTHER (SPECIFY);C	→SKIP TO X4m
98 DK	→SKIP TO X7

X4a.

(IF PROTESTANT OR 'OTHER') AND
(IF BAPTIST DENOMINATION)

With which Baptist group is your church associated? Is it the Southern
Baptist Convention, the American Baptist Churches in the U.S.A., the
American Baptist Association, an independent Baptist church or some
other Baptist group?

1 SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION	→ X7
2 AMERICAN BAPTIST CHURCHES IN USA	→ X7
3 AMERICAN BAPTIST ASSOCIATION	→ X7
4 INDEPENDENT BAPTIST	→ X7
7 OTHER (SPECIFY)	→ X7
8 DK	→ X7

X4b.

  (IF INDEPENDENT BAPTIST)

Are you affiliated with any larger Baptist group or is this strictly a
local church?

```
1 LARGER BAPTIST GROUP [SPECIFY]→ X7
2 LOCAL                      → X7
8 DK                        → X7
```

X4c.

(IF PROTESTANT OR 'OTHER') AND

(IF LUTHERAN DENOMINATION)

Is this church part of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in American, the
Missouri Synod, or some other Lutheran group?

```
1 EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH      → X7
2 MISSOURI SYNOD                   → X7
7 OTHER [SPECIFY]                  → X7
8 DK
```

X4d.

(IF PROTESTANT OR 'OTHER') AND

(IF METHODIST DENOMINATION)

Is your church part of the United Methodist Church, African Methodist
Episcopal, or some other Methodist group?

```
1 UNITED METHODIST CHURCH          → X7
2 AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL      → X7
7 OTHER [SPECIFY]                  → X7
8 DK                               → X7
```

X4e.

 (IF PROTESTANT OR 'OTHER') AND

(IF PRESBYTERIAN DENOMINATION)

Is this the Presbyterian Church in the USA or some other Presbyterian
group?

```
1 PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH USA (FORMERLY
   UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH)     → X7
7 OTHER [SPECIFY]                  → X7
8 DK                               → X7
```

X4f.

 (IF PROTESTANT OR 'OTHER') AND

(IF REFORMED DENOMINATION)

Is this the Christian Reformed Church, the Reformed Church in America
or some Other Reformed group?

```
1 CHRISTIAN REFORMED CHURCH        → X7
2 THE REFORMED CHURCH IN AMERICA   → X7
7 OTHER [SPECIFY]                  → X7
8 DK                               → X7
```

X4g.
(IF PROTESTANT OR 'OTHER') AND
(IF BRETHREN DENOMINATION)

Is this the church of the Brethren, the Plymouth Brethren, or what?

Spec: **710__**   **V000892**

1 CHURCH OF THE BRETHREN → X7
2 THE PLYMOUTH BRETHREN → X7
7 OTHER [SPECIFY] → X7
8 DK → X7

X4h.
(IF PROTESTANT OR 'OTHER') AND
(IF 'CHRISTIAN' DENOMINATION)

When you say "Christian" does that mean the denomination called the
"Christian Church Church (Disciples of Christ)," or some other Christian
denomination, or do you mean to say "I am just a Christian"?

Spec: **711__**   **V000893**

1 DISCIPLES OF CHRIST → X7
2 I AM JUST A CHRISTIAN → X7
7 OTHER [SPECIFY] → X7
8 DK → X7

X4i.
(IF PROTESTANT OR 'OTHER') AND
(IF CHURCH OF CHRIST DENOMINATION)

Is this the Church of Christ or the United Church of Christ?

Spec: **712__**   **V000894**

1 CHURCH OF CHRIST → X7
2 UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST → X7
8 DK → X7

X4j.
(IF PROTESTANT OR 'OTHER') AND
(IF CHURCH OF GOD DENOMINATION)

Is this the Church of God of Anderson, Indiana; the Church of God of
Cleveland, Tennessee; the Church of God in Christ; or some other Church
of God?

Spec: **713__**   **V000895**

1 ANDERSON, INDIANA → X7
2 CLEVELAND, TENNESSEE → X7
3 CHURCH OF GOD IN CHRIST → X7
7 OTHER [SPECIFY] → X7
8 DK → X7

X4k.
(IF PROTESTANT OR 'OTHER') AND
(IF HOLINESS OR PENTECOSTAL DENOMINATION)

What kind of church is that? What is it called exactly? Is that part of a
larger church or denomination? What is that church called?
*(THESE QUESTIONS ARE PROBES. USE THESE AND OTHERS TO GET AS
MUCH SPECIFIC INFORMATION AS POSSIBLE)*

Spec: **714__**   **V000896 blanked**

_____*OPENEND*_____ → X7

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X4m.
(IF PROTESTANT OR 'OTHER') AND
(IF OTHER DENOMINATION)
What is it called exactly? Is that church part of a denomination?
(USE ANY OR ALL AS NECESSARY; GET AS MUCH DETAIL AS POSSIBLE).
_____*OPENEND*_____ → X7

Spec: **715__**   **V000898 blanked**

X4m1.
(IF 'OTHER') AND
(IF OTHER DENOMINATION)
Is that group Christian?

Spec: **716__**   **V000899**

1 YES	→ X7
5 NO	→ X7
8 DK	→ X7

X6a.
(IF R ATTENDS) AND
(IF JEWISH SERVICES)
Do you usually attend a synagogue or temple that is Orthodox, Conservative, Reform or what?

Spec: **720__**   **V000900**

1 ORTHODOX`	→ X7
2 CONSERVATIVE	→ X7
3 REFORM	→ X7
7 OTHER [SPECIFY]	→ X7
8 DK	→ X7

X6b.
(IF R DOES NOT ATTEND) AND
(IF R CONSIDERS SELF JEWISH)
Do you consider yourself Orthodox, Conservative, Reform, or what?

Spec: **721__**   **V000901**

1 ORTHODOX	→ X7
2 CONSERVATIVE	→ X7
3 REFORM	→ X7
7 OTHER [SPECIFY]	→ X7
8 DK	→ X7

X7.
(IF NOT NO/DK IN X1a) AND
(IF NOT DK IN X3a/X3b)
Are you officially a member of a parish, congregation , temple or other place of worship?

Spec: **722__**   **V000902**

1 YES	→ X8 OR Y1
5 NO	→ X8 OR Y1
8 DK	→ X8 OR Y1

⇒ A "member" of a parish, congregation, or temple, is listed on the membership

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rolls for that organization, and probably is regularly solicited for support, etc.
⇒ One may be converted to a religious belief but one joins a parish or congregation or temple.

X8.   Spec: **724__**   **V000903**
(IF CONSIDERS SELF CATHOLIC) OR
(IF CODED 1-26 IN X4 DENOMINATION) OR
(IF CODED DK IN X4 DENOMINATION) AND (IF CHRISTIAN IN X4m1)
Would you call yourself a born-again Christian, that is, have you personally had a conversion experience related to Jesus Christ?
1 YES
5 NO
8 DK

V000904 RELIGION SUMMARY

SECTION Y

Y1-Y31a – DEMOGRAPHICS

Y1.   Spec: **733-735**   **V000905,0906,0907**
What is the month, day and year of your birth?
00-12 MONTH
01-31 DAY
1900-1980 YEAR

V000908 RESPONDENT AGE

Y2.   Spec: **736__**   **V000909**
Are you married now and living with your (husband/wife)--or are you widowed, divorced, separated, or have you never married?
1 MARRIED
2 WIDOWED
3 DIVORCED
4 SEPARATED
5 NEVER MARRIED
6 PARTNERED, NOT MARRIED [VOL]
8 DK
⇒ Partners, not married is a volunteered response. People that you include under category 7 should be living as married. They are treated as married throughout the rest of the Y section (i.e., you will enter #1 at Y4, and #1).

Y3.   Spec: **737__**   **V000910**
What is the highest grade of school or year of college you have completed?
00-12   YEARS
13-16   YEARS   → SKIP TO Y3b
17   17+ YEARS   → SKIP TO Y3b
98   DK

⇒ GRADES OF SCHOOL refers to elementary and secondary school, not to college or technical school.
Under COLLEGE, categories 13-16 refer to the usual four years of college, while 17+ would be marked
for anyone in a program which takes more than the normal four years to receive a college degree.

Y3a.   Spec: **738__**   **V000911**

(IF 0-12 YEARS OF SCHOOL OR DK)

Did you get a high school diploma or pass a high school equivalency test?

1 YES	→SKIP TO Y4 IF MARRIED/PARTNERED, IF NOT SKIP TO Y5
5 NO	→SKIP TO Y4 IF MARRIED/PARTNERED, IF NOT SKIP TO Y5
8 DK	→SKIP TO Y4 IF MARRIED/PARTNERED, IF NOT SKIP TO Y5

Y3b.   Spec: **739__**   **V000912**

(IF 13+ YEARS OF SCHOOL)

What is the highest degree that you have earned?

01 BACHELOR'S DEGREE
02 MASTER'S DEGREE
03 PhD, LIT, SCD, DFA, DLIT, DPH, DPHIL, JSC, SJD
04 LLB, JD
05 MD, DDS, DVM, MVSA, DSC, DO
06 JDC, STD, THD
07 ASSOCIATE DEGREE (AA)
96 NO DEGREE EARNED
98 DK

V000913   R EDUC SUMMARY

Y4.   Spec: **741__**   **V000914**

(IF MARRIED OR PARTNERED)

What is the highest grade of school or year of college (your husband/your wife/your partner) has completed?

00-12	YEARS	
13-16	YEARS	→ SKIP TO Y4b
17	17+ YEARS	→ SKIP TO Y4b
98	DK	

Y4a.   Spec: **742__**   **V000915**

(IF 0-12 YEARS OF SCHOOL OR DK)

Did (he/she) get a high school diploma or pass a high school equivalency test?

1 YES	→SKIP TO Y5
5 NO	→SKIP TO Y5
8 DK	→SKIP TO Y5

Y4b.   Spec: **743__**   **V000916**

(IF 13+ YEARS OF SCHOOL)

What is the highest degree that(he/she) has earned?

01 BACHELOR'S DEGREE
02 MASTER'S DEGREE
03 PhD, LIT, SCD, DFA, DLIT, DPH, DPHIL, JSC, SJD
04 LLB, JD
05 MD, DDS, DVM, MVSA, DSC, DO
06 JDC, STD, THD
07 ASSOCIATE DEGREE (AA)
96 NO DEGREE EARNED
98 DK

96

Y6.   Spec: **745M1-M3**   **V000918,V000919,V000920**

Please look at page 17 of the booklet.

We'd like to know if you are working now, temporarily laid off, or are you unemployed, retired, permanently disabled, a homemaker, a student, or what? [ENTER ALLTHAT APPLY]

1 WORKING NOW	→(IF HIGHEST NUMBER CATEGORY) SKIP TO Y7 *
2 TEMPORARILY LAID OFF	→(IF HIGHEST NUMBER CATEGORY) SKIP TO Y7 *
3 UNEMPLOYED	→(IF HIGHEST NUMBER CATEGORY) SKIP TO Y9
4 RETIRED	→(IF RETIRED IS A CATEGORY EVEN IF NOT HIGHEST NUMBER) SKIP TO Y11
5 PERMANENTLY DISABLED	→(IF HIGHEST NUMBER CATEGORY UNLESS ALSO RETIRED) SKIP TO Y13
6 HOMEMAKER	→(IF HIGHEST NUMBER CATEGORY UNLESS ALSO RETIRED) SKIP TO Y15
7 STUDENT	→ (IF HIGHEST NUMBER CATEGORY UNLESS ALSO RETIRED) SKIP TO Y15

[note: application at Y6 will not allow entry of unemployed in combination with employed or TLO]
* the Y7-Y8 series follows Y15-Y16 in the questionnaire in order to follow the programming logic

⇒ The category "UNEMPLOYED" refers to a person who at the present time is not working for pay and says he/she is "looking for work" or "seeking employment". A troublesome variation is they person who answer Y5 by combining "unemployed" with some other category, such as "unemployed homemaker" or "unemployed student". In a case in which R combines "unemployed" with another category, please make a note of R's exact words as you would always do, then ask the unemployed series of questions (unless you have some reason to believe doing so would be entirely inappropriate). We may wish to call an "unemployed homemaker" a "homemaker", but we don't expect you to make that distinction. Just be sure to tell us exactly what R thinks he/she is so we can make intelligent adjustments in coding. It is also possible that R may feel he/she is both "working now" and either "retired," "permanently disabled," a "homemaker," or a "student". Check both response categories.
⇒ We want the working NOW information; that's the bottom line.

Unemployed series Y9-Y10

Y9.   Spec: **746__**   **V000921**
(IF UNEMPLOYED IS HIGHEST Y6 CATEGORY)
Have you ever done any work for pay?

1 YES	
5 NO	→Y10g
8 DK	→Y10g

Y10.   Spec: **747__**
(IF UNEMPLOYED IS HIGHEST Y6 CATEGORY) AND
(IF HAS EVER DONE WORK FOR PAY)
What kind of work did you do on your last regular job (What was your occupation?)
_____*OPENEND*_____   → Y10a

Y10a.   Spec: **748_**
(IF UNEMPLOYED IS HIGHEST Y6 CATEGORY) AND
(IF HAS EVER DONE WORK FOR PAY)
What were your most important duties or activities?
_____*OPENEND*_____   → Y10b

V000922   2-digit occup
V000922a 3-digit occup (blanked)
V000923   1-digit occup summary
V000924   prestige code (blanked)

Y10b.
(IF UNEMPLOYED IS HIGHEST Y6 CATEGORY) AND
(IF HAS EVER DONE WORK FOR PAY)
What kind of business or industry was that?

_____*OPENEND*_____   → Y10c

Spec: 749__   V000925

Y10c.
(IF UNEMPLOYED IS HIGHEST Y6 CATEGORY) AND
(IF HAS EVER DONE WORK FOR PAY)
Did you work for someone else, were you self-employed or what?
1 SOMEONE ELSE
3 BOTH SELF AND SOMEONE ELSE
5 SELF-EMPLOYED   →Y10e
8 DK   →Y10e

Spec: 750__   V000926

Y10d.
(IF UNEMPLOYED IS HIGHEST Y6 CATEGORY) AND
(IF HAS EVER DONE WORK FOR PAY) AND
(IF WAS NOT SELF-EMPLOYED ONLY)
Were you employed by a federal, state or local government?
1 YES
5 NO
8 DK

Spec: 751__   V000927

Y10e.
(IF UNEMPLOYED IS HIGHEST Y6 CATEGORY) AND
(IF HAS EVER DONE WORK FOR PAY)
Have you had a job in the last six months?
1 YES
5 NO   →Y10g
8 DK   →Y10g

Spec: 752__   V000928

Y10f.
(IF UNEMPLOYED IS HIGHEST Y6 CATEGORY) AND
(IF HAS EVER DONE WORK FOR PAY) AND
(IF HAS HAD A JOB IN THE LAST 6 MOS.)
About how many hours did you work on your job in the average week?
0-168

Spec: 753__   V000929

Y10g.
(IF UNEMPLOYED IS HIGHEST Y6 CATEGORY)
Are you looking for work at the present time?

Spec: 754__   V000930

98

1 YES
5 NO   →Y25
8 DK   →Y25

Y10h.
(IF UNEMPLOYED IS HIGHEST Y6 CATEGORY) AND
(IF LOOKING FOR WORK AT PRESENT)
How worried are you about not being able to find a job in the near future; a lot,
somewhat, or not much at all?
1 A LOT   →Y25
3 SOMEWHAT   →Y25
5 NOT MUCH AT ALL   →Y25
8 DK   →Y25

Retired series Y11-Y12

Y11.
(IF RETIRED IS AN EMPLOYMENT STATUS CATEGORY IN Y6)
When did you retire?
MONTH:
1 JANUARY
2 FEBRUARY
3 MARCH
4 APRIL
5 MAY
6 JUNE
7 JULY
8 AUGUST
9 SEPTEMBER
10 OCTOBER
11 NOVEMBER
12 DECEMBER
YEAR:
1920-2000

Y12.
(IF RETIRED IS AN EMPLOYMENT STATUS CATEGORY IN Y6)
What kind of work did you do on your last regular job (What was your occupation?)
_____*OPENEND*_____   → Y12a

Y12a.
(IF RETIRED IS AN EMPLOYMENT STATUS CATEGORY IN Y6)
What were your most important duties or activities?
_____*OPENEND*_____   → Y12b

V000934a 3-digit occup (blanked)
V000935 1-digit occup summary
V000936 prestige code (blanked)

Y12b.   *Spec: 762__*   **V000937**
(IF RETIRED IS AN EMPLOYMENT STATUS CATEGORY IN Y6)
What kind of business or industry was that?

_____*OPENEND*_____   → Y12c

Y12c.   *Spec: 763__*   **V000938**
(IF RETIRED IS AN EMPLOYMENT STATUS CATEGORY IN Y6)
Did you work for someone else, were you self-employed or what?
1 SOMEONE ELSE
3 BOTH SELF AND SOMEONE ELSE
5 SELF-EMPLOYED   →Y12e
8 DK   →Y12e

     Y12d.   *Spec: 764__*   **V000939**
     (IF RETIRED IS AN EMPLOYMENT STATUS CATEGORY IN Y6) AND
     (IF WAS NOT SELF-EMPLOYED ONLY)
     Were you employed by a federal, state or local government?
     1 YES
     5 NO
     8 DK

Y12e.   *Spec: 765__*   **V000940**
(IF RETIRED IS AN EMPLOYMENT STATUS CATEGORY IN Y6)
Have you had a job in the last six months?
1 YES
5 NO   →Y12g
8 DK   →Y12g

     Y12f.   *Spec: 766__*   **V000941**
     (IF RETIRED IS AN EMPLOYMENT STATUS CATEGORY IN Y6) AND
     (IF HAS HAD A JOB IN LAST 6 MOS.)
     About how many hours did you work on your job in the average week?
     0-168

Y12g.   *Spec: 767__*   **V000942**
(IF RETIRED IS AN EMPLOYMENT STATUS CATEGORY IN Y6)
Are you doing any work for pay at the present time?
1 YES   →SKIP TO Y7 (below)
5 NO
8 DK

Y12h.   *Spec: 768__*   **V000943**

(IF RETIRED IS AN EMPLOYMENT STATUS CATEGORY IN Y6) AND
(IF R IS NOT DOING ANY WORK FOR PAY AT PRESENT)
Are you looking for work at the present time?
1 YES
5 NO   →Y25
8 DK   →Y25

Y12j.   Spec: 769__   V000944
(IF RETIRED IS AN EMPLOYMENT STATUS CATEGORY IN Y6) AND
(IF R IS NOT DOING ANY WORK FOR PAY AT PRESENT) AND
(IF R IS LOOKING FOR WORK)
How worried are you about not being able to find a job in the near future
–a lot, somewhat, or not much at all?
1 A LOT   →Y25
3 SOMEWHAT   →Y25
5 NOT MUCH AT ALL   →Y25
8 DK   →Y25

Disabled series Y13-Y14

Y13.   Spec: 771__   V000945
(IF DISABLED IS HIGHEST Y6 CATEGORY AND NOT ALSO RETIRED)
Have you ever done any work for pay?
1 YES
5 NO   →Y14h
8 DK   →Y14h

Y14.   Spec: 772__
(IF DISABLED IS HIGHEST Y6 CATEGORY AND NOT ALSO RETIRED) AND
(IF HAS EVER DONE WORK FOR PAY)
What kind of work did you do on your last regular job (What was your occupation?)
_____*OPENEND*_____   → Y14a

Y14a.   Spec: 773__
(IF DISABLED IS HIGHEST Y6 CATEGORY AND NOT ALSO RETIRED) AND
(IF HAS EVER DONE WORK FOR PAY)
What were your most important duties or activities?
          OPENEND   → Y14b

V000946   **2-digit occup**
V000946a **3-digit occup (blanked)**
V000947   **1-digit occup summary**
V000948   **prestige code (blanked)**

Y14b.   Spec: 774__   V000949

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(IF DISABLED IS HIGHEST Y6 CATEGORY AND NOT ALSO RETIRED) AND
(IF HAS EVER DONE WORK FOR PAY)
What kind of business or industry was that?

_____*OPENEND*_____   → Y14c

Y14c.
(IF DISABLED IS HIGHEST Y6 CATEGORY AND NOT ALSO RETIRED) AND
(IF HAS EVER DONE WORK FOR PAY)
Did you work for someone else, were you self-employed or what?
1 SOMEONE ELSE
3 BOTH SELF AND SOMEONE ELSE
5 SELF-EMPLOYED   →Y14e
8 DK   →Y14e

> **Y14d.**
> **(IF DISABLED IS HIGHEST Y6 CATEGORY AND NOT ALSO RETIRED) AND**
> **(IF HAS EVER DONE WORK FOR PAY) AND**
> **(IF WAS NOT SELF-EMPLOYED ONLY)**
> Were you employed by a federal, state or local government?
> 1 YES
> 5 NO
> 8 DK

Y14e.
(IF DISABLED IS HIGHEST Y6 CATEGORY AND NOT ALSO RETIRED) AND
(IF HAS EVER DONE WORK FOR PAY)
Have you had a job in the last six months?
1 YES
5 NO   →Y14g
8 DK   →Y14g

> **Y14f.**
> **(IF DISABLED IS HIGHEST Y6 CATEGORY AND NOT ALSO RETIRED) AND**
> **(IF HAS EVER DONE WORK FOR PAY) AND**
> **(IF HAS HAD A JOB IN THE LAST 6 MOS.)**
> About how many hours did you work on your job in the average week?
> 0-168

Y14g.
(IF DISABLED IS HIGHEST Y6 CATEGORY AND NOT ALSO RETIRED)
Are you doing any work for pay at the present time?
1 YES   →SKIP TO Y7 (below)
5 NO
8 DK

Y14h.
(IF DISABLED IS HIGHEST Y6 CATEGORY AND NOT ALSO RETIRED) AND
(IF R IS NOT DOING ANY WORK FOR PAY AT PRESENT OR HAS NEVER WORKED)

Are you looking for work at the present time?

1 YES
5 NO   →Y25
8 DK   →Y25

Y14j
(IF DISABLED IS HIGHEST Y6 CATEGORY AND NOT ALSO RETIRED) AND
(IF R IS NOT DOING WORK FOR PAY AT PRESENT [incl has never worked]) AND
(IF LOOKING FOR WORK AT PRESENT)
How worried are you about not being able to find a job in the near future; a lot,
somewhat, or not much at all?

1 A LOT   →Y25
3 SOMEWHAT   →Y25
5 NOT MUCH AT ALL   →Y25
8 DK   →Y25

Homemaker/Student series Y13-Y14

Y15.
(IF HMAKER/STUDENT IS HIGHEST Y6 CATEGORY AND NOT ALSO RETIRED)
Are you doing any work for pay at the present time?

1 YES   →SKIP TO Y7 (below)
5 NO
8 DK

Y15a.
(IF HMAKER/STUDENT IS HIGHEST Y6 CATEGORY AND NOT ALSO RETIRED) AND
(IF R IS NOT DOING ANY WORK FOR PAY AT PRESENT)
In the last six months, did you do any work for pay?

1 YES
5 NO   →Y16h
8 DK   →Y16h

Y16.
(IF HMAKER/STUDENT IS HIGHEST Y6 CATEGORY AND NOT ALSO RETIRED) AND
(IF R IS NOT DOING ANY WORK FOR PAY AT PRESENT) AND
(IF R HAS WORKED FOR PAY IN LAST 6 MONTHS)
What kind of work did you do on your last regular job (What was your
occupation?)

_____*OPENEND*_____   → Y16a

Y16a.
(IF HMAKER/STUDENT IS HIGHEST Y6 CATEGORY AND NOT ALSO RETIRED) AND
(IF R IS NOT DOING ANY WORK FOR PAY AT PRESENT) AND
(IF R HAS WORKED FOR PAY IN LAST 6 MONTHS)

What were your most important duties or activities?

        OPENEND   → Y16b

V000959   **2-digit occup**
V000959a 3-digit occup (blanked)
V000960   **1-digit occup summary**
V000961   **prestige code (blanked)**

Y16b.   **Spec: 787__**   **V000962**
(IF HMAKER/STUDENT IS HIGHEST Y6 CATEGORY AND NOT ALSO RETIRED) AND
(IF R IS NOT DOING ANY WORK FOR PAY AT PRESENT) AND
(IF R HAS WORKED FOR PAY IN LAST 6 MONTHS)
What kind of business or industry was that?

_____*OPENEND*_____   → Y16c

Y16c.   **Spec: 788__**   **V000963**
(IF HMAKER/STUDENT IS HIGHEST Y6 CATEGORY AND NOT ALSO RETIRED) AND
(IF R IS NOT DOING ANY WORK FOR PAY AT PRESENT) AND
(IF R HAS WORKED FOR PAY IN LAST 6 MONTHS)
Did you work for someone else, were you self-employed or what?

1 SOMEONE ELSE
3 BOTH SELF AND SOMEONE ELSE
5 SELF-EMPLOYED   →Y16f
8 DK   →Y16f

Y16d.   **Spec: 789__**   **V000964**
(IF HMAKER/STUDENT IS HIGHEST Y6 CATEGORY AND NOT ALSO RETIRED) AND
(IF R IS NOT DOING ANY WORK FOR PAY AT PRESENT) AND
(IF R HAS WORKED FOR PAY IN LAST 6 MONTHS) AND
(IF R WAS NOT SELF-EMPLOYED ONLY)
Were you employed by a federal, state or local government?

1 YES
5 NO
8 DK

Y16f.   **Spec: 791__**   **V000965**
(IF HMAKER/STUDENT IS HIGHEST Y6 CATEGORY AND NOT ALSO RETIRED) AND
(IF R IS NOT DOING ANY WORK FOR PAY AT PRESENT) AND
(IF R HAS WORKED FOR PAY IN LAST 6 MONTHS)
About how many hours did you work on your job in the average week?

0-168

Y16h.   **Spec: 793__**   **V000966**
(IF HMAKER/STUDENT IS HIGHEST Y6 CATEGORY AND NOT ALSO RETIRED)
Are you looking for work at the present time?

1 YES
5 NO   →Y25
8 DK   →Y25

Y16j.
 (IF HMAKER/STUDENT IS HIGHEST Y6 CATEGORY AND NOT ALSO RETIRED) AND
(IF R IS LOOKING FOR WORK)
How worried are you about not being able to find a job in the near future
–a lot, somewhat, or not much at all?

1 A LOT	→Y25
3 SOMEWHAT	→Y25
5 NOT MUCH AT ALL	→Y25
8 DK	→Y25

Working Now/TLO series Y7-Y8

Y7.
(IF WORKING NOW/TLO IS HIGHEST Y6 CATEGORY) OR
(IF SENT FROM Y12g [RET], Y14g [DIS] OR Y15 [H/S] FOR WN/TLO AS 2ND SERIES)
What is your main occupation (What sort of work do you do?)

_____*OPENEND*_____   → Y7a

Y7a.
(IF WORKING NOW/TLO IS HIGHEST Y6 CATEGORY) OR
(IF SENT FROM Y12g [RET], Y14g [DIS] OR Y15 [H/S] FOR WN/TLO AS 2ND SERIES)
What are your most important activities or duties?
          OPENEND   → Y7b

Y7b.
(IF WORKING NOW/TLO IS HIGHEST Y6 CATEGORY) OR
(IF SENT FROM Y12g [RET], Y14g [DIS] OR Y15 [H/S] FOR WN/TLO AS 2ND SERIES)
What kind of (business/industry) is that?

_____*OPENEND*_____   → Y7c

Y7c.
(IF WORKING NOW/TLO IS HIGHEST Y6 CATEGORY) OR
(IF SENT FROM Y12g [RET], Y14g [DIS] OR Y15 [H/S] FOR WN/TLO AS 2ND SERIES)
Do you work for someone else, are you self-employed or what?

1 SOMEONE ELSE	
3 BOTH SELF AND SOMEONE ELSE	
5 SELF-EMPLOYED	→Y7e
8 DK	→Y7e

Y7d. Spec: **800__**   **V000973**
((IF WORKING NOW/TLO IS HIGHEST Y6 CATEGORY) OR
(IF SENT FROM Y12g [RET], Y14g [DIS] OR Y15 [H/S] FOR WN/TLO AS 2ND SERIES)) AND
(IF NOT SELF-EMPLOYED ONLY) **
Are you employed by a federal, state or local government?

1 YES
5 NO
8 DK

Y7e. Spec: **801__**   **V000974**
(IF WORKING NOW/TLO IS HIGHEST Y6 CATEGORY) OR
(IF SENT FROM Y12g [RET], Y14g [DIS] OR Y1 5 [H/S] FOR WN/TLO AS 2ND SERIES)
About how many hours do you work on your job in the average week?

0-168

Y7f. Spec: **802__**   **V000975**
((IF WORKING NOW/TLO IS HIGHEST Y6 CATEGORY) OR
(IF SENT FROM Y12g [RET], Y14g [DIS] OR Y15 [H/S] FOR WN/TLO AS 2ND SERIES)) AND
(IF NUMBER OF HOURS WORKED IS NOT DK/REF) **
Is that more hours than you want to work, fewer hours than you want

to work, or generally about right?

1 MORE
3 FEWER
5 ABOUT RIGHT
8 DK

Y7g. Spec: **803__**   **V000976**
(IF WORKING NOW/TLO IS HIGHEST Y6 CATEGORY) OR
(IF SENT FROM Y12g [RET], Y14g [DIS] OR Y15 [H/S] FOR WN/TLO AS 2ND SERIES)
How worried are you about losing your job in the near future: a lot, somewhat, or not much at all?

1 A LOT
3 SOMEWHAT
5 NOT MUCH AT ALL
8 DK

Y7h. Spec: **804__**   **V000977**
(IF WORKING NOW IS HIGHEST Y6 CATEGORY) OR
(IF SENT FROM Y12g [RET], Y14g [DIS] OR Y15 [H/S] FOR WN AS 2ND SERIES BUT IS NOT TLO)
Were you out of work or laid off at any time during the last six months?

1 YES
5 NO
8 DK

Y7j. Spec: **805__**   **V000978**
(IF WORKING NOW IS HIGHEST Y6 CATEGORY) OR
(IF SENT FROM Y12g [RET], Y14g [DIS] OR Y15 [H/S] FOR WN AS 2ND SERIES BUT IS NOT TLO)

During the last six months, have you had a reduction in your work hours or had to take a cut
in pay at any time for reasons other than illness or personal choice?
1 YES
5 NO
8 DK

Y25.   Spec: **807__**   **V000990**

Do you or anyone else in this household belong to a labor union?
1 YES
5 NO   → SKIP TO Y26
8 DK   → SKIP TO Y26

⇒ Retired workers who draw union pension, or receive union newsletters, are to be considered union
members. If R asks whether a teachers' professional association is considered a union, tell him or her
that it is if it bargains like a union for its members. As a rule of thumb, if an organization contains the
word "union", it is a union.

Y25a.   Spec: **808M1-M3**   **V000991a,b,c**

(IF YES)

Who is it that belongs? [CHECK ALL THAT APPLY]
1 RESPONDENT
2 R's WIFE OR FEMALE PARTNER
3 R'S HUSBAND OR MALE PARTNER
4 SOMEONE ELSE
8 DK

Y26.   Spec: **809__**   **V000992**

[IWER CHECKPOINT: IS R THE ONLY HOUSEHOLD MEMBER AGE 14 OR OLDER?]
1 YES, R IS ONLY HH MEMBER 14+   → SKIP TO Y28
5 NO, THERE ARE OTHER HH MEMBERS 14+

⇒ To meet this checkpoint, use the standard definition of "family" – those persons living with R in 1999
who were related by blood, marriage, adoption, or "consensual union" (i.e., living with a partner).

Y27.   Spec: **810__**   **V000993**

(IF NO, R IS NOT ONLY MEMBER AGE 14+)

Please look at page 18 of the booklet.

Please look at the booklet and tell me the letter of the income group that includes the income of all
members of your family living here in 1999 before taxes. This figure should include salaries, wages,
pensions, dividends, interest, and all other income. (IF UNCERTAIN: What would be your best guess?)

T   *Y27.T*

(IF NO, R IS NOT ONLY MEMBER AGE 14+)

I am going to read you a list of income categories. Please tell me which category best describes the.
total income of all members of your family living in your house in 1999 before taxes. This figure
should include salaries, wages, pensions, dividends, interest, and all other income. Please stop me
when I get to your family's income. (IF UNCERTAIN: What would be your best guess?)

1 A. NONE OR LESS THAN $4,999
2 B. $5,000-$9,999
3 C. $10,000-$14,999
4 D. $15,000-$24,999

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5 E. $25,000-$34,999
6 F. $35,000-$49,999
7 G. $50,000-$64,999
8 H. $65,000-$74,999
9 J. $75,000-$84,999
10 K. $85,000-$94,999
11 M. $95,000-$104,999
12 N. $105,000-$114,999
13 P. $115,000-$124,999
14 Q. $125,000-$134,999
15 R. $135,000-$144,999
16 S. $145,000-$154,999
17 T. $155,000-$164,999
18 U. $165,000-$174,999
19 V. $175,000-$184,999
20 W. $185,000-$199,999
21 X. $200,000 and over
98 Y. DON'T KNOW
99 Z. REFUSED

⇒ If necessary, make sure the respondent understands that:

1. This information is strictly confidential;

2. An answer to this question makes the rest of the interview more valuable to us. NOTE: The figure we want is total family income from all sources before taxes, for the calendar year 1999, not just the respondent's own earnings. The question is designed so that the respondent will not have to name a specific figure, or even to give a narrow range. If R says "don't know", write it in the F2 comment box and probe with "what would be your best estimate?"

⇒ The household composition, if you are asked, is what was R's living situation in 1999. If R is currently separated, but was married and living with his/her spouse in 1999, we want the join income of R and spouse. If R is now married but was single and living alone in 1999, we want his/her income. Don't volunteer this – these guidelines are to be used only if you are asked about this by the R.

⇒ We understand that this is sometimes a touchy subject. If asked, the reason that we want the information is because many social scientists believe that people with different incomes respond differently to political and social issues. Again, assure them that the interview is strictly confidential and that no-one will be able to associate the income range they give us with their name.

V000994 HH INCOME –ALL HHs
(addl. HHs w/ R only adult)

Y27a.
(IF NO, R IS NOT ONLY MEMBER AGE 14+)

Spec: 811__   **V000995**

(RB, still on page 18) Now we are interested in the income that you yourself received in 1999, not including any of the income received by (your spouse and) the rest of your family. Please look at this page and tell me the income you yourself had in 1999 before taxes. This figure should include salaries, wages, pensions, dividends, interest, and all other income. (IF UNCERTAIN: What would be your best guess?) *[ALL GO TO Y30]*

T   *Y27a.T*
(IF NO, R IS NOT ONLY MEMBER AGE 14+)
Now we are interested in the income that you yourself received in 1999, not including any of the

income received by (your spouse and) the rest of your family. Please tell me which category best
describes the income you yourself had in 1999 before taxes. This figure should include salaries
wages, pensions, dividends, interest, and all other income. Please stop me when I get to your
income category.   (IF UNCERTAIN: What would be your best guess?)

1   A. NONE OR LESS THAN $4,999
2   B. $5,000-$9,999
3   C. $10,000-$14,999
4   D. $15,000-$24,999
5   E. $25,000-$34,999
6   F. $35,000-$49,999
7   G. $50,000-$64,999
8   H. $65,000-$74,999
9   J. $75,000-$84,999
10 K. $85,000-$94,999
11 M. $95,000-$104,999
12 N. $105,000-$114,999
13 P. $115,000-$124,999
14 Q. $125,000-$134,999
15 R. $135,000-$144,999
16 S. $145,000-$154,999
17 T. $155,000-$164,999
18 U. $165,000-$174,999
19 V. $175,000-$184,999
20 W. $185,000-$199,999
21 X. $200,000 and over
98 Y. DON'T KNOW
99 Z. REFUSED

⇒ See instructions for Y27

Y28.   Spec: **812__**   **V000996**

(IF YES, R IS ONLY MEMBER AGE 14+)
(RB, page 18) Please tell me the letter of the income group that includes the income you had in 1999
before taxes. This figure should include salaries, wages, pensions,dividends, interest, and
all other income. [IF UNCERTAIN: "WHAT WOULD BE YOUR BEST GUESS?"]

T   *Y28a.T*
I am going to read you a list of all income categories. Please tell me which category best
describes the total income you had in 1999 before taxes. This figure should include salaries,
wages, pensions, dividends, interest, and all other income. Please stop me when I get to your
income category.   [IF UNCERTAIN: "WHAT WOULD BE YOUR BEST GUESS?"]

1   A. NONE OR LESS THAN $4,999
2   B. $5,000-$9,999
3   C. $10,000-$14,999
4   D. $15,000-$24,999
5   E. $25,000-$34,999
6   F. $35,000-$49,999
7   G. $50,000-$64,999
8   H. $65,000-$74,999
9   J. $75,000-$84,999
10 K. $85,000-$94,999
11 M. $95,000-$104,999
12 N. $105,000-$114,999
13 P. $115,000-$124,999
14 Q. $125,000-$134,999
15 R. $135,000-$144,999

16 S. $145,000-$154,999
17 T. $155,000-$164,999
18 U. $165,000-$174,999
19 V. $175,000-$184,999
20 W. $185,000-$199,999
21 X. $200,000 and over
98 Y. DON'T KNOW
99 Z. REFUSED
⇒ See instructions for Y27

V000997 R INCOME –ALL

Y29.   Spec: **813**__   **V000998**

(Not using the booklet)
There's been some talk these days about different social classes. Most people say they belong either to
the middle class or the working class. Do you ever think of yourself as belonging in one of these classes?

1 YES
5 NO   →Y29b
8 DK   →Y29b

Y29a.   Spec: **814**__   **V000999**

(IF YES)
Which one?

1 MIDDLE CLASS   →Y29c
5 WORKING CLASS   →Y29e
7 OTHER (SPECIFY) →Y30
8 DK   →Y30

Y29b.   Spec: **815**__   **V001000**

(IF NO/DK)
Well, if you had to make a choice, would you call yourself middle class or working class?

1 MIDDLE CLASS   →SKIP TO Y29c
5 WORKING CLASS   →SKIP TO Y29e
7 OTHER (SPECIFY)   →SKIP TO Y30
8 DK   →SKIIP TO Y30

Y29c.   Spec: **816**__   **V001001**

(IF MIDDLE CLASS)
Would you say that you are about average middle class or that you are in
the upper part of the middle class?

1 AVERAGE MIDDLE
5 UPPER MIDDLE
8 DK

Y29d.   Spec: **817**__   **V001002**

(IF MIDDLE CLASS)
Would you say you feel pretty close to middle class people, or that you
don't feel much closer to them than to people in other classes?

1 CLOSE	→SKIP TO Y30
5 NOT CLOSE	→SKIP TO Y30
8 DK	→SKIP TO Y30

Y29e.   Spec: **818__**   **V001003**

(IF WORKING CLASS)

Would you say that you are about <u>average</u> working class or that you
are in the <u>upper</u> part of the working class?

1 AVERAGE WORKING
5 UPPER WORKING
8 DK

Y29f.   Spec: **819__**   **V001004**

(IF WORKING CLASS)

Would you say you feel <u>pretty close</u> to working class people, or that you
don't feel much closer to them than to people in other classes?

1 CLOSE
5 NOT CLOSE
8 DK

                                                                              V001005 SOC.CLASS SUMMARY

Y30.   Spec: **820M1-M3**   **V001006a-1006c**

What racial or ethnic group or groups best describes you? (multiple categories allowed)

1 BLACK
2 ASIAN
3 NATIVE AMERICAN
4 HISPANIC OR LATINO
5 WHITE
6 OTHER SPECIFY
8 DK

Y30a.   Spec: **822__**   **V001007**

Were both of your parents born in this country?

1 YES
5 NO
8 DK

Y30b.   Spec: **823_**   **V001008,V001009**

In addition to being American, what do you consider your main ethnic group or nationality group?
_____*OPENEND*_____

⇒ Americans are frequently somewhat resistant to this question. They like to say, "just American…"
Repeat the question, stressing "In addition to being American …"

Y30bx.   Spec: **824__**   **V001010, V001010a**

INTERVIEWER CHECKPPOINT: NUMBER OF NATIONALITY OR ETHNIC GROUPS

0 NO NATIONALITY/GROUP MENTIONED
1 ONE NATIONALITY OR ETHNIC GROUP MENTIONED
2 2 OR MORE NATIONALITY/GROUPS MENTIONED

Y30c.   Spec: **825__**   **V001011**
(IF MORE THAN ONE)
With which of these groups do you most closely identify?
_____*OPENEND*_____

Y30x.   Spec: **827__**   **V001012**
INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT: IS SPANISH OR HISPANIC GROUP MENTIONED AS MAIN GROUP?
[CODE IF YES,ASK Y31 IF NO]
Y31.
(IF NO SPANISH OR HISPANIC GROUP MENTIONED)
Are you of Spanish or Hispanic origin or descent?

1 YES
5 NO → SKIP TO Z1
8 DK → SKIP TO Z1

⇒ We are adding more detailed questions about Hispanic ethnicity. This checkpoint will save you from
repeating yourself within this series. Obviously, we don't need to ask Y31 or Y31a if the R has just told
us he/she is Puerto Rican (or any of the other responses listed at Y31a). In that case, enter the appropriate
response at Y31a without repeating the question.
⇒ If R simply says "Hispanic" or names a group not mentioned at Y31a (such as Chicano), you should enter
Y31 "YES" and ask Y31a.
⇒ R's who do not mention any Hispanic group at Y30 should still be asked Y31

Y31a.   Spec: **828__**   **V001013**
Please look at page 19 of the booklet and tell me which category best describes your Hispanic origin.
[CODE SPANISH OR HISPANIC GROUP W/O ASKING, IF R MENTIONS ONE OF THE RESPONSE OPTION S BELOW]

T   **Y31a.T**
Would you describe your Hispanic origin as Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Latin American,
Central American, or Spanish?

1 MEXICAN
2 PUERTO RICAN
3 CUBAN
4 LATIN AMERICAN
5 CENTRAL AMERICAN
6 SPANISH
7 OTHER (SPECIFY) [VOL]
8 DK

SECTION Z

Z1-Z9 – ADDITIONAL DEMOGRAPHICS

Z1.   **Spec: 839__**   **V001014**

Where was it that you grew up? (IF UNITED STATES: Which state or states?)

_____ _OPENEND_ _____

⇒ If you are asked, by "grow up" we mean the time from birth until R was roughly 18-20 years old. If
R lived in more than one place during this period, information as to the proper sequence of states lived in,
along with a rough estimate of the period involved, would be appreciated.

Z2.   **Spec: 840__**   **V001015**

Looking at page 20 of the booklet.

Looking at this list, please tell me where you were mostly brought up?

1 ON A FARM
2 IN THE COUNTRY, NOT ON A FARM
3 IN A SMALL CITY OR TOWN (UNDER 50,000 PEOPLE)
4 IN A MEDIUM-SIZED CITY (50,000 - 100,000)
5 IN A LARGE CITY (100,000 - 500,000)
6 IN A SUBURB OF A LARGE CITY
7 IN A VERY LARGE CITY (OVER 500,000)
8 IN A SUBURB OF A VERY LARGE CITY
9 DK

T _Z2.T_   **Spec: 841__**   **V001016**

I am going to read you a list of categories. Please tell me which category best describes where you were
mostly brought up? [READ ANSWER LIST]. ?)

1 ON A FARM
3 IN THE COUNTRY, NOT ON A FARM
5 IN A CITY
7 OR, IN A SUBURB OF A CITY

T   _Z2a._

     (IF A CITY)   **Spec: 842__**   **V001017**

     Were you mostly brought up in... [READ ENTIRE ANSWER LIST]

     1 IN A SMALL CITY OR TOWN UNDER 50,000 PEOPLE
     3 IN A MEDIUM-SIZED CITY 50,000-100,000
     5 IN A LARGE CITY, 100,000-500,000
     7 OR, IN A SUBURB OF A CITY
     8 DK

T   _Z2b._

     (IF SUBURB OF A CITY)   **Spec: 843__**   **V001018**

     Were you mostly brought up in... [READ ENTIRE ANSWER LIST]

     1 IN A SUBURB OF A LARGE CITY (100,000 TO 500,000 PEOPLE)
     5 OR IN A SUBURB OF A VERY LARGE CITY (OVER 500,000 PEOPLE)
     8 DK

                                                               V001019 COMB. SUMMARY

Z3.   **Spec: 845-847**   **V001020a [years]**

(Not using the booklet)   **V001020b [months]**

How long have you lived in your present (CITY/ TOWN/ TOWNSHIP/COUNTY)?   **V00102c [summary]**

MONTHS:
YEARS:
96 ALL MY LIFE
98 DK

⇒ Here we want to enter the appropriate choice of locale – city, town, or township that R lives in – as you read the question. You would use county only when R lives in a rural area away from any town. We realize that in some cases you may not be familiar enough with R's area to know whether R lives in a city or township, etc., but make your best choice. Enter which option you read.

Z4.   Spec: **848-850**   **V001021a[years]**
How long have you lived in this (house/condo/apartment)?   **V001021b[months]**

T* *Z4.T   **V001021c[summary]**
How long have you lived in your current home?
MONTHS:
YEARS:
96 ALL MY LIFE
98 DK

Z5.   Spec: **852__**   **V001022**
(Do you/Does your family) own your home, pay rent, or what?
1 OWN HOUSE
5 PAY RENT
7 OTHER (SPECIFY)
8 DK

⇒ By "your family" we mean only people living with the R. You would use the "does your family" alternative wording only when you are interviewing a member of the family other than husband or wife.

Z8.   Spec: **853__**   **V001023**
These are the last few questions. Often we find that people who have children or commute great distances have less time to participate in politics.
How about you? Do you have any children? *(INCLUDE STEP AND ADOPTED CHILDREN)*
1 YES
3 YES, STEPCHILCREN/ADOPTED [VOL]
5 NO   -->SKIP TO Z9
8 DK   -->SKIP TO Z9

Z8a.   Spec: **854__**   **V001024**
How many children do you have under 18?
O   -->SKIP TO Z9
1-25

Z8b.   Spec: **855__**   **V001025**
(IF R HAS ANY CHILDREN UNDER 18)
How many of them live with you at least half of the time?
O   -->SKIP TO Z9
1-25

Z8c.   Spec: **856M1-M8**   **V001026a-1026h**
(IF R HAS ANY CHILDREN UNDER 18)
What are the ages of your children?
MULTIPLE ENTRIES

114

Z9.   Spec: **861__**   **V001027**

(And finally), about how many miles do you drive in a typical day?

0-999
DK 998

⇒ This question refers only to people who drive personal transportation.

⇒ We ask this question because some social scientists believe it to be a good indicator of how much time a person has to get involved with groups, political parties, grassroot organizations, and so on. If the respondent asks, feel free to share this information with them AFTER THEY HAVE ANSWERED THE QUESTION.

SECTION ZZ

ZZ1-Z11 – INTERVIEWER OBSERVATION

ZZ0.   Spec: **866__**   **V001028**
(IF Y3 AND Y3a EDUCATION DATA ARE BOTH MISSING OR IF Y3 <12 AND Y3a IS MISSING)
ALTHOUGH THERE IS NO WAY OF BEING 100% ACCURATE, PLEASE GIVE YOUR BEST
ESTIMATE OF THE RESPONDENT'S PROBABLE APPROXIMATE EDUCATION LEVEL
[IF YOU FIND IT IMPOSSIBLE TO CHOOSE BETWEEN 2 CHOICES, SELECT 'OTHER' AND
EXPLAIN]

1 LOW – PROBABLY LESS THAN HIGH SCHOOL DIPLOMA
2 PROBABLY HIGH SCHOOL DIPLOMA
3 AT LEAST SOME COLLEGE
4 OTHER (SPECIFY)

ZZ1.   Spec: **867__**   **V001029**

R's sex is:

1 MALE
2 FEMALE

ZZ2.   Spec: **868__**   **V001030**

R's race is:

1 WHITE
2 BLACK
3 AMERICAN INDIAN OR ALASKAN NATIVE
4 ASIAN OR PACIFIC ISLANDER
8 DK

ZZ3.   Spec: **869M1-M5**   **V001031a-1031e**

Others present at time of interview: (CHECK ALL THAT APPLY)

0 NONE
1 CHLDREN UNDER 6
2 OLDER CHILDREN
3 SPOUSE
4 OTHER RELATIVES
5 OTHER ADULTS
7 PHONE INTERVIEW – COULD NOT TELL
8 DK

ZZ4.   Spec: **870__**   **V001032**

R's cooperation was:

1 VERY GOOD
2 GOOD

3 FAIR
4 POOR
5 VERY POOR

ZZ5.

Spec: **871__**   **V001033**

R's general level of information about politics and public affairs seemed:
1 VERY HIGH
2 FAIRLY HIGH
3 AVERAGE
4 FAIRLY LOW
5 VERY LOW

ZZ6.

Spec: **872__**   **V001034**

R's apparent intelligence:
1 VERY HIGH
2 FAIRLY HIGH
3 AVERAGE
4 FAIRLY LOW
5 VERY LOW

ZZ7.

Spec: **873__**   **V001035**

How suspicious did R seem to be about the study before the interview?:
1 NOT AT ALL SUSPICIOUS
2 SOMEWHAT SUSPICIOUS
3 VERY SUSPICIOUS

ZZ8.

Spec: **874__**   **V001036**

Overall, how great was R's interest in the interview?
1 VERY HIGH
2 FAIRLY HIGH
3 AVERAGE
4 FAIRLY LOW
5 VERY LOW

ZZ9.

Spec: **875__**   **V001037**

How sincere did R seem in his/her answers?
1 COMPLETE SINCERE →ZZ10
3 USUALLY SINCERE → ZZ9a
5 OFTEN SEEMED TO BE INSINCERE → ZZ9a

  ZZ9a.

Spec: **876__**   **V001038 (blanked)**

  (IF NOT COMPLETELY SINCERE)
  Were there any particular parts of the interview for which you doubted R's sincerity?
  (IF SO NAME THEM BY SECTION OR QUESTION NUMBER)
  _____*OPENEND*_____

ZZ10.

Spec: **877__**   **V001039**

Do you feel R reported income accurately?
1 YES, THINK R REPORTED INCOME CORRECTLY
2 NO, THINK R REPORTED INCOME INCORRECTLY
3 NO, THINK R REPORTED INCOME DISHONESTLY

116

ZZ10a.   Spec: **878__**   **V001040**

(IF R DID NOT REPORT INCOME OR DID NOR REPORT CORRECTLY:)

If possible, give a reasonable estimate of what R's family income is (before taxes in 1999).

1 A. NONE OR LESS THAN $4,999
2 B. $5,000-$9,999
3 C. $10,000-$14,999
4 D. $15,000-$24,999
5 E. $25,000-$34,999
6 F. $35,000-$49,999
7 G. $50,000-$64,999
8 H. $65,000-$74,999
9 J. $75,000-$84,999
10 K. $85,000-$94,999
11 M. $95,000-$104,999
12 N. $105,000-$114,999
13 P. $115,000-$124,999
14 Q. $125,000-$134,999
15 R. $135,000-$144,999
16 S. $145,000-$154,999
17 T. $155,000-$164,999
18 U. $165,000-$174,999
19 V. $175,000-$184,999
20 W. $185,000-$199,999
21 X. $200,000 and over
98 Y. IMPOSSIBLE TO ESTIMATE
99 Z. REFUSED

ZZ11.   Spec: **879M1-M9**   **V001041a-1041j**

R's reaction to IW:
[ENTER ALL THAT APPLY].

10 NEGATIVE – GENERAL
11 NEGATIVE – TOO LONG
12 NEGATIVE – TOO COMPLICATED
13 NEGATIVE – BORING/TEDIOUS/REPETITIOUS
15 R WANTED TO STOP BEFORE IW COMPLETED. AFTER STARTING IW, R MADE COMMENTS INDICATING REGRETS HAVING AGREED TO DO IW
20 R COMPLAINED AND/OR IWR OBSERVED R WAS ILL/DEAF/TIRED/HAD BAD EYESIGHT ETC. IW WAS HARD FOR R
22 R COMPLAINED AND/OR IWR OBSERVED R WAS CONFUSED BY Qs, R WAS SLOW READER. IW WAS HARD FOR R
30 R EXPRESSED DOUBTS/APOLOGIES/EMBARRASSMENTS OVER LACK OF KNOWLEDGE OR OWN SUITABILITY FOR IW
31 R EXPRESSED DOUBTS/APOLOGIES/EMBARRASSMENTS OVER LACK OF POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE, CANDIDATE NAMES, ELECTION ISSUES,
   OR OWN LACK OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION.
40 R WAS AGITATED OR STRESSED BY INTERVIEW PROCESS
41 R BECAME ANGRY AT INTERVIEW CONTENT
45 R BECAME CONCERNED ABOUT SAMPLING PURPOSES OR BIAS
50 R COULD NOT READ RESPONDENT BOOKLET
70 R APPEARED TO ENJOY THE IW (R WAS COOPERATIVE/INTERESTED/PLEASANT)
80 NEUTRAL OR NO FEEDBACK

TN1.   Spec: **880__**   **not released – stored separately**

Please describe any ambiguous or conflicting situation that you want project staff to know about. If none, enter
"none"

_____*OPENEND*_____

TN2.

Please provide a few words about this respondent which would help you remember the interview if you had to call back.

_____*OPENEND*_____

2000 NES Post-election Questionnaire w/ QxQ and Final Variable Nos.

orange underlined – highlighted on laptop screen
⇒ Surveycraft QxQ text

RELEASE VARIABLE NUMBER

SECTION A

A1-A4 - CURRENT CAMPAIGN AND POLITICS

A1.   Spec: **127__**   **V001201**

Some people don't pay much attention to political campaigns. How about you? Would you say that you
were <u>very much interested, somewhat interested</u>, or <u>not much interested</u> in following the political
campaigns this year?

1 VERY MUCH INTERESTED
3 SOMEWHAT INTERESTED
5 NOT MUCH INTERESTED
8 DK

⇒ Definition: by political campaigns, we mean the election campaigns in general and not the campaign for a
specific race or office.

A2.   Spec: **128__**   **V001202**

Did you watch any programs about the campaign on television?

1 YES
5 NO   -->SKIP TO A3
8 DK   -->SKIP TO A3
9 RF   -->SKIP TO A3

    A2a.   Spec: **129__**   **V001203**

    (IF YES)

    Would you say you watched a good many, several, or just one or two?

    1 A GOOD MANY
    3 SEVERAL
    5 JUST ONE OR TWO
    8 DK

A3.   Spec: **130__**   **V001204**

Do you ever discuss politics with your family or friends?

1 YES
5 NO   -->SKIP TO A4
8 DK   -->SKIP TO A4

⇒ Respondents may have difficulty deciding whether they "discuss politics". If asked what we mean by "discuss,"
say "whatever it means to you." We want to know if they think they discuss politics, whether they have in mind a
lengthy debate over candidate stands on policy, or briefly mention the scandals of politicians.

A3a.   Spec: **131__**   **V001205**

(IF YES)

How many days in the past week did you talk about politics with family or friends?

__ ENTER NUMBER OF DAYS
96 NONE (NO DAYS)
98 DK

⇒ This asks for number of <u>days</u>, not number of <u>times</u>.

A4.   Spec: **132__**   **V001206**

(IF NOT WASHINGTON D.C.)

Do you happen to remember the names of the candidates for Congress -- that is, for the House of Representatives in Washington -- who ran in the November election from this district?

1 YES, REMEMBER
5 NO, DON'T REMEMBER   -->SKIP TO B1
8 DK   -->SKIP TO B1

⇒ Please record as accurately and legibly as possible the names supplied by the R. Accept <u>any</u> name R gives you. Some R's may mention a senatorial candidate here---accept it without comment.

⇒ This question measures the respondent's ability to <u>recall</u>: a) the actual <u>number</u> of candidates in the race, b) their <u>names</u>, and c) their <u>party</u> affiliation.

⇒ If the respondent says something like, "I don't remember the name of the candidate, but he is a Democrat," write DK on the line reserved for the name, and indicate the party, in this case DEM, by marking the appropriate box. If R gives no indication of remembering the name or party of candidate at first mention, don't probe for second mention; go on.

A4a1, A4a2, A4a3   Spec: **133,135,137**   **V001207,1211,1215**

(IF YES)

Who were they? (PROBE: Any others?)

_____*OPENENDED*_____

⇒ Enter name, then probe, if needed, for party. Probe for additional names until R says she/he can't think of more. Accept any name R gives even if you know it to be a "wrong" answer.

A4b1. , A4b2., 4b3.   Spec: **134,136,138**   **V001208,1212,1216**

(ASK FOR EACH NAME GIVEN)

What is <NAME'S] party?

1 DEMOCRAT
5 REPUBLICAN
7 OTHER (SPECIFY)
8 DK

V001209,1213,1217   **[party]**
V001210,1214,1218   **[accuracy]**

SECTION B

B1-B12 – PARTICIPATION, CONTRIBUTIONS

2

B1.   Spec: **142__**   **V001219**

As you know, the political parties try to talk to as many people as they can to get them to vote for their candidate. Did anyone from one of the political parties <u>call you up or come around and talk to you about the campaign this year</u>?

```
1 YES
5 NO          --.SKIP TO B1b
8 DK          --.SKIP TO B1b
```

⇒ B1-B12 are items about R's participation in <u>this year's</u> campaign, not activities the respondent has performed in the past. References to "the campaign this year" and to "candidates" mean campaigns and candidates in <u>partisan</u> elections-- those in which candidates are running from specific parties. Thus, for example, money given to school board candidates are not what we have in mind (if you're asked).

> **B1a**.   Spec: **143__**   **V001220**
>
> **(IF YES)**
> Which party was that?
> ```
> 1 DEMOCRATS
> 5 REPUBLICANS
> 6 BOTH
> 7 OTHER (SPECIFY)
> 8 DK
> ```

B1b.   Spec: **144__**   **V001221**

Other than someone from the two major parties, did anyone (else) call you up or come around and talk to you about supporting specific candidates in this last election?

```
1 YES
5 NO
8 DK
```

⇒ B1-B12 are items about R's participation in <u>this year's</u> campaign, not activities the respondent has performed in the past. References to "the campaign this year" and to "candidates" mean campaigns and candidates in <u>partisan</u> elections-- those in which candidates are running from specific parties. Thus, for example, money given to school board candidates are not what we have in mind (if you're asked).

B1c.   Spec: **145_**   **V001222**

Did anyone from one of the political parties send you mail about the campaign this year?

```
1 YES
5 NO              -->SKIP TO B1D
8 DK
```

⇒ B1-B12 are items about R's participation in <u>this year's</u> campaign, not activities the respondent has performed in the past. References to "the campaign this year" and to "candidates" mean campaigns and candidates in <u>partisan</u> elections-- those in which candidates are running from specific parties. Thus, for example, money given to school board candidates are not what we have in mind (if you're asked).

> **B1c1.**   Spec: **146__**   **V001223**
>
> **(IF YES)**
> Which party was that?
> ```
> 1 DEMOCRATS
> 5 REPUBLICANS
> 6 BOTH
> 7 OTHER (SPECIFY)
> 8 DK
> ```

3

B1d.

Other than someone from the two major parties, did anyone (else) send you mail about supporting specific candidates in this last election?

1 YES
5 NO
8 DK

⇒ B1-B12 are items about R's participation in <u>this year's</u> campaign, not activities the respondent has performed in the past. References to "the campaign this year" and to "candidates" mean campaigns and candidates in <u>partisan</u> elections-- those in which candidates are running from specific parties. Thus, for example, money given to school board candidates are not what we have in mind (if you're asked).

B2.

We would like to find out about some of the things people do to help a party or a candidate win an election. During the campaign, did you talk to any people and try to show them why they should vote for or against one of the parties or candidates?

1 YES
5 NO
8 DK

⇒ We are interested here in whether R has been sufficiently impressed (or unimpressed) by a party or candidate to try to convince others that they should vote for (or against) the party or candidate. If R says he/she has tried to convince others simply to vote, but not for or against a candidate or a party, the answer to this question is "NO."
⇒ B1-B12 are items about R's participation in this year's campaign, not activities the respondent has performed in the past. References to "the campaign this year" and to "candidates" mean campaigns and candidates in <u>partisan</u> elections-- those in which candidates are running from specific parties. Thus, for example, money given to school board candidates are not what we have in mind (if you're asked).

B3.

Did you wear a campaign button, put a campaign sticker on your car, or place a sign in your window or in front of your house?

1 YES
5 NO
8 DK

⇒ B1-B12 are items about R's participation in <u>this year's</u> campaign, not activities the respondent has performed in the past. References to "the campaign this year" and to "candidates" mean campaigns and candidates in <u>partisan</u> elections-- those in which candidates are running from specific parties. Thus, for example, money given to school board candidates are not what we have in mind (if you're asked).

B4.

Did you go to any political meetings, rallies, speeches, dinners, or things like that in support of a particular candidate?

1 YES
5 NO
8 DK

⇒ B1-B12 are items about R's participation in <u>this year's</u> campaign, not activities the respondent has performed in the past. References to "the campaign this year" and to "candidates" mean campaigns and candidates in <u>partisan</u> elections-- those in which candidates are running from specific parties. Thus, for example, money given to school board candidates are not what we have in mind (if you're asked).

B5.

Did you do any (other) work for one of the parties or candidates?

```
1 YES
5 NO
8 DK
```

⇒ The optional use of "other" in this question is here in case R has answered "YES" to B4 ; it makes the question a little smoother for the R.

B6.

During an election year people are often asked to make a contribution to support campaigns. Did you give money to <u>an individual candidate</u> running for public office?

```
1 YES
5 NO            -->SKIP TO B7
8 DK            -->SKIP TO B7
```

⇒ This is a difficult series, in part because respondents don't always know whether they gave to a party or to a candidate, and in part because there could be some overlap (e.g., money given to a party to support a candidate or a ballot proposal). When in doubt, make copious notes and move on; we'll do our best to sort it out in coding.

⇒ B1-B12 are items about R's participation in <u>this year's</u> campaign, not activities the respondent has performed in the past. References to "the campaign this year" and to "candidates" mean campaigns and candidates in <u>partisan</u> elections-- those in which candidates are running from specific parties. Thus, for example, money given to school board candidates are not what we have in mind (if you're asked).

    B6a.

    (IF YES)

    Which party did that candidate belong to?

```
1 DEMOCRATS
3 REPUBLICANS
5 OTHER (SPECIFY)
6 BOTH DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE AND REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE (VOL)
8 DK
```

B7.

Did you give money to <u>a political party</u> during this election year?

```
1 YES
5 NO            -->SKIP TO B8
8 DK            -->SKIP TO B8
```

⇒ This is a difficult series, in part because respondents don't always know whether they gave to a party or to a candidate, and in part because there could be some overlap (e.g., money given to a party to support a candidate or a ballot proposal). When in doubt, make copious notes and move on; we'll do our best to sort it out in coding.

⇒ B1-B12 are items about R's participation in <u>this year's</u> campaign, not activities the respondent has performed in the past. References to "the campaign this year" and to "candidates" mean campaigns and candidates in <u>partisan</u> elections-- those in which candidates are running from specific parties. Thus, for example, money given to school board candidates are not what we have in mind (if you're asked).

    B7a.

    (IF YES)

    To which party did you give money?

```
1 DEMOCRATS
3 REPUBLICANS
5 OTHER (SPECIFY)
6 BOTH DEMOCRATS AND REPUBLICANS
8 DK
```

B8.   **Spec: 164__**   **V001233**

Did you give any money to any other group that supported or opposed candidates?

1 YES
5 NO
8 DK

⇒ This is a difficult series, in part because respondents don't always know whether they gave to a party or to a candidate, and in part because there could be some overlap (e.g., money given to a party to support a candidate or a ballot proposal). When in doubt, make copious notes and move on; we'll do our best to sort it out in coding.

⇒ B1-B12 are items about R's participation in this year's campaign, not activities the respondent has performed in the past. References to "the campaign this year" and to "candidates" mean campaigns and candidates in partisan elections-- those in which candidates are running from specific parties. Thus, for example, money given to school board candidates are not what we have in mind (if you're asked).

B9.   **Spec: 165__**   **V001234**

During the campaign this year, did anyone talk to you about registering to vote or getting out to vote?

1 YES, SOMEONE DID
5 NO, NO ONE DID
8 DK

⇒ If R says he/she received a call on election day from the local party asking if R has voted and offering rides to the polls, etc.--that counts. The answer is "YES."

⇒ B1-B12 are items about R's participation in this year's campaign, not activities the respondent has performed i n the past. References to "the campaign this year" and to "candidates" mean campaigns and candidates in partisan elections-- those in which candidates are running from specific parties. Thus, for example, money given to school board candidates are not what we have in mind (if you're asked).

B10.   **Spec: 166__**   **V001235**

Were there any groups concerned with moral or religious issues that tried to encourage you to vote in a particular way?

1 YES, THERE WERE GROUPS
5 NO, NO GROUPS TRIED TO ENCOURAGE
8 DK

⇒ B1-B12 are items about R's participation in this year's campaign, not activities the respondent has performed in the past. References to "the campaign this year" and to "candidates" mean campaigns and candidates in partisan elections-- those in which candidates are running from specific parties. Thus, for example, money given to school board candidates are not what we have in mind (if you're asked).

B11.   **Spec: 167__**   **V001236**

Was information about candidates, parties, or political issues made available in your place of worship before the election? [DON'T PROBE DK RESPONSE]

1 YES
5 NO, NO INFORMATION AVAILABLE
7 NO, DON'T GO TO CHURCH [VOL] -->C1
8 DK   -->C1

⇒ If R asks, we do mean activities at R's place of worship – in the parking lot, the parish center, the church basement, the vestibule—as well as actions happening inside the church/synagogue/temple itself.

⇒ B1-B12 are items about R's participation in this year's campaign, not activities the respondent has performed in the past. References to "the campaign this year" and to "candidates" mean campaigns and candidates in partisan elections-- those in which candidates are running from specific parties. Thus, for example, money given to school board candidates are not what we have in mind (if you're asked).

B12.   Spec: **168__**   **V001237**

(IF R DID NOT INDICATE NON-ATTENDANCE IN B11)

Did the clergy or other church leaders at your place of worship encourage you to vote for a particular candidate or party?

1 YES
5 NO   -->SKIP TO C1
8 DK   -->SKIP TO C1

         B12a.   Spec: **170__**

         (IF YES)

         Which candidate?

         (IF R SAYS CAN'T REMEMBER CANDIDATE NAME, PROBE:

         WHICH ELECTION OR WHAT OFFICE? ANY OTHERS?)

                    _____*OPENENDED*_____   **V001238** **[MENT 1 code]**

                                                                 V001239 **[MENT 2 code]**

                                                                 V001240, **[MENT 3 code]**

SECTION C

C1-C4 – TURNOUT, REGISTRATION

C1.   Spec: **181__**   **V001241**

In talking to people about elections, we often find that a lot of people were not able to vote because they weren't registered, they were sick, or they just didn't have time.   Which of the following statements best describes you: One, I did not vote(in the election this November); Two, I thought about voting this time – but didn't; Three, I usually vote, but didn't this time; or Four, I am sure I voted?

[INTERVIEWER: PLEASE READ ALL OPTIONS]

1 I DID NOT VOTE (IN THE ELECTION THIS NOVEMBER).
2 I THOUGHT ABOUT VOTING THIS TIME, BUT DIDN'T.
3 I USUALLY VOTE, BUT DIDN'T THIS TIME.
4 I AM SURE I VOTED   →SKIP TO C3
8 DK
9 RF

         C2.   Spec: **182__**   **V001242**

         (IF R DID NOT VOTE)

         Were you registered to vote in this election?

1 YES
5 NO   -->SKIP TO C9(2)
6 VOL: NOT REQUIRED TO REGISTER IN R'S STATE   -->SKIP TO C9(2)
8 DK   -->SKIP TO C9(2)
9 RF   -->SKIP TO C9(2)

C3.

((IF YES REGISTERED) OR (IF VOTER)) AND
(IF NOT WASHINGTON D.C.)

Your residence is located in _____County.

(PRELOAD COUNTY)

Are you registered to vote in _____County?

(PRELOAD COUNTY)

1 YES, REGISTERED IN (PRELOAD COUNTY)	-->IF C1 IS YES GO TO C4, ELSE GO TO C9(1))
5 NO, REGISTERED IN OTHER COUNTY	-->SKIP TO C3a
8 DK	-->IF C1 IS YES GO TO C4, ELSE GO TO C9(1) *[HANDLE AS 'IN COUNTY']*
9 RF	-->IF C1 IS YES GO TO C4, ELSE GO TO C9(1) *[HANDLE AS 'IN COUNTY']*

((IF YES REGISTERED) OR (IF VOTER)) AND
(IF WASHINGTON D.C.)

Your residence is located in Washington D.C.

Are you registered to vote in Washington D.C.?

1 YES, REGISTERED IN WASHINGTON D.C.	-->IF C1 IS YES GO TO C4, ELSE GO TO C9(1))
5 NO, REGISTERED IN OTHER COUNTY	-->SKIP TO C3a
8 DK	-->IF C1 IS YES GO TO C4, ELSE GO TO C9(1) *[HANDLE AS 'IN COUNTY']*
9 RF	-->IF C1 IS YES GO TO C4, ELSE GO TO C9(1) *[HANDLE AS 'IN COUNTY']*

C3a.

(IF NOT REGISTERED IN COUNTY/IN WASH. D.C.)

In what county and state are you registered?

_____*OPENENDED*_____   -->IF C1 IS "VOTED" [4] GO TO C4, ELSE GO TO C17

C4.

(IF VOTED)

Did you vote on election day – that is, November 7th 2000, or did you vote at some time

before this?

1 ELECTION DAY	--> SKIP TO C5
5 SOME TIME BEFORE THIS	--> C4a
8 DK	--> SKIP TO C5
9 RF	--> SKIP TO C5

C4a.

(IF VOTED PRIOR TO ELECTION DAY)

How long before November 7th did you vote?

(PROBE: A FEW DAYS, A WEEK, LONGER THAN THAT?)

_____*OPENENDED*_____--> SKIP TO C4b

⇒ We want R to refer to time, rather than referring to a particular event in the state
of his/her personal life.

C4b.

(IF VOTED PRIOR TO ELECTION DAY)
Did you vote in person or by absentee ballot?

1 IN PERSON	-->SKIP TO C5
5 ABSENTEE BALLOT	-->SKIP TO C5
7 R VOLUNTEERS: BY MAIL [OREGON ONLY]	-->SKIP TO C5
8 DK	-->SKIP TO C5

C5-C8- VOTE FOR PRESIDENT

C5.

(IF VOTED)
How about the election for President? Did you vote for a candidate for President?

1 YES, VOTED FOR PRESIDENT	
5 NO, DIDN'T VOTE FOR PRESIDENT	-->SKIP TO C9
8 DK	-->SKIP TO C9
9 RF	-->SKIP TO C9

C6.

(IF R VOTED FOR PRESIDENT)
Who did you vote for?

1 AL GORE	-->SKIP TO C6a
3 GEORGE W. BUSH	-->SKIP TO C6a
5 PAT BUCHANAN	-->SKIP TO C6a
6 RALPH NADER	-->SKIP TO C6a
7 OTHER (SPECIFY)	-->SKIP TO C6a
8 DK	-->SKIP TO C9
9 RF	-->SKIP TO C9

C6a.

(IF PRESIDENTIAL VOTE NAME IS NOT DK/REF)
Would you say that your preference for (IF NAME GIVEN: <candidate name> /
IF OTHER SPECIFY: this candidate) was strong or not ?
strong?

1 STRONG
5 NOT STRONG
8 DK

C7.

(IF PRESIDENTIAL VOTE NAME IS NOT DK/REF)
How long before the election did you decide that you were going to vote the way
you did?
[PROBE if necessary "Would that have been a few days before the election, a
week, or longer than that?]
_____*OPENENDED*_____

⇒ Try to elicit an answer that can be translated into a time frame. For example, "When I attended a PTA meeting", should be probed with "When was this meeting held?" Answers referring to recognizable events are acceptable, such as "I decided during the second presidential debate."

C8.   Spec: **193M1-M3   V001252a,b,c**

(IF PRESIDENTIAL VOTE NAME IS NOT DK/REF)
If you could have cast more than one vote in the Presidential election this (past) November, is there any other candidate you would have found acceptable and have voted for? (MULTIPLE RESPONSE; name in C6 not acceptable)
1 AL GORE
3 GEORGE W BUSH
5 PAT BUCHANAN
6 RALPH NADER
7 OTHER (SPECIFY)
8 NO OTHER CANDIDATE (VOL)
98 DK
99 RF

C9(1) INTERNAL CHECKPOINT: Spec: **197   V001253a**
**   -R VOTED IN COUNTY OF RESIDENCE [1,8,9 IN C3] OR**
**   -R VOTED OUTSIDE COUNTY OF RESIDENCE [5 IN C3] OR**
**   -WASHINGTON D.C. -->SKIPS TO D1**

C9(2) FTF AND PHONE: Spec: **177__   V001253b**
**   RANDOM SELECTION FOR IN-COUNTY VOTE /**
**   RANDOM SELECTION FOR NONVOTER PREFERENCE :**
**   1-DEMOCRAT NAME FIRST   OR**
**   2-REPUBLICAN NAME FIRST**
**   ------------------------------------**
**   FOR FTF INTERVIEWS,**
**   1 -->BLUE BALLOT CARD (W/ DEM FIRST)**
**   2 -->GOLD BALLOT CARD (W/ REP FIRST)**

**   FTF:**
**   ONCE COLOR OF BALLOT CARD IS RANDOMLY SET,**
**   CREATE A SEPARATE INSTRUCTION SCREEN :**

**   "PLEASE TAKE OUT THE <BLUE/GOLD> BALLOT CARD**
**   BEFORE PROCEEDING TO THE NEXT SECTION.**

**   DO NOT USE A DIFFERENT COLOR BALLOT CARD."**

**   THE INTERVIEWER SHOULD HAVE TO PRESS A KEY TO EXIT**
**   THIS SCREEN.   IF NONVOTER [NOT 4 IN C1] GO TO C17**

FOR HOUSE VOTE, PARALLEL FACE-TO-FACE AND TELEPHONE SERIES ARE DOCUMENTED SEPARATELY.

HOUSE VOTE SERIES:

FTF	-IN COUNTY	---> C9 SERIES
	-OUT OF COUNTY	---> C10 SERIES
TEL	-IN COUNTY	---> C11.T SERIES
	-OUT OF COUNTY	---> C12.T SERIES

FACE TO FACE: C9 series - VOTE FOR CONGRESS in-county

NOTE: names appear on ballot card in order of C9(2) [blue or gold card]

NOTE: in VT01 and VA05, the independent incumbent candidate was randomized
   in the FTF ballot card and in the order of names in the Telephone
   wording, as if the candidate were a major party candidate: VT01
   candidate Bernie Sanders was randomized as if a Democratic name,
   and in VA05 Virgil Goode Jr. was randomized as if a Republican
   name (no Democratic name was preloaded for VT0 1 and no Republican
   name was preloaded for VA05).
   All other ind/3rd-party candidate names appearing on the FTF ballot card
   or included in Telephone wording appear last in order.

NOTE: ind/3rd-party candidate names are included in response codes/question wording
   whenever they have been preloaded; ind/3rd-party names are preloaded only
   for candidates who have been identified as especially viable.

C9a.   Spec: **199__**   **V001254**

(IF R VOTED) AND
(IF REGISTERED IN COUNTY OF RESIDENCE) AND
(IF NOT WASHINGTON D.C.)
[SHOW <BLUE/GOLD> BALLOT CARD]
Here is a list of candidates for the major races in this district.
How about the election for the House of Representatives in Washington.
Did you vote for a candidate for the U.S. House of Representatives?

1 YES, VOTED FOR HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES   -->C9b
5 NO, DIDN'T VOTE FOR HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES -->C13a
8 DK   -->C13a

⇒ The Ballot Card is used to gather data on how R's voted in the various races. (Until 1978, Election Studies asked R's to recall who they voted for without a "visual cue"). The Ballot Card should not be presented to the respondent until you reach this question. This is most important--be certain that the card is not in R's sight before this time, as the information on it could alter R's responses to earlier questions, particularly the one requiring R to <u>recall</u> candidates rather than to simply recognize candidate

names.

⇒ A second important point to make is that it is <u>vital</u> that the Ballot Card be the correct card for he R's congressional district.

⇒ Note that, when asking this, R may also say that the race for the U.S. House of Representatives in which he/she voted is not the one described on the Ballot Card. This could be true because R may have gone to vote in the congressional district where he/she recently lived, as most states allow. Since this district could be different from the one in which R now resides, the House race on the Ballot Card may, indeed, be the wrong one. If this is the case, use the OTHER (specify) category to enter Rs answer and statement about this. This is also the one you should choose if the respondent says he/she voted for a "write-in" candidate.

⇒ NOTE: It sometimes happens, particularly in big cities, that R voted for different candidates— because we have misidentified the CD to which a segment belongs. Be sensitive to this possibility, and if you have suspicion that such might be the case, _call your supervisor before you do another interview in that segment._

C9b. Spec: **200**__   **V001255**
(IF VOTED FOR CONGRESS IN C9a)   **V001256 [cand code]**
Who did you vote for?   **V001257 [party summary]**
```
1 <PRELOAD DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE NAME>   -->C13a
3 <PRELOAD IND/3RD-PARTY INCUMBENT NAME  -->C13a
5 <PRELOAD REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE NAME     -->C13a
7 OTHER (SPECIFY)                        -->C13a
8 DK                                     -->C13a
```

FACE TO FACE: C10 series - VOTE FOR CONGRESS out-of-county

C10a. Spec: **201**__   **V001258**
(IF R VOTED) AND
(IF REGISTERED OUTSIDE COUNTY OF RESIDENCE) AND
(IF NOT WASHINGTON D.C.:)
[DO NOT SHOW BALLOT CARD]
How about the election for the House of Representatives in Washington.
Did you vote for a candidate for the U.S. House of Representatives?
```
1 YES, VOTED FOR HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES       -->C10b
5 NO, DIDN'T VOTE FOR HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES -->C14a
7 R VOLUNTEERS: NO RACE IN STATE                -->C14a
8 DK                                            -->C14a
```

C10b. Spec: **202**__
(IF VOTED FOR CONGRESS IN C10a)
Who did you vote for?
_____*OPENENDED*_____   -->C10c

C10c. Spec: **203**__   **V001261**
(IF VOTED FOR CONGRESS IN C10a)
Which party was that?

```
1 DEMOCRAT            -->C14a
5 REPUBLICAN          -->C14a
7 OTHER: SPECIFY:     -->C14a
8 DK                  -->C14a
```

V001259[cand code]
V001260 [party summary]

NOTE: names are preloaded into question text per order in C9(2)
NOTE: in VT01 and VA05, the independent incumbent candidate was randomized
        in the FTF ballot card and in the order of names in the Telephone
        wording, as if the candidate were a major party candidate: VT01
        candidate Bernie Sanders was randomized as if a Democratic name,
        and in VA05 Virgil Goode Jr. was randomized as if a Republican
        name (no Democratic name was preloaded for VT01 and no Republican
        name was preloaded for VA05).
        All other ind/3rd-party candidate names appearing on the FTF ballot card
        or included in Telephone wording appear last in order.
NOTE: ind/3rd-party candidate names are included in response codes/question wording
        whenever they have been preloaded; ind/3rd-party names are preloaded only
        for candidates who have been identified as especially viable.

T *C11a.T*   Spec: **199__**   **V001254**

(IF R VOTED) AND
(IF REGISTERED IN COUNTY OF RESIDENCE) AND
(IF NOT WASHINGTON D.C.)
How about the election for the House of Representatives in Washington.
Did you vote for a candidate for the U.S. House of Representatives?
```
1 YES, VOTED FOR HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES        -->C11b(1).T or C11b(2).T or  C11b(3).T or C11b(4).T
5 NO, DIDN'T VOTE FOR HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES -->C15a.T
8 DK                                   -->C15a.T
```

T   *C11b(1).T*   Spec: **200__**   **V001255**
(IF YES VOTED FOR CONGRESS IN C11a.T) AND   **V001256 [cand code]**
(IF TWO MAJOR PARTY CANDIDATES IN HOUSE RACE) AND   **V001257 [party summary]**
(IF DEMOCRAT NAME IS FIRST IN C9(2))
Who did you vote for?
Did you vote for the Democrat, <NAME OF DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE>,
(or) the Republican, <NAME OF REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE (or
the <PARTY> candidate, <NAME OF IND/3RD-PARTY CANDIDATE>) ?
```
1 <PRELOAD DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE NAME>            -->C15a.T
3 <PRELOAD IND/3RD-PARTY CANDIDATE NAME          -->C15a.T
5 <PRELOAD REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE NAME             -->C15a.T
7 OTHER (SPECIFY)                                -->C15a.T
8 DK                                             -->C15a.T
```

T   *C11b(2).T*
(IF YES VOTED FOR CONGRESS IN C11a.T) AND
(IF TWO MAJOR PARTY CANDIDATES IN HOUSE RACE) AND
(IF REPUBLICAN NAME IS FIRST IN C9(2))
Who did you vote for?
Did you vote for the Republican <NAME OF REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE>,
(or) the Democrat, <NAME OF DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE> (or
the < PARTY> candidate, <NAME OF IND/3RD-PARTY CANDIDATE>) ?

```
1 <PRELOAD DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE NAME>        -->C15a.T
3 <PRELOAD IND/3RD-PARTY CANDIDATE NAME      -->C15a.T
5 <PRELOAD REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE NAME         -->C15a.T
7 OTHER (SPECIFY)                            -->C15a.T
8 DK                                         -->C15a.T
```

T   *C11b(3).T*
(IF YES VOTED FOR CONGRESS IN C11a.T) AND
(IF TWO MAJOR PARTY CANDIDATES IN HOUSE RACE) AND
(IF HOUSE RACE IS DEMOCRAT UNOPPOSED BY REPUBLICAN)
Who did you vote for?
Did you vote for the Democrat, <NAME OF DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE>,
(or the <PARTY> candidate, <NAME OF IND/3RD-PARTY CANDIDATE>,)
(IF NO OPPONENT: or someone else)?

```
1 <PRELOAD DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE NAME>        -->C15a.T
3 <PRELOAD IND/3RD-PARTY CANDIDATE NAME      -->C15a.T
7 OTHER (SPECIFY)                            -->C15a.T
8 DK                                         -->C15a.T
```

T   *C11b(4).T*
(IF YES VOTED FOR CONGRESS IN C11a.T) AND
(IF HOUSE RACE IS REPUBLICAN UNOPPOSED BY DEMOCRAT)
Who did you vote for?
Did you vote for the Republican, <NAME OF REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE>,
(or the <PARTY> candidate, <NAME OF IND/3RD-PARTY CANDIDATE>,)
(IF NO OPPONENT: or someone else)?

```
3 <PRELOAD IND/3RD-PARTY CANDIDATE NAME      -->C15a.T
5 <PRELOAD REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE NAME         -->C15a.T
7 OTHER (SPECIFY)                            -->C15a.T
8 DK                                         -->C15a.T
```

⇒ C11b: Note that, when asking this, R may say that the race for the U.S. House in which he/she voted is not the one mentioned. This could be true because R may have gone to vote in the congressional district where he/she recently lived, as most states allow. Since this district could be different from the one in which R now resides, the preloaded names for the House race may, indeed, be wrong. If this is the case, use the OTHER (specify) category to enter R's answer and statement about this. This is also the one you should choose if the respondent says he/she voted for a "write-in" candidate.

⇒ NOTE: It sometimes happens, particularly in big cities, that R voted for different candidates—because we have misidentified the CD to which a segment belongs. Be sensitive to this possibility, and if you have suspicion that such might be the case, *call your supervisor before you do another interview in that segment.*

T   *C12a.T*   Spec: **201__**   **V001258**
(IF R VOTED) AND
(IFREGISTERED OUTSIDE COUNTY OF RESIDENCE) AND
(IF NOT WASHINGTON D.C)
How about the election for the House of Representatives in Washington.
Did you vote for a candidate for the U.S. House of Representatives?

1 YES, VOTED FOR HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES   --> C12b.T
5 NO, DIDN'T VOTE FOR HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES --> C16a.T
7 R VOLUNTEERS: NO RACE IN STATE   -->C16a.T
8 DK   --> C16a.T

T   *C12b.T*   Spec: **202__**
(IF YES VOTED FOR CONGRESS IN C12a.T)
Who did you vote for?
_____*OPENENDED*_____   -->C12c.T

T   *C12c.T*   Spec: **203__**   **V001261**
(IF YES R VOTED FOR CONGRESS IN C12a.T)
Which party was that?

1 DEMOCRAT   -->C16a.T
5 REPUBLICAN   -->C16a.T
7 OTHER: SPECIFY: -->C16a.T
8 DK   -->C16a.T

                                                       V001259 **[cand code]**
                                                       V001260 **[party summary]**

           COMBINED FTF+PH IN/OUT: **V001262 [SUMMARYcand code]**
                                                      V001263 [SUMMARY party]

Senate vote C13-C16

FOR SENATE VOTE, PARALLEL FACE-TO-FACE AND TELEPHONE
SERIES ARE DOCUMENTED SEPARATELY.

SENATE VOTE SERIES:

```
FTF   -IN COUNTY          ---> C13 SERIES
      -OUT OF COUNTY      ---> C14 SERIES

TEL   -IN COUNTY          ---> C15.T SERIES
      -OUT OF COUNTY      ---> C16.T SERIES
```

V001264 CKPT: race in state?
V001265 in/out status

FACE TO FACE: C13 series - VOTE FOR SENATE in-county

NOTE: names appear on ballot card in order of C9(2) [blue/gold card]
NOTE: ind/3rd-party candidate names are included in response codes/question wording
        whenever they have been preloaded; ind/3rd-party names are preloaded only
        for candidates who have been identified as especially viable. For Senate races,
        up to 2 ind/3rd-party names may appear.

C13a.   Spec: **204__**   **V001266**

(IF SENATE ELECTION IN STATE) AND
(IF R VOTED IN COUNTY OF RESIDENCE) AND
(IF NOT WASHINGTON D.C.)
[SHOW <BLUE/GOLD> BALLOT CARD]
How about the election for the United States Senate?
Did you vote for a candidate for the U.S. Senate?
```
1 YES, VOTED FOR SENATE          -->C13b
5 NO, DIDN'T VOTE FOR SENATE     -->D1
8 DK                             -->D1
```

C13b.   Spec: **205__**   **V001267**
(IF YES VOTED FOR SENATE IN C13a)   **V001268   [cand code]**
Who did you vote for?   **V001269   [party summary]**
```
1 <PRELOAD DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE NAME>    -->D1
3 <PRELOAD 1ST IND/3RD-PARTY CAND NAME>  -->D1
4 <PRELOAD 2ND IND/3RD-PARTY CAND NAME>  -->D1
5 <PRELOAD REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE NAME     -->D1
7 OTHER (SPECIFY)                        -->D1
8 DK                                     -->D1
```

FACE TO FACE: C14 series - VOTE FOR SENATE out-of-county

C14a.   Spec: **206__**   **V001270**
(IF SENATE ELECTION IN STATE) AND

16

(IF R VOTED OUTSIDE COUNTY OF RESIDENCE) AND
(IF NOT WASHINGTON D.C.)
[DO NOT SHOW BALLOT CARD]
How about the election for the United States Senate?
Did you vote for a candidate for the U.S. Senate?

1 YES, VOTED FOR SENATE   -->C14b
5 NO, DIDN'T VOTE FOR SENATE   -->D1
7 R VOLUNTEERS: NO RACE IN STATE OF VOTE -->D1
8 DK   -->D1

    C14b.   **Spec: 207__**

    (IF YES VOTED FOR SENATE IN C14a)
    Who did you vote for?
    _____*OPENENDED*_____   -->C14c

    C14c.   **Spec: 208__**   **V001273**

    (IF YES VOTED FOR SENATE IN C14a)
    Which party was that?

    1 DEMOCRAT   -->D1
    5 REPUBLICAN   -->D1
    7 OTHER: SPECIFY: -->D1
    8 DK   -->D1

                                                                         V001271 [cand code]
                                                                        V001272 [party summary]

                      TELEPHONE: C15 series - VOTE FOR SENATE in-county

        NOTE: names are preloaded into question text per order in C9(2)
        NOTE: ind/3rd-party candidate names are included in response codes/question wording
                whenever they have been preloaded; ind/3rd-party names are preloaded only
                for candidates who have been identified as especially viable. For Senate races,
                up to 2 ind/3rd-party names may appear.

T   *C15a.T*   **Spec: 204__**   **V001266**

    (IF SENATE ELECTION IN STATE) AND
    (IF R VOTED IN COUNTY OF RESIDENCE) AND
    (IF NOT WASHINGTON D.C.)
    How about the election for the United States Senate?
    Did you vote for a candidate for the U.S. Senate?

    1 YES, VOTED FOR SENATE   --> C15b(1).T or C15b(2).T
    5 NO, DIDN'T VOTE FOR SENATE   -->D1
    8 DK   -->D1

T   *C15b(1).T*   **Spec: 205__**   **V001267**
        (IF YES R VOTED FOR SENATOR IN C15a.T) AND   **V001268   [cand code]**

(IF 2 MAJOR PARTY CANDIDATES) AND
(IF DEMOCRAT NAME IS FIRST IN C9(2))
Who did you vote for?
Did you vote for the Democrat, <NAME OF DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE>,
(or) the Republican, <NAME OF REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE> ([or]
the <1st PARTY> candidate, <NAME OF 1st IND/3RD-PARTY CANDIDATE>
[or the <2ND PARTY> candidate, <NAME OF 2nd IND/3RD-PARTY CANDIDATE>])?

V001269   [party summary]

```
1 <PRELOAD DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE NAME>   -->D1
3 <PRELOAD 1ST IND/3RD-PARTY CAND NAME>  -->D1
4 <PRELOAD 2ND IND/3RD-PARTY CAND NAME>  -->D1
5 <PRELOAD REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE NAME     -->D1
7 OTHER (SPECIFY)                        -->D1
8 DK                                     -->D1
```

T   *C15b(2).T*
(IF YES R VOTED FOR SENATOR IN C15a.T) AND
(IF 2 MAJOR PARTY CANDIDATES) AND
 (IF REPUBLICAN NAME IS FIRST IN C9(2))
Who did you vote for?
Did you vote for the Republican, <NAME OF REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE>,
(or) the Democrat, <NAME OF DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE>> ([or]
the <1st PARTY> candidate, <NAME OF 1st IND/3RD-PARTY CANDIDATE>
[or the <2ND PARTY> candidate, <NAME OF 2nd IND/3RD-PARTY CANDIDATE>])?

```
1 <PRELOAD DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE NAME>   -->D1
3 <PRELOAD 1ST IND/3RD-PARTY CAND NAME>  -->D1
4 <PRELOAD 2ND IND/3RD-PARTY CAND NAME>  -->D1
5 <PRELOAD REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE NAME     -->D1
7 OTHER (SPECIFY)                        -->D1
8 DK                                     -->D1
```

T   *C15b(3).T*
(IF YES R VOTED FOR SENATOR IN C15a.T) AND
(IF SENATE RACE IS DEMOCRAT UNOPPOSED BY REPUBLICAN)
Who did you vote for?
Did you vote for the Democrat, <NAME OF DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE>
([or] the <1st PARTY> candidate, <NAME OF 1st IND/3RD-PARTY CANDIDATE>
[or the <NAME OF 2ND PARTY> candidate, <2nd IND/3RD-PARTY CANDIDATE>])
(IF NO OPPONENT: or someone else) ?

```
1 <PRELOAD DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE NAME>   -->D1
3 <PRELOAD 1ST IND/3RD-PARTY CAND NAME>  -->D1
4 <PRELOAD 2ND IND/3RD-PARTY CAND NAME>  -->D1
7 OTHER (SPECIFY)                        -->D1
8 DK                                     -->D1
```

T   *C15b(4).T*
(IF YES R VOTED FOR SENATOR IN C15a.T) AND
(IF SENATE RACE IS REPUBLICAN UNOPPOSED BY DEMOCRAT)
Who did you vote for?
Did you vote for the Republican, <NAME OF REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE>

([or] the <1st PARTY> candidate, <NAME OF 1st IND/3RD-PARTY CANDIDATE>
[or the <NAME OF 2ND PARTY> candidate, <2nd IND/3RD-PARTY CANDIDATE>])
(IF NO OPPONENT: or someone else) ?

```
3 <PRELOAD 1ST IND/3RD-PARTY CAND NAME>   -->D1
4 <PRELOAD 2ND IND/3RD-PARTY CAND NAME>   -->D1
5 <PRELOAD REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE NAME      -->D1
7 OTHER (SPECIFY)                          -->D1
8 DK                                       -->D1
```

TELEPHONE: C16 series - VOTE FOR SENATE out-of-county

T   **C16aT.**   **Spec: 206__**   **V001270**

(IF SENATE ELECTION IN STATE) AND
(IF R VOTED OUTSIDE COUNTY OF RESIDENCE) AND
(IF NOT WASHINGTON D.C.)
How about the election for the United States Senate?
Did you vote for a candidate for the U.S. Senate?

```
1 YES, VOTED FOR SENATE            --> C16b.T
5 NO, DIDN'T VOTE FOR SENATE       -->D1
7 R VOLUNTEERS:  NO RACE IN STATE OF VOTE -->D1
8 DK                               -->D1
```

T   **C16b.T**   **Spec: 207__**

(IF YES VOTED FOR SENATOR IN C16a.T)
Who did you vote for?
_____*OPENENDED*_____   -->C16c.T

T   **C16c.T**   **Spec: 208__**   **V001273**

(IF YES VOTED FOR SENATOR IN C16a.T)
Which party was that?

```
1 DEMOCRAT        -->D1
5 REPUBLICAN      -->D1
7 OTHER: SPECIFY: -->D1
8 DK              -->D1
```

V001271 **[cand code]**
V001272 **[party summary]**

COMBINED FTF+PH IN/OUT: V001274 [SUMMARYcand code]
V001275 [SUMMARY party]

FTF AND TELEPHONE: C17 – NONVOTER PREFERENCES FOR PRESIDENT

C17.
(IF R DID NOT VOTE)

Spec: **210__**   **V001276**

How about the election for President? Did you <u>prefer</u> one of the candidates for President?

1 YES	-->SKIP TO C17a
5 NO	-->SKIP TO C18
8 DK	-->SKIP TO C18

C17a.

Spec: **211__**   **V001277**

(IF YES R PREFERRED A PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE)

Who did you prefer?

1 AL GORE
3 GEORGE W. BUSH
5 PAT BUCHANAN
6 RALPH NADER
7 OTHER (SPECIFY)
8 DK   -->C18

C17b.

Spec: **212__**   **V001278**

(IF PRESIDENTIAL PREFERENCE IS NOT DK/REF)

Would you say that your preference for this candidate was strong or not strong?

1 STRONG-
5 NOT STRONG
8 DK

Congressional and Senate nonvoter preference

FOR HOUSE AND SENATE NONVOTER PREFERENCE, PARALLEL FACE-TO-FACE AND TELEPHONE SERIES ARE DOCUMENTED SEPARATELY.

NONVOTER PREFERENCE SERIES:

FTF:	HOUSE:	---> C18 SERIES
	SENATE:	---> C19 SERIES
TELEPHONE:	HOUSE	---> C18.TSERIES
	SENATE:	---> C19.T SERIES

FACE TO FACE: C18-C19 – NONVOTER PREFERENCES FOR HOUSE, SENATE

Note: HOUSE: C18 series
SENATE: C19 series
names appear on ballot card in order of C9(2) [blue/gold card]

NOTE: in VT01 and VA05, the independent incumbent candidate was randomized
in the FTF ballot card and in the order of names in the Telephone
wording, as if the candidate were a major party candidate: VT01

candidate Bernie Sanders was randomized as if a Democratic name, and in VA05 Virgil Goode Jr. was randomized as if a Republican name (no Democratic name was preloaded for VT01 and no Republican name was preloaded for VA05).
All other ind/3rd-party candidate names appearing on the FTF ballot card or included in Telephone wording appear last in order.
NOTE: ind/3rd-party candidate names are included in response codes/question wording whenever they have been preloaded; ind/3rd-party names are preloaded only for candidates who have been identified as especially viable. For Senate races, up to 2 ind/3rd-party names may appear.

C18.

Spec: **214__**   V001279

(IF R DID NOT VOTE) AND
(IF NOT WASHINGTON D.C.)
[SHOW <BLUE/GOLD> BALLOT CARD]
Here is a list of candidates for the major races in this district.
How about the election for the House of Representatives in Washington? Did you prefer
one of the candidates for the U.S. house of representatives?

1 YES	-->C18a.
5 NO	-->SKIP TO D1
8 DK	-->SKIP TO D1
9 RF	-->SKIP TO D1

C18a.

Spec: **215__**   V001280

(IF YES R PREFERED A HOUSE CANDIDATE)   V001281   [cand code]
Which candidate did you prefer?   V001282   [party summary]

1 <PRELOAD DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE NAME>
3 <PRELOAD IND/3RD-PARTY CAND NAME>
5 <PRELOAD REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE NAME>
7 OTHER (SPECIFY)
8 DK

C19a.

Spec: **217__**   V001283

(IF R DID NOT VOTE) AND
(IF SENATE ELECTION IN STATE) AND
(IF NOT IN WASHINGTON D.C.)
[SHOW <BLUE/GOLD>BALLOT CARD]
How about the election for the United States Senate? Did you prefer one of the candidates
for the U.S. Senate?

1 YES	
5 NO	-->D1
8 DK	-->D1

C19b.

Spec: **218__**   V001284

(IF YES R PREFERRED A SENATE CANDIDATE)   V001285   [cand code]
Which candidate did you prefer?   V001286   [party summary]

1 <PRELOAD DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE NAME>
3 <PRELOAD 1ST IND/3RD-PARTY CAND NAME>   -->D1
4 <PRELOAD 2ND IND/3RD-PARTY CAND NAME>   -->D1
5 <PRELOAD REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE NAME>

7 OTHER (SPECIFY)
8 DK

Note: HOUSE: C18.T series
          SENATE: C19.T series
          [names are preloaded into question text per order in C9(2)]
NOTE: in VT01 and VA05, the independent incumbent candidate was randomized
      in the FTF ballot card and in the order of names in the Telephone
      wording, as if the candidate were a major party candidate: VT01
      candidate Bernie Sanders was randomized as if a Democratic name,
      and in VA05 Virgil Goode Jr. was randomized as if a Republican
      name (no Democratic name was preloaded for VT01 and no Republican
      name was preloaded for VA05).
      All other ind/3rd-party candidate names appearing on the FTF ballot card
      or included in Telephone wording appear last in order.
NOTE: ind/3rd-party candidate names are included in response codes/question wording
      whenever they have been preloaded; ind/3rd-party names are preloaded only
      for candidates who have been identified as especially viable. For Senate races,
      up to 2 ind/3rd-party names may appear.

T   *C18.T*   Spec: **214__**   **V001279**

(IF R DID NOT VOTE) AND
(IF NOT WASHINGTON D.C.)
How about the election for the House of Representatives in Washington. Did you <u>prefer</u>
one of the candidates for the <u>U.S. house of representatives</u>?

1 YES   -->C18a(1).T or C18a(2).T or C18a(3).T or C18a(4).T
5 NO   -->SKIP TO D1
8 DK   -->SKIP TO D1
9 RF   -->SKIP TO D1

T   *C18a(1).T*   Spec: **215__**   **V001280**

(IF YES R PREFERRED A HOUSE CANDIDATE) AND   **V001281**   **[cand code]**
(IF 2 MAJOR PARTY CANDIDATES) AND   **V001282**   **[party summary]**
(IF DEMOCRAT NAME IS FIRST IN C9(2))
Who did you prefer?
Did you prefer the DEMOCRAT, <NAME OF DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE>,
(or) the REPUBLICAN, <NAME OF REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE> (or
the <PARTY> candidate, <NAME OF IND/3RD-PARTY CANDIDATE> ?

1 <PRELOAD DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE NAME>
3 <PRELOAD IND/3RD-PARTY CAND NAME>
5 <PRELOAD REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE NAME>
7 OTHER (SPECIFY)
8 DK

T   *C18a(2).T*

(IF YES R PREFERRED A HOUSE CANDIDATE) AND
(IF 2 MAJOR PARTY CANDIDATES) AND
(IF REPUBLICAN NAME IS FIRST IN C9(2))
Who did you prefer?
Did you prefer the REPUBLICAN, <NAME OF REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE>,
(or) the DEMOCRAT, <NAME OF DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE> (or
the <PARTY> candidate, <NAME OF IND/3RD-PARTY CANDIDATE> ?

1 <PRELOAD DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE NAME>
3 <PRELOAD IND/3RD-PARTY CAND NAME>
5 <PRELOAD REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE NAME>
7 OTHER (SPECIFY)
8 DK

T   *C18a(3).T*

(IF YES R PREFERRED A HOUSE CANDIDATE) AND
(IF HOUSE RACE IS DEMOCRAT UNOPPOSED BY REPUBLICAN)
Who did you prefer?
Did you prefer the DEMOCRAT, <NAME OF DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE>
(the <PARTY> candidate, <NAME OF IND/3RD-PARTY CANDIDATE>)
(IF NO OPPONENT: or someone else) ?

1 <PRELOAD DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE NAME>
3 <PRELOAD IND/3RD-PARTY CAND NAME>
7 OTHER (SPECIFY)
8 DK

T   *C18a(4).T*

(IF YES R PREFERRED A HOUSE CANDIDATE) AND
(IF HOUSE RACE IS REPUBLICAN UNOPPOSED BY DEMOCRAT)
Who did you prefer?
Did you prefer the REPUBLICAN, <NAME OF REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE>
(the <PARTY> candidate, <NAME OF IND/3RD-PARTY CANDIDATE>)
(IF NO OPPONENT: or someone else) ?

3 <PRELOAD IND/3RD-PARTY CAND NAME>
5 <PRELOAD REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE NAME>
7 OTHER (SPECIFY)
8 DK

T   *C19.T*   **Spec: 217__**   **V001283**

(IF R DID NOT VOTE) AND
(IF SENATE ELECTION IN STATE) AND
(IF NOT IN WASHINGTON D.C.)
How about the election for the United States Senate? Did you <u>prefer</u> one of the candidates
for the U.S. Senate?

1 YES
5 NO   -->D1
8 DK   -->D1

T   **C19a(1).T**

(IF YES R PREFERRED A SENATE CANDIDATE) AND
(IF 2 MAJOR PARTY CANDIDATES) AND
(IF DEMOCRAT NAME IS FIRST IN C9(2))
Who did you prefer?
Did you prefer the DEMOCRAT, <NAME OF DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE>,
(or) the REPUBLICAN, <NAME OF REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE, ([or]
the <1st PARTY> candidate, <NAME OF 1st IND/3RD-PARTY CANDIDATE>
[or the <NAME OF 2ND PARTY> candidate, <2nd IND/3RD-PARTY CANDIDATE>])?

1 <PRELOAD DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE NAME>
3 <PRELOAD 1st IND/3RD-PARTY CAND NAME>
4 <PRELOAD 2nd IND/3RD-PARTY CAND NAME>
5 <PRELOAD REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE NAME>
7 OTHER (SPECIFY)
8 DK

T   **C19a(2).T**

(IF YES R PREFERRED A SENATE CANDIDATE) AND
(IF 2 MAJOR PARTY CANDIDATE) AND
(IF REPUBLICAN NAME IS FIRST IN C9(2))
Who did you prefer?
Did you prefer the REPUBLICAN, <NAME OF REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE>,
(or) the DEMOCRAT, <NAME OF DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE, ([or]
the <1st PARTY> candidate, <NAME OF 1st IND/3RD-PARTY CANDIDATE>
[or the <2ND PARTY> candidate, <NAME OF 2nd IND/3RD-PARTY CANDIDATE>])?

1 <PRELOAD DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE NAME>
3 <PRELOAD 1st IND/3RD-PARTY CAND NAME>
4 <PRELOAD 2nd IND/3RD-PARTY CAND NAME>
5 <PRELOAD REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE NAME>
7 OTHER (SPECIFY)
8 DK

T   **C19a(3).T**

(IF YES R VOTED FOR SENATOR IN C19.T) AND
(IF SENATE RACE IS DEMOCRAT UNOPPOSED BY REPUBLICAN)
Who did you prefer?
Did you prefer the Democrat, <NAME OF DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE>
([or] the <1st PARTY> candidate, <NAME OF 1st IND/3RD-PARTY CANDIDATE>
[or the <NAME OF 2ND PARTY> candidate, <2nd IND/3RD-PARTY CANDIDATE>])
(IF NO OPPONENT: or someone else) ?

1 <PRELOAD DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE NAME>   -->D1
3 <PRELOAD 1ST IND/3RD-PARTY CAND NAME>   -->D1
4 <PRELOAD 2ND IND/3RD-PARTY CAND NAME>   -->D1
7 OTHER (SPECIFY)   -->D1
8 DK   -->D1

T   *C19a(4).T*
                (IF YES R VOTED FOR SENATOR IN C19.T) AND
                (IF SENATE RACE IS REPUBLICAN UNOPPOSED BY DEMOCRAT)
                Who did you prefer?
                Did you prefer the Republican, <NAME OF REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE>
                ([or] the <1st PARTY> candidate, <NAME OF 1st IND/3RD-PARTY CANDIDATE>
                [or the <2ND PARTY> candidate, <NAME OF 2nd IND/3RD-PARTY CANDIDATE>])
                (IF NO OPPONENT: or someone else) ?

3 <PRELOAD 1ST IND/3RD-PARTY CAND NAME>   -->D1
4 <PRELOAD 2ND IND/3RD-PARTY CAND NAME>   -->D1
5 <PRELOAD REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE NAME   -->D1
7 OTHER (SPECIFY)   -->D1
8 DK   -->D1

VARIABLES V001287-V001290 are blank

| **C20 – FAIRNESS OF PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION** |

C20.   Spec: **219**   **V001291**

Please continue thinking about the November election.

In some countries, people believe their elections are conducted fairly. In other countries, people believe
that their elections are conducted unfairly. Thinking of the presidential election we've just had, do you
believe it was very fair, somewhat fair, neither fair nor unfair, somewhat unfair, or very unfair?

1 VERY FAIR
2 SOMEWHAT FAIR
3 NEITHER FAIR NOR UNFAIR
4 SOMEWHAT UNFAIR
5 VERY UNFAIR
8 DK   *Note: this question was added 11/10/2000*

SECTION D

| **D1-D2 – THERMOMETERS** |

FIRST, ADMINISTER D1A.
SECOND, RANDOMIZE AND ADMINISTER D1B-D1E.
THIRD, ADMINISTER D1F.
FOURTH, RANDOMIZE AND ADMINISTER D1G-D1M.
FINALLY, RANDOMIZE AND ADMINISTER D2A-D2Z.
D1.
Please look at page 1 of the booklet.

I'd like to get your feelings toward some of our political leaders and other people who are in the news these days. I'll read the name of a person and I'd like you to rate that person using something we call the feeling thermometer. Ratings between 50 degrees and 100 degrees mean that you feel favorable and warm toward the person. Ratings between 0 degrees and 50 degrees mean that you don't feel favorable toward the person and that you don't care too much for that person. You would rate the person at the 50 degree mark if you don't feel particularly warm or cold toward the person. If we come to a person whose name you don't recognize, you don't need to rate that person. Just tell me and we'll move on to the next one.
(Looking at page 1 of the booklet) (How would you rate:)
PROBE FOR DON'T KNOW RESPONSE: When you say "don't know" do you mean that you don't know who the person is or do you have something else in mind?

T *D1.T*

I'd like to get your feelings toward some of our political leaders and other people who are in the news these days. I'll read the name of a person and I'd like you to rate that person using something we call the feeling thermometer. The feeling thermometer can rate people from 0 to 100 degrees.
Ratings between 50 degrees and 100 degrees mean that you feel favorable and warm toward the person. Ratings between 0 degrees and 50 degrees mean that you don't feel favorable toward the person. Rating the person at the midpoint, the 50 degree mark, means you don't feel particularly warm or cold toward the person. If we come to a person whose name you don't recognize, you don't need to rate that person. Just tell me and we'll move on to the next one.
Our first person is Bill Clinton. Where on that feeling thermometer would you rate Bill Clinton? /
The next person is ^. (Where on that feeling thermometer would you rate him/her?)
PROBE FOR DON'T KNOW RESPONSE: When you say "don't know" do you mean that you don't know who the person is or do you have something else in mind?

⇒ In this study we are using the feeling thermometer to measure R's feeling toward important political figures. The list of political figures includes the Democrat and Republican presidential and vice-presidential candidates, some possible future candidates, and some other noted figures.
⇒ Make sure that warmth of feeling is not equated with anger. In order to avoid such a mix-up, make sure that R understand that warm or favorable is the same as "liking" someone and cold means "disliking."
⇒ If R asks what capacity (NAME) is to be rated on (e.g., his personality? his performance in office?) we mean "In general…"
⇒ FTF ONLY: If R wants to select a degree level which is not pictured on the feeling thermometer in the Respondent Booklet (for example, 93 degrees) in order to indicate more accurately his/her feeling toward a person, by all means let him/her do so and record this response to the exact degree.
⇒ Any whole number from 0 to 100 is acceptable. Answers outside the 0 to 100 scale are not acceptable.
⇒ R may also want to pick a range such as "75 degrees - 100 degrees." No! No! Probe in such a case, "Which would you say is closer, 75 degrees or 100 degrees?" R will probably say 75 degrees, 100 degrees or maybe 85 degrees – all are acceptable. "97.5 degrees" or "97 and a half degrees" are not acceptable. Probe: "which is closer, 97 or 98 degrees?"
⇒ Please take time to be sure that R understands the mechanics of the feeling thermometer.
⇒ A probe has been supplied which you may use when the respondent is not able to rate a person. For instance, if R only says, "I don't know" -- this probe will help you determine which of the following two situations apply:
⇒ 1. Is R trying to tell you that s/he knows the person (recognizes the name), but doesn't know (can't decide) how to rate the person because s/he is unfamiliar with the ideas, stances, personality, of the political figures? This answer belongs in DON'T KNOW WHERE TO RATE: CAN'T JUDGE.
⇒ 2. Does R mean that the name just doesn't "ring a bell," that is, that s/he really doesn't know who the person is, in which case the answer should be logged R DOESN'T RECOGNIZE NAME.
⇒ FTF: This is the first time you will be asking the respondent to work with the Respondent Booklet. Hand R the booklet, and say something to the effect that "This is a booklet we'll be using for **some** of the questions throughout

the questionnaire. It will help you keep in mind what the questions I am asking you are about." Some respondents keep on looking at the respondent booklet when it no longer applies. If this situation arises, please say something like, "We use the booklet only for some of the questions. I'll let you know the next time we will use it."
For any subsequent questions which require the use of the Respondent Booklet, prompt R at the beginning of the question, according to the text on the screen.

⇒ FTF: Use the Respondent Booklet! It is part of the question, and part of the uniform stimulus we want all respondents to receive. Asking a question without the designated Respondent Booklet page could alter the response choice the respondent makes.

⇒ In this study, we are using the feeling thermometer to accomplish two things 1.measure R's feelings toward important political figures 2 .establish whether respondents who didn't recall some or all of the congressional candidate names in A4a are now able to recognize the candidates when the names are read by you.

⇒ We are testing the proposition that recalling a name may be more difficult than recognizing one. Our perception of the level of information among American voters may vary depending upon whether we look at the proportion who are able to recall candidate names in contrast to the proportion who are able to recognize them. The data for this year, compared to that obtained in 1978, 1980, 1982, 1984, 1986, 1988, 1990, 1992, and 1994 will tell us whether House candidates are more or less visible in presidential election years than in congressional off-year elections.

D1a./D1a.T   Spec: **245_1**   **V001292**
BILL CLINTON

D1b./D1b.T   Spec: **245_2**   **V001293**
AL GORE

D1c/D1c.T   Spec: **245_3**   **V001294**
GEORGE W. BUSH

D1d/D1d.T   Spec: **245_4**   **V001295**
RALPH NADER

D1e/D1e.T   Spec: **245_5**   **V001296**
JESSE JACKSON

D1f/D1f.T   Spec: **245_6**   **V001297**
FORMER PRESIDENT, GEORGE BUSH

D1g/D1g.T   Spec: **245_7**   **V001298**
(IF NOT WASHINGTON D.C.) AND (IF DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE RUNNING IN HOUSE RACE)
<DEMOCRATIC HOUSE CANDIDATE>

D1h/D1h.T   Spec: **245_8**   **V001299**
(IF NOT WASHINGTON D.C.) AND (IF REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE RUNNING IN HOUSE RACE)
<REPUBLICAN HOUSE CANDIDATE>

D1j/D1j.T   Spec: **245_9**   **V001300**
(IF NOT WASHINGTON D.C.) AND (IF HOUSE INCUMBENT NOT RUNNING)
<RETIRING HOUSE REPRESENTATIVE>

D1k/D1k.T   Spec: **245_10**   **V001301**
(IF NOT WASHINIGTON D.C.) AND
(IF SENATE RACE IN STATE) AND (DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE IN SENATE RACE) AND
(IF CANDIDATE IS NOT ALSO RETIRING HOUSE CANDIDATE)
<DEMOCRATIC SENATE CANDIDATE>

D1m/D1m.T   Spec: **245_11**   **V001302**

(IF NOT WASHINGTON D.C.) AND
(IF SENATE RACE IN STATE) AND (REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE IN SENATE RACE) AND
(IF CANDIDATE IS NOT ALSO RETIRING HOUSE CANDIDATE)
<REPUBLICAN SENATE CANDIDATE>
D1n/D1n.T   Spec: **245_12**   **V001303**
(IF VT01 OR VA05)
<INDEPENDENT HOUSE INCUMBENT CANDIDATE >
0-100
997 DON'T RECOGNIZE
998 DK WHERE TO RATE

D2.   **V001303 VT01/VA05 flag**

Still using the thermometer, how would you rate:

⇒ After the candidates, we continue with the groups "feeling thermometer" series to measure how R feels about a number of important groups and institutions in society.

⇒ If R does not recognize a group, record the answer 998.

⇒ Please note the following problems that surfaced in over time. First, some R's say, "I don't have anything against GROUP X, give them 100." Remind R that 100 is for groups he/she <u>very much likes</u>; if all he/she can say is that he/she <u>has nothing against them</u>, maybe R's rating should be closer to 50. Second, be careful to distinguish, "I don't have any special feeling about them" (an answer to be recorded as 50) from "I don't know much about them" (which should be recorded in the DK answer box).

D2a.   Spec: **249_1**   **V001304**
THE SUPREME COURT
D2b.   Spec: **249_2**   **V001305**
CONGRESS
D2c.   Spec: **249_3**   **V001306**
THE MILITARY
D2d.   Spec: **249_4**   **V001307**
THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IN WASHINGTON
D2e.   Spec: **249_5**   **V001308**
BLACKS

⇒ Please say Blacks and not African-Americans. Our interest is in tapping people's assessment of black influence speaking broadly. Not all Blacks are from Africa (Jamaicans, Cubans, and many others from the Caribbean)

D2f.   Spec: **249_6**   **V001309**
WHITES
D2g.   Spec: **249_7**   **V001310**
CONSERVATIVES
D2h.   Spec: **249_8**   **V001311**
LIBERALS
D2j.   Spec: **249_9**   **V001312**
LABOR UNIONS
D2k   Spec: **249_10**   **V001313**
BIG BUSINESS
D2m.   Spec: **249_11**   **V001314**

POOR PEOPLE

D2n.   **Spec: 249_12**   **V001315**
PEOPLE ON WELFARE

D2p.   **Spec: 249_13**   **V001316**
HISPANICS (HISPANIC-AMERICANS)

D2q.   **Spec: 249_14**   **V001317**
CHRISTIAN FUNDAMENTALISTS

D2r   **Spec: 249_15**   **V001318**
THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

D2s.   **Spec: 249_16**   **V001319**
OLDER PEOPLE (THE ELDERLY)

D2t.   **Spec: 249_17**   **V001320**
ENVIRONMENTALISTS

D2u.   **Spec: 249_18**   **V001321**
GAY MEN AND LESBIANS, THAT IS, HOMOSEXUALS

D2v.   **Spec: 249_19**   **V001322**
THE CHRISTIAN COALITION

D2w.   **Spec: 249_20**   **V001323**
CATHOLICS

D2x.   **Spec: 249_21**   **V001324**
JEWS

⇒ Please say "Jews." We mean no offense, but we'd like to keep this group name consistent with past surveys.

D2xx.   **Spec: 249_22**   **V001325**
PROTESTANTS

D2y.   **Spec: 249_23**   **V001326**
FEMINISTS

D2z.   **Spec: 249_24**   **V001327**
ASIAN-AMERICANS

0-100
997 DON'T RECOGNIZE
998 DK WHERE TO RATE

SECTION E

E1-E4 – HOUSE CANDIDATE LIKES/DISLIKES

**RANDOMIZE ORDER OF E1-E2 SERIES AND E3-E4 SERIES
(E2 ALWAYS FOLLOWS E1; E4 ALWAYS FOLLOWS E3)**

Note: for VT01, the independent incumbent candidate's name was used in the Democratic like/dislike questions; in VA05 the independent

incumbent candidate's name was used in the Republican like/dislike questions. E1-E4 SKIPPED FOR WASHINGTON D.C.

E0.
Next I would like to ask you some questions about the candidate(s) who ran in this district for the U.S. House of Representatives.

E1. Spec: **262__** **V001328**

Next I would like to ask you some questions about the candidate(s) who ran in this district for the U.S. House of Representatives. Was there anything in particular that you liked about <NAME>, the Democratic candidate (VT01: the independent candidate) for the U.S. House of Representatives ?

1 YES	-->SKIP TO E1a
5 NO -	->SKIP TO E2
7 R VOLUNTEERS: I DON'T KNOW ANYTHING ABOUT THIS CANDIDATE --> E3 or E5a	
8 DK -	->SKIP TO E2

⇒ Section Notes: You may wonder why we ask this section if the respondent did not recall the House candidates in A4. In Section E we give the respondent the name of the candidate, and his/her party affiliation. People often know something about their Representative, have seen him/her on television, have read about the campaign, and so on, without ever having focused on the name. Respondents frequently have a lot to say in answer to questions in Section E--when we give them enough 'cues' to trigger their memories.

E1a. Spec: **263__** **V001329-1333**

(IF YES)

(What was that?)

(PROBE: Anything else that you liked about this candidate? UNTIL R SAYS "NO.")

_____*OPENENDED*_____

⇒ Here, we want to get as complete a picture as possible of what R feels are the positive and negative characteristics of the major party candidates for the U.S. House of Representatives in R's congressional district. Therefore, if R mentions only one thing, probe, "Anything else?", and continue probing until R says "NO".

⇒ Specific probes are very important for this set of questions. You are likely to get responses such as: "I like his/her stand on issues"--we want to know what issues and what stands: "She is a better candidate" --but why is she better?; or "He/she favors certain interests"--which interests?

⇒ We'd also like you to probe a little behind the standard adjectives, clichés, and slogans that are used. When R gives such responses as "the _____ candidate is more progressive/conservative/socialistic/ better for the country/for the working man", or "it's time for a change", etc., use such probes as "Can you give me some examples of what you mean?", etc.

⇒ We recognize the necessity, however, for not forcing R to respond beyond the point at which he/she has something meaningful to say. Also, the probing should not be carried to the point of being offensive and irritating to the R who cannot provide more particulars.

E2. Spec: **264__** **V001334**

Was there anything in particular that you didn't like about <NAME>, the Democratic candidate (VT01: the independent candidate) for the U.S. House of Representatives?

1 YES, R NAMES SOMETHING DISLIKED	-->SKIP TO E2a
5 NO, NOTHING DISLIKED	-->SKIP TO E3
8 DK	-->SKIP TO E3

E2a. Spec: **265__** **V001335-1339**

(IF YES)

(What was that?)

(PROBE: Anything else that you didn't like about this candidate? UNTIL R SAYS "NO.")

_____*OPENENDED*_____

⇒ Here, we want to get <u>as complete a picture</u> as possible of what R feels are the positive and negative characteristics of the major party candidates for the U.S. House of Representatives in R's congressional district. Therefore, if R mentions only one thing, probe, "Anything else?", and continue probing until R says "NO".

⇒ Specific probes are very important for this set of questions. You are likely to get responses such as: "I like his/her stand on issues"--we want to know what issues and what stands: "She is a better candidate" --but <u>why</u> is she better?; or "He/she favors certain interests"--which interests?

⇒ We'd also like you to probe a little behind the standard adjectives, clichés, and slogans that are used. When R gives such responses as "the _____ candidate is more progressive/conservative/socialistic/ better for the country/for the working man", or "it's time for a change", etc., use such probes as "Can you give me some examples of what you mean?", etc.

⇒ We recognize the necessity, however, for not forcing R to respond beyond the point at which he/she has something meaningful to say. Also, the probing should not be carried to the point of being offensive and irritating to the R who cannot provide more particulars.

E3.   **Spec: 267__**   **V001340**

Was there anything in particular that you <u>liked</u> about <NAME>, the Republican candidate (VA05: the independent candidate) for the U.S. House of Representatives?

1 YES, R NAMES SOMETHING LIKED	-->SKIP TO E3a
5 NO, NOTHING LIKED	-->SKIP TO E4
7 R VOLUNTEERS: I DON'T KNOW ANYTHING ABOUT THIS CANDIDATE	-->SKIP TO E3 or E5a
8 DK	-->SKIP TO E4

⇒ <u>Section Notes</u>: You may wonder why we ask this section if the respondent did not recall the House candidates in A4. In Section E we give the respondent the name of the candidate, and his/her party affiliation. People often know something about their Representative, have seen him/her on television, have read about the campaign, and so on, without ever having focused on the name. Respondents frequently have a lot to say in answer to questions in Section E--when we give them enough 'cues' to trigger their memories.

E3a.   **Spec: 268__**   **V001341-1345**

(IF YES)

(What was that?)

(PROBE: Anything else that you liked about this candidate? UNTIL R SAYS "NO.")

_____*OPENENDED*_____

⇒ Here, we want to get <u>as complete a picture</u> as possible of what R feels are the positive and negative characteristics of the major party candidates for the U.S. House of Representatives in R's congressional district. Therefore, if R mentions only one thing, probe, "Anything else?", and continue probing until R says "NO".

⇒ Specific probes are very important for this set of questions. You are likely to get responses such as: "I like his/her stand on issues"--we want to know what issues and what stands: "She is a better candidate" --but <u>why</u> is she better?; or "He/she favors certain interests"--which interests?

⇒ We'd also like you to probe a little behind the standard adjectives, clichés, and slogans that are used. When R gives such responses as "the _____ candidate is more progressive/conservative/socialistic/ better for the country/for the working man", or "it's time for a change", etc., use such probes as "Can you give me some examples of what you mean?", etc.

⇒ We recognize the necessity, however, for not forcing R to respond beyond the point at which he/she has something meaningful to say. Also, the probing should not be carried to the point of being offensive and

irritating to the R who cannot provide more particulars.

E4. Spec: **269__** **V001346**

Was there anything in particular that you <u>didn't like</u> about <NAME>, the Republican candidate
(VA05: the independent candidate) for the U.S. House of Representatives?

1 YES, R NAMES SOMETHING DISLIKED	-->SKIP TO E4a
5 NO, NOTHING DISLIKED	-->SKIP TO E5
8 DK	-->SKIP TO E5a

E4a. Spec: **270__** **V001347-1351**

(IF YES)

(What was that?)

(PROBE: Anything else that you didn't like about this candidate? UNTIL R SAYS "NO.")

_____*OPENENDED*_____

⇒ Here, we want to get <u>as complete a picture</u> as possible of what R feels are the positive and negative characteristics of the major party candidates for the U.S. House of Representatives in R's congressional district. Therefore, if R mentions only one thing, probe, "Anything else?", and continue probing until R says "NO".

⇒ Specific probes are very important for this set of questions. You are likely to get responses such as: "I like his/her stand on issues"--we want to know what issues and what stands: "She is a better candidate" --but <u>why</u> is she better?; or "He/she favors certain interests"--which interests?

⇒ We'd also like you to probe a little behind the standard adjectives, clichés, and slogans that are used. When R gives such responses as "the _____ candidate is more progressive/conservative/socialistic/ better for the country/for the working man", or "it's time for a change", etc., use such probes as "Can you give me some examples of what you mean?", etc.

⇒ We recognize the necessity, however, for not forcing R to respond beyond the point at which he/she has something meaningful to say. Also, the probing should not be carried to the point of being offensive and irritating to the R who cannot provide more particulars.

<div align="center">

E5-E7 – POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE (HOUSE AND SENATE)

</div>

Note: for VT01/VA05, the independent incumbent candidate's name was included in E5a in place of the Dem/Rep candidate name. **V001352 CHEKPT- No. cands**
E5a/E5b SKIPPED FOR WASHINGTON D.C.

E5a. Spec: **273__** **V001353**

(IF 2 OR MORE CANDIDATES IN HOUSE RACE) **V001353a [cand code]**

Do you happen to know if either of these candidates, <DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE NAME>/(VT01: INDEPENDENT INCUMBENT CAND NAME) or <REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE NAME>/(VA05: INDEPENDENT INCUMBENT CAND NAME), was already in the U.S. House of Representatives before the election? [PROBE FOR NO: DO YOU MEAN "NEITHER CANDIDATE" OR "DON'T KNOW"?]

1 YES, <DEMOCRATIC NAME>	-->E6
2 YES, <REPUBLICAN NAME>	-->E6
3 YES <INDEPENDENT CANDIDATE>	-->E6
4 BOTH [VOL]	-->E6
5 NO, NEITHER WAS[VOL]	-->E6
7 DON'T KNOW, NOT SURE[[VOL]	-->E6

⇒ "NO" answers for either E5a or E5b are ambiguous and must be probed.

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E5b.

(IF ONLY 1 CANDIDATE IN HOUSE RACE)
Do you happen to know if <NAME OF DEMOCRATIC OR REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE> was already
in the U.S. House of Representatives before the election?
[PROBE FOR NO: DO YOU MEAN "NO, HE/SHE WASN'T" OR "DON'T KNOW"?]

1 YES
5 NO
7 DON'T KNOW, NOT SURE[VOL]

⇒ "NO" answers for either E5a or E5b are ambiguous and must be probed.

E6.

Do you happen to know which party had the most members in the House of Representatives in Washington
BEFORE the election (this/last) month? (IF NECESSARY: WHICH ONE?)
[DON'T PROBE DK]

1 THE DEMOCRATS
5 THE REPUBLICANS
8 DK

E7.

Do you happen to know which party had the most members in the U.S. Senate BEFORE the election
(this/last) month? (IF NECESSARY: WHICH ONE?)
[DON'T PROBE DK]

1 THE DEMOCRATS
5 THE REPUBLICANS
8 DK

SECTION F

F1-F4 – MEMBER OF CONGRESS

F1-F4 SKIPPED FOR WASHINGTON D.C.

F1.

In general, do you approve or disapprove of the way Representative <RUNNING INCUMBENT OR
RETIRING INCUMBENT NAME> has been handling <HIS/HER> job?

1 APPROVE   -->SKIP TO F1a
5 DISAPPROVE   -->SKIP TO F1b
8 DK   -->F2

F1a.

(IF APPROVE)
Do you approve strongly or not strongly?

1 APPROVE STONGLY   -->SKIP TO F2
5 NOT STRONGLY   -->SKIP TO F2
8 DK   -->SKIP TO F2

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F1b.
(IF DISAPPROVE)
Do you disapprove strongly or not strongly?
1 DISAPPROVE STRONGLY
5 NOT STRONGLY
8 DK

F2.

Do you happen to remember anything special that Representative <RUNNING INCUMBENT OR RETIRING INCUMBENT NAME> has done for the people in <HIS/HER> district while <HE/SHE> has been in Congress?
1 YES
5 NO
8 DK

F3.

Do you happen to know about how many years <HE/SHE> has been in the House of Representatives?
1 YES, R KNOWS   -->SKIP TO F3a
5 NO   -->SKIP TO F3b
8 DK   -->SKIP TO F3b

F3a.

(IF YES)
(About how many?)
_____*OPENENDED* _____ -->SKIP to F4

F3b.

(IF NO OR DON'T KNOW)
Would you say less than 12 years, about 12 years, or more than 12 years?
[DON'T PROBE DK]
1 LESS THAN 12 YEARS
3 ABOUT 12 YEARS
5 MORE THAN 12 YEARS
8 DK

F4.

How good a job would you say U.S. Representative <NAME> does of keeping in touch with the people in your district -- does (he/she) do a very good job, fairly good, fairly poor, or a very poor job of keeping in touch with the people in this district?
1 VERY GOOD
2 FAIRLY GOOD
3 FAIRLY POOR
4 VERY POOR
8 DK

F5.   Spec: **299__**   **V001367**

Some people seem to follow what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time, whether there's an election going on or not. Others aren't that interested. Would you say you follow what's going on in government and public affairs <u>most of the time</u>, <u>some of the time</u>, <u>only now and then</u>, or <u>hardly at all</u>?

1 MOST OF THE TIME
2 SOME OF THE TIME
3 ONLY NOW AND THEN
4 HARDLY AT ALL
8 DK

SECTION G

G1-G10 – LIBERAL-CONSERVATIVE PLACEMENT

Note: for VT01/VA05, the independent incumbent candidate was included in place of Democratic (VT01) or Republican (VA05) candidate.

G1.

Please look at page 2 of the booklet. We hear a lot of talk these days about liberals and conservatives. Here is a seven-point scale on which the political views that people might hold are arranged from extremely liberal to extremely conservative.

𝑻 *G1.T*

We hear a lot of talk these days about liberals and conservatives.

G1a.

Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?   Spec: **310__**   **V001368**
[DO NOT PROBE]

𝑻 *G1a.T*

When it comes to politics, do you usually think of yourself as extremely liberal, liberal, slightly liberal, moderate or middle of the road, slightly conservative, conservative, extremely conservative, or haven't you thought much about this?

1 EXTREMELY LIBERAL   -->G2b
2 LIBERAL   -->G2b
3 SLIGHTLY LIBERAL   -->G2b
4 MODERATE; MIDDLE OF THE ROAD   →G1b
5 SLIGHTLY CONSERVATIVE   -->G2b
6 CONSERVATIVE   -->G2b
7 EXTREMELY CONSERVATIVE   -->G2b
8 DK   →G1b
0 HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH [DO NOT PROBE] →G1b

⇒ If you've worked on election studies before, you're familiar with this "proximity format" for determining where R stands on issues in relation to where he thinks political leaders and groups stand. We realize that these questions are demanding of both you and R; however, much valuable research information has already been derived from this technique.

⇒ Our first task for the respondent is to place himself/herself on the scale. Note that if R respondents with DK or HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH ABOUT THIS with regard to his/her own placement on the scale at G4, you do not probe,

but go directly to G4aa, asking R, "If you had to choose…" If R still responds DK, the skip leads to where he/she would place the presidential candidates. We are interested in knowing whether respondents who have trouble figuring out where they stand may nevertheless have a good idea where other political figures stand.

⇒ If R placed himself/herself, then he/she is asked to place the presidential and congressional candidates and the Democrat and Republican parties.

⇒ It is important that R understands that he/she should place the groups and the political leaders on the scale in terms of where he/she thinks they stand now, NOT in terms of where he/she would like them to be.

⇒ Whenever such confusion becomes apparent to you, please try to get R to think in terms of where he/she thinks the leader or party position is now. (Needless to say, it is possible that R does think everyone is at 1 or 7, and that's a legitimate answer--just make sure that that is what you are getting before you go on.)

⇒ Definitely try to get R to specify his/her response in terms of a number on the scale. If R gives a range (e.g. 5-7), record this, but also ask R to give, if possible, a single number within that range. "Which would you say is closest to the way you feel?"

⇒ We do not want you to help R define the terms 'liberal' and 'conservative'. If R has too much trouble understanding the terms 'liberal' and 'conservative' to answer these questions, say something like, "it's alright if you haven't thought much about this. We can just go on to the next question."

G1b.   Spec: **311__**   **V001369**

(IF MODERATE, DK OR HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH)
If you had to choose, would you consider yourself a liberal, a conservative, or a moderate?
1 LIBERAL
3 CONSERVATIVE
5 MODERATE [VOL]
7 R REFUSES TO CHOOSE [VOL]
8 DK

⇒ We do not want you to help R define the terms 'liberal' and 'conservative'. If R has too much trouble understanding the terms 'liberal' and 'conservative' to answer these questions, say something like, "it's alright if you haven't thought much about this. We can just go on to the next question."

V001370 3pt SUMMARY

G2.   Spec: **314_1**   **V001371**

Where would you place Bill Clinton on this scale?
[DON'T PROBE DK]

T *G2.T*
What about Bill Clinton? Do you think he is extremely liberal, liberal, slightly liberal, moderate or middle of the road, slightly conservative, conservative, or extremely conservative? [DON'T PROBE DK]
1 EXTREMELY LIBERAL
2 LIBERAL
3 SLIGHTLY LIBERAL
4 MODERATE; MIDDLE OF THE ROAD
5 SLIGHTLY CONSERVATIVE
6 CONSERVATIVE
7 EXTREMELY CONSERVATIVE
8 DK

⇒ It is important that R understands that he/she should place the groups and the political leaders on the scale in terms of where he/she thinks they stand now, NOT in terms of where he/she would like them to be.

⇒ Whenever such confusion becomes apparent to you, please try to get R to think in terms of where he/she thinks the leader or party position is now.

⇒ A "Don't Know" answer for any of the groups or political leaders is a perfectly acceptable response to be handled by pausing to be sure the R doesn't want to change his/her mind, and then entering the DK and moving on to the next group or person on the list. in other words, DO NOT PROBE "DON'T KNOW" responses here or on any other part of

their "placements" throughout the interview. To do so probably invites R to guess, and often elicits "random" responses.

FTF: G3, G4, AND G5 ARE RANDOMIZED

TELEPHONE: G3.T, G4.T, AND G5.T ARE RANDOMIZED

G3.   Spec: **314_2**   **V001372**
T *G3.T*
What about Al Gore? (Do you think he is extremely liberal, liberal, slightly liberal, moderate or middle of the road, slightly conservative, conservative, or extremely conservative?) [DON'T PROBE DK]

1 EXTREMELY LIBERAL
2 LIBERAL
3 SLIGHTLY LIBERAL
4 MODERATE; MIDDLE OF THE ROAD
5 SLIGHTLY CONSERVATIVE
6 CONSERVATIVE
7 EXTREMELY CONSERVATIVE
8 DK   --> NEXT PRES. CANDIDATE IN RANDOMIZATION OR G6/G6.T

⇒ It is important that R understands that he/she should place the groups and the political leaders on the scale in terms of where he/she thinks they stand now, NOT in terms of where he/she would like them to be.
⇒ Whenever such confusion becomes apparent to you, please try to get R to think in terms of where he/she thinks the leader or party position is now.
⇒ A "Don't Know" answer for any of the groups or political leaders is a perfectly acceptable response to be handled by pausing to be sure the R doesn't want to change his/her mind, and then entering the DK and moving on to the next group or person on the list.
⇒ In other words, DO NOT PROBE "DON'T KNOW" responses here or on any other part of their "placements" throughout the interview. To do so probably invites R to guess, and often elicits "random" responses.

    G3a.   Spec: **315_2**   **V001373**
T   *G3a.T*
      (IF NOT DK)
      How certain are you of this? Very certain, pretty certain or not very certain?
      1 VERY CERTAIN
      3 PRETTY CERTAIN
      5 NOT VERY CERTAIN
      8 DK

G4.   Spec: **314_3**   **V001374**
Where would you place George W. Bush on this scale? [DON'T PROBE DK]
T *G4.T*
What about George W. Bush? (Do you think he is extremely liberal, liberal, slightly liberal, moderate or middle of the road, slightly conservative, conservative, or extremely conservative?) [DON'T PROBE DK]

1 EXTREMELY LIBERAL
2 LIBERAL
3 SLIGHTLY LIBERAL
4 MODERATE; MIDDLE OF THE ROAD
5 SLIGHTLY CONSERVATIVE
6 CONSERVATIVE
7 EXTREMELY CONSERVATIVE
8 DK   --> NEXT PRES. CANDIDATE IN RANDOMIZATION OR G6/G6.T

⇒ It is important that R understands that he/she should place the groups and the political leaders on the scale

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in terms of where he/she thinks they stand now, NOT in terms of where he/she would like them to be.

⇒ Whenever such confusion becomes apparent to you, please try to get R to think in terms of where he/she thinks the leader or party position is now.

⇒ A "Don't Know" answer for any of the groups or political leaders is a perfectly acceptable response to be handled by pausing to be sure the R doesn't want to change his/her mind, and then entering the DK and moving on to the next group or person on the list.

⇒ In other words, DO NOT PROBE "DON'T KNOW" responses here or on any other part of their "placements" throughout the interview. To do so probably invites R to guess, and often elicits "random" responses.

G4a.   Spec: **315_3**   **V001375**

T   *G4a.T*

(IF NOT DK)

How certain are you of this? Very certain, pretty certain or not very certain?

1 VERY CERTAIN
3 PRETTY CERTAIN
5 NOT VERY CERTAIN
8 DK

G5.   Spec: **314_4**   **V001376**

Where would you place Pat Buchanan on this scale? [DON'T PROBE DK]

T *G5.T*

What about Pat Buchanan? (Do you think he is extremely liberal, liberal, slightly liberal, moderate or middle of the road, slightly conservative, conservative, or extremely conservative?) [DON'T PROBE DK]

1 EXTREMELY LIBERAL
2 LIBERAL
3 SLIGHTLY LIBERAL
4 MODERATE; MIDDLE OF THE ROAD
5 SLIGHTLY CONSERVATIVE
6 CONSERVATIVE
7 EXTREMELY CONSERVATIVE
8 DK   --> NEXT PRES. CANDIDATE IN RANDOMIZATION OR G6/G6.T

⇒ It is important that R understands that he/she should place the groups and the political leaders on the scale in terms of where he/she thinks they stand now, NOT in terms of where he/she would like them to be.

⇒ Whenever such confusion becomes apparent to you, please try to get R to think in terms of where he/she thinks the leader or party position is now.

⇒ A "Don't Know" answer for any of the groups or political leaders is a perfectly acceptable response to be handled by pausing to be sure the R doesn't want to change his/her mind, and then entering the DK and moving on to the next group or person on the list.

⇒ In other words, DO NOT PROBE "DON'T KNOW" responses here or on any other part of their "placements" throughout the interview. To do so probably invites R to guess, and often elicits "random" responses.

G5a.   Spec: **315_4**   **V001377**

T   *G5a.T*

 (IF NOT DK)

How certain are you of this? Very certain, pretty certain or not very certain?

1 VERY CERTAIN
3 PRETTY CERTAIN
5 NOT VERY CERTAIN
8 DK

FTF: Order of G6 and G7 is randomized *[SKIP IF WASHINGTON D.C. OR NO CAND]*   **V001378 –ckpt. VT01/VA05**

TELEPHONE: Order of G6.T and G7.T is randomized *[SKIP IF WASHINGTON D.C. OR NO CAND]*

G6.   **Spec: 314_5 ,**   **V001378a,1378b**

Where would you place <DEMOCRATIC HOUSE CANDIDATE> /(VT01: INDEPENDENT INCUMBENT   **314_7**
HOUSE CANDIDATE) on this scale? [DON'T PROBE DK]

T   *G6.T*

What about <DEMOCRATIC HOUSE CANDIDATE>/ (VT01: INDEPENDENT INCUMBENT HOUSE
CANDIDATE)?
(Do you think he is extremely liberal, liberal, slightly liberal, moderate or middle of the road, slightly
conservative, conservative, or extremely conservative?) [DON'T PROBE DK]

```
1 EXTREMELY LIBERAL
2 LIBERAL
3 SLIGHTLY LIBERAL
4 MODERATE; MIDDLE OF THE ROAD
5 SLIGHTLY CONSERVATIVE
6 CONSERVATIVE
7 EXTREMELY CONSERVATIVE
8 DK                           -->G7 OR PARTY PLACEMENTS
```

⇒ It is important that R understands that he/she should place the groups and the political leaders on the scale
in terms of where he/she thinks they stand now, NOT in terms of where he/she would like them to be.
⇒ Whenever such confusion becomes apparent to you, please try to get R to think in terms of where he/she thinks
the leader or party position is now.
⇒ A "Don't Know" answer for any of the groups or political leaders is a perfectly acceptable response to be handled
by pausing to be sure the R doesn't want to change his/her mind, and then entering the DK and moving on to the
next group or person on the list.
⇒ In other words, DO NOT PROBE "DON'T KNOW" responses here or on any other part of their "placements" throughout
the interview. To do so probably invites R to guess, and often elicits "random" responses.

      G6a.   **Spec: 315_5**   **V001379a,1379b**
T   *G6a.T*   **315_7**
      (IF NOT DK)

How certain are you of this? Very certain, pretty certain or not very certain?

```
1 VERY CERTAIN
3 PRETTY CERTAIN
5 NOT VERY CERTAIN
8  DK
```

G7.   **Spec: 314_6,**   **V001380a,1380b**

Where would you place <REPUBLICAN HOUSE CANDIDATE> /(VA05: <INDEPENDENT INCUMBENT   **314_7**
HOUSE CANDIDATE>) on this scale? [DON'T PROBE DK]

T   *G7.T*

What about <REPUBLICAN HOUSE CANDIDATE>/ (VA05: INDEPENDENT INCUMBENT HOUSE
CANDIDATE)?
(Do you think he is extremely liberal, liberal, slightly liberal, moderate or middle of the road, slightly
conservative, conservative, or extremely conservative?) [DON'T PROBE DK]

⇒ It is important that R understands that he/she should place the groups and the political leaders on the scale in terms of where he/she thinks they stand now, NOT in terms of where he/she would like them to be.

⇒ Whenever such confusion becomes apparent to you, please try to get R to think in terms of where he/she thinks the leader or party position is now.

⇒ A "Don't Know" answer for any of the groups or political leaders is a perfectly acceptable response to be handled by pausing to be sure the R doesn't want to change his/her mind, and then entering the DK and moving on to the next group or person on the list.

⇒ In other words, DO NOT PROBE "DON'T KNOW" responses here or on any other part of their "placements" throughout the interview. To do so probably invites R to guess, and often elicits "random" responses.

G7a.   **Spec: 315_6   V001381a,1381b**

T *G7a.T*   **315_7**

(IF NOT DK)

How certain are you of this? Very certain, pretty certain or not very certain?

1 VERY CERTAIN
3 PRETTY CERTAIN
5 NOT VERY CERTAIN
8 DK

FTF: ORDER OF G8, G9, AND G10 IS RANDOMIZED

TELEPHONE: ORDER OF G8.T, G9.T, AND G10.T IS RANDOMIZED

G8.   **Spec: 314_8   V001382**

Where would you place the Democratic party on this scale? [DON'T PROBE DK]

T *G8.T*

What about the Democratic Party? (Do you think they are extremely liberal, liberal, slightly liberal,
moderate or middle of the road, slightly conservative, conservative, or extremely conservative?)
[DON'T PROBE DK]

1 EXTREMELY LIBERAL
2 LIBERAL
3 SLIGHTLY LIBERAL
4 MODERATE; MIDDLE OF THE ROAD
5 SLIGHTLY CONSERVATIVE
6 CONSERVATIVE
7 EXTREMELY CONSERVATIVE
8 DK   -->NEXT PARTY IN RANDOMIZATION OR G11

⇒ It is important that R understands that he/she should place the groups and the political leaders on the scale in terms of where he/she thinks they stand now, NOT in terms of where he/she would like them to be.

⇒ Whenever such confusion becomes apparent to you, please try to get R to think in terms of where he/she thinks the leader or party position is now.

⇒ A "Don't Know" answer for any of the groups or political leaders is a perfectly acceptable response to be handled by pausing to be sure the R doesn't want to change his/her mind, and then entering the DK and moving on to the next group or person on the list.

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G9.   Spec: **314_9**   **V001383**

Where would you place the Republican party on this scale? [DON'T PROBE DK]

𝕋 *G9.T*

What about the Republican Party? (Do you think they are extremely liberal, liberal, slightly liberal,
moderate or middle of the road, slightly conservative, conservative, or extremely conservative?)
[DON'T PROBE DK]

1 EXTREMELY LIBERAL
2 LIBERAL
3 SLIGHTLY LIBERAL
4 MODERATE; MIDDLE OF THE ROAD
5 SLIGHTLY CONSERVATIVE
6 CONSERVATIVE
7 EXTREMELY CONSERVATIVE
8 DK   -->NEXT PART Y IN RANDOMIZATION OR G11

⇒ It is important that R understands that he/she should place the groups and the political leaders on the scale in terms of where he/she thinks they stand now, NOT in terms of where he/she would like them to be.

⇒ Whenever such confusion becomes apparent to you, please try to get R to think in terms of where he/she thinks the leader or party position is now.

⇒ A "Don't Know" answer for any of the groups or political leaders is a perfectly acceptable response to be handled by pausing to be sure the R doesn't want to change his/her mind, and then entering the DK and moving on to the next group or person on the list.

⇒ In other words, DO NOT PROBE "DON'T KNOW" responses here or on any other part of their "placements" throughout the interview. To do so probably invites R to guess, and often elicits "random" responses.

G10.   Spec: **314_10**   **V001384**

Where would you place the Reform party on this scale? [DON'T PROBE DK]

𝕋 *G10.T*

What about the Reform Party? (Do you think they are extremely liberal, liberal, slightly liberal,
moderate or middle of the road, slightly conservative, conservative, or extremely conservative?)
[DON'T PROBE DK]

1 EXTREMELY LIBERAL
2 LIBERAL
3 SLIGHTLY LIBERAL
4 MODERATE; MIDDLE OF THE ROAD
5 SLIGHTLY CONSERVATIVE
6 CONSERVATIVE
7 EXTREMELY CONSERVATIVE
8 DK   -->NEXT PART Y IN RANDOMIZATION OR G11

⇒ It is important that R understands that he/she should place the groups and the political leaders on the scale in terms of where he/she thinks they stand now, NOT in terms of where he/she would like them to be.

⇒ Whenever such confusion becomes apparent to you, please try to get R to think in terms of where he/she thinks the leader or party position is now.

⇒ A "Don't Know" answer for any of the groups or political leaders is a perfectly acceptable response to be handled by pausing to be sure the R doesn't want to change his/her mind, and then entering the DK and moving on to the next group or person on the list.

⇒ In other words, DO NOT PROBE "DON'T KNOW" responses here or on any other part of their "placements" throughout the interview. To do so probably invites R to guess, and often elicits "random" responses.

Note: for VT01/VA05, the independent incumbent candidate was included in place of Democratic (VT01) or Republican (VA05) candidate.

G11.

Please look at page 3 of the booklet.

Some people think the government should provide fewer services even in areas such as health and education in order to reduce spending. Suppose these people are at one end of a scale, at point 1. Other people feel it is important for the government to provide many more services even if it means an increase in spending. Suppose these people are at the other end, at point 7. And, of course, some other people have opinions somewhere in between, at points 2,3,4,5 or 6.

T *G11.T*

Some people think the government should provide fewer services, even in areas such as health and education in order to reduce spending. Still others feel it is important for the government to provide many more services even if it means an increase in spending.

G11a.   Spec: 328__   V001385

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

```
1----------------------2------------3------------4------------5----------6--------------------7
```

GOVERNMENT SHOULD PROVIDE	GOVERNMENT SHOULD PROVIDE
MANY FEWER SERVICES; REDUCE	MANY MORE SERVICES;
SPENDING A LOT	INCREASE SPENDING A LOT

1 FEWER SERVICES; REDUCE SPENDING	→ G11b or G11c
2	→ G11b or G11c
3	→ G11b or G11c
4	→ G11b or G11c
5	→ G11b or G11c
6	→ G11b or G11c
7 MORE SERVICES; INCREASE SPENDING	→ G11b or G11c
0 HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH ABOUT THIS	→ G11b or G11c
8 DK	→ G11b or G11c

⇒ G11 is a "proximity format" question for determining where R stands on issues in relation to where he/she thinks political leaders and groups stand. Again, we know these are hard, but we have learned a lot from them.

⇒ Our first task for the respondent is to place himself/herself on the scale. Note that R responds HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH ABOUT THIS only with regard to his/her own placement.

⇒ Definitely try to get R to specify his/her response in terms of a number on the scale. If R gives a range (e.g. 5-7), record this, but also ask R to give, if possible, a single number within that range. "Which would you say is closest to the way you fee?"

⇒ Read this question slowly and allow time for the respondent to digest the information. The question poses a complicated trade-off situation. It's not just a matter of whether government should provide more or fewer services, but whether the government should do one or the other in light of what happens to spending. Thus, people may feel that 7 is the preferred answer for the desired amount of government services, yet come down to settling for point 5 because they feel government spending must be curtailed.

T **G11a.T**

How about you? Do you think the government should provide fewer services, many more services, or continue   **Spec: 317__   V001386**
providing services at the present level, or haven't you thought much about this?

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⇒ G11 is a "proximity format" question for determining where R stands on issues in relation to where he/she thinks political leaders and groups stand. Again, we know these are hard, but we have learned a lot from them.

⇒ Our first task for the respondent is to place himself/herself on the scale. Note that R responds HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH ABOUT THIS only with regard to his/her own placement.

T   *G11a1.T*   Spec: 318__   **V001387**
(IF REDUCE SERVICES AND SPENDING)
Should the government reduce services and spending a great deal or (reduce services and spending)
only some?

1 A GREAT DEAL	→G11b.T
5 ONLY SOME	→G11b.T
8 DK	→G11b.T

T   *G11a2.T*   Spec: _319_   **V001388**
(IF MORE SERVICES AND SPENDING)
Should the government increase services and spending a great deal or (increase services and spending)
only some?

1 A GREAT DEAL	→G11b.T
5 ONLY SOME	→G11b.T
8 DK	→G11b.T

T   *G11a3.T*   Spec: 320__   **V001389**
(IF CONTINUED AT PRESENT LEVEL) OR (IF DK) OR (IF HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH)
If the level of services and spending were to be changed, would you be more in favor of an increase
or a decrease?

1 INCREASE
3 DECREASE
5 R REFUSES TO CHOOSE [VOL]
8 DK   **V001390 COMB.7ptSUMMARY**

FTF: G11b and G11c are randomly administered   **V001391 ckpt. VT01/VA05**

G11b.   Spec: 332_1   **V001391a,1391b**
(IF NOT WASHINGTON D.C) AND (IF DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE IN HOUSE RACE) AND   332_3
(IF R NOT CODED 997 IN D1g THERMOMETER):
Where would you place <DEMOCRATIC HOUSE CANDIDATE>/(VT01: INDEPENDENT
INCUMBENT HOUSE CANDIDATE) on this issue? [DON'T PROBE DK]

1 FEWER SERVICES; REDUCE SPENDING	→G12
2	→G12
3	→G12
4	→G12
5	→G12
6	→G12
7 MORE SERVICES; INCREASE SPENDING	→G12
8 DK	→G12

43

⇒ It is important that R understands that he/she should place the groups and the political leaders in terms of where he/she thinks they stand now, NOT in terms of where he/she would like them to be.

⇒ Whenever such confusion becomes apparent to you, please try to get R to think in terms of where he/she thinks the leader or party position is now.

⇒ A "Don't Know" answer for any of the groups or political leaders is a perfectly acceptable response to be handled by pausing to be sure the R doesn't want to change his/her mind, and then entering DK and moving on to the next group or person on the list. In other words, DO NOT PROBE "DON'T KNOW" responses here or on any other part of their "placements" throughout the interview. To do so probably invites R to guess, and often elicits "random" responses.

⇒ Again, we feel that Rs who can't decide where to place themselves may possibly have a pretty good idea of where the Democratic and Republican parties stand on this issue.

⇒ DO NOT PROBE "DON'T KNOW" responses here or on any other part of their "placements" throughout the interview. To do so probably invites R to guess, and often elicits "random" responses.

G11c.   **Spec: 332_2**   **V001397a,1397b**
(IF NOT WASHINGTON D.C) AND (IF REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE IN HOUSE RACE) AND   **332_3**
(IF R NOT CODED 997 IN D1g THERMOMETER):
Where would you place <REPUBLICAN HOUSE CANDIDATE> /(VA05: INDEPENDENT
INCUMBENT HOUSE CANDIDATE) on this issue? [DON'T PROBE DK]

1 FEWER SERVICES; REDUCE SPENDING	→G12
2	→G12
3	→G12
4	→G12
5	→G12
6	→G12
7 MORE SERVICES; INCREASE SPENDING	→G12
8 DK	→G12

⇒ It is important that R understands that he/she should place the groups and the political leaders in terms of where he/she thinks they stand now, NOT in terms of where he/she would like them to be. Whenever such confusion becomes apparent to you, please try to get R to think in terms of where he/she thinks the leader or party position is now.

⇒ A "Don't Know" answer for any of the groups or political leaders is a perfectly acceptable response to be handled by pausing to be sure the R doesn't want to change his/her mind, and then entering DK and moving on to the next group or person on the list. In other words, DO NOT PROBE "DON'T KNOW" responses here or on any other part of their "placements" throughout the interview. To do so probably invites R to guess, and often elicits "random" responses.

⇒ Again, we feel that Rs who can't decide where to place themselves may possibly have a pretty good idea of where the Democratic and Republican parties stand on this issue.

⇒ DO NOT PROBE "DON'T KNOW" responses here or on any other part of their "placements" throughout the interview. To do so probably invites R to guess, and often elicits "random" responses.

TELEPHONE: G11b.T AND G11c.T ARE RANDOMLY ADMINISTERED.

T ***G11b.T*** Spec: 323_1 **V001392a,1392b**

323_3

(IF NOT WASHINGTON D.C) AND (IF DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE IN HOUSE RACE) AND
(IF R NOT CODED 997 IN D1g THERMOMETER):
What about <DEMOCRATIC HOUSE CANDIDATE> /(VT01: INDEPENDENT INCUMBENT
HOUSE CANDIDATE)?
Do you think <HE/SHE> would like the government to provide fewer services in order to reduce
spending, provide many services even if it means an increase in spending, or continue
services at the present level ? [DON'T PROBE DK]

1 FEWER SERVICES; REDUCE SPENDING → G11b1.T
3 MORE SERVICES; INCREASE SPENDING → G11b2.T
5 CONTINUE SERVICES AT PRESENT LEVEL -->G11b3.T
8 DK → NEXT HOUSE CANDIDATE OR G12.T

⇒ It is important that R understands that he/she should place the groups and the political leaders in
terms of where he/she thinks they stand now, NOT in terms of where he/she would like them to be.
⇒ Whenever such confusion becomes apparent to you, please try to get R to think in terms of where
he/she thinks the leader or party position is now.
⇒ A "Don't Know" answer for any of the groups or political leaders is a perfectly acceptable response to
be handled by pausing to be sure the R doesn't want to change his/her mind, and then entering DK
and moving on to the next group or person on the list. In other words, DO NOT PROBE "DON'T KNOW"
responses here or on any other part of their "placements" throughout the interview. To do so probably
invites R to guess, and often elicits "random" responses.
⇒ Again, we feel that Rs who can't decide where to place themselves may possibly have a pretty
good idea of where the Democratic and Republican parties stand on this issue.
⇒ DO NOT PROBE "DON'T KNOW" responses here or on any other part of their "placements"
throughout the interview. To do so probably invites R to guess, and often elicits "random" responses.

T ***G11b1.T*** Spec: 324_1 **V001393a,1393b**

324_3

(IF DEM/IND WOULD LIKE TO REDUCE SERVICES AND SPENDING)
Do you think <HE/SHE> would like to reduce services and spending a great deal or (reduce
services and spending) only some?

1 A GREAT DEAL   → NEXT HOUSE CANDIDATE OR G12.T
5 ONLY SOME   → NEXT HOUSE CANDIDATE OR G12.T
8 DK   → NEXT HOUSE CANDIDATE OR G12.T

⇒ DO NOT PROBE "DON'T KNOW" responses here or on any other part of their "placements"
throughout the interview. To do so probably invites R to guess, and often elicits "random" responses.

T ***G11b2.T*** Spec: 325_1 **V001394a,1394b**

325_3

(IF DEM/IND WOULD LIKE TO INCREASE SERVICES AND SPENDING)
Do you think <HE/SHE> would like to increase services and spending a great deal or (increase
services and spending) only some?

1 A GREAT DEAL   → NEXT HOUSE CANDIDATE OR G12.T
5 ONLY SOME   → NEXT HOUSE CANDIDATE OR G12.T
8 DK   → NEXT HOUSE CANDIDATE OR G12.T

⇒ DO NOT PROBE "DON'T KNOW" responses here or on any other part of their "placements"
throughout the interview. To do so probably invites R to guess, and often elicits "random" responses.

T ***G11b3.T*** Spec: 326_1 **V001395a,1395b**

326_3

(IF DEM/IND WOULD LIKE TO CONTINUE SERVICES AT PRESENT LEVEL)
If the level of services and spending were to be changed, do you think <HE/SHE> would be
* more in favor of an increase or a decrease?*

1 INCREASE	→NEXT HOUSE CANDIDATE OR G12.T
3 DECREASE	→NEXT HOUSE CANDIDATE OR G12.T
5 NEITHER	→NEXT HOUSE CANDIDATE OR G12.T
8 DK	→NEXT HOUSE CANDIDATE OR G12.T

⇒ DO NOT PROBE "DON'T KNOW" responses here or on any other part of their "placements" throughout the interview. To do so probably invites R to guess, and often elicits "random" responses.

V001396 COMB. 7pt SUMMARY

T **G11c.T**   Spec: 323_2   **V001398a,1398b**

(IF NOT WASHINGTON D.C) AND (IF REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE IN HOUSE RACE) AND   323_3

(IF R NOT CODED 997 IN D1g THERMOMETER):

What about <REPUBLICAN HOUSE CANDIDATE>/(VA05: INDEPENDENT INCUMBENT

HOUSE CANDIDATE)?

Do you think <HE/SHE> would like the government to provide fewer services in order to reduce

spending, provide many more services even if it means an increase in spending, or continue

services at the present level ? [DON'T PROBE DK]

1 FEWER SERVICES; REDUCE SPENDING	→G11c1.T
3 MORE SERVICES; INCREASE SPENDING	→G11c2.T
5 CONTINUE SERVICES AT PRESENT LEVEL	→G11c3.T
8 DK	→NEXT HOUSE CANDIDATE OR G12.T

⇒ It is important that R understands that he/she should place the groups and the political leaders in terms of where he/she thinks they stand now, NOT in terms of where he/she would like them to be.

⇒ Whenever such confusion becomes apparent to you, please try to get R to think in terms of where he/she thinks the leader or party position is now.

⇒ A "Don't Know" answer for any of the groups or political leaders is a perfectly acceptable response to be handled by pausing to be sure the R doesn't want to change his/her mind, and then entering DK and moving on to the next group or person on the list. In other words, DO NOT PROBE "DON'T KNOW" responses here or on any other part of their "placements" throughout the interview. To do so probably invites R to guess, and often elicits "random" responses.

⇒ Again, we feel that Rs who can't decide where to place themselves may possibly have a pretty good idea of where the Democratic and Republican parties stand on this issue.

⇒ DO NOT PROBE "DON'T KNOW" responses here or on any other part of their "placements" throughout the interview. To do so probably invites R to guess, and often elicits "random" responses.

T **G11c1.T**   Spec: 324_2   **V001399a,1399b**

(IF REP/IND WOULD LIKE TO REDUCE SERVICES AND SPENDING)   324_3

Do you think <HE/SHE> would like to reduce services and spending a great deal or (reduce services

and spending) only some?

1 A GREAT DEAL	→NEXT HOUSE CANDIDATE OR G12.T
5 ONLY SOME	→NEXT HOUSE CANDIDATE OR G12.T
8 DK	→NEXT HOUSE CANDIDATE OR G12.T

⇒ DO NOT PROBE "DON'T KNOW" responses here or on any other part of their "placements" throughout the interview. To do so probably invites R to guess, and often elicits "random" responses.

T **G11c2.T**   Spec: 325_2   **V001400a,1400b**

(IF REP/IND WOULD LIKE TO INCREASE SERVICES AND SPENDING)   325_3

Do you think <HE/SHE> would like to increase services and spending a great deal or (increase

services and spending) only some?

1 A GREAT DEAL	→NEXT HOUSE CANDIDATE OR G12.T
5 ONLY SOME	→NEXT HOUSE CANDIDATE OR G12.T
8 DK	→NEXT HOUSE CANDIDATE OR G12.T

T   *G11c3.T*   **Spec: 326_2**   **V001401a,1401b**
(IF REP/IND WOULD LIKE TO CONTINUE SERVICES AT PRESENT LEVEL)   **326_3**
If the level of services and spending were to be changed, do you think <HE/SHE> would be more in favor of an increase or a decrease?

1 INCREASE   → NEXT HOUSE CANDIDATE OR G12.T
3 DECREASE   → NEXT HOUSE CANDIDATE OR G12.T
5 NEITHER   → NEXT HOUSE CANDIDATE OR G12.T
8 DK   → NEXT HOUSE CANDIDATE OR G12.T

001402 COMB. 7pt SUMMARY

G12-ABORTION

Note: for VT01/VA05, the independent incumbent candidate was included in place of Democratic/Republican candidate

G12.   **Spec: 334__**   **V001403**
Please look at page 4 of the booklet.
There has been some discussion about abortion during recent years. Which one of the opinions on this page best agrees with your view? You can just tell me the number of the opinion you choose.

T *G12.T*
There has been some discussion about abortion during recent years. I am going to read you a short list of opinions. Please tell me which one of the opinions best agrees with your view? You can just tell me the number of the opinion you choose.

1 BY LAW, ABORTION SHOULD NEVER BE PERMITTED.
2 THE LAW SHOULD PERMIT ABORTION ONLY IN CASE OF RAPE, INCEST, OR WHEN THE WOMAN'S LIFE IS IN DANGER.
3 THE LAW SHOULD PERMIT ABORTION FOR REASONS OTHER THAN RAPE, INCEST, OR DANGER TO THE WOMAN'S LIFE,
   BUT ONLY AFTER THE NEED FOR THE ABORTION HAS BEEN CLEARLY ESTABLISHED.
4 BY LAW, A WOMAN SHOULD ALWAYS BE ABLE TO OBTAIN AN ABORTION AS A MATTER OF PERSONAL CHOICE.
7 OTHER (SPECIFY) [VOL]
8 DK

⇒ Give R plenty of time to think this one over. People usually have strong feelings on the subject, but it takes them a while to match their feelings with one of the response options.
⇒ If R says, "none of these agrees with my view, "enter "OTHER, SPECIFY" (which we have put there for this very contingency) and PROBE for R's view. (Try not to let a digression develop -- a one sentence equivalent of the other alternatives is just fine.)

G12a.   **Spec: 335_**   **V001404**
How important is this issue to you personally? Not at all important, not too important, somewhat important, very important, or extremely important?

1 NOT AT ALL IMPORTANT
2 NOT TOO IMPORTANT
3 SOMEWHAT IMPORTANT
4 VERY IMPORTANT
5 EXTREMELY IMPORTANT
8 DK

Telephone: G12b.T and G12c.T are randomly administered

G12b.   **Spec:338_1   V001405a,1405b**
(IF NOT WASHINGTON D.C) AND (IF DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE IN HOUSE RACE) AND   **338_3**
(IF R NOT CODED 997 IN D1g THERMOMETER):
Where would you place <DEMOCRATIC HOUSE CANDIDATE> /(VT01: INDEPENDENT
INCUMBENT HOUSE CANDIDATE) (on abortion)?   [DON'T PROBE DK]

T *G12b.T*

(IF NOT WASHINGTON D.C) AND (IF DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE IN HOUSE RACE) AND
(IF R NOT CODED 997 IN D1g THERMOMETER):
What about <DEMOCRATIC HOUSE CANDIDATE> /(VT01: INDEPENDENT INCUMBENT
HOUSE CANDIDATE) (on abortion)? Which opinion best agrees with [HIS/HER] views?
[DON'T PROBE DK]

1 BY LAW, ABORTION SHOULD NEVER BE PERMITTED.   -->G12c or G13
2 THE LAW SHOULD PERMIT ABORTION ONLY IN CASE OF RAPE, INCEST, OR WHEN THE WOMAN'S LIFE IS IN DANGER.-->G12c or G13
3 THE LAW SHOULD PERMIT ABORTION FOR REASONS OTHER THAN RAPE, INCEST, OR DANGER TO THE WOMAN'S LIFE,
  BUT ONLYAFTER THE NEED FOR THE ABORTION HAS BEEN CLEARLY ESTABLISHED.   -->G12c or G13
4 BY LAW, A WOMAN SHOULD ALWAYS BE ABLE TO OBTAIN AN ABORTION AS A MATTER OF PERSONAL CHOICE. -->G12c or G13
7 OTHER (SPECIFY) [VOL]   -->G12c or G13
8 DK   -->G12c or G13

⇒ We think R's will answer these placements on the abortion question easily. Don't probe DON'T KNOW
on candidate placement. If Respondent says DON'T KNOW, enter alt-D.

G12b1.   **Spec: 339_1   V001406a,1406b**
T   *G12b1.T*   **339_3**
       (IF NOT DK/REF)
       How certain are you of <DEMOCRATIC/IND HOUSE CANDIDATE>'s position? <u>Very certain</u>,
       <u>pretty certain</u>, or <u>not very certain</u>?
       1 VERY CERTAIN
       3 PRETTY CERTAIN
       5 NOT VERY CERTAIN
       8 DK

G12c.   **Spec: 338_2   V001407a,1407b**
(IF NOT WASHINGTON D.C) AND (IF REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE IN HOUSE RACE) AND   **338_3**
(IF R NOT CODED 997 IN D1H THERMOMETER):
Where would you place <REPUBLICAN HOUSE CANDIDATE> /(VA05: INDEPENDENT
INCUMBENT HOUSE CANDIDATE) (on abortion)? [DON'T PROBE DK]

T *G12c.T*

(IF NOT WASHINGTON D.C) AND (IF REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE IN HOUSE RACE) AND
(IF R NOT CODED 997 IN D1H THERMOMETER):
What about <REPUBLICAN HOUSE CANDIDATE> /(VA05: INDEPENDENT INCUMENT
HOUSE CANDIDATE) (on abortion)? Which opinion best agrees with <HIS/HER> views?
[DON'T PROBE DK]

48

1 BY LAW, ABORTION SHOULD NEVER BE PERMITTED.   -->G12b or G13
2 THE LAW SHOULD PERMIT ABORTION ONLY IN CASE OF RAPE, INCEST, OR WHEN THE WOMAN'S LIFE IS IN DANGER. -->G12b or G13
3 THE LAW SHOULD PERMIT ABORTION FOR REASONS OTHER THAN RAPE, INCEST, OR DANGER TO THE WOMAN'S LIFE,
   BUT ONLYAFTER THE NEED FOR THE ABORTION HAS BEEN CLEARLY ESTABLISHED.   -->G12b or G13
4 BY LAW, A WOMAN SHOULD ALWAYS BE ABLE TO OBTAIN AN ABORTION AS A MATTER OF PERSONAL CHOICE.   -->G12b or G13
7 OTHER (SPECIFY) [VOL]   -->G12b or G13
8 DK   -->G12b or G13

⇒ We think R's will answer these placements on the abortion question easily. Don't probe DON'T KNOW.
If Respondent says DON'T KNOW, enter alt-D.

G12c1.   Spec: **339_2**   **V001408a,1408b**

T   *G12c1.T*   **339_3**

 (IF NOT DK/REF)

How certain are you of <REPUBLICAN/IND HOUSE CANDIDATE>'s position? Very certain,
pretty certain, or not very certain?

1 VERY CERTAIN
3 PRETTY CERTAIN
5 NOT VERY CERTAIN
8 DK

G13.   Spec: **341__**   **V001409**

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

1 DEMOCRAT
3 REPUBLICAN
5 NEITHER [VOL]
7 OTHER [SPECIFY]
8 DK

⇒ Here we are attempting to measure 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 general sense of party affiliation, not particularly how he/she voted in the election. This
means that a response such as, "Oh, I have been a Democrat but I really don't know about this year" classifies
the respondent as a Democrat, and not as "Neither." The people who are deviating from a usual party preference
are identified by questions on vote choice. At this point, we want to know if they have a "usual" party. However,
if R mentions any recent change in his feelings toward a party, be sure to enter that in a comment.
⇒ A few respondents 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…?"

Section H

H1-H3 - R'S FINANCIAL SITUATION

RESPONDENT IS RANDOMLY SELECTED TO GET SECTION H IN PRE OR POST   [SECTION E IN PRE].

H1.   Spec: **344_**   **V001410**

We are interested in how people are getting along financially these days. Would you say that you (and your
family living here/there) are better off, worse off, or just about the same financially as you were a year ago?

49

⇒ We think economics is an extremely powerful factor in how people assess issues, candidates, and the government. These questions have to do with R's personal economics -- how things are going for R and R's family.

⇒ If R says they are "better off" in some respects and "worse off" in others, probe by asking, "Overall, would you say…" Remember, this series is about circumstances particular to the R and need not be linked to national economic trends and events. R's loss of a job, the sale of some property -- these are quite appropriate for R to be thinking about at this point. However, we do not need to have all of R's spoken mental calculations recorded. It's what he decides that is important, not how he got there (unless you have strong reason to believe that s/he has misunderstood the questions).

H1a.
Spec: 345_   V001411a

(IF BETTER)

Much better or somewhat better?

1 MUCH BETTER   SKIP→H2
5 SOMEWHAT BETTER   SKIP→H2
8 DK   SKIP→H2

H1b.
Spec: 346_   V001411b

(IF WORSE)

Much worse or somewhat worse?

1 MUCH WORSE
5 SOMEWHAT WORSE

8 DK   **V001412 SUMMARY**

H2.
Spec: 347   V001413

In the past year did you (or anyone in your family living here/there) put off medical or dental treatment because you didn't have the money?

1 YES
5 NO
8 DK

H3.
Spec: 348_   V001414

Now looking ahead, do you think that a year from now you (and your family living here/there) will be better off financially, worse off, or just about the same as now?

1 BETTER
3 WORSE   Skip→H3b
5 THE SAME   Skip→H4
8 DK   Skip→H4

⇒ Here we want to know what R actually expects financially in the coming year. Responses in terms of what R "hopes" will happen are not acceptable. If you get a "hopes" response, repeat the question, emphasizing the word "think."

H3a.

(IF BETTER)

Spec: 349_   V001415

Much better off or somewhat better off?

1 MUCH BETTER   SKIP→H4
5 SOMEWHAT BETTER   SKIP→H4
8 DK   Skip→H4

H3b.
(IF WORSE)
Much worse off or somewhat worse off?

Spec: **350_**   **V001416**

1 MUCH WORSE
5 SOMEWHAT WORSE
8 DK

V001417 SUMMARY

H4 – FEAR OF BEING ASSAULT VICTIM

H4.

Spec: **351_**   **V001418**

How afraid are you that a member of your family, or a close friend, or you yourself might be the victim of an assault during the coming year? Would you say you are very afraid, somewhat afraid, a little bit afraid, or not afraid?

1 VERY AFRAID
3 SOMEWHAT AFRAID
5 A LITTLE BIT AFRAID
7 NOT AFRAID
8 DK

SECTION J

J1- JURY DUTY

J1.

Spec: **354_**   **V001419**

If you were selected to serve on a jury, would you be happy to do it or would you rather not serve?

1 HAPPY TO DO IT
5 RATHER NOT SERVE
8 DK

J2 – GOVERNMENT ROLE AND SELF-RELIANCE

J2.

Next, I am going to ask you to choose which of two statements I read comes closer to your own opinion.
You might agree to some extent with both, but we want to know which one is closer to your own views.
[IF NECESSARY, PROBE "WHICH IS CLOSER" ONCE EACH QUESTION.]
⇒ Note: J2 items are numbered 1 and 2 rather than 1 and 5 for consistency with the explicitly offered options called 1 and 2.

J2a.

Spec: **356_**   **V001420**

ONE, the less government, the better; OR
TWO, there are more things that government should be doing?
[IF NECESSARY, PROBE "WHICH IS CLOSER"]

1 THE LESS GOVERNMENT THE BETTER
2 MORE THINGS GOVERNMENT SHOULD BE DOING
8 DK

J2b.   Spec: **357_**   **V001421**

ONE, we need a strong government to handle today's complex economic problems; OR
TWO, the free market can handle these problems without government being involved.
[IF NECESSARY, PROBE "WHICH IS CLOSER"]
1 NEED A STRONG GOV'T TO HANDLE COMPLEX ECONOMIC PROBLEMS
2 FREE MARKET CAN HANDLE WITHOUT GOV'T INVOLVEMENT
8 DK

J2c.   Spec: **358_**   **V001422**

ONE, the main reason government has become bigger over the years is because it has gotten involved in
things that people should do for themselves; OR
TWO, government has become bigger because the problems we face have become bigger.
[IF NECESSARY, PROBE "WHICH IS CLOSER"]
1 GOV'T BIGGER BECAUSE IT'S I NVOLVED IN THINGS PEOPLE SHOULD HANDLE THEMSELVES
2 GOV'T BIGGER BECAUSE PROBLEMS BIGGER
8 DK

J2d.   Spec: **359_**   **V001423**

ONE, it is more important to be a cooperative person who works well with others; OR
TWO, it is more important to be a self-reliant person able to take care of oneself.
[IF NECESSARY, PROBE "WHICH IS CLOSER"]
1 MORE IMPT. TO BE COOPERATIVE
2 MORE IMPT. TO BE SELF-RELIANT
8 DK

J3.   Spec: **360_**   V001424

Now I'd like to ask you a few short questions about television viewing, because what you watch often determines what political advertising you will see.
How many times in the last week have you watched "Jeopardy"?

1-20 NUMBER OF TIMES
95 EVERY DAY
96 NEVER, NOT AT ALL
97 R VOLUNTEERS,"NEVER WATCHES TELEVISION"   -->SKIP TO J 8
98 DON'T KNOW

J4.   Spec: **361_**   V001425

How many times in the last week have you watched "Wheel of Fortune"?

1-20 NUMBER OF TIMES
95 EVERY DAY
96 NEVER, NOT AT ALL
98 DON'T KNOW

J5.   Spec: **362_**   V001426

How many times in the last week have you watched morning news programs such as "Today," "Good Morning America," or "The Early Show"?

1-20 NUMBER OF TIMES
95 EVERY DAY
96 NEVER, NOT AT ALL
98 DON'T KNOW

J6.   Spec: **363_**   V001427

How many times in the last week have you watched daytime television talk shows such as "Oprah Winfrey," "Rosie O'Donnell," or "Jerry Springer"?

1-20 NUMBER OF TIMES
95 EVERY DAY
96 NEVER, NOT AT ALL
98 DON'T KNOW

J7.   Spec: **364_**   V001428

Which of the network news programs do you watch most often- "World News Tonight" on ABC, "NBC Nightly News," "The CBS Evening News," or some other network news program?

1 ABC
3 NBC
5 CBS
6 WATCH NO NETWORK NEWS PROGRAM [VOL]
7 OTHER (SPECIFY)
8 DK

J8.   Spec: **365**   V001429

How much of the time do you think you can trust the media to report the news fairly? Just about always, most of the time, only some of the time, or almost never?

53

⇒ This question refers to news coverage in general, not just coverage of the campaign.

J9.   Spec: **366_**   **V001430**

There are a number of programs on radio in which people call in to voice their opinions about politics. Do you ever listen to political talk radio programs of this type?

1 YES, LISTEN	-->GOTO J9a
5 NO, DON'T LISTEN	-->GOTO J10
8 DK	-->GOTO J10

     J9a.   Spec: **367_**   **V001431**

     (IF YES)

     How often do you listen to those programs --every day, most days, once or twice a week, or only occasionally?

     1 EVERYDAY
     2 MOST DAYS
     3 ONCE OR TWICE A WEEK
     4 ONLY OCCASIONALLY
     8 DK

     J9b.   Spec: **368_**   **V001432**

     (IF YES)

     Some people listen carefully to these talk radio programs while others just keep them on in the background while they do other things. How about you? When you turn on a political talk radio program, would you say you pay very close attention, fairly close attention, occasional attention, or very little attention?

     1 VERY CLOSE ATTENTION
     2 FAIRLY CLOSE ATTENTION
     3 OCCASIONAL ATTENTION
     4 VERY LITTLE ATTENTION
     8 DK

J10.   Spec: **369_**   **V001433**

Do you have access to the Internet or the World Wide Web?

1. YES	
5 NO	-->J11
8 DK	-->J11

     J10a.   Spec: **370_**   **V001434**

     (IF YES)

     Have you seen any information about this election campaign on the (Internet/Web)?

     1. YES
     5. NO
     8. DK

J11.   Spec: **371__**   **V001435**

Do you think there are any important differences in what the Republicans and Democrats stand for?

1 YES, DIFFERENCES
5 NO, NO DIFFERENCES
8 DK

J11a.   Spec: **372_**   **V001436a,b,c,d,e,f,g,h,j,k,m,n**
(IF YES)

What are those differences? [PROBE:] Any other important differences? [UNTIL R SAYS "NO."]
_____*OPENENDED*_____

SECTION K

K1 - GROUP INFLUENCE

K1.

Some people think that certain groups have too much influence in American life and politics, while other
people feel that certain groups don't have as much influence as they deserve. I am going to read you a list
of groups, for each one please tell me whether that group has too much influence, just about the right amount
of influence or too little influence.

K1a.   Spec: **384_1**   **V001437**

The first group is WHITES. Would you say they have too much influence, just about the right amount
of influence, or too little influence?

1 TOO MUCH INFLUENCE
2 JUST ABOUT THE RIGHT AMOUNT
3 TOO LITTLE INFLUENCE
8 DK

K1b – K1h.
What about <GROUP>?
(Would you say they have too much influence, just about the right amount of influence, or too little influence?)

K1b.   Spec: **384_2**   **V001438**
BLACKS

⇒ Please say Blacks and not African-Americans. Our interest is in tapping people's assessment of black influence
speaking broadly. Not all Blacks are from Africa (Jamaicans, Cubans, and many others from the Caribbean)

K1c.   Spec: **384_3**   **V001439**
HISPANICS (HISPANIC-AMERICANS)

K1d.   Spec: **384_4**   **V001440**
ASIAN AMERICANS

K1e. Spec: **384_5** **V001441**
JEWS

⇒ Please say "Jews." We mean no offense, but we'd like to keep this group name consistent with past surveys.

K1f. Spec: **384_6** **V001442**
PROTESTANTS

K1g. Spec: **384_7** **V001443**
CATHOLICS

K1h. Spec: **384_8** **V001444**
MEN

1 TOO MUCH INFLUENCE
2 JUST ABOUT THE RIGHT AMOUNT
3 TOO LITTLE INFLUENCE
8 DK

K1j. Spec: **384_9** **V001445**
And the last group is <WOMEN>. (Would you say they have too much influence, just about the right amount of influence, or too little influence?)

1 TOO MUCH INFLUENCE
3 JUST ABOUT THE RIGHT AMOUNT
5 TOO LITTLE INFLUENCE
8 DK

K2 – OFFICE RECOGNITION OF POLITICAL FIGURES

RESPONDENTS ARE RANDOMLY SELECTED TO RECEIVE THE K2A-K2D BATTERY WITHOUT "DON'T KNOW" PROBES OR THE K2A.E-K2D.E BATTERY WITH "DON'T KNOW" PROBES.

K2.
Now we have a set of questions concerning various public figures. We want to see how much information about them gets out to the public from television, newspapers and the like.
[PAUSE AFTER EACH NAME. RECORD EXACTLY WHAT IS SAID]

K2a. Spec: **389** **V001446a**
The first name is TRENT LOTT.
What job or political office does he NOW hold?
[DON'T PROBE DON'T KNOWS]

K2a. E Spec: **393** **V001446b**
The first name is TRENT LOTT.
What job or political office does he NOW hold?
[PROBE DON'T KNOWS WITH, "WELL, WHAT'S YOUR BEST GUESS?"]
_____*OPENENDED*_____

⇒ Very important: be very careful to probe only if your screen tells you to. This will vary from interview to interview. Respondents are randomly selected to be probed on don't knows, while other respondents are not.

⇒ Here are a few suggestions from pretest interviewers: Respondents frequently begin all their answers with "Isn't that…?" If the respondent really wants to know whether he/she is right, tell him/her you aren't supposed to discuss the questions during the interview, but you can discuss it with them at the end of the interview. If the answer is being phrased as a rhetorical "Isn't that…?" try to get away with a noncommittal "um-hum" as you record the response. The point is to avoid a test-like atmosphere, so if you can carry off a "you-and-me together" feeling with R, do it--e.g., putting a respondent at ease by saying, "I'm not sure about that one either", is O.K. with the study staff, although it may make your supervisors cringe.

⇒ This is the "political information" series, and it will take some footwork on your part to handle it well. Unlike most of our questions, these questions have right answers, and some people may feel a little uneasy a bout answering them. Read the questions directly to R and record his/her responses in a straightforward manner so as not to make R feel uncomfortable even if R's answers are incorrect.

V001447 COMBINED

K2a1.E   Spec: **394_**   **V001448**
(IF RANDOMLY SELECTED FOR USE OF DK PROBE)
CHECKPOINT: PROBE USED?
1. YES
5. NO

K2b.   Spec: **390**   **V001449a**
WILLIAM REHNQUIST [PRON: Renn-kwist]
(What job or political office does he NOW hold?)
[DON'T PROBE DON'T KNOWS]

K2b. E   Spec: **395**   **V001449b**
WILLIAM REHNQUIST [PRON: Renn-kwist]
(What job or political office does he NOW hold?)
 [PROBE DON'T KNOWS WITH, "WELL, WHAT'S YOUR BEST GUESS?"]
_____*OPENENDED*_____

⇒ Very important: be very careful to probe only if your screen tells you to. This will vary from interview to interview. Respondents are randomly selected to be probed on don't knows, while other respondents are not.

⇒ Here are a few suggestions from pretest interviewers: Respondents frequently begin all their answers with "Isn't that…?" If the respondent really wants to know whether he/she is right, tell him/her you aren't supposed to discuss the questions during the interview, but you can discuss it with them at the end of the interview. If the answer is being phrased as a rhetorical "Isn't that…?" try to get away with a noncommittal "um-hum" as you record the response. The point is to avoid a test-like atmosphere, so if you can carry off a "you-and-me together" feeling with R, do it--e.g., putting a respondent at ease by saying, "I'm not sure about that one either", is O.K. with the study staff, although it may make your supervisors cringe.

⇒ This is the "political information" series, and it will take some footwork on your part to handle it well. Unlike most of our questions, these questions have right answers, and some people may feel a little uneasy about answering them. Read the questions directly to R and record his/her responses in a straightforward manner so as not to make R feel uncomfortable even if R's answers are incorrect.

V001450 COMBINED

K2b1.E   Spec: **396_**   **V001451**
(IF RANDOMLY SELECTED FOR USE OF DK PROBE)
CHECKPOINT: PROBE USED?
1. YES
5. NO

K2c.   Spec: **391**   **V001452a**
TONY BLAIR
(What job or political office does he <u>NOW</u> hold?)
[DON'T PROBE DON'T KNOWS]

K2c.E   Spec: **397**   **V001452b**
TONY BLAIR
(What job or political office does he <u>NOW</u> hold?)
 [PROBE DON'T KNOWS WITH, "WELL, WHAT'S YOUR BEST GUESS?"]
_____*OPENENDED*_____

⇒ Very important: be very careful to probe only if your screen tells you to. This will vary from interview to interview. Respondents are randomly selected to be probed on don't knows, while other respondents are not.

⇒ Here are a few suggestions from pretest interviewers: Respondents frequently begin all their answers with "Isn't that…?" If the respondent really wants to know whether he/she is right, tell him/her you aren't supposed to discuss the questions during the interview, but you can discuss it with them at the end of the interview. If the answer is being phrased as a rhetorical "Isn't that…?" try to get away with a noncommittal "um-hum" as you record the response. The point is to avoid a test-like atmosphere, so if you can carry off a "you-and-me together" feeling with R, do it--e.g., putting a respondent at ease by saying, "I'm not sure about that one either", is O.K. with the study staff, although it may make your supervisors cringe.

⇒ This is the "political information" series, and it will take some footwork on your part to handle it well. Unlike most of our questions, these questions have right answers, and some people may feel a little uneasy about answering them. Read the questions directly to R and record his/her responses in a straightforward manner so as not to make R feel uncomfortable even if R's answers are incorrect.

                                                                                         V001453 COMBINED

    K2c1.E   Spec: **398_**   **V001454**
    (IF RANDOMLY SELECTED FOR USE OF DK PROBE)
    CHECKPOINT: PROBE USED?
    1. YES
    5. NO

K2d.   Spec: **392**   **V001455a**
JANET RENO
(What job or political office does she <u>NOW</u> hold?)
[DON'T PROBE DON'T KNOWS]

K2d. E   Spec: **399**   **V001455b**
JANET RENO
(What job or political office does she <u>NOW</u> hold?)
 [PROBE DON'T KNOWS WITH, "WELL, WHAT'S YOUR BEST GUESS?"]
_____*OPENENDED*_____

⇒ Very important: be very careful to probe only if your screen tells you to. This will vary from interview to interview. Respondents are randomly selected to be probed on don't knows, while other respondents are not.

⇒ Here are a few suggestions from pretest interviewers: Respondents frequently begin all their answers with "Isn't that…?" If the respondent really wants to know whether he/she is right, tell him/her you aren't supposed to discuss the questions during the interview, but you can discuss it with them at the end of the interview. If the answer is being phrased as a rhetorical "Isn't that…?" try to get away with a noncommittal "um-hum" as you record the response. The point is to avoid a test-like atmosphere, so if you can carry off a "you-and-me together" feeling with R, do it--e.g., putting a respondent at ease by saying, "I'm not sure about that one either", is O.K.

V001456 COMBINED

K2d1.E   Spec: **400**   **V001457**
(IF RANDOMLY SELECTED FOR USE OF DK PROBE)
CHECKPOINT: PROBE USED?
1. YES
5. NO

K3-K4 – KNOWLEDGE ABOUT PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES

K3.
Next, I'd like to ask you about the candidates who ran for President and their running mates. We're interested in some of the things that people may have heard about these candidates.   The first candidate I'd like to ask you about is George W. Bush.

K3a.   Spec: **415_1**   **V001458**
What U.S. state does George W. Bush live in now?
(PROBE DK WITH, "WELL, WHAT IS YOUR BEST GUESS?")
[INTERVIEWER: IF R'S RESPONSE IS ANYTHING OTHER THAN THE MENTION OF A SINGLE ONE OF THE STATES LISTED, CODE AS 7. OTHER AND DOCUMENT R'S RESPONSE]

1 CONNECTICUT
2 TENNESSEE
3 TEXAS
4 WYOMING
7 OTHER (SPECIFY)
8 DK

K3a1.   Spec: **416_1**   **V001459**
CHECKPOINT: PROBE USED?
1. YES
5. NO

K3b.   Spec: **417_1**   **V001460**
What is George W. Bush's religion?
(PROBE DK WITH, "WELL, WHAT IS YOUR BEST GUESS?")

0 NONE
1 BAPTIST
2 METHODIST
3 JEWISH
7 OTHER (SPECIFY)
8 DK

59

K3b1.

CHECKPOINT: PROBE USED?

Spec: **418_1**   **V001461**

1. YES
5. NO

K4.

Now take Al Gore

K4a.

What U.S. state is Al Gore from originally?

Spec: **415_2**   **V001462**

(PROBE DK WITH, "WELL, WHAT IS YOUR BEST GUESS?")

 [INTERVIEWER: IF R'S RESPONSE IS ANYTHING OTHER THAN THE MENTION OF A
SINGLE ONE OF THE STATES LISTED, CODE AS 7. OTHER AND DOCUMENT R'S RESPONSE]

1 CONNECTICUT
2 TENNESSEE
3 TEXAS
4 WYOMING
7 OTHER (SPECIFY)
8 DK

K4a1.

CHECKPOINT: PROBE USED?

Spec: **416_2_**   **V001463**

1. YES
5. NO

K4b.

What is Al Gore's religion?

Spec: **417_2**   **V001464**

(PROBE DK WITH, "WELL, WHAT IS YOUR BEST GUESS?")

0 NONE
1 BAPTIST
2 METHODIST
3 JEWISH
7 OTHER (SPECIFY)
8 DK

K4b1.

CHECKPOINT: PROBE USED?

Spec: **418_2**   **V001465**

1. YES
5. NO

K5-K6 – KNOWLEDGE ABOUT VICE-PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES

K5.

What about Dick Cheney.

K5a.

What U.S. state does Dick Cheney live in now?

Spec: **415_3**   **V001466**

(PROBE DK WITH, "WELL, WHAT IS YOUR BEST GUESS?")

[INTERVIEWER: IF R'S RESPONSE IS ANYTHING OTHER THAN THE MENTION OF A
SINGLE ONE OF THE STATES LISTED, CODE AS 7. OTHER AND DOCUMENT R'S RESPONSE]

1 CONNECTICUT
2 TENNESSEE
3 TEXAS
4 WYOMING
7 OTHER (SPECIFY)
8 DK

K5a1.   Spec: **416_3**   **V001467**
CHECKPOINT: PROBE USED?
1. YES
5. NO

K5b.
What is Dick Cheney's religion?   Spec: **417_3**   **V001468**
(PROBE DK WITH, "WELL, WHAT IS YOUR BEST GUESS?")
0 NONE
1 BAPTIST
2 METHODIST
3 JEWISH
7 OTHER (SPECIFY)
8 DK

K5b1.   Spec: **418_3**   **V001469**
CHECKPOINT: PROBE USED?
1. YES
5. NO

K6.
And Joseph Lieberman.
K6a.
What U.S. state does Joseph Lieberman live in now?   Spec: **415_4**   **V001470**
(PROBE DK WITH, "WELL, WHAT IS YOUR BEST GUESS?")
 [INTERVIEWER: IF R'S RESPONSE IS ANYTHING OTHER THAN THE MENTION OF A
SINGLE ONE OF THE STATES LISTED, CODE AS 7. OTHER AND DOCUMENT R'S RESPONSE]
1 CONNECTICUT
2 TENNESSEE
3 TEXAS
4 WYOMING
7 OTHER (SPECIFY)
8 DK

K6a1.   Spec: **416_4**   **V001471**
CHECKPOINT: PROBE USED?
1. YES
5. NO

K6b.
What is Joseph Lieberman's religion?   Spec: **417_4**   **V001472**
(PROBE DK WITH, "WELL, WHAT IS YOUR BEST GUESS?")

61

```
0 NONE
1 BAPTIST
2 METHODIST
3 JEWISH
7 OTHER (SPECIFY)
8 DK
```

K6b1.   **Spec: 418_4**   **V001473**
CHECKPOINT: PROBE USED?
1. YES
5. NO

K7 – INVOLVEMENT IN VOLUNTEER WORK

K7   **Spec: 420**   **V001474**
Many people say they have less time these days to do volunteer work. What about you, were you able to
devote any time to volunteer work in the last 12 months or did you not do so?
```
1 YES
5 NO
8 DK
```
⇒ Volunteer work is unpaid work on behalf of someone other than R or his/her family. If R asks, we can say:
work that you do for other people or groups that you don't expect to be paid for.

K8-K10 - TRUST IN PEOPLE

K8.   **Spec: 421**   **V001475**
Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted, or that you can't be too careful in
dealing with people?
```
1 MOST PEOPLE CAN BE TRUSTED
5 CAN'T BE TOO CAREFUL
8 DON'T KNOW
```

K9.   **Spec: 422**   **V001476**
Do you think most people would try to take advantage of you if they got the chance or would they try to
be fair?
```
1 TAKE ADVANTAGE
5 TRY TO BE FAIR
8 DON'T KNOW
```

K10.   **Spec: 423**   **V001477**
Would you say that most of the time people try to be helpful, or that they are just looking out for
themselves?
```
1 TRY TO BE HELPFUL
5 JUST LOOKING OUT FOR THEMSELVES
8 DON'T KNOW
```

K11.   Spec: **424**   **V001478**

Recently there has been a lot of talk about job discrimination. Do you favor or oppose laws to protect homosexuals against job discrimination?

```
1 FAVOR
5 OPPOSE              -->SKIP TO K11b
8 DK                 -->SKIP TO K12
```

⇒ These may make some respondents uncomfortable. Move through them matter-of-factly, and at a pace to discourage digressions and "it depends qualifications". Of course, it depends, but "generally speaking" and RQ.

K11a.   Spec: **425**   **V001479**

Do you favor such laws strongly or not strongly?

```
1 FAVOR STRONGLY       -->K12
5 FAVOR NOT STRONGLY   -->K12
8 DK                   -->K12
```

K11b.   Spec: **426**   **V001480**

Do you oppose such laws strongly or not strongly?

```
1 OPPOSE STRONGLY
5 OPPOSE NOT STRONGLY
8 DK
```
                                                              V001481 SUMMARY

K12.

Please look at page 5 of the booklet. Some people say that the best way to reduce crime is to address the social problems that cause crime, like bad schools, poverty and joblessness. (Suppose these people are at one end of a scale, at point 1.) Other people say the best way to reduce crime is to make sure that criminals are caught, convicted and punished. (Suppose these people are at the other end, at point 7.) And, of course, some other people have opinions somewhere in between at points 2,3,4,5 or 6.

K12a.   Spec: **427**   **V001482**

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

```
              1--------------------2-----------3-----------4------------5---------6------------------7
ADDRESS SOCIAL PROBLEMS THAT                              MAKE SURE CRIMINALS ARE
CAUSE CRIME                                               CAUGHT, CONVICTED AND PUNISHED

1 ADDRESS SOCIAL PROBLEMS THAT CAUSE CRIME
2
3
4
5
6
7 MAKE SURE CRIMINALS ARE CAUGHT, CONVICTED AND PUNISHED
0 HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH ABOUT THIS
8 DK
```

63

⇒ Definitely try to get R to specify his/her response in terms of a number on the scale. If R gives a range (e.g. 5-7), record this, but also ask R to give, if possible, a single number within that range. "Which would you say is closest to the way you feel?"

𝕋 **K12T.**

Some people say that the best way to reduce crime is to address the social problems that cause crime, like bad schools, poverty and joblessness. Still others say the best way to reduce crime is to make sure that criminals are caught, convicted and punished.

𝕋 *K12a.T*   Spec: **428**   **V001482a**

How about you? Do you think that the best way to reduce crime is to address social problems or to make sure criminals are caught, convicted, and punished, or that we should do something in between, or haven't you thought much about this?

1 ADDRESS SOCIAL PROBLEMS THAT CAUSE CRIME	-->K12a1.T
3 MAKE SURE CRIMINALS ARE CAUGHT, CONVICTED AND PUNISHED	-->K12a2.T
5 DO SOMETHING IN BETWEEN	-->K12a3.T
0 HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH ABOUT THIS	-->K13a3.T
8 DK	-->K13a3.T

𝕋 *K12a1.T*   Spec: **429**   **V001483**

(IF R'S OPINION IS TO ADDRESS SOCIAL PROBLEMS)
Do you think that addressing the social problems that cause crime, rather than making sure criminals are caught, convicted, and punished is a <u>much better</u> *way or* <u>somewhat better</u> *way to reduce crime?*

1 MUCH BETTER	-->K13
5 SOMEWHAT BETTER	-->K13
8 DK	

𝕋 *K12a2.T*   Spec: **430**   **V001484**

(IF R'S OPINION IS TO MAKE SURE CRIMINALS ARE CAUGHT AND PUNISHED)
Do you think that making sure criminals are caught, convicted, and punished, rather than addressing the social problems that cause crime is a <u>much better</u> *way or a* <u>somewhat better</u> *way to reduce crime?*

1 MUCH BETTER	-->K13
5 SOMEWHAT BETTER	-->K13
8 DK	

𝕋 **K12a3.T**   Spec: **431**   **V001485**

(IF R'S OPINION IS 'SOMETHING IN BETWEEN') OR (IF DK) OR (IF HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH)
If you had to choose, which way would you say is better at reducing crime -- addressing the social problems that cause or crime or making sure criminals are caught, convicted, and punished?

1 ADDRESSING SOCIAL PROBLEMS
5 MAKING SURE CRIMINALS ARE CAUGHT, CONVICTED AND PUNISHED
7 R REFUSES TO CHOOSE [VOL]
8 DK

V001486 COMB. 7pt SUMMARY

64

K13.   Spec: **433**   **V001487**

How worried are you about our country getting into a nuclear war at this time? Are you very worried, somewhat worried, or not worried at all?

1 VERY WORRIED
3 SOMEWHAT WORRIED
5 NOT WORRIED AT ALL
8 DK

K14.   Spec: **434**   **V001488**

How worried are you about our country getting into a conventional war at this time, one in which nuclear weapons are not used? Are you very worried, somewhat worried, or not worried at all?

1 VERY WORRIED
3 SOMEWHAT WORRIED
5 NOT WORRIED AT ALL
8 DK

K15.

Recently, there has been a lot of talk about campaign finance reform. Some people believe that we should protect government from excessive influence by campaign contributors. Others think that protecting the freedom of individuals to financially support political candidates and parties is more important.

K15a.   Spec: **435**   **V001489**

Which is closer to the way you think, or haven't you thought much about this?

1 PROTECT GOVERNMENT FROM EXCESSIVE INFLUENCE
5 PROTECTING THE FREEDOM OF INDIVIDUALS
0 HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH ABOUT THIS
8 DK

K16.   Spec: **436**   **V001490**

In general, which of the following statements best represents what you feel about the way political campaigns are financed in this country: it needs to be completely overhauled, it needs major changes, it needs minor changes, or it is basically fine the way it is?

1 COMPLETELY OVERHAULED
3 MAJOR CHANGES
5 MINOR CHANGES
7 FINE THE WAY IT IS

SECTION L

L5. Spec: **443_**   **V001491**

During the past 12 months, have you worked with other people to deal with some issue facing your community?

1 YES
5 NO
8 DK

L6. Spec: **444_**   **V001492**

During the past twelve months, have you telephoned, written a letter to, or visited a government official to express your views on a public issue?

1 YES
5 NO
8 DK

L7. Spec: **445__**   **V001493**

During the past twelve months, did you attend a meeting about an issue facing your community or schools?

1 YES
5 NO
8 DK

L8 – ORGANIZATIONAL INVOLVEMENT AND INFLUENCE

L8. Spec: **448_**   **V001494**

Here is a list of some organizations people can belong to.
There are labor unions, associations of people who do the same kinds of work, fraternal groups such as
Lions or Kiwanis, hobby clubs or sports teams, groups working on political issues, community groups,
and school groups. Of course, there are lots of other types of organizations, too. Not counting membership
in a local church or synagogue, are you a member of any of these kinds of organizations?

1 YES
5 NO   -->L9
8 DK   -->L9

L8a. Spec: **449_**   **V001495**

How many organizations are you currently a member of?

0	NO ORGANIZATIONS	-->L9
1	ONE ORGANIZATION	-->L8b
2- 96	ORGANIZATIONS	-->L8bb
97	97 OR MORE ORGANIZATIONS	-->L8bb
98	DK	-->L8bb

L8b.

(IF ONE ORGANIZATION ONLY)

If you average across the past twelve months, about how many hours per week did you spend doing things with or for your organizations?

__ ENTER NUMBER OF HOURS PER WEEK
96 NONE (NO DAYS)
98 DK

L8c.

(IF ONE ORGANIZATION ONLY)

Does the organization you belong to ever try to influence government?

1 YES
5 NO
8 DON'T KNOW

L8d.

(IF ONE ORGANIZATION ONLY)

Does the organization you belong to ever try to influence schools?

1 YES   -->L9
5 NO   -->L9
8 DON'T KNOW -->L9

L8bb.

(IF TWO OR MORE ORGANIZATIONS OR DK HOW MANY)

If you average across the past twelve months, about how many hours per week did you spend doing things with or for your organizations?

__ ENTER NUMBER OF HOURS PER WEEK
96 NONE (NO DAYS)
98 DK

L8cc.

(IF TWO OR MORE ORGANIZATIONS OR DK HOW MANY)

Do any of the organizations you belong to ever try to influence government?

1 YES
5 NO
8 DON'T KNOW

L8dd.

(IF TWO OR MORE ORGANIZATIONS OR DK HOW MANY)

Do any of the organizations you belong to ever try to influence schools?

1 YES
5 NO
8 DON'T KNOW

V001502 COMB. HRS
V001503 COMB. INFL GOVT
V001504 COMB. INFL SCHLS

L9.

V001505

Many people are finding it more difficult to make contributions to church or charity as much as they used to.
How about you -- were you able to contribute any money to church or charity in the <u>last 12 months</u>?
1 YES
5 NO
8 DK

L10 – PROTEST

L10.

V001506

Aside from a strike against your employer, in the past twelve months, have you taken part in
a protest, march, or demonstration on some national or local issue?
1 YES
5 NO
8 DK

L10a.

V001507

(IF YES)
About how many times was that - once, two or three times, or four times or more?
1 ONCE
2 TWO OR THREE
4 FOUR TIMES OR MORE
7 CAN'T REMEMBER [VOL]
8 DK

SECTION M

M3 – POSITION OF BLACKS IN SOCIETY

M3.
Please turn to page 6 in the booklet.
Now I'm going to read several statements. After each one, I would like you to tell me how strongly you
agree or disagree. The first statement is:

𝗧 *M3.T*
*Now I'm going to read several statements. After each one, I would like you to tell me how strongly you
agree or disagree. The first statement is:*

M3a.

V001508

𝗧 *M3a.T*
'Irish, Italians, Jewish and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks
should do the same without any special favors.'
Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree
strongly with this statement?

⇒ The focus of this question is whether the respondent agrees that the statement is a reason for why white people seem to get more of the good things in life. Please be sure R understands the frame of reference (especially if you need to probe).

⇒ Some interviewers may find themselves uncomfortable reading some of the statements objectively. Remember that the R is not associating the statement with your personal beliefs.

⇒ Please say Blacks and not African-Americans. Our interest is in tapping people's assessment of black influence speaking broadly. Not all Blacks are from Africa (Jamaicans, Cubans, and many others from the Caribbean)

M3b.   Spec: **469_**   **V001509**

(Still looking at page 6 in the booklet.)

'Over the past few years, blacks have gotten less than they deserve.'

(Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly with this statement?)

☏ *M3b.T*

'Over the past few years, blacks have gotten less than they deserve.'

Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly with this statement?

1 AGREE STRONGLY
2 AGREE SOMEWHAT
3 NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE
4 DISAGREE SOMEWHAT
5 DISAGREE STRONGLY
8 DK

⇒ Please say Blacks and not African-Americans. Our interest is in tapping people's assessment of black influence speaking broadly. Not all Blacks are from Africa (Jamaicans, Cubans, and many others from the Caribbean)

M3c.   Spec: **470_**   **V001510**

(Still looking at page 6 in the booklet.)

'It's really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; if blacks would only try harder they could be just as well off as whites.'

(Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly with this statement?)

☏ *M3c.T*

'It's really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; if blacks would only try harder they could be just as well off as whites.'

(Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly with this statement?)

1 AGREE STRONGLY
2 AGREE SOMEWHAT
3 NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE
4 DISAGREE SOMEWHAT
5 DISAGREE STRONGLY
8 DK

M3d.   Spec: **471_**   **V001511**

(Still looking at page 6 in the booklet.)

'Generations of slavery and discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for blacks to work their way out of the lower class.'

(Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly with this statement?)

T *M3d.T*

'Generations of slavery and discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for blacks to work their way out of the lower class.'

(Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly with this statement?)

1 AGREE STRONGLY
2 AGREE SOMEWHAT
3 NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE
4 DISAGREE SOMEWHAT
5 DISAGREE STRONGLY
8 DK

SECTION N

N1 – POWER OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

N1.   Spec: **488_**   **V001512**

Now I'd like to ask you about your feelings toward the federal government.

Some people are afraid the government in Washington is getting too powerful for the good of the country and the individual person. Others feel that the government in Washington is not getting too strong.

Do you have an opinion on this or not?

1 YES
5 NO   →N2
8 DK   →N2

N1a.   Spec: **489_**   **V001513**

(IF R HAS AN OPINION)

What is your feeling, do you think the government is getting too powerful or do you think the government is not getting too strong?

```
1 GOVERNMENT TOO POWERFUL                          -->SKIP TO N1b
5 GOVERNMENT NOT GETTING TOO STRONG
7 OTHER; DEPENDS (SPECIFY)                          -->SKIP TO N2
8 DK                                                -->SKIP TO N2
```

N1a1.   Spec: **490_**   **V001514**

(IF GOVT NOT GETTING TOO STRONG)

Do you think the government should become more powerful or should it stay the way it is?
```
1 BECOME MORE POWERFUL          -->N1b
5 STAY THE WAY IT IS            -->N2
8 DK                           -->N2
```

N1b.   Spec: **491_**   **V001515**

(IF GOVT TOO POWERFUL IN N1a) OR
(GOVT SHOULD BECOME MORE POWERFUL IN N1a1)

Which party do you think is more likely to favor a powerful government in Washington - the Democrats, the Republicans, or wouldn't there be much difference between them on this?
```
1 DEMOCRATS
3 REPUBLICANS
5 NO DIFFERENCE
8 DON'T KNOW
```

N2– POLITICAL EFFICACY OF THE RESPONDENT

N2.

Please continue looking at page 6 of the booklet. I'd like to read you a few statements about public life.
I'll read them one at a time and please tell me how strongly you agree or disagree with each of them.

T N2.T

I'd like to read you a few statements about public life. I'll read them one at a time. Please tell me how strongly you agree or disagree with each of them.

N2a.   Spec: **499_**   **V001516**

T N2a.T

' I feel that I have a pretty good understanding of the important political issues facing our country. '
Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly with this statement?
```
1 AGREE STRONGLY
2 AGREE SOMEWHAT
3 NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE
4 DISAGREE SOMEWHAT
5 DISAGREE STRONGLY
8 DK
```

N2b.
V001517

(Still looking at page 6 in the booklet.)
' I consider myself well-qualified to participate in politics. '
(Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree
strongly with this statement?)

T *N2b.T*
' I consider myself well-qualified to participate in politics. '
Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree
strongly with this statement?

1 AGREE STRONGLY
2 AGREE SOMEWHAT
3 NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE
4 DISAGREE SOMEWHAT
5 DISAGREE STRONGLY
8 DK

N2c.
V001518

(Still looking at page 6 in the booklet.)
' I feel that I could do as good a job in public office as most other people. '
(Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree
strongly with this statement?)

T *N2c.T*
' I feel that I could do as good a job in public office as most other people. '
(Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree
strongly with this statement?)

1 AGREE STRONGLY
2 AGREE SOMEWHAT
3 NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE
4 DISAGREE SOMEWHAT
5 DISAGREE STRONGLY
8 DK

N2d.
V001519

(Still looking at page 6 in the booklet.)
' I think that I am better informed about politics and government than most people. '
(Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree
strongly with this statement?)

T *N2d.T*
I think that I am better informed about politics and government than most people.
(Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree
strongly with this statement?)

1 AGREE STRONGLY
2 AGREE SOMEWHAT
3 NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE
4 DISAGREE SOMEWHAT
5 DISAGREE STRONGLY
8 DK

N3.

So many other people vote in the national election that it doesn't matter much to me whether I vote or not. (Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly with this statement?

1 AGREE STRONGLY
2 AGREE SOMEWHAT
3 NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE
4 DISAGREE SOMEWHAT
5 DISAGREE STRONGLY
8 DK

Note: this question was added 11/10/2000

SECTION P

P1 – EGALITARIANISM

P1.

(Looking at page 6 of the booklet)

Next, I'd like to ask you about equal rights.

I am going to read several more statements. After each one, I would like you to tell me how strongly you agree or disagree. The first statement is:

𝑻 *P1.T*

I am going to read several statements about equal rights. After each one, I would like you to tell me how strongly you agree or disagree. The first statement is:

P1a.

𝑻 *P1a.T*

' Our society should do whatever is necessary to make sure that everyone has an equal opportunity to succeed. '

Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly with this statement?

1 AGREE STRONGLY
2 AGREE SOMEWHAT
3 NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE
4 DISAGREE SOMEWHAT
5 DISAGREE STRONGLY
8 DK

⇒ This series is designed to elicit R's feelings about egalitarianism (equality among people) in this country.
⇒ Respondents don't seem to have trouble answering these. In fact, the bigger problem is to get them to <u>stop</u> talking. Try to keep R on course here, minimizing digressions. Another problem may be that you'll read a statement and R will say, "Oh, I agree." Probe, "Do you agree strongly or not strongly?" Or, R may say, "Yes, that's right." Probe by repeating all the response options, "Do you agree strongly with the statement, agree somewhat, neither agree nor…"

P1b. Spec: **520_** **V001522**

(Still looking at page 6 in the booklet)

' We have gone too far in pushing equal rights in this country. '

(Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly with this statement?)

𝕋 *P1b.T*

' We have gone too far in pushing equal rights in this country. '

Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly with this statement?

1 AGREE STRONGLY
2 AGREE SOMEWHAT
3 NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE
4 DISAGREE SOMEWHAT
5 DISAGREE STRONGLY
8 DK

⇒ Respondents don't seem to have trouble answering these. In fact, the bigger problem is to get them to <u>stop</u> talking. Try to keep R on course here, minimizing digressions. Another problem may be that you'll read a statement and R will say, "Oh, I agree." Probe, "Do you agree strongly or not strongly?" Or, R may say, "Yes, that's right." Probe by repeating all the response options, "Do you agree strongly with the statement, agree somewhat, neither agree nor…"

P1c. Spec: **521__** **V001523**

(Still looking at page 6 in the booklet)

' One of the big problems in this country is that we don't give everyone an equal chance. '

(Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly with this statement?)

𝕋 *P1c.T*

' One of the big problems in this country is that we don't give everyone an equal chance. '

(Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly with this statement?)

1 AGREE STRONGLY
2 AGREE SOMEWHAT
3 NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE
4 DISAGREE SOMEWHAT
5 DISAGREE STRONGLY
8 DK

⇒ Respondents don't seem to have trouble answering these. In fact, the bigger problem is to get them to <u>stop</u> talking. Try to keep R on course here, minimizing digressions. Another problem may be that you'll read a statement and R will say, "Oh, I agree." Probe, "Do you agree strongly or not strongly?" Or, R may say, "Yes, that's right." Probe by repeating all the response options, "Do you agree strongly with the statement, agree somewhat, neither agree nor…"

P1d. Spec: **522_** **V001524**

(Still looking at page 6 in the booklet)

' This country would be better off if we worried less about how equal people are. '

(Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly with this statement?)

T *P1d.T*

' This country would be better off if we worried less about how equal people are. '
(Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly with this statement?)

1 AGREE STRONGLY
2 AGREE SOMEWHAT
3 NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE
4 DISAGREE SOMEWHAT
5 DISAGREE STRONGLY
8 DK

⇒ Respondents don't seem to have trouble answering these. In fact, the bigger problem is to get them to <u>stop</u> talking. Try to keep R on course here, minimizing digressions. Another problem may be that you'll read a statement and R will say, "Oh, I agree." Probe, "Do you agree strongly or not strongly?" Or, R may say, "Yes, that's right." Probe by repeating all the response options, "Do you agree strongly with the statement, agree somewhat, neither agree nor…"

P1e.   Spec: **523_**   **V001525**

(Still looking at page 6 in the booklet)
' It is not really that big a problem if some people have more of a chance in life than others. '
(Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly with this statement?)

T *P1e.T*

'It is not really that big a problem if some people have more of a chance in life than others.'
(Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly with this statement?)

1 AGREE STRONGLY
2 AGREE SOMEWHAT
3 NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE
4 DISAGREE SOMEWHAT
5 DISAGREE STRONGLY
8 DK

⇒ Respondents don't seem to have trouble answering these. In fact, the bigger problem is to get them to <u>stop</u> talking. Try to keep R on course here, minimizing digressions. Another problem may be that you'll read a statement and R will say, "Oh, I agree." Probe, "Do you agree strongly or not strongly?" Or, R may say, "Yes, that's right." Probe by repeating all the response options, "Do you agree strongly with the statement, agree somewhat, neither agree nor…"

P1f.   Spec: **524__**   **V001526**

(Still looking at page 6 in the booklet)
' If people were treated more equally in this country we would have many fewer problems. '
(Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly with this statement?)

T *P1f.T*

'If people were treated more equally in this country we would have many fewer problems.'
(Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly with this statement?)

⇒ Respondents don't seem to have trouble answering these. In fact, the bigger problem is to get them to <u>stop</u> talking. Try to keep R on course here, minimizing digressions. Another problem may be that you'll read a statement and R will say, "Oh, I agree." Probe, "Do you agree strongly or not strongly?" Or, R may say, "Yes, that's right." Probe by repeating all the response options, "Do you agree strongly with the statement, agree somewhat, neither agree nor…"

SECTION Q

Q1 – EXTERNAL POLITICAL EFFICACY

Q1.
(Again looking at page 6 of the booklet)
Please tell me how much you agree or disagree with these statements about the government. The first is:

𝕋 *Q1.T*
Please tell me how much you agree or disagree with these statements about the government. The first is:

Q1a.   Spec: **548_**   **V001527**
𝕋 *Q1a.T*
' Public officials don't care much what people like me think. '
Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly with this statement?

⇒ These are questions on "personal efficacy".

Q1b.   Spec: **549__**   **V001528**
(Still looking at page 6 in the booklet)
' People like me don't have any say about what the government does. '
(Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly with this statement?)

𝕋 *Q1b.T*
' People like me don't have any say about what the government does. '
Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly with this statement?

Q1c. Spec: **550__** **V001529**

(Still looking at page 6 in the booklet)

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

(Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree
strongly with this statement?)

T *Q1c.T*

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

*(Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree
strongly with this statement?)*

1 AGREE STRONGLY
2 AGREE SOMEWHAT
3 NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE
4 DISAGREE SOMEWHAT
5 DISAGREE STRONGLY
8 DK

<div align="center">

Q2 – MORAL TRADITIONALISM

</div>

Q2.

 (Still on page 6)

Now I am going to read several statements about society in general. After each one, I would like you to tell
me how strongly you agree or disagree. The first statement is...

T *Q2.T*

*Now I am going to read several statements about society in general. After each one, I would like you to
tell me how strongly you agree or disagree. The first statement is...*

Q2a. Spec: **551_** **V001530**

T *Q2a.T*

' The newer lifestyles are contributing to the breakdown of our society. '

*Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree
strongly with this statement?*

1 AGREE STRONGLY
2 AGREE SOMEWHAT
3 NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE
4 DISAGREE SOMEWHAT
5 DISAGREE STRONGLY
8 DK

Q2b.   Spec: **552__**   **V001531**

(Still looking at page 6 in the booklet)

' The world is always changing and we should adjust our view of moral behavior to those changes. '

(Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly with this statement?)

𝕋 *Q2b.T*

' The world is always changing and we should adjust our view of moral behavior to those changes. '

Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly with this statement?

```
1 AGREE STRONGLY
2 AGREE SOMEWHAT
3 NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE
4 DISAGREE SOMEWHAT
5 DISAGREE STRONGLY
8 DK
```

Q2c.   Spec: **553__**   **V001532**

(Still looking at page 6 in the booklet)

' This country would have many fewer problems if there were more emphasis on traditional family ties. '

(Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly with this statement?)

𝕋 *Q2c.T*

' This country would have many fewer problems if there were more emphasis on traditional family ties. '

(Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly with this statement?)

```
1 AGREE STRONGLY
2 AGREE SOMEWHAT
3 NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE
4 DISAGREE SOMEWHAT
5 DISAGREE STRONGLY
8 DK
```

Q2d.   Spec: **554__**   **V001533**

(Still looking at page 6 in the booklet)

' We should be more tolerant of people who choose to live according to their own moral standards, even if they are very different from our own. '

(Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly with this statement?)

𝕋 *Q2d.T*

' We should be more tolerant of people who choose to live according to their own moral standards, even if they are very different from our own. '

(Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly with this statement?)

Q3-Q6 – TRUST IN GOVERNMENT / MASS SUPPORT

Q3.

(Not using the booklet)

People have different ideas about the government in Washington. These ideas don't refer to Democrats or Republicans in particular, but just to the government in general. We want to see how you feel about these ideas. For example:

T *Q3.T*

People have different ideas about the government in Washington. These ideas don't refer to Democrats or Republicans in particular, but just to the government in general. We want to see how you feel about these ideas. For example:

Q3a.   **Spec: 555__**   **V001534**

How much of the time do you think you can trust the government in Washington to do what is right--just about always, most of the time, or only some of the time?

1 JUST ABOUT ALWAYS
2 MOST OF THE TIME
3 ONLY SOME OF THE TIME
4 NEVER [VOL]
8 DK

Q4.   **Spec: 556__**   **V001535**

Do you think that people in government waste a lot of the money we pay in taxes, waste some of it, or don't waste very much of it?

1 WASTE A LOT
3 WASTE SOME
5 DON'T WASTE VERY MUCH
8 DK

Q5.   **Spec: 557__**   **V001536**

Would you say the government is pretty much run by a few big interests looking out for themselves or that it is run for the benefit of all the people?

1 GOV'T RUN BY A FEW BIG INTERESTS
5 GOV'T RUN FOR THE BENEFIT OF ALL
8 DK

Q6.   **Spec: 558__**   **V001537**

Do you think that quite a few of the people running the government are crooked, not very many are, or do you think hardly any of them are crooked?

1 QUITE A FEW ARE CROOKED
3 NOT VERY MANY ARE CROOKED
5 HARDLY ANY ARE CROOKED
8 DK

Q7-Q8 – GOVERNMENT RESPONSIVENESS

Q7.   Spec: **559__**   **V001538**

How much do you feel that having elections makes the government pay attention to what the people think
-- good deal, some, or not much?

1 A GOOD DEAL
3 SOME
5 NOT MUCH
8 DK

Q8.   Spec: **560_**   **V001539**

Over the years, how much attention do you feel the government pays to what people think when it decides
what to do -- a good deal, some, or not much?

1 A GOOD DEAL
3 SOME
5 NOT MUCH
8 DK

SECTION R

R1– GROUPS R FEELS CLOSE TO

R1.
Looking at page 7 of the booklet, here is a list of groups.
Please read over the list and tell me the number of those groups you feel particularly close to -- people who
are most like you in their ideas and interests and feelings about things.

𝕋 *R1.T*
I am going to read a list of groups. For each, please tell me if it is a group you feel particularly close to
– people who are most like you in their ideas and interests and feelings about things.

R1a.   Spec: **579M1**   **V001540**
WHITES

𝕋 *R1a.T*   Spec: **581_1**   **V001540a**
What about whites? Do you feel particularly close to whites?

                                              V001541 COMB. FTF/PH

80

R1b.
POOR PEOPLE
Spec: **579M2**   **V001542**

𝑻 **R1b.T**   Spec: **581_2**   **V001542a**

(What about) *poor people*
(Do you feel particularly close to them?)

V001543 COMB. FTF/PH

R1c
ASIAN AMERICANS
Spec: **579M3**   **V001544**

𝑻 **R1c.T**   Spec: **581_3**   **V001544a**

(What about) *Asian Americans*
(Do you feel particularly close to them?)

V001545 COMB. FTF/PH

R1d.
LIBERALS
Spec: **579M4**   **V001546**

𝑻 **R1d.T**   Spec: **581_4**   **V001546a**

(What about) *liberals*
(Do you feel particularly close to them?)

V001547 COMB. FTF/PH

R1e.
THE ELDERLY
Spec: **579M5**   **V001548**

𝑻 **R1e.T**   Spec: **581_5**   **V001548a**

(What about) *the elderly*
(Do you feel particularly close to them?)

V001549 COMB. FTF/PH

R1f.
BLACKS
Spec: **579M6**   **V001550**

⇒ Please say Blacks and not African-Americans. Our interest is in tapping people's assessment of black influence speaking broadly. Not all Blacks are from Africa (Jamaicans, Cubans, and many others from the Caribbean)

𝑻 **R1f.T**   Spec: **581_6**   **V001550a**

(What about) *blacks*
(Do you feel particularly close to them?)

⇒ Please say Blacks and not African-Americans. Our interest is in tapping people's assessment of black influence speaking broadly. Not all Blacks are from Africa (Jamaicans, Cubans, and many others from the Caribbean)

V001551 COMB. FTF/PH

R1g.
LABOR UNIONS

𝑻 R1g.T

(What about) labor unions
(Do you feel particularly close to them?)

V001552

V001552a

V001553 COMB. FTF/PH

R1h.
FEMINISTS

𝑻 R1h.T

(What about) feminists
(Do you feel particularly close to them?)

V001554

V001554a

V001555 COMB. FTF/PH

R1j.
SOUTHERNERS

𝑻 R1j.T

(What about) southerners
(Do you feel particularly close to them?)

V001556

V001556a

V001557 COMB. FTF/PH

R1k.
BUSINESS PEOPLE

𝑻 R1k.T

(What about) business people
(Do you feel particularly close to them?)

V001558

V001558a

V001559 COMB. FTF/PH

R1m.
YOUNG PEOPLE

𝑻 R1m.T

(What about) young people
(Do you feel particularly close to them?)

V001560

V001560a

V001561 COMB. FTF/PH

R1n.
CONSERVATIVES

𝑻 R1n.T

(What about) conservatives
(Do you feel particularly close to them?)

V001562

V001562a

V001563 COMB. FTF/PH

R1p.
HISPANIC-AMERICANS

Spec: 579M13   **V001564**

𝑻 R1p.T

Spec: 581_13_   **V001564a**

(What about) *Hispanic-Americans*
(Do you feel particularly close to them?)

V001565 COMB. FTF/PH

R1q.
WOMEN

Spec: 579M14   **V001566**

𝑻 R1q.T

Spec: 581_14   **V001566a**

(What about) *women*
(Do you feel particularly close to them?)

V001567 COMB. FTF/PH

R1r.
WORKING-CLASS PEOPLE

Spec: 579M15   **V001568**

𝑻 R1r.T

Spec: 581_15   **V001568a**

(What about) *working-class people*
(Do you feel particularly close to them?)

V001569 COMB. FTF/PH

R1s.
MIDDLE-CLASS PEOPLE

Spec: 579M16   **V001570**

𝑻 R1s.T

Spec: 581_16   **V001570a**

(What about) *middle-class people*
(Do you feel particularly close to them?)

V001571 COMB. FTF/PH

R1t.
MEN

Spec: 579M17   **V001572**

𝑻 R1t.T

Spec: 581_17   **V001572a**

(What about) *men*
(Do you feel particularly close to them?)

1 YES; MENTIONED/MARKED
5 NO; NOT MENTIONED/MARKED
8 DK

V001573 COMB. FTF/PH

R2.

Please turn to page 8 of the booklet.

Now I have some questions about different groups in our society.

I'm going to show you a seven-point scale on which the characteristics of the people in a group can be rated.

In the first statement a score of 1 means that you think almost all of the people in that group tend to be "hard-working." A score of 7 means that you think most people in the group are "lazy." A score of 4 means that you think that most people in the group are not closer to one end or the other, and of course, you may choose any number in between.

1_____2_____3_____4_____5_____6_____7
Hardworking   Lazy

𝗧 R2.T

Now I have some questions about different groups in our society.

Imagine a seven-point scale on which the characteristics of the people in a group can be rated.

In the first question a score of 1 means that you think almost all of the people in that group tend to be "hard-working." A score of 7 means that you think most people in the group are "lazy." A score of 4 means that you think that most people in the group are not closer to one end or the other, and of course, you may choose any number in between.

⇒ TELEPHONE: Telephone version asks people to imagine a seven point scale since R will not have the booklet. Be careful to speak very slowly and repeat the question if respondent seems confused.

R2a.   Where would you rate <u>whites in general </u> on this scale?   **Spec: 592_1**   **V001574**

𝗧 R2a.T

Where would you rate whites in general on a scale of 1 to 7, where 1 indicates hard working, 7 means lazy, and 4 indicates most whites are not closer to one end or the other.

1 HARDWORKNG
2
3
4
5
6
7 LAZY
8 DK

⇒ We ask about whites first because that's the way it's been asked on comparable national surveys, and because it's a common reference point.
⇒ If R objects that these questions are prejudiced or that they promote stereotypes, or if R otherwise questions their purpose, explain, "People have differing images of groups. These questions as about how people perceive various groups in America,"
⇒ If R objects further that the questions are prejudiced, you may add, "The questions can be answered in any way you wish. You can rate groups towards one end or the other and you can rate groups the same or differently."

RANDOMIZE ORDER OF R2/R2.T GROUPS AFTER WHITES.

84

R2b.

Still looking at page 8 of the booklet,
Where would you rate blacks on this scale?

T *R2b.T*

Where would you rate blacks on a scale of 1 to 7?
(where 1 indicates hard working, 7 means lazy, and 4 indicates most blacks are not closer to one end
or the other.)

1 HARDWORKNG
2
3
4
5
6
7 LAZY
8 DK

⇒ If R objects that these questions are prejudiced or that they promote stereotypes, or if R otherwise questions
their purpose, explain, "People have differing images of groups. These questions as about how people perceive
various groups in America,"
⇒ If R objects further that the questions are prejudiced, you may add, "The questions can be answered in any way
you wish. You can rate groups towards one end or the other and you can rate groups the same or differently."
⇒ Please say Blacks and not African-Americans. Our interest is in tapping people's assessment of black influence
speaking broadly. Not all Blacks are from Africa (Jamaicans, Cubans, and many others from the Caribbean)

R2c.

Still looking at page 8 of the booklet,
Where would you rate Hispanic-Americans on this scale?

T *R2c.T*

Where would you rate:
Hispanic Americans on a scale of 1 to 7?
(where 1 indicates hard working, 7 means lazy, and 4 indicates most Hispanic-Americans are not closer
to one end or the other.)

1 HARDWORKNG
2
3
4
5
6
7 LAZY
8 DK

⇒ If R objects that these questions are prejudiced or that they promote stereotypes, or if R otherwise questions
their purpose, explain, "People have differing images of groups. These questions as about how people perceive
various groups in America,"
⇒ If R objects further that the questions are prejudiced, you may add, "The questions can be answered in any way
you wish. You can rate groups towards one end or the other and you can rate groups the same or differently."

R2d.

Still looking at page 8 of the booklet,
Where would you rate Asian-Americans on this scale?

☎ *R2d.T*

Where would you rate Asian-Americans on a scale of 1 to 7? (where 1 indicates hard working, 7 means lazy, and 4 indicates most Asian-Americans are not closer to one end or the other.)

1 HARDWORKNG
2
3
4
5
6
7 LAZY
8 DK

⇒ If R objects that these questions are prejudiced or that they promote stereotypes, or if R otherwise questions their purpose, explain, "People have differing images of groups. These questions as about how people perceive various groups in America,"

⇒ If R objects further that the questions are prejudiced, you may add, "The questions can be answered in any way you wish. You can rate groups towards one end or the other and you can rate groups the same or differently."

R3.

Please turn to page 9 of the booklet.

The next set asks if people in each group tend to be "intelligent" or "unintelligent."

1_____2_____3_____4_____5_____6_____7
Intelligent   Unintelligent

☎ *R3.T*

The next set of questions ask about intelligence.

Again, please imagine a seven-point scale on which the characteristics of the people in a group can be rated. A score of 1 means that you think almost all of the people in that group tend to be "intelligent."
A score of 7 means that you think most people in the group are "unintelligent." A score of 4 means that you think that most people in the group are not closer to one end or the other, and of course, you may choose any number in between.

⇒ TELEPHONE: Telephone version asks people to imagine a seven point scale since R will not have the booklet. Be careful to speak very slowly and repeat the question if respondent seems confused.

R3a.   Spec: **596_1**   **V001578**

Where would you rate <u>whites in general</u> on this scale?

☎ *R3a.T*

Where would you rate whites on a scale of 1 to 7, where 1 indicates intelligent, 7 means unintelligent, and 4 indicates most whites are not closer to one end or the other.

1 INTELLIGENT
2
3
4
5
6
7 UNINTELLIGENT
8 DK

⇒ We ask about whites first because that's the way it's been asked on comparable national surveys, and because it's a common reference point.

⇒ If R objects that these questions are prejudiced or that they promote stereotypes, or if R otherwise questions

their purpose, explain, "People have differing images of groups. These questions as about how people perceive various groups in America,"

⇒ If R objects further that the questions are prejudiced, you may add, "The questions can be answered in any way you wish. You can rate groups towards one end or the other and you can rate groups the same or differently."

RANDOMIZE ORDER OF R3/R3.T GROUPS AFTER WHITES.

R3b.   Spec: **596_2**   **V001579**
Still looking at page 9 of the booklet,
Where would you rate <u>blacks</u> on this scale?

T *R3b.T*
Where would you rate blacks on a scale of 1 to 7? (where 1 indicates intelligent, 7 means unintelligent, and 4 indicates most blacks are not closer to one end or the other.)

1 INTELLIGENT
2
3
4
5
6
7 UNINTELLIGENT
8 DK

⇒ If R objects that these questions are prejudiced or that they promote stereotypes, or if R otherwise questions their purpose, explain, "People have differing images of groups. These questions as about how people perceive various groups in America,"
⇒ If R objects further that the questions are prejudiced, you may add, "The questions can be answered in any way you wish. You can rate groups towards one end or the other and you can rate groups the same or differently."
⇒ Please say Blacks and not African-Americans. Our interest is in tapping people's assessment of black influence speaking broadly. Not all Blacks are from Africa (Jamaicans, Cubans, and many others from the Caribbean)

R3c.   Spec: **596_3**   **V001580**
Still looking at page 9 of the booklet,
Where would you rate <u>Hispanic-Americans</u> on this scale?

T *R3c.T*
Where would you rate Hispanic-Americans on a scale of 1 to 7? (where 1 indicates intelligent, 7 means unintelligent, and 4 indicates most Hispanic-Americans are not closer to one end or the other.)

1 INTELLIGENT
2
3
4
5
6
7 UNINTELLIGENT
8 DK

⇒ If R objects that these questions are prejudiced or that they promote stereotypes, or if R otherwise questions their purpose, explain, "People have differing images of groups. These questions as about how people perceive various groups in America,"
⇒ If R objects further that the questions are prejudiced, you may add, "The questions can be answered in any way you wish. You can rate groups towards one end or the other and you can rate groups the same or differently."

R3d.

Still looking at page 9 of the booklet,
Where would you rate <u>Asian-Americans</u> on this scale?

T *R3d.T*

Where would you rate:
Asian-Americans on a scale of 1 to 7? (where 1 indicates intelligent, 7 means unintelligent, and 4
indicates most Asian-Americans are not closer to one end or the other.)

```
1 INTELLIGENT
2
3
4
5
6
7 UNINTELLIGENT
8 DK
```

⇒ If R objects that these questions are prejudiced or that they promote stereotypes, or if R otherwise questions
their purpose, explain, "People have differing images of groups. These questions as about how people perceive
various groups in America,"
⇒ If R objects further that the questions are prejudiced, you may add, "The questions can be answered in any way
you wish. You can rate groups towards one end or the other and you can rate groups the same or differently."

R4.

Please turn to page 10 of the booklet.
The next set asks if people in each group tend to be "trustworthy" or "untrustworthy."

```
1_____2_____3_____4_____5_____6_____7
Trustworthy                                        Untrustworthy
```

T *R4.T*

Thinking about trustworthiness as a general group characteristic, please imagine a seven point scale
again. A score of 1 means that you think almost all of the people in that group tend to be trustworthy.
A score of 7 means that you think most people in the group are untrustworthy. A score of 4 means
* that you think that most people in the group are not closer to one end or the other, and of course, you*
may choose any number in between.

⇒ TELEPHONE: Telephone version asks people to imagine a seven point scale since R will not have the booklet.
Be careful to speak very slowly and repeat the question if respondent seems confused.

R4a.   Where would you rate <u>whites in general</u> on this scale?

T *R4a.T*

Where would you rate whites on a scale of 1 to 7, where 1 indicates
trustworthy, 7 means untrustworthy, and 4 indicates most whites are not closer to one end or the other.

```
1 TRUSTWORTHY
2
3
4
5
6
7 UNTRUSTWORTHY
8 DK
```

⇒ We ask about whites first because that's the way it's been asked on comparable national surveys, and because

it's a common reference point.

⇒ If R objects that these questions are prejudiced or that they promote stereotypes, or if R otherwise questions their purpose, explain, "People have differing images of groups. These questions as about how people perceive various groups in America,"

⇒ If R object further that the questions are prejudiced, you may add, "The questions can be answered in any way you wish. You can rate groups towards one end or the other and you can rate groups the same or differently."

RANDOMIZE ORDER OF R4/R4.T GROUPS AFTER WHITES.

R4b.   Spec: **600_2_**   **V001583**

(Still looking at page 10 of the booklet),
Where would you rate blacks on this scale?

T *R4b.T*

Where would you rate blacks on a scale of 1 to 7? (where 1 indicates trustworthy, 7 means untrustworthy, and 4 indicates most blacks are not closer to one end or the other.)

1 TRUSTWORTHY
2
3
4
5
6
7 UNTRUSTWORTHY
8 DK

⇒ If R objects that these questions are prejudiced or that they promote stereotypes, or if R otherwise questions their purpose, explain, "People have differing images of groups. These questions as about how people perceive various groups in America,"

⇒ If R objects further that the questions are prejudiced, you may add, "The questions can be answered in any way you wish. You can rate groups towards one end or the other and you can rate groups the same or differently."

⇒ Please say Blacks and not African-Americans. Our interest is in tapping people's assessment of black influence speaking broadly. Not all Blacks are from Africa (Jamaicans, Cubans, and many others from the Caribbean)

R4c.   Spec: **600_3**   **V001584**

(Still looking at page 10 of the booklet),
Where would you rate Hispanic-Americans on this scale?

T *R4c.T*

Where would you rate Hispanic-Americans on a scale of 1 to 7? (where 1 indicates trustworthy, 7 means untrustworthy, and 4 indicates most Hispanic-Americans are not closer to one end or the other.)

1 TRUSTWORTHY
2
3
4
5
6
7 UNTRUSTWORTHY
8 DK

⇒ If R objects that these questions are prejudiced or that they promote stereotypes, or if R otherwise questions their purpose, explain, "People have differing images of groups. These questions as about how people perceive various groups in America,"

⇒ If R objects further that the questions are prejudiced, you may add, "The questions can be answered in any way

R4d.   Spec: **600_4**   **V001585**

(Still looking at page 10 of the booklet),

Where would you rate Asian-Americans on this scale?

T *R4d.T*

Where would you rate Asian-Americans on a scale of 1 to 7? (where 1 indicates trustworthy, 7 means untrustworthy, and 4 indicates most Asian-Americans are not closer to one end or the other.)

1 TRUSTWORTHY
2
3
4
5
6
7 UNTRUSTWORTHY
8 DK

⇒ If R objects that these questions are prejudiced or that they promote stereotypes, or if R otherwise questions their purpose, explain, "People have differing images of groups. These questions as about how people perceive various groups in America,"

⇒ If R objects further that the questions are prejudiced, you may add, "The questions can be answered in any way you wish. You can rate groups towards one end or the other and you can rate groups the same or differently."

R5– QUALITIES TO ENCOURAGE IN CHILDREN

R5.

Although there are a number of qualities that people feel that children should have, every person thinks that some are more important than others. I am going to read you pairs of desirable qualities.

R5a.   Spec: **617_**   **V001586**

Please tell me which one you think is more important for a child to have:

independence or respect for elders

1 INDEPENDENCE
3 BOTH [VOL]
5 RESPECT FOR ELDERS
7. NEITHER [VOL]
8 DK

R5b.   Spec: **618__**   **V001587**

(Please tell me which one you think is more important for a child to have:)

obedience or self-reliance

1 OBEDIENCE
3 BOTH [VOL]
5 SELF-RELIANCE
7. NEITHER [VOL]
8 DK

R5c.

(Please tell me which one you think is more important for a child to have:)
curiosity or good manners

1 CURIOSITY
3 BOTH [VOL]
5 GOOD MANNERS
7. NEITHER [VOL]
8 DK

R5d.

(Please tell me which one you think is more important for a child to have:)
being considerate or well behaved

1 BEING CONSIDERATE
3 BOTH
5 WELL BEHAVED
7. NEITHER [VOL]
8 DK

SECTION S:

S1-S11 - CLINTON LEGACY

S0.

Now we'd like to talk to you about Bill Clinton.

RESPONDENTS ARE RANDOMLY ASSIGNED EITHER TO THE RETROSPECTIVE ASSESSMENTS BATTERY (S1-S11) OR THE AFFECTS AND TRAITS BATTERY (S14-S15). IF R DOES NOT GET SELECTED FOR THE RETROSPECTIVE BATTERY IN THE PRE ELECTION INSTRUMENT (Q1-Q11) THEY SHOULD RECEIVE THIS IN THE POST AND VICE VERSA.

S1.

As you know, Bill Clinton was first elected President in November 1992. He will soon be leaving office after 8 years as President. The next several questions ask whether you think things have changed since Clinton came into office. First, would you say that compared to 1992, the federal budget deficit is now smaller, larger, or about the same?

1 GOTTEN SMALLER
3 GOTTEN LARGER   → SKIP TO S1b
5 STAYED ABOUT THE SAME   → SKIP TO S2
8 DK   → SKIP TO S2

⇒ Respondents are randomly assigned either to the retrospective assessments battery (S1-S11) or the affects and traits battery (S14-S15). If R does not get selected for the retrospective battery in the pre election instrument (Q1-Q11) they should receive this in the post and vice versa.

⇒ This battery of questions asks about their evaluation of the state of affairs in the U.S. and then asks a question specifically assessing Clinton's responsibility for those state of affairs.

S1a.   Spec: **629_**   **V001591**

(IF SMALLER)

(Would you say that the budget deficit is) much smaller or somewhat smaller?

1 MUCH SMALLER	→ SKIP TO S2
5 SOMEWHAT SMALLER	→ SKIP TO S2
8 DK	→ SKIP TO S2

S1b.   Spec: **630_**   **V001591a**

(IF LARGER)

(Would you say that the budget deficit is) much larger or somewhat larger?

1 MUCH LARGER

5 SOMEWHAT LARGER   **V001592 SUMMARY**

8 DK   **V001592a PRE/PO SUMMARY**

S2.   Spec: **631__**   **V001593**

Has federal spending on assistance to the poor been increased, decreased, or has it stayed about the same <u>as in 1992</u>?

1 INCREASED	
3 DECREASED	
5 STAYED ABOUT THE SAME	→ SKIP TO S3
8 DK	→ SKIP TO S3

S2a.   Spec: **632__**   **V001594**

(IF NOT SAME OR DK)

A lot or somewhat?

1 A LOT

5 SOMEWHAT   **V001595 SUMMARY**

8 DK   **V001595a PRE/PO SUMMARY**

S3.   Spec: **634__**   **V001596**

Would you say that <u>compared to 1992</u>, the nation's economy is better, worse, or about the same?

1 BETTER	
3 WORSE	SKIP TO → S3b
5 THE SAME	SKIP TO → S4
8 DK	SKIP TO S4

⇒ We are interested in R's "perceptions" or "feelings" as opposed to knowledge.
⇒ The frame of reference here is the nation.

S3a.   Spec: **635__**   **V001597**

(IF BETTER)

(Would you say) much better or somewhat better?

1 MUCH BETTER	→ SKIP TO S4
5 SOMEWHAT BETTER	→ SKIP TO S4
8 DK	→ SKIP TO S4

S3b.   Spec: **636__**   **V001598**

(IF WORSE)

(Would you say) much worse or somewhat worse?

1 MUCH WORSE

5 SOMEWHAT WORSE   **V001599 SUMMARY**

8 DK   **V001599a PRE/PO SUMMARY**

S4.   Spec: **637__**   **V001600**

Since 1992, would you say President Clinton has made the nation's economy better, made the economy worse, or had no effect on the economy one way or the other?

1 MADE THE ECONOMY BETTER	
3 MADE THE ECONOMY WORSE	SKIP TO → S4b
5 NO EFFECT	SKIP TO → S5
8 DK	SKIP TO → S5

    S4a.   Spec: **638_**   **V001601**

    (IF BETTER)

    Much better or somewhat better?

1 MUCH BETTER	SKIP TO S5
5 SOMEWHAT BETTER	SKIP TO S5
8 DK	SKIP TO S5

    S4b.   Spec: **639_**   **V001602**

    (IF WORSE)

    Much worse or somewhat worse?

1 MUCH WORSE	
5 SOMEWHAT WORSE	

                                                    V001603 SUMMARY

    8 DK   **V001603a PRE/PO SUMMARY**

S5.   Spec: **640_**   **V001604**

Have you personally been helped or have you been hurt economically by the Clinton Administration, or hasn't it affected you one way or the other?

1 HELPED
3 HURT
5 NOT AFFECTED
8 DK

S6.   Spec: **641__**   **V001605**

Would you say that compared to 1992, the United States is more secure from its foreign enemies, less secure, or hasn't this changed very much?

1 MORE SECURE	
3 LESS SECURE	SKIP TO → S6b
5 NO CHANGE	SKIP TO → S7
8 DK	SKIP TO ->S7

    S6a.   Spec: **642__**   **V001606**

    (IF MORE SECURE)

    (Would you say) much more secure or somewhat more secure?

1 MUCH MORE SECURE	→ SKIP TO S7
5 SOMEWHAT MORE SECURE	→ SKIP TO S7
8 DK	→ SKIP TO S7

    S6b.   Spec: **643__**   **V001607**

    (IF LESS SECURE)

    (Would you say) much less secure or somewhat less secure?

1 MUCH LESS SECURE
5 SOMEWHAT LESS SECURE

                                                    V001608 SUMMARY

    8 DK   **V001608a PRE/PO SUMMARY**

S7.

Spec: **644__**   V001609

Would you say that the Clinton administration has made the United States more secure from its foreign enemies, less secure, or hasn't it made much difference either way?

```
1 MORE SECURE
3 LESS SECURE        SKIP TO → S7b
5 NO CHANGE          SKIP TO → S8
8 DK                 SKIP TO S8
```

S7a.

Spec: **645**   V001610

(IF MORE SECURE)

Much more secure or somewhat more secure?

```
1 MUCH MORE SECURE        → SKIP TO S8
5 SOMEWHAT MORE SECURE    → SKIP TO S8
8 DK                      → SKIP TO S8
```

S7b.

Spec: **646__**   V001611

(IF LESS SECURE)

Much less secure or somewhat less secure?

```
1 MUCH LESSSECURE

5 SOMEWHAT LESS SECURE

8 DK
```

V001612 SUMMARY
V001612a PRE/PO SUMMARY

S8.

Spec: **647__**   V001613

Would you say that compared to 1992 the nation's crime rate has gotten better, gotten worse, or stayed about the same?

```
1 BETTER
3 WORSE              SKIP TO → S8b
5 THE SAME           SKIP TO → S9
8 DK                 SKIP TO → S9
```

S8a.

Spec: **648_**   V001614

(IF BETTER)

(Would you say) much better or somewhat better?

```
1 MUCH BETTER            → SKIP TO S9
5 SOMEWHAT BETTER        → SKIP TO S9
8 DK                     → SKIP TO S9
```

S8b.

Spec: **649__**   V001615

(IF WORSE)

(Would you say) much worse or somewhat worse?

```
1 MUCH WORSE

5 SOMEWHAT WORSE

8 DK
```

V001616 SUMMARY
V001616a PRE/PO SUMMARY

S9.

Spec: **650_**   V001617

Would you say that the Clinton administration has made the nation's crime rate better, worse, or hasn't it made much difference either way?

```
1 BETTER
3 WORSE              SKIP TO → S9b
5 NO DIFFERENCE      SKIP TO → S10
8 DK                 SKIP TO S10
```

S9a.   Spec: **651_**   **V001618**
(IF BETTER)
Much better or somewhat better?
1 MUCH BETTER   →SKIP TO S10
5 SOMEWHAT BETTER   →SKIP TO S10
8 DK   →SKIP TO S10

S9b.   Spec: **652__**   **V001619**
(IF WORSE)
Much worse or somewhat worse?
1 MUCH WORSE

5 SOMEWHAT WORSE   **V001620 SUMMARY**
8 DK   **V001620a PRE/PO SUMMARY**

S10.   Spec: **653_**   **V001621**
Would you say that <u>compared to 1992,</u> the nation's moral climate has gotten better, stayed about the same,
or gotten worse?
1 BETTER
3 WORSE   SKIP TO →S10b
5 THE SAME   SKIP TO →S11
8 DK   SKIP TO S11

  S10a.   Spec: **654__**   **V001622**
  (IF BETTER)
  (Would you say) much better or somewhat better?
  1 MUCH BETTER   →SKIP TO S11
  5 SOMEWHAT BETTER   →SKIP TO S11
  8 DK   →SKIP TO S11

  S10b.   Spec: **655__**   **V001623**
  (IF WORSE)
  (Would you say) much worse or somewhat worse?
  1 MUCH WORSE

  5 SOMEWHAT WORSE   **V001624 SUMMARY**
  8 DK   **V001624a PRE/PO SUMMARY**

S11.   Spec: **656_**   **V001625**
Has the <u>Clinton administration</u> made the nation's moral climate better, worse, or hasn't it made
much difference either way?
1 BETTER
3 WORSE   SKIP TO →S11b
5 NO DIFFERENCE   SKIP TO →S14
8 DK   SKIP TO S14

  S11a.   Spec: **657_**   **V001626**
  (IF BETTER)
  Much better or somewhat better?
  1 MUCH BETTER   →SKIP TO S14
  5 SOMEWHAT BETTER   →SKIP TO S14
  8 DK   →SKIP TO S14

95

S11b.
(IF WORSE)
Much worse or somewhat worse?
1 MUCH WORSE
5 SOMEWHAT WORSE
8 DK

Spec: **658__**   **V001627**

V001628 SUMMARY
V001628a PRE/PO SUMMARY

| **S14 - CLINTON AFFECTS** |

CLINTON AFFECTS ARE ASKED IN RANDOM ORDER.

S14.
Has Bill Clinton -- because of the kind of person he is, or because of something he has done -- ever made you feel:
⇒ Clinton affects are asked in random order.
⇒ These questions on feelings toward the president are complemented by another set of questions of somewhat similar layout in S15, tapping perceived candidate qualities. These questions measure in depth people's evaluations of individuals who aspire to political leadership. Respondents tend to enjoy them.

S14a.
Angry
1 YES
5 NO   SKIP→ to next affect
8 DK   SKIP→ to next affect

Spec: **665_1__**   **V001629**
V001629a COMB. PRE/PO

S14a1.
(IF YES)
How often would you say you've felt angry -- very often, fairly often, occasionally, or rarely?
1 VERY OFTEN
2 FAIRLY OFTEN
3 OCCASIONALLY
4 RARELY
8 DK

Spec: **666_1**   **V001630**
V001630a COMB. PRE/PO

S14b.
Hopeful
1 YES
5 NO   SKIP→ to next affect
8 DK   SKIP→ to next affect

Spec: **665_2__**   **V001631**
V001631a COMB. PRE/PO

S14b1.
(IF YES)
How often would you say you've felt hopeful -- very often, fairly often, occasionally, or rarely?
1 VERY OFTEN
2 FAIRLY OFTEN
3 OCCASIONALLY
4 RARELY
8 DK

Spec: **666_2**   **V001632**
V001632a COMB. PRE/PO

S14c.

Afraid

1 YES
5 NO   SKIP→ to next affect
8 DK   SKIP→ to next affect

S14c1.
(IF YES)

How often would you say you've felt afraid -- very often, fairly often, occasionally, or rarely?

1 VERY OFTEN
2 FAIRLY OFTEN
3 OCCASIONALLY
4 RARELY
8 DK

S14d.

Proud

1 YES
5 NO   SKIP→ to next affect
8 DK   SKIP→ to next affect

S14d1.
(IF YES)

How often would you say you've felt proud -- very often, fairly often, occasionally, or rarely?

1 VERY OFTEN
2 FAIRLY OFTEN
3 OCCASIONALLY
4 RARELY
8 DK

Q15 - CLINTON TRAITS

CLINTON TRAITS ARE ASKED IN RANDOM ORDER.

S15.

Please look at page 11 of the booklet.

In your opinion, does the phrase 'he (is) <trait>?' describe Bill Clinton extremely well, quite well, not too well,

or not well at all? [DO NOT PROBE "DK"] *[NOTE: this wording used for 1st trait only]*

T *S15.T*

I am going to read a list of words and phrases people may use to describe Bill Clinton. For each, tell
me whether the word or phrase describes him extremely well, quite well, not too well, or not well at all.

⇒ Clinton traits are asked in random order.
⇒ In this section we are asking R to evaluate the President according to a list of qualities that reflect aspects of
political leadership.

S15a.
Spec: 673_1__ **V001637**
(What about) He (is) **V001637a**
MORAL
(Does this phrase describe Bill Clinton <u>extremely well</u>, <u>quite well, not too well</u>, or <u>not well at all</u>?)

1 EXTREMELY WELL
2 QUITE WELL
3 NOT TOO WELL
4 NOT WELL AT ALL
8 DK

S15b.
Spec: 673_2__ **V001638**
(What about) He (is) **V001638a**
REALLY CARES ABOUT PEOPLE LIKE YOU
(Does this phrase describe Bill Clinton <u>extremely well</u>, <u>quite well</u>, <u>not too well</u>, or <u>not well at all</u>?)

1 EXTREMELY WELL
2 QUITE WELL
3 NOT TOO WELL
4 NOT WELL AT ALL
8 DK

S15c.
Spec: 673_3_ **V001639**
(What about) He (is) **V001639a**
KNOWLEDGEABLE
(Does this phrase describe Bill Clinton <u>extremely well</u>, <u>quite well</u>, <u>not too well</u>, or not <u>well at all</u>?)

1 EXTREMELY WELL
2 QUITE WELL
3 NOT TOO WELL
4 NOT WELL AT ALL
8 DK

S15d.
Spec: 673_4 **V001640**
(What about) He (is) **V001640a**
PROVIDES STRONG LEADERSHIP
(Does this phrase describe Bill Clinton <u>extremely well</u>, <u>quite well</u>, <u>not too well</u>, or <u>not well at all</u>?)

1 EXTREMELY WELL
2 QUITE WELL
3 NOT TOO WELL
4 NOT WELL AT ALL
8 DK

S15e.

(What about) He (is)

DISHONEST

(Does this phrase describe Bill Clinton <u>extremely well</u>, <u>quite well</u>, <u>not too well</u>, or <u>not well at all</u>?)

1 EXTREMELY WELL
2 QUITE WELL
3 NOT TOO WELL
4 NOT WELL AT ALL
8 DK

⇒ If you need to, you may remind R (by rereading the stem and stressing your) that we are interested in his/her opinion and not what others might think.

S15f.

(What about) He (is)

INTELLIGENT

(Does this phrase describe Bill Clinton <u>extremely well</u>, <u>quite well</u>, <u>not too well</u>, or <u>not well at all</u>?)

1 EXTREMELY WELL
2 QUITE WELL
3 NOT TOO WELL
4 NOT WELL AT ALL
8 DK

⇒ If you need to, you may remind R (by rereading the stem and stressing your) that we are interested in his/her opinion and not what others might think.

S15g.

(What about) He (is)

OUT OF TOUCH WITH ORDINARY PEOPLE

(Does this phrase describe Bill Clinton <u>extremely well</u>, <u>quite well</u>, <u>not too well</u>, or <u>not well at all</u>?)

1 EXTREMELY WELL
2 QUITE WELL
3 NOT TOO WELL
4 NOT WELL AT ALL
8 DK

⇒ If you need to, you may remind R (by rereading the stem and stressing your) that we are interested in his/her opinion and not what others might think.

SECTION T

T1-T5 – CAMPAIGN MEDIA EXPOSURE

T1.

Did you watch a televised presidential debate between Al Gore and George W. Bush?

1 YES, WATCHED   -->SKIP TO T1a
5 NO, DIDN'T WATCH   -->SKIP TO T2
8 DK   -->SKIP TO T2

T1a.

(IF YES)

Did you watch an entire debate or just part of it?

1 WATCHED ENTIRE DEBATE
5 JUST PART OF IT
8 DK

T2.

Did you listen to any speeches or discussions about the campaign on the radio?

1 YES   -->SKIP TO T2a
5 NO   -->SKIP TO T3
8 DK   -->SKIP TO T3

T2a.

(IF YES)

Would you say you listened to a good many, several, or just one or two?

1 A GOOD MANY
3 SEVERAL
5 JUST ONE OR TWO
8 DK

T3.

Looking at page 12 in the booklet:

In general, how much attention did you pay to news about the campaign for President -- a great deal, quite
a bit, some, very little, or none?

T *T3.T*

***In general, how much attention did you pay to news about the campaign for President -- a great deal, quite
a bit, some, very little, or none?***

1 A GREAT DEAL
2 QUITE A BIT
3 SOME
4 VERY LITTLE
5 NONE

T4.

 (Still on page 12 in the booklet)

In general, how much attention did you pay to news about the campaigns for election to Congress -- that is,
the House of Representatives in Washington -- a great deal, quite a bit, some, very little, or none?

T *T4.T*

***In general, how much attention did you pay to news about the campaigns for election to Congress -- that is,
the House of Representatives in Washington -- a great deal, quite a bit, some, very little, or none?***

1 A GREAT DEAL
2 QUITE A BIT
3 SOME
4 VERY LITTLE
5 NONE
8 DK

T5.   Spec: **684__**   **V001650**

Looking at page 13 of the booklet:

Here is a question about political parties.

Which of the following outcomes regarding political parties best represents what you would like to
see happen? You can just tell me the number of the outcome you choose.

T *T5.T*

Which one of the following outcomes regarding political parties best represents what you would
like to see happen?
One, a continuation of the two party system of Democrats and Republicans.
Two, elections in which candidates run as individuals without party labels or
Three, the growth of one or more parties that could effectively challenge the Democrats and Republicans?

1. ...A CONTINUATION OF THE TWO PARTY SYSTEM OF DEMOCRATS AND REPUBLICANS?
2. ...ELECTIONS IN WHICH CANDIDATES RUN AS INDIVIDUALS WITHOUT PARTY LABELS?
3. ...THE GROWTH OF ONE OR MORE PARTIES THAT COULD EFFECTIVELY CHALLENGE THE
    DEMOCRATS AND REPUBLICANS?
8 DK

T6   Spec: **685__**   **V001651**

On the whole, are you satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied, or not at all satisfied with the way
democracy works in the United States?

1 SATISFIED
2 FAIRLY SATISFIED
3 NOT VERY SATISFIED
4 NOT AT ALL SATISFIED
8 DK   *Note: this question was added 11/10/2000*

SECTION V

V1.   Spec: **698_**   **V001652**

As you will remember, former President George Bush (George W. Bush's father) was elected in
November 1988. The next several questions ask you to think about his four years as President.
Would you say President Bush made the nation's economy better, made the economy worse,
or had no effect on the economy one way or the other?

101

⇒ This battery of questions asks about their evaluation of the state of affairs in the U.S. when Bush Sr. was Prez and then asks questions specifically assessing Bush's responsibility for those state of affairs.

⇒ Younger voters are quite likely not to have an opinion about George W. Bush simply because they don't remember him. Please remember Clinton has been in office almost eight years now. Use Code 7.

V1a.   Spec: **699__**   **V001653**

(IF BETTER)

Much better or somewhat better?

1 MUCH BETTER	SKIP TO V2
5 SOMEWHAT BETTER	SKIP TO V2
8 DK	SKIP TO V2

V1b.   Spec: **700__**   **V001654**

(IF WORSE)

Much worse or somewhat worse?

1 MUCH WORSE
5 SOMEWHAT WORSE

8 DK   **V001655 SUMMARY**

V2.   Spec: **701_**   **V001656**

Would you say that the Bush administration made the United States more secure from its foreign enemies, less secure, or didn't it make much difference either way?

1 MORE SECURE
3 LESS SECURE   SKIP TO → V2b
5 NO DIFFERENCE   SKIP TO → V3
8 DK   SKIP TO ->V3

V2a.   Spec: **702_**   **V001657**

(IF MORE SECURE)

Much more secure or somewhat more secure?

1 MUCH MORE SECURE   → SKIP TO V3
5 SOMEWHAT MORE SECURE → SKIP TO V3
8 DK   → SKIP TO V3

V2b.   Spec: **703__**   **V001658**

(IF LESS SECURE)

Much less secure or somewhat less secure?

1 MUCH LESS SECURE
5 SOMEWHAT LESS SECURE

8 DK   **V001659 SUMMARY**

V3.   Spec: **704_**   **V001660**

Would you say that the Bush administration made the nation's crime rate better, worse, or didn't it make much difference either way?

V3a.   Spec: **705_**   **V001661**

(IF BETTER)

Much better or somewhat better?

V3b.   Spec: **706__**   **V001662**

(IF WORSE)

Much worse or somewhat worse?
                                                                          V001663 SUMMARY

V4.   Spec: **707_**   **V001664**

Did the Bush administration make the nation's moral climate better, worse, or didn't it make much difference either way?

V4a.   Spec: **708_**   **V001665**

(IF BETTER)

Much better or somewhat better?

V4b.   Spec: **709__**   **V001666**

(IF WORSE)

Much worse or somewhat worse?
                                                                          V001667 SUMMARY

V5 – TRAITS – FORMER PRESIDENT BUSH

BUSH TRAITS ARE ASKED IN RANDOM ORDER.

V5.

Please look at page 11 of the booklet.

I am going to read a list of words and phrases people may use to describe former President George Bush.

For each, please tell me how well the word or phrase describes him. [DO NOT PROBE "DK"]

(FIRST TRAIT:) In your opinion, does the phrase 'he (is) <trait>?' describe former President George

Bush extremely well, quite well, not too well, or not well at all? [DO NOT PROBE "DK"]

T *V5.T*

I am going to read a list of words and phrases people may use to describe former President George Bush.

For each, please tell me how well the word or phrase describes him. [DO NOT PROBE "DK"]

(FIRST TRAIT:) In your opinion, does the phrase 'he (is) <trait>?' describe former President George

Bush *extremely well*, *quite well*, *not too well*, ***or*** *not well at all*? ***[DO NOT PROBE "DK"]***

⇒ Bush traits are asked in random order.

⇒ In this section we are asking R to evaluate former President Bush according to a list of qualities that reflect aspects of political leadership.

V5a.   Spec: **713_1**   **V001668**

(What about) He (is)

MORAL

(Does this phrase describe former President George Bush extremely well, quite well, not too well, or not well at all?)

1 EXTREMELY WELL
2 QUITE WELL
3 NOT TOO WELL
4 NOT WELL AT ALL
8 DK

⇒ If respondents say they don't know or can't decide, pause to let them think about it. If they don't change their response, accept the "don't know" or "can't decide," and move on.

⇒ If you need to, you may remind R (by rereading the stem and stressing "your") that we are interested in his/her opinion and not what others might think.

V5b.   Spec: **713_2**   **V001669**

(What about) He (is)

REALLY CARES ABOUT PEOPLE LIKE YOU

(Does this phrase describe former President George Bush extremely well, quite well, not too well, or not well at all?)

1 EXTREMELY WELL
2 QUITE WELL
3 NOT TOO WELL
4 NOT WELL AT ALL
8 DK

⇒ If respondents say they don't know or can't decide, pause to let them think about it. If they don't change their response, accept the "don't know" or "can't decide," and move on.

⇒ If you need to, you may remind R (by rereading the stem and stressing "your") that we are interested in his/her opinion and not what others might think.

V5c.

(What about) He (is)

KNOWLEDGEABLE

(Does this phrase describe former President George Bush extremely well, quite well, not too well, or not well at all?)

1 EXTREMELY WELL
2 QUITE WELL
3 NOT TOO WELL
4 NOT WELL AT ALL
8 DK

⇒ If respondents say they don't know or can't decide, pause to let them think about it. If they don't change their response, accept the "don't know" or "can't decide," and move on.
⇒ If you need to, you may remind R (by rereading the stem and stressing "your") that we are interested in his/her opinion and not what others might think.

V5d.

(What about) He (is)

PROVIDES STRONG LEADERSHIP

(Does this phrase describe former President George Bush extremely well, quite well, not too well, or not well at all?)

1 EXTREMELY WELL
2 QUITE WELL
3 NOT TOO WELL
4 NOT WELL AT ALL
8 DK

⇒ If respondents say they don't know or can't decide, pause to let them think about it. If they don't change their response, accept the "don't know" or "can't decide," and move on.
⇒ If you need to, you may remind R (by rereading the stem and stressing "your") that we are interested in his/her opinion and not what others might think.

V5e.

(What about) He (is)

DISHONEST

(Does this phrase describe former President George Bush extremely well, quite well, not too well, or not well at all?)

1 EXTREMELY WELL
2 QUITE WELL
3 NOT TOO WELL
4 NOT WELL AT ALL
8 DK

⇒ If respondents say they don't know or can't decide, pause to let them think about it. If they don't change their response, accept the "don't know" or "can't decide," and move on.
⇒ If you need to, you may remind R (by rereading the stem and stressing "your") that we are interested in his/her opinion and not what others might think.

V5f.

(What about) He (is)

INTELLIGENT

(Does this phrase describe former President George Bush extremely well, quite well, not too well, or not well at all?)

1 EXTREMELY WELL
2 QUITE WELL
3 NOT TOO WELL
4 NOT WELL AT ALL
8 DK

⇒ If respondents say they don't know or can't decide, pause to let them think about it. If they don't change their response, accept the "don't know" or "can't decide," and move on.

⇒ If you need to, you may remind R (by rereading the stem and stressing "your") that we are interested in his/her opinion and not what others might think.

V5g.   Spec: **713_7_**   **V001674**
(What about) He (is)
OUT OF TOUCH WITH ORDINARY PEOPLE
(Does this phrase describe former President George Bush extremely well, quite well, not too well, or not

well at all?)

1 EXTREMELY WELL
2 QUITE WELL
3 NOT TOO WELL
4 NOT WELL AT ALL
8 DK

⇒ If respondents say they don't know or can't decide, pause to let them think about it. If they don't change their response, accept the "don't know" or "can't decide," and move on.

⇒ If you need to, you may remind R (by rereading the stem and stressing "your") that we are interested in his/her opinion and not what others might think.

SECTION Y

Y5-Y17 – CHARACTERISTICS OF WORK COLLEAGUES

Y4. Now, on another topic....

Y5.   Spec: **728__**   **V001675**
Are you currently working?

1 YES   --> Y7
5 NO
8 DK

Y6.   Spec: **729M1-M3**   **V001676a,b,c**
(IF NOT CURRENTLY WORKING):
Please look at page 14 of the booklet.
We'd like to know if you are temporarily laid off, or are you unemployed, retired, permanently
disabled, a homemaker, a student, or what?

1 TEMPORARILY LAID OFF   -->SKIP TO Y10 IF TLO ONLY
2 UNEMPLOYED   -->SKIP TO Z1 IF UNEMPLOYED ONLY
3 RETIRED   -->SKIP TO Y15 IF RETIRED ONLY
4 PERMANENTLY DISABLED   -->SKIP TO Z1 IF DISABLED ONLY
5 HOMEMAKER   -->SKIP TO Z1 IF HOMEMAKER ONLY
6 STUDENT   -->SKIP TO Z1 IF STUDENT ONLY
[MULTIPLE MENTIONS; IF TLO AND RETIRED, GO TO Y10; IF RETIRED AND ANY OTHER COMBINATION(S)
EXCEPT TLO GO TO Y15; COMBINATIONS NOT INCLUDING RETIRED OR TLO SKIP TO Z1]

106

Y7.   Spec: **730_**   **V001677**

(IF CURRENTLY WORKING)

On the whole, how satisfied are you with the work you do? Would you say you are very satisfied,

somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied?

1 VERY SATISFIED
2 SOMEWHAT SATISFIED
3 SOMEWHAT DISSATISFIED
4 VERY DISSATISFIED
8 DK

Y7a.   Spec: **731_**   **V001678**

(IF CURRENTLY WORKING)

In your current position, do you spend time during the day with other people or are you pretty much

by yourself?

1 WITH OTHER PEOPLE
5 OR BY YOURSELF
8 DON'T KNOW

Y8.   Spec: **734__**   **V001679**

(IF CURRENTLY WORKING)

I'm going to ask you a few questions about the people you regularly see at work.

In general, with these people in mind, would you say that they are just looking out for

themselves all of the time, most of the time, some of the time, hardly ever, or never?

1 ALL OF THE TIME
2 MOST OF THE TIME
3 SOME OF THE TIME
4 HARDLY EVER
5 OR NEVER
7 R INSISTS [VOL]: NOT APPROPRIATE TO WORK SITUATION --->Z1
8 DON'T KNOW

Y8a.   Spec: **735__**   **V001680**

(IF CURRENTLY WORKING)

Would you say those people you see regularly at work try to take advantage of others all of the time,

most of the time, some of the time, hardly ever, or never?

1 ALL OF THE TIME
2 MOST OF THE TIME
3 SOME OF THE TIME
4 HARDLY EVER
5 OR NEVER
8 DON'T KNOW

Y8b.

(IF CURRENTLY WORKING)

(Again, thinking about those people you see regularly at work) Would you say that they treat others with respect all of the time, most of the time, some of the time, hardly ever, or never?

```
1  ALL OF THE TIME
2  MOST OF THE TIME
3  SOME OF THE TIME
4  HARDLY EVER
5  OR NEVER
8  DON'T KNOW
```

Y8c.

(IF CURRENTLY WORKING)

Would you say that honest describes the people you work with extremely well, quite well, not too well, or not well at all?

```
1  EXTREMELY WELL        -->Z1
2  QUITE WELL            -->Z1
3  NOT TOO WELL          -->Z1
4  OR NOT WELL AT ALL    -->Z1
8  DON'T KNOW            -->Z1
```

Y8d.

(IF CURRENTLY WORKING)

Thinking about the diversity of your workplace, are the people who work where you work all White, mostly white, about half and half, mostly Black, or all Black?

```
1  ALL WHITE
2  MOSTLY WHITE
3  ABOUT HALF AND HALF
4  MOSTLY BLACK
5  ALL BLACK
7  R VOLUNTEERS:  OTHER (SPECIFY)
8  DON'T KNOW
```

Temporarily Laid Off series Y10-Y11

Y10.

(IF TEMPORARILY LAID OFF)

When you are working, do you spend time during the day with other people or are you pretty much by yourself?

```
1  WITH OTHER PEOPLE
5  OR BY YOURSELF
8  DON'T KNOW
```

⇒ Temporarily Laid Off series Y10-Y11

Y11.

(IF TEMPORARILY LAID OFF)

I'm going to ask you a few questions about the people you regularly see at work.
In general, with these people in mind, would you say that they are just looking out for themselves all of the time, most of the time, some of the time, hardly ever, or never?

```
1  ALL OF THE TIME
2  MOST OF THE TIME
3  SOME OF THE TIME
4  HARDLY EVER
5  OR NEVER
7  R INSISTS [VOL]: WAS NOT APPROPRIATE TO WORK SITUATION  --->Z1
8  DON'T KNOW
```

Y11a.

(IF TEMPORARILY LAID OFF)

Would you say those people you see regularly at work try to take advantage of others all of the time, most of the time, some of the time, hardly ever, or never?

```
1  ALL OF THE TIME
2  MOST OF THE TIME
3  SOME OF THE TIME
4  HARDLY EVER
5  OR NEVER
8  DON'T KNOW
```

Y11b.

(IF TEMPORARILY LAID OFF)

(Again, thinking about those people you see regularly at work) Would you say that they treat others with respect all of the time, most of the time, some of the time, hardly ever, or never?

```
1  ALL OF THE TIME
2  MOST OF THE TIME
3  SOME OF THE TIME
4  HARDLY EVER
5  OR NEVER
8  DON'T KNOW
```

Y11c.

(IF TEMPORARILY LAID OFF)

Would you say that honest describes the people you work with extremely well, quite well, not too well, or not well at all?

```
1  EXTREMELY WELL        -->Z1
2  QUITE WELL            -->Z1
3  NOT TOO WELL          -->Z1
4  OR NOT WELL AT ALL    -->Z1
8  DON'T KNOW            -->Z1
```

Retired series Y15-Y17

Y15.
(IF RETIRED)
Thinking about your last job, did you spend time during the day with other people or were you pretty much by yourself?
1 WITH OTHER PEOPLE
 5 OR BY YOURSELF
 8 DON'T KNOW
⇒ Retired series Y15-Y17

Y16.
(IF RETIRED)
For these next few questions please continue thinking about your last job. I'm going to ask you about v the people you saw regularly at work. In general, with these people in mind, would you say that they were just looking out for themselves all of the time, most of the time, some of the time, hardly ever, or never?
1 ALL OF THE TIME
2 MOST OF THE TIME
3 SOME OF THE TIME
4 HARDLY EVER
5 OR NEVER
7 R INSISTS [VOL]: WAS NOT APPROPRIATE TO WORK SITUATION --->Z1
8 DON'T KNOW

Y16a.
(IF RETIRED)
Would you say those people you saw regularly at work tried to take advantage of others all of the time, most of the time, some of the time, hardly ever, or never?
1 ALL OF THE TIME
2 MOST OF THE TIME
3 SOME OF THE TIME
4 HARDLY EVER
5 OR NEVER
8 DON'T KNOW

Y16b.
(IF RETIRED)
(Again, thinking about those people you saw regularly at work) Would you say that they treated others with respect all of the time, most of the time, some of the time, hardly ever, or never?
1 ALL OF THE TIME
2 MOST OF THE TIME
3 SOME OF THE TIME
4 HARDLY EVER
5 OR NEVER
8 DON'T KNOW

Y16c.

(IF RETIRED)

Would you say that honest described the people you worked with extremely well, quite well, not too well, or not well at all?

```
1 EXTREMELY WELL
2 QUITE WELL
3 NOT TOO WELL
4 OR NOT WELL AT ALL
8 DON'T KNOW
```

<div align="right">

V001694 COMB. -WK BY SELF
V001695 COMB.- LOOK OUT
V001696 COMB.-TAKE ADV
V001697 COMB.-TREAT OTH
V001698 COMB.-HONEST

</div>

SECTION Z

Z1-Z24 – POLITICAL DISCUSSION IN SOCIAL NETWORK

Z1.   Spec: **768__**   **V001699**

Now let's shift our attention to another area.

From time to time, people discuss government, elections and politics with other people. I'd like to ask you about the people with whom you discuss these matters. These people might or might not be relatives.

Can you think of anyone?

```
1 YES
5 NO       -->Z25
8 DK       -->Z25
```

⇒ We don't need actual names of friends or relatives. Be very sensitive to the fact that R may be worried about your and/or our intention for wanting these names. Names are not important. They can give us nicknames or initials.

⇒ We are interested in the networks in which R discusses politics, primarily where those conversations go on, the gender of those they engage in these talks with, and their perception of what their friends know about politics.

Z2.   Spec: **769__**

(IF YES TO Z1)

What is this person's first name? (All I need is a first name.)

_____*OPENEND*_____ NAME 1

⇒ We don't need actual names of friends or relatives. Be very sensitive to the fact that R may be worried about your and/or our intention for wanting these names. Names are not important. They can give us nicknames or initials.

Z3.   Spec: **770__**   **V001700**

Is there anyone else you talk with about these matters?

```
1 YES
5 NO     -->Z9
8 DK     -->Z9
```

Z4.   Spec: **771__**

(IF YES TO Z3)

What is this person's first name? (All I need is a first name.)

_____*OPENEND*_____ NAME 2

⇒ We don't need actual names of friends or relatives. Be very sensitive to the fact that R may be worried about your and/or our intention for wanting these names. Names are not important. They can give us nicknames or initials.

Z5.   Spec: **772**__   **V001701**

Is there anyone else (you talk with about these matters)?

1 YES
5 NO   -->Z9
8 DK   -->Z9

Z6.   Spec: **773_**

(IF YES TO Z5)

What is this person's first name? (All I need is a first name.)

_____*OPENEND*_____ NAME 3

⇒ We don't need actual names of friends or relatives. Be very sensitive to the fact that R may be worried about your and/or our intention for wanting these names. Names are not important. They can give us nicknames or initials.

Z7.   Spec: **774**__   **V001702**

Is there anyone else (you talk with about these matters) ?

1 YES
5 NO   -->Z9
8 DK   -->Z9

Z8.   Spec: **775**__

(IF YES TO Z7)

What is this person's first name? (All I need is a first name.)

_____*OPENEND*_____ NAME 4

⇒ We don't need actual names of friends or relatives. Be very sensitive to the fact that R may be worried about your and/or our intention for wanting these names. Names are not important. They can give us nicknames or initials.

Person #1 Z9-Z12

Z9.   Spec: **776**__   **V001703**

Is [fill nam1] a spouse or partner, other relative, or unrelated to you by blood or marriage?

1 SPOUSE OR PARTNER (A PARTNER IS LIKE A SPOUSE, BUT WITHOUT BEING MARRIED)   -->SKIP TO Z10
3 OTHER RELATIVE, OR   -->SKIP TO Z9a
5 UNRELATED BY BLOOD OR MARRIAGE   -->SKIP TO Z9a

⇒ Person #1 Z9-Z12

Z9a.   Spec: **777**__   **V001704**

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(Is [fill nam1] male or female?)

1 MALE   -->IF SPOUSE/PARTNER OR OTHER RELATIVE, SKIP TO Z10
5 FEMALE   -->IF SPOUSE/PARTNER OR OTHER RELATIVE, SKIP TO Z10

⇒ Person #1 Z9-Z12
⇒ You don't have to ask gender if R has said something like, "Judy, my wife or Harry, obvious names which are clear
hints to gender. If there is any possibility that they could be male or female….ask.

Z9b.

Spec: **778_**   V001705

(IF NOT SPOUSE/PARTNER OR OTHER RELATIVE)

Is [fill nam1] a co-worker?

1 YES
5 NO
8 DK

Z9c.

Spec: **779__**   V001706

(IF NOT SPOUSE/PARTNER OR OTHER RELATIVE)

Do you and [fill nam1] go to the same place of worship?

1 YES
5 NO
8 DK

Z9d.

Spec: **780_**   V001707

(IF NOT SPOUSE/PARTNER OR OTHER RELATIVE)

Does [fill name 1] live in your neighborhood?

1 YES
5 NO
8 DK

Z10.

Spec: **781_**   V001708

When you talk with [fill name 1], do you discuss political matters…often, sometimes, rarely, or never?

1 OFTEN
3 SOMETIMES
5 RARELY, OR
7 NEVER
8 DK

Z11.

Spec: **782_**   V001709

Generally speaking, how much do you think [fill name 1] knows about politics? Would you say:

1 A GREAT DEAL
3 AN AVERAGE AMOUNT, OR
5 NOT MUCH AT ALL
8 DK - DON'T PROBE
9 RF - DON'T PROBE

Z12.

Spec: **783_**   V001710

I have another question about the first person you have named. How do you think [fill name 1] voted in the

113

election?

Do you think he/she voted for Al Gore, George Bush, some other candidate, or do you think [fill name1] didn't vote?

```
1 AL GORE
3 GEORGE W BUSH
5 SOME OTHER CANDIDATE (SPECIFY)
7 DIDN'T VOTE
8 INELIGIBLE TO VOTE [VOL]
98 DK - DON'T PROBE
99 RF - DON'T PROBE
```

Person #2 Z13-Z12

Z13.   Spec: **784_**   **V001711**

Is [fill nam2] a spouse or partner, other relative, or unrelated to you by blood or marriage?

```
1 SPOUSE OR PARTNER  (A PARTNER IS LIKE A SPOUSE, BUT WITHOUT BEING MARRIED)   -->SKIP TO Z14
3 OTHER RELATIVE, OR                                                          -->SKIP TO Z13a
5 UNRELATED BY BLOOD OR MARRIAGE                                              -->SKIP TO Z13a
```
⇒ Person #2 Z13-Z16

Z13a.   Spec: **785_**   **V001712**

(Is [fill nam2] male or female?)

```
1 MALE          -->IF SPOUSE/PARTNER OR OTHER RELATIVE, SKIP TO Z14
5 FEMALE        -->IF SPOUSE/PARTNER OR OTHER RELATIVE, SKIP TO Z14
```
⇒ Person #2 Z13-Z16
⇒ You don't have to ask gender if R has said something like, "Judy, my wife or Harry," obvious names which are clear hints to gender. If there is any possibility that they could be male or female….ask.

    Z13b.   Spec: **786__**   **V001713**

    [IF NOT SPOUSE/PARTNER]

    Is [fill name 2] a co-worker?

```
1 YES
5 NO
8 DK
```

    Z13c.   \   Spec: **787_**   **V001714**

    [IF NOT SPOUSE/PARTNER OR OTHER RELATIVE]

    Do you and [fill name 2] go to the same place of worship?

```
1 YES
5 NO
8 DK
```

    Z13d.   Spec: **788_**   **V001715**

    [IF NOT SPOUSE/PARTNER OR OTHER RELATIVE]

    Does [fill name 2] live in your neighborhood?

```
1 YES
5 NO
8 DK
```

Z14.
                      Spec: 789_   **V001716**

When you talk with [fill name 2], do you discuss political matters…often, sometimes, rarely, or never?

```
1 OFTEN
3 SOMETIMES
5 RARELY
7 NEVER
8 DK
```

Z15.
                      Spec: 790_   **V001717**

Generally speaking, how much do you think [fill name 2] knows about politics? Would you say:

```
1  A GREAT DEAL
3  AN AVERAGE AMOUNT, OR
5  NOT MUCH AT ALL
8 DK - DON'T PROBE
9 RF - DON'T PROBE
```

Z16.
                      Spec: 791__   **V001718**

Do you think [fill nam2] voted for Al Gore, George Bush, some other candidate, or do you think he/she didn't vote?)

```
1 AL GORE
3 GEORGE W BUSH
5 SOME OTHER CANDIDATE (SPECIFY) [SPECIFY]
7 DIDN'T VOTE
8 INELIGIBLE TO VOTE [VOL]
98 DK - DON'T PROBE
99 RF - DON'T PROBE
```

Person #3 Z17-Z20

Z17.
                      Spec: 792_   **V001719**

Is [fill nam3] a spouse or partner, other relative, or unrelated to you by blood or marriage?

```
1 SPOUSE OR PARTNER  (A PARTNER IS LIKE A SPOUSE, BUT WITHOUT BEING MARRIED)   -->SKIP TO Z18
3 OTHER RELATIVE, OR                                                           -->SKIP TO Z17a
5 UNRELATED BY BLOOD OR MARRIAGE                                               -->SKIP TO Z17a
```
⇒ Person #3 Z17-Z20

Z17a.
                      Spec: 793_   **V001720**

Is [fill nam3] male or female?

```
1 MALE          -->IF SPOUSE/PARTNER OR OTHER RELATIVE, SKIP TO Z18
5 FEMALE        -->IF SPOUSE/PARTNER OR OTHER RELATIVE, SKIP TO Z18
```
⇒ Person #3 Z17-Z20
⇒ You don't have to ask gender if R has said something like, "Judy, my wife or Harry," obvious names which are clear hints to gender. If there is any possibility that they could be male or female….ask.

Z17b.

V001721

(IF NOT SPOUSE/PARTNER)

Is [fill nam3] a co-worker?

1 YES
5 NO
8 DK

Z17c.

V001722

(IF NOT SPOUSE/PARTNER OR OTHER RELATIVE)

Do you and [fill nam3] go to the same place of worship?

1 YES
5 NO
8 DK

Z17d.

V001723

(IF NOT SPOUSE/PARTNER OR OTHER RELATIVE)

Does [fill name 3] live in your neighborhood?

1 YES
5 NO
8 DK

Z18.

V001724

When you talk with [fill name 3], do you discuss political matters…often, sometimes, rarely, or never?

1 OFTEN
3 SOMETIMES
5 RARELY, OR
7 NEVER
8 DK

Z19.

V001725

Generally speaking, how much do you think [fill name 3] knows about politics? Would you say:

1 A GREAT DEAL
3 AN AVERAGE AMOUNT, OR
5 NOT MUCH AT ALL
8 DK - DON'T PROBE

Z20.

V001726

Do you think [fill nam3] voted for Al Gore, George Bush, some other candidate, or do you think
fill he/she didn't vote?)

1 AL GORE
3 GEORGE W BUSH
5 SOME OTHER CANDIDATE (SPECIFY) [SPECIFY]
7 DIDN'T VOTE
8 INELIGIBLE TO VOTE [VOL]
98 DK - DON'T PROBE
99 RF - DON'T PROBE

Person #4 Z21-Z24

Z21.　Spec: **800_**　　**V001727**

Is [fill nam4] a spouse or partner, other relative, or unrelated to you by blood or marriage?

1 SPOUSE OR PARTNER (A PARTNER IS LIKE A SPOUSE, BUT WITHOUT BEING MARRIED)	-->SKIP TO Z22
3 OTHER RELATIVE, OR	-->SKIP TO Z21a
5 UNRELATED BY BLOOD OR MARRIAGE	-->SKIP TO Z21a

⇒ Person #4 Z21-Z24

Z21a.　Spec: **801_**　　**V001728**

Is [fill nam4] male or female?

| 1 MALE | -->IF SPOUSE/PARTNER OR OTHER RELATIVE, SKIP TO Z22 |
| 5 FEMALE | -->IF SPOUSE/PARTNER OR OTHER RELATIVE, SKIP TO Z22 |

⇒ Person #4 Z21-Z24
⇒ You don't have to ask gender if R has said something like, "Judy, my wife or Harry," obvious names which are clear hints to gender. If there is any possibility that they could be male or female….ask.

Z21b.　Spec: **802_**　　**V001729**

(IF NOT SPOUSE/PARTNER)

Is [fill name 4] a co-worker?

1 YES
5 NO
8 DK

Z21c.　Spec: **803_**　　**V001730**

(IF NOT SPOUSE/PARTNER OR OTHER RELATIVE)

Do you and [fill name 4] go to the same place of worship?

1 YES
5 NO
8 DK

Z21d.　Spec: **804_**　　**V001731**

(IF NOT SPOUSE/PARTNER OR OTHER RELATIVE)

Does [fill name 4] live in your neighborhood?

1 YES
5 NO
8 DK

Z22.　Spec: **805_**　　**V001732**

When you talk with [fill name 4], do you discuss political matters…often, sometimes, rarely, or never?

1 OFTEN
3 SOMETIMES
5 RARELY, OR
7 NEVER
8 DK

Z23.　Spec: **806__**　　**V001733**

Generally speaking, how much do you think [fill name 4] knows about politics? Would you say:

1 A GREAT DEAL

3 AN AVERAGE AMOUNT, OR
5 NOT MUCH AT ALL
98 DK - DON'T PROBE
99 RF - DON'T PROBE

Z24.   Spec: **807_**   **V001734**

Do you think [fill NAME 4] voted for Al Gore, George Bush, some other candidate, or do you
think fill he/she didn't vote?)

1 AL GORE
3 GEORGE W BUSH
5 SOME OTHER CANDIDATE (SPECIFY)
7 DIDN'T VOTE
8 INELIGIBLE TO VOTE [VOL]
98 DK - DON'T PROBE
99 RF - DON'T PROBE

Z25-Z29 – R'S NEIGHBORHOOD

Z25.   Spec: **808__**   **V001735**

Now, I'd like to ask you a few questions about life in your neighborhood.
During the past twelve months, have you worked with others from your neighborhood to deal with a
common issue or problem?

1 YES
5 NO
8 DK

Z26.   Spec: **_809**   **V001736**

On the whole, how satisfied are you with your neighborhood? Would you say you are very satisfied,
somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied?

1 VERY SATISIFIED
2 SOMEWHAT SATISFIED
3 SOMEWHAT DISSATISFIED
4 VERY DISSATISFIED
8 DK

Z27.   Spec: **811__**   **V001737**

I'm going to ask you a few questions about the people you regularly see in your neighborhood.
In general, with these people in mind, would you say that they are just looking out for themselves all of
the time, most of the time, some of the time, hardly ever, or never?

1 ALL OF THE TIME
2 MOST OF THE TIME
3 SOME OF THE TIME
4 HARDLY EVER
5 NEVER
98 DK

Z27a.   Spec: **813_**   **V001738**

Would you say those people you see regularly in your neighborhood try to take advantage of others all of

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the time, most of the time, some of the time, hardly ever, or never?

1 ALL OF THE TIME
2 MOST OF THE TIME
3 SOME OF THE TIME
4 HARDLY EVER
5 OR NEVER
98 DON'T KNOW

Z27b .   Spec: **814_**   **V001739**

(Again, thinking about those people you see in your neighborhood) Would you say they treat others with respect all of the time, most of the time, some of the time, hardly ever, or never?**.**

1 ALL OF THE TIME
2 MOST OF THE TIME
3 SOME OF THE TIME
4 HARDLY EVER
5 OR NEVER
98 DON'T KNOW

Z27c.   Spec: **815_**   **V001740**

Would you say that honest describes the people in your neighborhood extremely well, quite well, not too well, or not well at all?

1 EXTREMELY WELL
2 QUITE WELL
3 NOT TOO WELL
4 OR NOT WELL AT ALL
8 DON'T KNOW

Z27d.   Spec: **816__**   **V001741**

Thinking about the diversity of your neighborhood, are the people who live where you live all White, mostly white, about half and half, mostly Black, or all Black?

1 ALL WHITE
2 MOSTLY WHITE
3 ABOUT HALF AND HALF
4 MOSTLY BLACK
5 ALL BLACK
7 R VOLUNEERS: OTHER (SPECIFY)
8 DON'T KNOW

Z28 – R'S SATISFACTION WITH LIFE

Now, one final question

Z28.   Spec: **817_**   **V001742**

In general, how satisfying do you find the way you're spending your life these days? Would you call it completely satisfying, pretty satisfying, or not very satisfying?

1 COMPLETELY SATISFYING
3 PRETTY SATISFYING
5 NOT VERY SATISFYING
8 DK

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That was my final question. Thank you very much for your time and your help with our research.

ZZ1.   Spec: **829M1-M3**   **V001743a,b,c**

Others present at time of interview: (CHECK ALL THAT APPLY)

1 NONE
2 CHLDREN UNDER 6
3 OLDER CHILDREN
3 SPOUSE
4 OTHER RELATIVES
5 OTHER ADULTS
7 PHONE INTERVIEW – COULD NOT TELL
8 DK

ZZ2.   Spec: **830_**   **V001744**

R's cooperation was:

1 VERY GOOD
2 GOOD
3 FAIR
4 POOR
5 VERY POOR

ZZ3.   Spec: **831_**   **V001745**

R's general level of information about politics and public affairs seemed:

1 VERY HIGH
2 FAIRLY HIGH
3 AVERAGE
4 FAIRLY LOW
5 VERY LOW

ZZ4.   Spec: **832__**   **V001746**

R's apparent intelligence:

1 VERY HIGH
2 FAIRLY HIGH
3 AVERAGE
4 FAIRLY LOW
5 VERY LOW

ZZ5.   Spec: **833__**   **V001747**

How suspicious did R seem to be about the study before the interview?:

1 NOT AT ALL SUSPICIOUS
2 SOMEWHAT SUSPICIOUS
3 VERY SUSPICIOUS

ZZ6.   Spec: **834_**   **V001748**

Overall, how great was R's interest in the interview?

1 VERY HIGH
2 FAIRLY HIGH
3 AVERAGE
4 FAIRLY LOW
5 VERY LOW

ZZ7.

How sincere did R seem in his/her answers?

1 COMPLETE SINCERE →ZZ11
3 USUALLY SINCERE → ZZ7a
5 OFTEN SEEMED TO BE INSINCERE → ZZ7a

ZZ7a.

(IF NOT COMPLETELY SINCERE)

Were there any particular parts of the interview for which you doubted R's sincerity?

(IF SO NAME THEM BY SECTION OR QUESTION NUMBER)

_____*OPENEND*_____

ZZ11.

R's reaction to IW:

[ENTER ALL THAT APPLY].

10 NEGATIVE – GENERAL
11 NEGATIVE – TOO LONG
12 NEGATIVE – TOO COMPLICATED
13 NEGATIVE – BORING/TEDIOUS/REPETITIOUS
15 R WANTED TO STOP BEFORE IW COMPLETED. AFTER STARTING IW, R MADE COMMENTS INDICATING REGRETS HAVING AGREED TO DO IW
20 R COMPLAINED AND/OR IWR OBSERVED R WAS ILL/DEAF/TIRED/HAD BAD EYESIGHT ETC. IW WAS HARD FOR R
22 R COMPLAINED AND/OR IWR OBSERVED R WAS CONFUSED BY Qs, R WAS SLOW READER. IW WAS HARD FOR R
30 R EXPRESSED DOUBTS/APOLOGIES/EMBARRASSMENTS OVER LACK OF KNOWLEDGE OR OWN SUITABILITY FOR IW
31 R EXPRESSED DOUBTS/APOLOGIES/EMBARRASSMENTS OVER LACK OF POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE, CANDIDATE NAMES, ELECTION ISSUES,
   OR OWN LACK OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION.
40 R WAS AGITATED OR STRESSED BY INTERVIEW PROCESS
41 R BECAME ANGRY AT INTERVIEW CONTENT
45 R BECAME CONCERNED ABOUT SAMPLING PURPOSES OR BIAS
50 R COULD NOT READ RESPONDENT BOOKLET
70 R APPEARED TO ENJOY THE IW (R WAS COOPERATIVE/INTERESTED/PLEASANT)
80 NEUTRAL OR NO FEEDBACK

TN1.

Please describe any ambiguous or conflicting situation that you want project staff to know about. If none,
enter "none"

_____*OPENEND*_____

TN2.

Please provide a few words about this respondent which would help you remember the interview if you had
to call back.

_____*OPENEND*_____

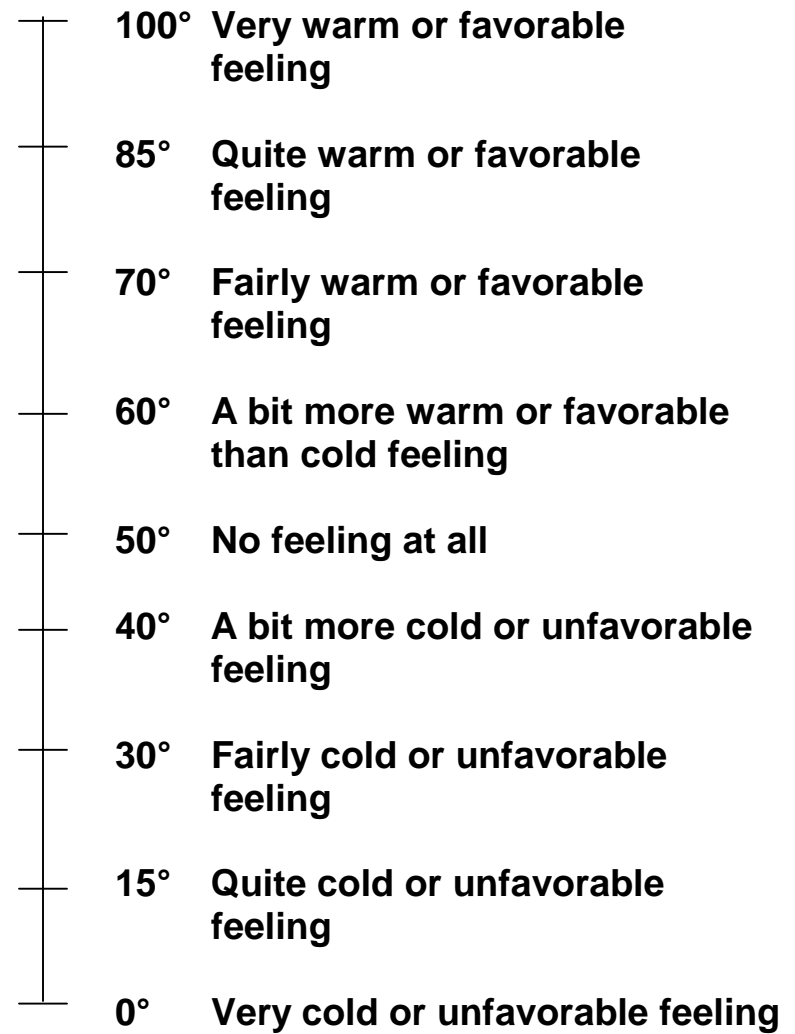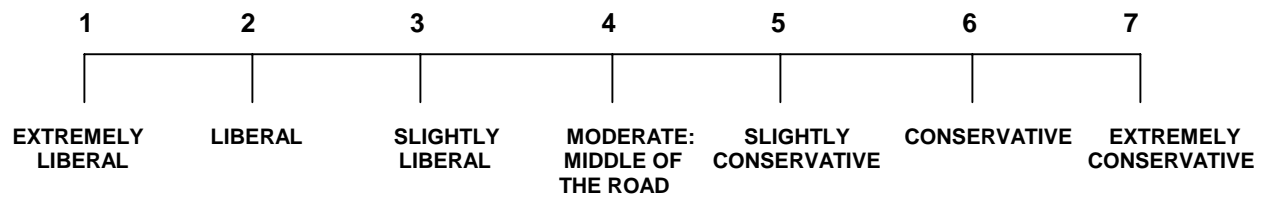# 2000 National Election Study
Pre-Election Survey

NES
National Election Studies

Respondent Booklet

1. A GREAT DEAL

2. QUITE A BIT

3. SOME

4. VERY LITTLE

5. NONE

100° Very warm or favorable
feeling

85°   Quite warm or favorable
feeling

70°   Fairly warm or favorable
feeling

60°   A bit more warm or favorable
than cold feeling

50°   No feeling at all

40°   A bit more cold or unfavorable
feeling

30°   Fairly cold or unfavorable
feeling

15°   Quite cold or unfavorable
feeling

0°   Very cold or unfavorable feeling

Liberal/Conservative

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
EXTREMELY LIBERAL	LIBERAL	SLIGHTLY LIBERAL	MODERATE: MIDDLE OF THE ROAD	SLIGHTLY CONSERVATIVE	CONSERVATIVE	EXTREMELY CONSERVATIVE

1. EXTREMELY WELL

2. QUITE WELL

3. NOT TOO WELL

4. NOT WELL AT ALL

Government Services/Government Spending

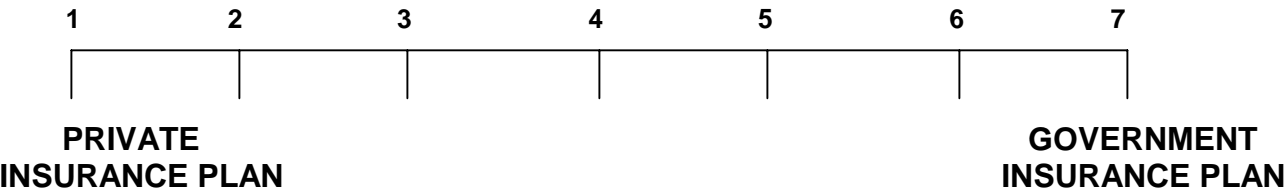| 1	2	3	4	5	6	7

**GOVERNMENT SHOULD
PROVIDE MANY FEWER
SERVICES; REDUCE
SPENDING A LOT**

**GOVERNMENT SHOULD
PROVIDE MANY MORE
SERVICES; INCREASE
SPENDING A LOT**

Defense Spending

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |

**GREATLY DECREASE
DEFENSE SPENDING**
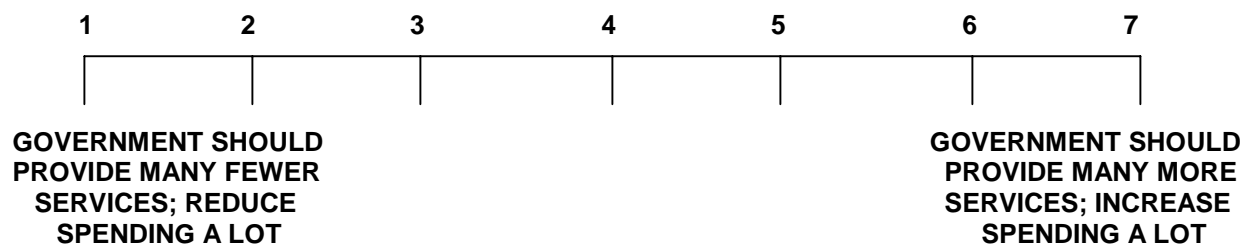
**GREATLY INCREASE
DEFENSE SPENDING**

Health Insurance

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

**GOVERNMENT
INSURANCE PLAN**

**PRIVATE
INSURANCE PLAN**

Health Insurance

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |

PRIVATE INSURANCE PLAN   **GOVERNMENT INSURANCE PLAN**

Job and Good Standard of Living

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
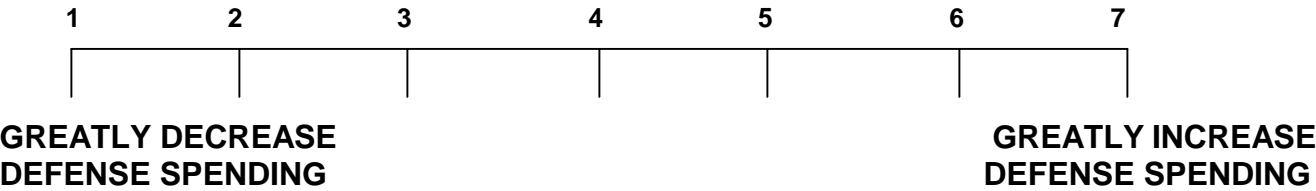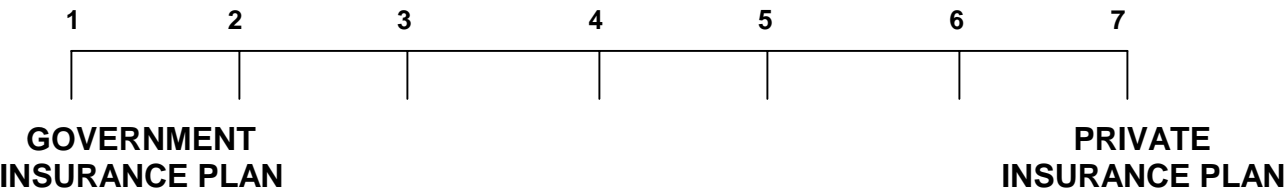
**GOVERNMENT SHOULD
SEE TO A JOB AND GOOD
STANDARD OF LIVING**

**GOVERNMENT SHOULD
LET EACH PERSON
GET AHEAD ON OWN**
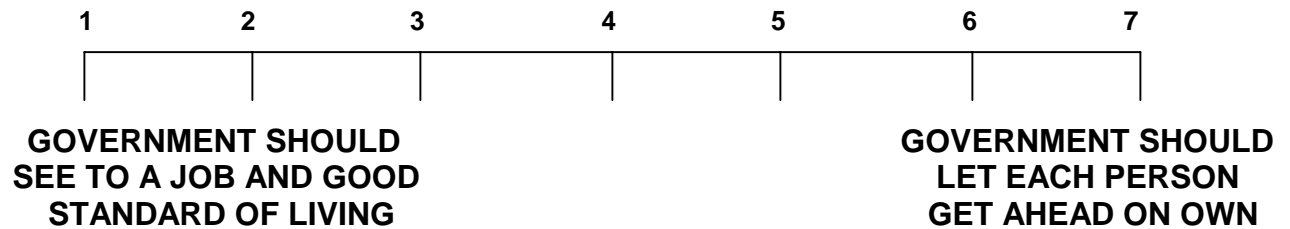
Government Help to Blacks
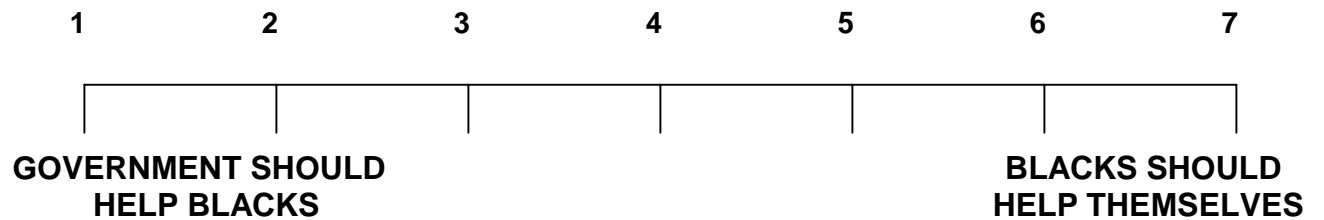
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |

**GOVERNMENT SHOULD
HELP BLACKS**

**BLACKS SHOULD
HELP THEMSELVES**

1. **By law, abortion should never be permitted.**

2. **The law should permit abortion <u>only</u> in case of rape, incest or when the woman's life is in danger.**

3. **The law should permit abortion for reasons <u>other than</u> rape, incest, or danger to the woman's life, but only after the need for the abortion has been clearly established.**

4. **By law, a woman should always be able to obtain an abortion as a matter of personal choice.**
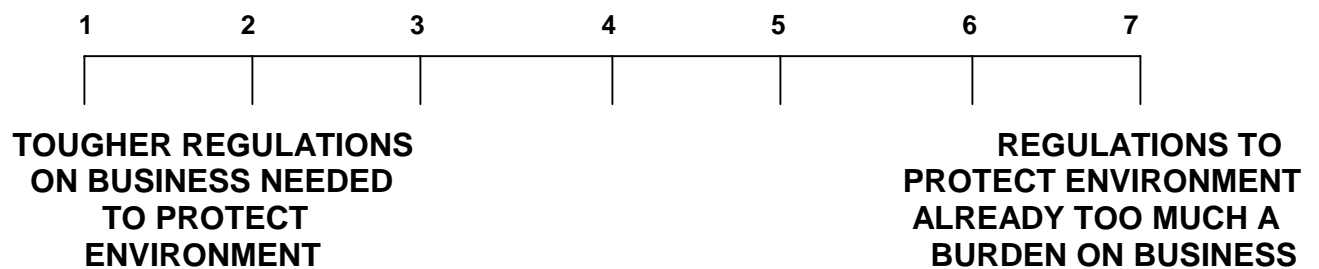
Environmental Protection

1   2   3   4   5   6   7

**PROTECT ENVIRONMENT,
EVEN IF IT COSTS JOBS,
STANDARD OF LIVING**

**JOBS, STANDARD OF
LIVING MORE IMPORTANT
THAN ENVIRONMENT**

Women's Rights

1   2   3   4   5   6   7

WOMEN AND MEN
SHOULD HAVE
EQUAL ROLES

A WOMAN'S
PLACE IS IN THE
HOME
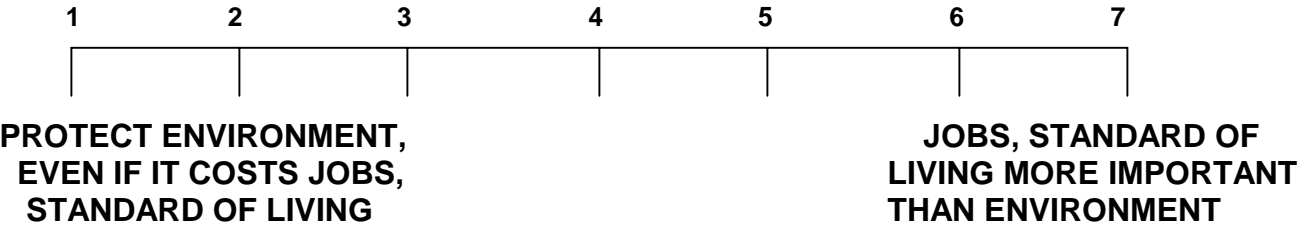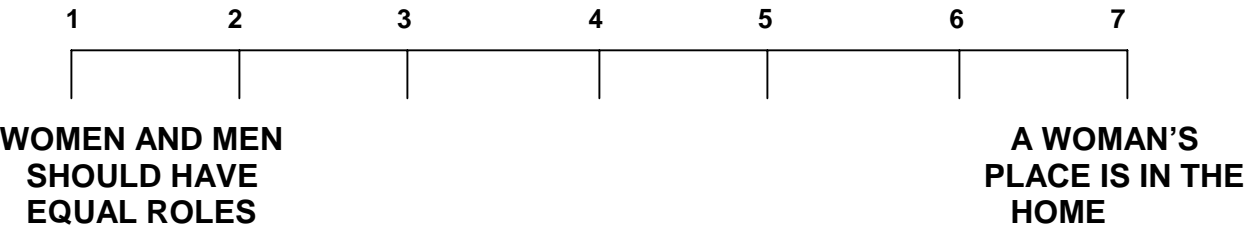
Regulation of Business

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1        2        3        4        5        6        7
```

**TOUGHER REGULATIONS
ON BUSINESS NEEDED
TO PROTECT
ENVIRONMENT**

**REGULATIONS TO
PROTECT ENVIRONMENT
ALREADY TOO MUCH A
BURDEN ON BUSINESS**

1. SEVERAL TIMES A DAY

2. ONCE A DAY

3. A FEW TIMES A WEEK

4. ONCE A WEEK OR LESS

5. NEVER

1. The Bible is the actual word of God and is to be taken literally, word for word.

2. The Bible is the word of God but not everything in it should be taken literally, word for word.

3. The Bible is a book written by men and is not the word of God.

1. WORKING NOW

2. TEMPORARILY LAID OFF

3. UNEMPLOYED

4. RETIRED

5. PERMANENTLY DISABLED

6. HOMEMAKER

7. STUDENT

A. None or less than $4,999

B. $5,000 - $9,999

C. $10,000 - $14,999

D. $15,000 - $24,999

E. $25,000 - $34,999

F. $35,000 - $49,999

G. $50,000 - $64,999

H. $65,000 - $74,999

J. $75,000 - $84,999

K. $85,000 - $94,999

M. $95,000 - $104,999

N. $105,000 - $114,999

P. $115,000 - $124,999

Q. $125,000 - $134,999

R. $135,000 - $144,999

S. $145,000 - $154,999

T. $155,000 - $164,999

U. $165,000 - $174,999

V. $185,000 - $194,999

W. $195,000 - $199,999

X. $200,000 and over

1.   MEXICAN

2.   PUERTO RICAN

3.   CUBAN

4.   LATIN AMERICAN

5.   CENTRAL AMERICAN

6.   SPANISH

1.   ON A FARM

2.   IN THE COUNTRY, NOT ON A
      FARM

3.   IN A SMALL CITY OR TOWN
      (UNDER 50,000 PEOPLE)

4.   IN A MEDIUM-SIZED CITY
      (50,000 – 100,000)

5.   IN A LARGE CITY
      (100,000 – 500,000)

6.   IN A SUBURB OF A LARGE
      CITY

7.   IN A VERY LARGE CITY
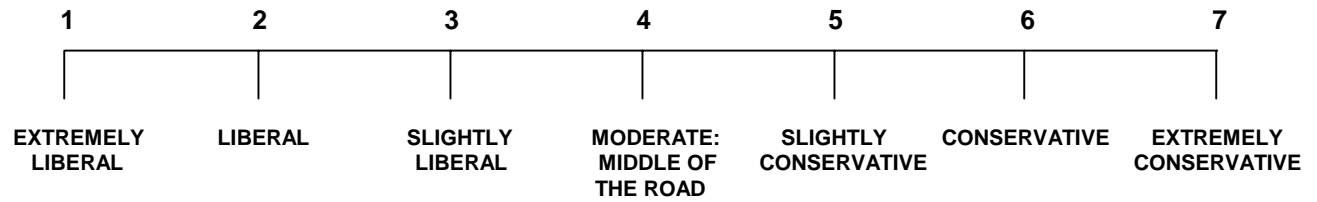   (OVER 500,000)

8.   IN A SUBURB OF A VERY
      LARGE CITY

2000 National Election Study
Post-Election Survey
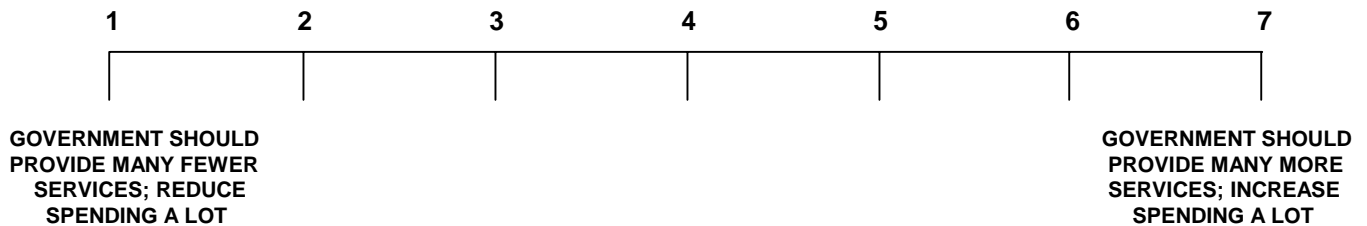

National Election Studies

Respondent Booklet

100°   Very warm or favorable feeling

85°   Quite warm or favorable feeling

70°   Fairly warm or favorable feeling

60°   A bit more warm or favorable than cold feeling

50°   No feeling at all

40°   A bit more cold or unfavorable feeling

30°   Fairly cold or unfavorable feeling

15°   Quite cold or unfavorable feeling

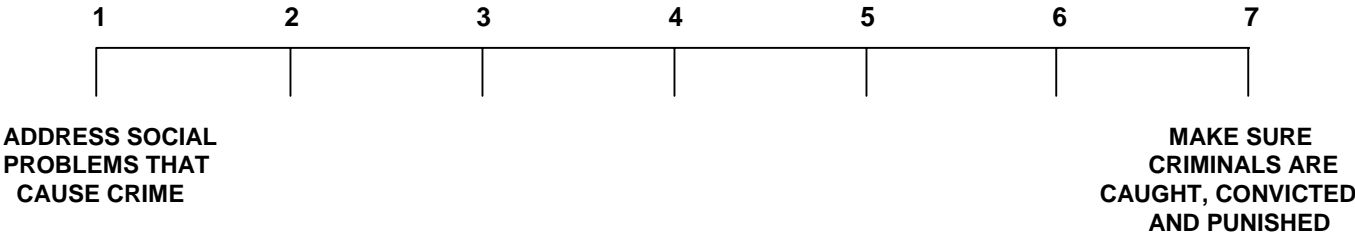0°   Very cold or unfavorable feeling

Liberal/Conservative

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
EXTREMELY LIBERAL	LIBERAL	SLIGHTLY LIBERAL	MODERATE: MIDDLE OF THE ROAD	SLIGHTLY CONSERVATIVE	CONSERVATIVE	EXTREMELY CONSERVATIVE

Government Services & Spending

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

**GOVERNMENT SHOULD
PROVIDE MANY FEWER
SERVICES; REDUCE
SPENDING A LOT**

**GOVERNMENT SHOULD
PROVIDE MANY MORE
SERVICES; INCREASE
SPENDING A LOT**

3

1. **By law, abortion should never be permitted.**

2. **The law should permit abortion <u>only</u> in case of rape, incest or when the woman's life is in danger.**

3. **The law should permit abortion for reasons <u>other than</u> rape, incest, or danger to the woman's life, but only after the need for the abortion has been clearly established.**

4. **By law, a woman should always be able to obtain an abortion as a matter of personal choice.**

How To Reduce Crime

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |

**ADDRESS SOCIAL
PROBLEMS THAT
CAUSE CRIME**

**MAKE SURE
CRIMINALS ARE
CAUGHT, CONVICTED
AND PUNISHED**

5

1. **AGREE STRONGLY**

2. **AGREE SOMEWHAT**

3. **NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE**

4. **DISAGREE SOMEWHAT**

5. **DISAGREE STRONGLY**

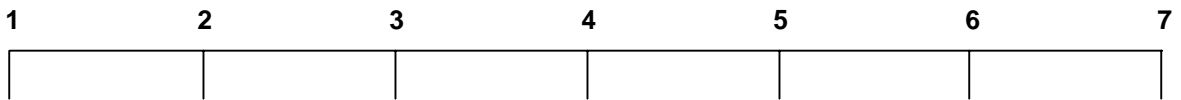|	
1. WHITES	9. SOUTHERNERS
2. POOR PEOPLE	10. BUSINESS PEOPLE
3. ASIAN AMERICANS	11. YOUNG PEOPLE
4. LIBERALS	12. CONSERVATIVES
5. THE ELDERLY	13. HISPANIC-AMERICANS
6. BLACKS	14. WOMEN
7. LABOR UNIONS	15. WORKING-CLASS PEOPLE
8. FEMINISTS	16. MIDDLE-CLASS PEOPLE
	17. MEN

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

HARDWORKING   **LAZY**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

INTELLIGENT   **UNINTELLIGENT**

6

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
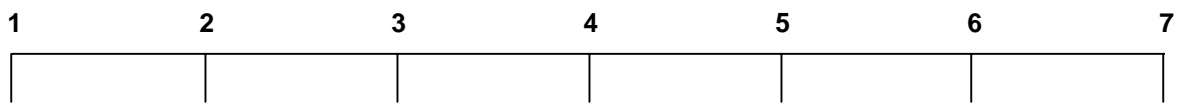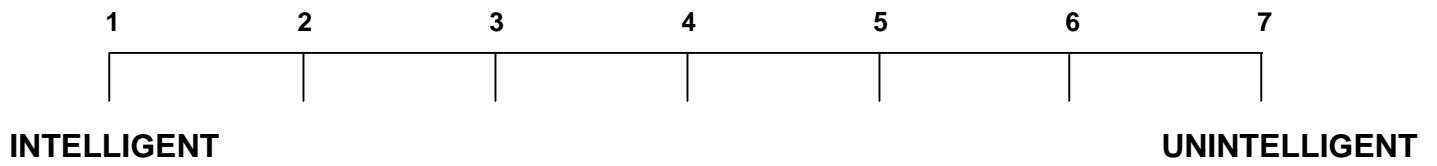
TRUSTWORTHY   **UNTRUSTWORTHY**

10

1. EXTREMELY WELL

2. QUITE WELL

3. NOT TOO WELL

4. NOT WELL AT ALL

1. A GREAT DEAL

2. QUITE A BIT

3. SOME

4. VERY LITTLE

5. NONE

1. A CONTINUATION OF THE TWO PARTY SYSTEM OF DEMOCRATS AND REPUBLICANS

2. ELECTIONS IN WHICH CANDIDATES RUN AS INDIVIDUALS WITHOUT PARTY LABELS

3. THE GROWTH OF ONE OR MORE PARTIES THAT COULD EFFECTIVELY CHALLENGE THE DEMOCRATS AND THE REPUBLICANS

1. TEMPORARILY LAID OFF

2. UNEMPLOYED

3. RETIRED

4. PERMANENTLY DISABLED

5. HOMEMAKER

6. STUDENT

<div style="border: 2px solid black; display: inline-block; padding: 10px;">

BALLOT CARD

</div>

General Election of November 2000

STATE: Ohio
CD: 17

CANDIDATES FOR U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Jim Traficant
Democrat

Paul Alberty
Republican

CANDIDATES FOR U.S. SENATE

Theodore Celeste
Democrat

Mike DeWine
Republican

BALLOT CARD

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