1984 National Election Studies

POST-ELECTION SURVEY Telephone

Instruction Book

P.(495816)

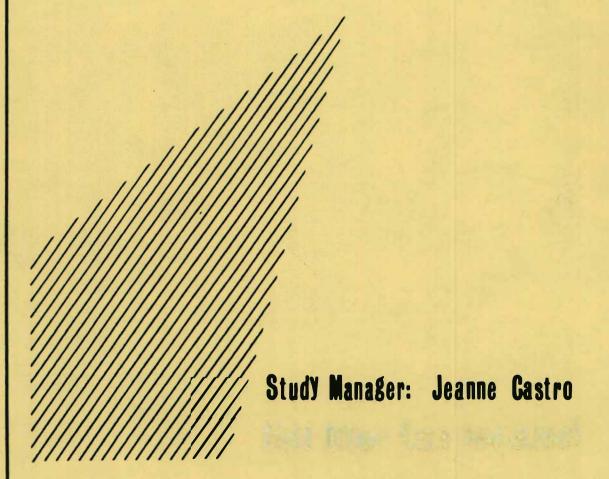


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What This Study Is About...

How did our respondents react to the events of the campaign? What impact did the Presidential (and Vice-Presidential) debates have on those who watched? How do evaluations of candidates change after the election? This year, more than ever, our interest is in learning whether and how people's ideas about candidates, parties and issues change during an election. These are a few of the questions social scientists will be trying to answer with data gathered from this year's Post-Election Study.

The Election Studies of the Survey Research Center started in 1948 and have been conducted every two years during the past three decades. Data gathered from these studies represent an invaluable contribution to the better understanding of the wants, aspirations and political behavior of American citizens. Each new election study (this is the 18th) adds to the value of the series, for not only are we able to capture people's feelings and opinions with regard to the particular historical moment they are experiencing, we are also able, once the data are gathered, to compare present feelings and opinions with those voiced in the past. Our understanding of the political and social life of our nation is sharpened as we study current opinions and behaviors, and continue to explore their trends over the years.

Two well-known books resulting from the analysis of NES data are The American Voter (1960) and Elections and the Political Order (1966), both by Angus Campbell, Philip Converse, Warren Miller, and Donald Stokes. In addition, literally scores of other books, doctoral dissertations and scholarly articles in the field of American government and politics have made use of these data. Our current Election Study bibliography lists entries of publications and research works using election studies data. With our data base now extending over 30 years, historians as well as students of contemporary government are beginning to show an interest in the interview data you have been collecting so patiently.

Those of you who have joined our staff recently might be interested to know that this archive of data is regarded so highly by students of American government that in 1962 the Interuniversity Consortium for Political Research was established in Ann Arbor partly for the purpose of making our political data readily available to other students of American politics besides ourselves. Today more than 240 American and foreign universities and colleges are members of this Consortium.

Since 1978, the studies have been conducted under the auspices of grants made by the National Science Foundation to provide long-term support for the National Election Studies. In effect, the grant acknowledges that the Election Studies are a national resource of great value to those engaged in social science research. Because the studies have proven invaluable to so many researchers, NSF has recently agreed to fund the studies through 1988. The NSF and NES have encouraged. through financial support and other means, the involvement of a large number of scholars in these ventures. A nine-person Board of Overseers drawn from the national community of social scientists exists to supervise the implementation of the grant, set priorities for future studies and link members of the social science community to present and future National Election Studies. As in 1978, 1980, and 1982, the 1984 Election Study is best described as a collaborative venture involving the study staff, the Board of Overseers and a committee of scholars interested in electoral research. All of these have worked hard for months in designing and planning our ambitious data collection.

As we have pointed out every year, our invaluable series of survey data on the political attitudes and behavior of the American people is due in large part to our hard-working and resourceful interviewing staff. Without all of you--interviewers, supervisors, and ISR field personnel--our study would never come to life.

This study is being conducted by the Institute for Social Research's Center for Political Studies. Dr. Warren E. Miller, former director of the Center, is the principal investigator. Dr. Donald R. Kinder, a member of the Board of overseers, chaired the Planning Committee. Santa Traugott is the Director of Studies. Jeanne Castro is the Field Director. For your information, Dr. Miller now teaches in sunny Arizona, but is still a project director at the Institute.

Sampling Notes

I. Description of the Post-Election Sample

The sample for the 1984 Post-Election Study consists of all those respondents who were selected and gave an interview in the 1984 Pre-Election Study, which was conducted by field interviewers during September and October of this year. This group of respondents was then divided in half: one "half sample" is assigned to the face-to-face (FTF) interview, meaning that these respondents will be asked questions by a field interviewer using the "personal" version of the questionnaire; the other "half sample" is assigned to the telephone (Tel) interview, meaning that these respondents will be asked questions by an interviewer in the Ann Arbor Telephone Facility (AATF) using the "telephone" version of the questionnaire.

The reasons for splitting the sample into half samples are two-fold: The first reason is economic. It's cheaper to interview by phone, and by conducting some of the interviews on the phone the Study could afford to increase the total sample size. (There is a price, however. The telephone interview had to be shorter than the personal interview, so there will be less data collected from the telephone interviews...), The second reason has to do with time. We know that respondents' memories of the election, the events surrounding it, their contact with candidates, and their vote choice "decay" rapidly once the election has taken place.

working on the study, we hope to complete nearly all interviewing within the three weeks after the election. In doing so, we expect there will

By splitting the sample, and thereby increasing the number of interviewers

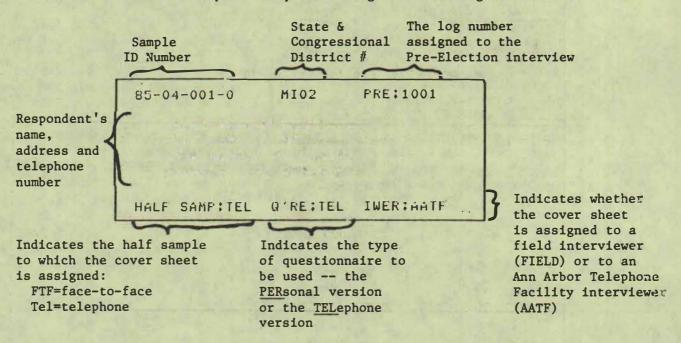
be a dramatic improvement in the quality of the data collected.

II. Cover Sheet Item-by-Item Instructions, Page 1

Note that the 1984 Pre-Election cover sheet is inside the Post-Election cover sheet. The Pre cover sheet has been returned to you as an aid for recontacting your respondent. You will find the call record, call notes, recontact information and the household listing (especially in cases in which R refused to give us his/her name) helpful. You will also be referring to the Pre-Election cover sheet in asking recontact question on page 2 of the cover sheet (see "Recontact Information" in the Field Notes in this book).

PLEASE keep the pair (Pre and Post) of cover sheets together and return them to us together. It is a more-than-serious problem if the Pre-Election cover sheet gets lost in the shuffle.

Item 1: This is the sample label, containing the following information:



- Item 2: Enter your interviewer I.D. number.
- Item 3: Verify that you have dialed the correct telephone number.
- Item 4: Usually the respondent will still reside at the Pre-Election address, that is, the address which appears on the Sample Label in Item 1. In this case, check #1 and either go on to Item 9 or, if R is not available, make an appointment to call back. However if R no longer lives at the sample label address, check #2 and go on to items 4a-4c. When you have obtained this information, give the cover sheet to your supervisor. If the telephone number you have dialed is correct, but the folks at the other end have never heard of us, get off the phone and give the cover sheet to your supervisor.
- Item 5: Enter the date on which the interview was completed. This should also be the date of your last entry in the Call Record (item 10).
- Item 6: Record the length of the interview in minutes (calculated in item 5 on the face sheet of the questionnaire).
- Item 7: Enter the length of time it took to pre-edit the questionnaire (calculated in item 10 on the face sheet of the questionnaire).
- Item 8: Enter the length of time to post-edit the questionnaire (calculated in item 13 on the face sheet of the questionnaire).
- Item 9: This is a <u>suggested</u> introduction to the questionnaire. You are not required to read it, but it is a basis on which you can develop your own introduction with which you are comfortable and successful.
- Item 10: Call Record: Please record each call as it is made. Use p. 4 of the cover sheet to make in depth notes about the call situation which will be helpful to you or the next interviewer working on the cover sheet.

S-4

POST-ELECTION SURVEY 1984 NATIONAL ELECTION STUDIES

Fall 1984

I SURVEY RESEARCH CENTER

INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN 48106	DO NOT WRITE IN THIS BOX
1. SAMPLE LABEL	2. Iwer ID No. 5. Date of Iw 6. Length of Iw (Minutes 7. Length of pre-edit (Minutes 8. Length of post-edit (Minutes
3. Hello, my name is, and I'm calling University of Michigan. Have I reached (READ)	ng from the Survey Research Center at The R'S TELEPHONE NUMBER FROM LABEL)?
1. YES 5. NO Thank you. (I have the second of the second o	
R AVAILABLE: GO TO ITEM 9 R NOT AVAILABLE: SET UP APPOINTMENT	Thank you. My information must be incorrect. I need to check with my supervisor. GIVE COVER SHEET TO SUPERVISOR IMMEDIATELY.
FROM P. 2 OF PRE-	ess where (R'S NAME) can be reached? IF NO INFORMATION, CALL CONTACT PERSON ELEC. COVER SHEET, ITEM R3.
4b. What is (his/her) new number? AREA (4c. And what is (his/her) new address? STREET ADDRESS:	CODE NUMBER
CITY/STATE/ZIP:	

9. Earlier this fall, before the presidential election, you were kind enough to participate in our study to let us know how you felt about the candidates, the state of the economy, and other issues of importance to the nation. We are very interested in your opinions, and would like to talk with you again. (I was hoping that now would be a good time.)

1	n	CAT	TR	FCO	חק

Call Number	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Date								
Day of Week								
Time of Day	A TOP OF							
Result								×
Iwer ID No.								

- III. Non-interview Form Item-by-Item (page 3 of the cover sheet)
- NR1-NR2. Ignore these items. They are here for field interviewers who are following-up telephone version non-response cover sheets.
- NR3. We would like you to assign a nonresponse code to the cover sheet which did not yield an interview. We have attempted to give you short, descriptive definitions of each code.

The Field Office will assign the final nonresponse code based on the code you assign in NR3 and the description of the situation you provide on p. 4. It is therefore possible that our final code will be slightly different from the one you select in NR3.

Code 67 refers to nonresponse situations which are not "permanent" (63). An example would be a respondent travelling in Europe for the length of the study period.

Code 76 is a code the Field Office will assign. Interviewers should check box 5 in NR3a when you are unable to locate the respondent.

NR3a. We want to sort out those nonresponse cases which we refer to as circumstantial noninterviews, that is, where there is some situation in the household that would prevent an interview. For example, perhaps R doesn't speak English, is a stroke victim, moved to Mexico after the Pre-Election interview, or died.

Item 5 here refers to "NR4". This again, is for field interviewers. We expect to find similar information from telephone interviewers in the call notes and in the call record.

NONINTERVIEW FORM

N	R2. FOLLOWUP INTERVIEWER'S LABEL NR1. ORIGINAL INTERVIEWER'S LABEL
	Reason for Noninterview: (Describe in detail on P. 4, "Call Notes", dating your entries. Also check to make sure that P. 1 of this cover sheet is as complete as possible and has all the required information.)
	51. REF-R refusal by the respondent
	52. REF-O refusal by someone other than the respondent
	53. REF-U refusal by someonedon't know whether person refusing was the respondent
	61. NOC-RD no contact with the respondent, but respondent's address is known and within range
	63. NIP noninterview due to permanent condition—Define condition at NR3a below
	NR3a. Type of permanent condition:
	1. R DECEASED — ► END OF FORM
	2. LANGUAGE (What language?) — END OF FORM
	3. MENTAL OR PHYSICAL CONDITION (DESCRIBE IN NR4)
	4. R MOVED OUT-OF-RANGEADDRESS KNOWN RUT UNABLE TO FOLLOW (This is a Field Office decisiondo not check this box without Field Office authorization.) Item 3a-3c on page 1 of this cover sheet should be complete.
	5. R'S NEW ADDRESS UNKNOWN (Describe efforts to locate R in NR4; check with Field Office before sending this in.)
	7. OTHER PERMANENT CONDITION (Describe in NR4)
	67. NIO noninterview for other reasons (Describe in NR4)
	75. FINAL WRONG NUMBER FOR R
	76. RECONTACT NUMBER NO LONGER IN SERVICE, NEW NUMBER UNOBTAINABLE

Field Notes

I. Special Features of the Post-Election Study

A. Design

The 1984 Post-Election Study is the traditional reinterview survey which is conducted with Pre-Election respondents during presidential election years. In the past, researchers have designed these surveys such that two 70-minute interviews could be put together and treated in analysis as one 140-minute interview. This year the approach was slightly different, in that it was decided to treat the Pre-Post respondents as a "panel"--meaning that some items from the Pre-Election survey are repeated in the Post, in order to determine whether respondents' sentiments have changed. The speculation is that people's perceptions about candidates and issues do change and that a significant event such as a presidential election has an impact on these changes. Additionally, the telephone version of the questionnaire has been shortened to 45 minutes to accomodate the need for the telephone interview to be "brief" (relatively speaking...).

B. Congressional Questions

Since 1978, Post-Election surveys have carried a series of questions about the U.S. House of Representative's candidates and incumbents. There is a great deal of interest among political scientists in the dynamics of the election and of candidates to the House, how well candidates are known, and how much of an advantage an incumbent representative has over his/her challenger. The 1984 Post Election Study includes a set of the questions about the House of Representatives election. (Pretesters asked me why we don't do the same for Senate elections. The answer is that the National Election Studies try to represent the interests of the social scientists who will be using the data, and currently no groundswell of enthusiasm for the study of Senate elections has been expressed.)

C. Editing

Because the Post Study has the questions about the House of Representatives, it is necessary that questionnaires be tailored to the congressional district in which the interview will be taken. There is, therefore, a significant extra task for the interviewing staff—that of pre-editing, entering candidate names into the questionnaire; and post-editing, entering "candidate numbers" in coding boxes. Full instructions on how to do this appear at the end of these Field Notes.

Telephone interviewers will receive questionnaires already full pre-edited. Their tasks will consist of making certain that the questionnaire has been accurately pre-edited, and to post-edit the interview.

D. Special Demands on the Interviewer

Interviewers taking part in the Post-Election Survey will ultimately determine the success of the project. We ask you to interview respondents a second time using the correctly tailored questionnaire, within the bounds of a short study period—and that's a lot to ask! However, we have gone a long way to make this easier for you.

- 1) The Post interview, particularly the telephone version, is significantly shorter than the Pre was; there are fewer open-ended questions and a large part of the questionnaire goes very quickly for respondents who know little or nothing about their Representative (which is frequently the case).
- 2) The editing instructions for tailoring your questionnaires have been pretested and refined. We think you will find them easy to understand and work with.
- 3) We've split the sample of Pre-Election respondents into halves, one half to be interviewed by telephone from Ann Arbor.

We hope that by splitting the interviewing load between field and telephone interviewers, we can obtain 90% if our interviews before Thanksgiving. There are several reasons for wishing to do this: people forget about campaigns, candidates, and issues very quickly after an election, inlcuding how they voted (!); once the holidays begin the difficulty in finding respondents at home who are willing to take time for the interview increases by an order of magnitude (I tried again this year to have Christmas and Hanukkah moved to sometime in April but...); and, of course, there's you—do YOU want to spend the holidays chasing fugitive respondents?; and then there is Vote Validation, a whole new subject.

E. Vote Validation

On page 2 of the cover sheet we put you and your respondent through your paces concerning R's legal name and address. The reason is that, probably in January, we will begin the portion of the project called Vote Validation, which entails looking up voting and registration records, in order to determine who among our respondents voted. (We are able, of course, to validate only whether the person went to the voting place or not. The choice of candidates by individual voters is secret information, never disclosed by electoral offices). We do this because our respondents, who are sampled to represent a cross-section of the American electorate, report having voted at a much higher rate (like 16% higher!) than the turnout figures for the nation as a whole. Some of the difference is undoubtedly due to the interest in voting sparked by our Pre-Election questionnaire. However with all due modesty, we know that, fascinating though the Pre-Election may have been, some of the 16% is due to "misreporting;" people sometimes tell us they vote when they didn't. In order to explain the discrepancy, we go to the vote records (which are incidentally public information) and verify that our respondents did or did not vote. In order to look up these records, we must have the exact name and address under which they are registered. Thus, the questions in C2 of the questionnaire and the recontact series on the cover sheet. In both cases, we have provided you with an explanation to the respondent for needing this information. The explanation is accurate, although it only implies our intentions concerning vote records. We are vague because it sounds threatening to say we're going to look up vote records. In fact, the data from Vote Validation is treated with the same loving attention to confidentiality and privacy of the respondents as are the interviews.

II. Study Dates

The study dates for the 1984 Post-Election Study are:

Wednesday, November 7 - Wednesday, December 14.

DO NOT begin interviewing under any circumstances before November 7. Interviewing should not begin until the election has occurred and the outcome is known. As mentioned earlier, it is important that virtually all interviewing take place before Thanksgiving - important for you, important for the respondent, important for me, but mainly important for the quality of the data. Plan to complete your interviewing before Thanksgiving, and to use the period from November 24-December 14 for picking up interviews impossible to obtain before Thanksgiving.

III. Preparation for the Study All interviewers working, or possibly working, on the Post-Election Study will be required to complete the following assignments before production interviewing begins:

- A. Study the Instruction Book, working through the problem exercises given in the Question-By-Question Section.
- B. Conduct a practice interview, not with a relative, preferably with someone you don't know or don't know well. Treat it as a production interview, completely edited with a thumbnail sketch and the face sheet filled out. Write "Practice" on the face sheet of the interview so that it cannot be mistaken for a production interview.

*You will have to make certain that you have pre-edited your questionnaire for the district in which your practice respondent resides.

*You will have to ask your respondent to cast his/her mind forward, answering questions as if the election had already occurred and the outcome known.

C. Attend a prestudy conference.

IV. The Post-Election Recontact Information (page 2 of the Post cover sheet).

The recontact information is collected at the end of the interview. The skip instruction on page 47 of the questionnaire sends you to page 2 of the cover sheet. The text of the closing statement for the interview is in Rl.

A word of admonishment here - many times in the Pre-Election this page was either skipped or inadequately completed. This is part of the interview, and until this page is completed the interview is not complete! Of course, as with any of our questions, the respondent may refuse this information, but should this be the case the refusal should be noted by you in the margin in R's exact words, just as it would be in the questionnaire.

The purpose of the Post-Election Recontact Information is to verify that the information we already have about the respondent is accurate to the letter, and that what we have is the respondent's full legal name and address (see "Vote Validation" earlier in this section).

*R2 and R5: It would be wise to pre-edit the Respondent's name and address into the blanks provided here.

*If the respondent did not give a name or address in the Pre-Election interview (a rare event) you will have to change some wording in pre-editing:

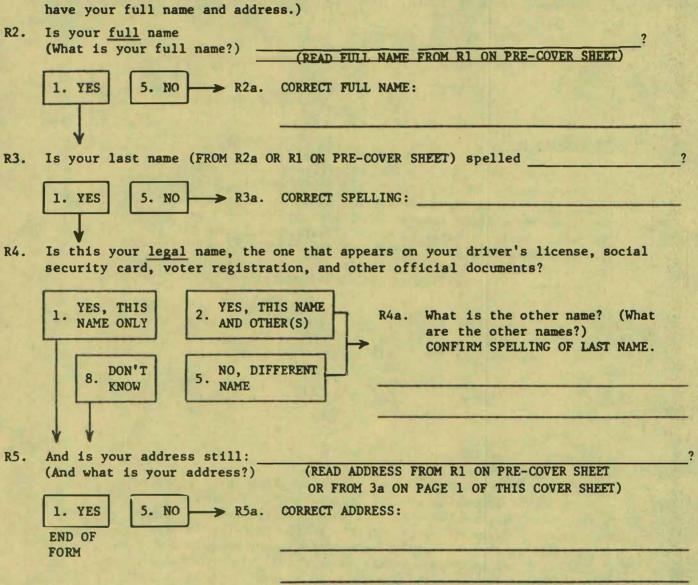
- Use the alternate wording in the last sentence in R1 to read, "For this reason, I would like to have your full name and address."
- Use the alternate wording in R2, "What is your full name?" and enter the response in R2a.
- Use the alternate wording in R5, "What is your address?" and enter the response in R5a.

DO NOT SKIP R3 even when you think the spelling is obvious. Even a name like Brown has variations (e.g., Browne) and first names can be wild (Cathy, Kathy, Cathie, Kathie, Cathee, Cathi, etc., etc.).

A facsimile of the Recontact Information appears on the next page.

One final word here: There is a good chance that a subset (probably 200-300) of the Post-Election respondents will be contacted by phone about a year from now and asked to participate in the 1985 pilot study. If you are specifically

R1.	These are all the questions I have. Once again, let me thank you for agreeing
	to participate in our study. The thoughts and ideas you have contributed will
	help us understand better how people's opinions and attitudes develop and how
	they are expressed in our political system. As mentioned earlier, we will be
	sending you a report of some of our findings as a way of expressing our appre-
	ciation for your cooperation. Our Ann Arbor office may also be calling or
	writing you to verify this interview. (For this reason, I would like to verify
	that we have your correct name and address. / For this reason, I would like to
	have your full name and address.)



END OF FORM

YOU MAY REASSURE R THAT WE NEED THIS INFORMATION BECAUSE: We are interested in the frequency with which people have to update voting registration as a result of changes in name and in residence. Registration rules vary from community to community. Knowing the name and address at which you are currently registered will enable us to identify the regulations that apply to those who live in that area.

asked whether you will be calling back for another interview, say that it is possible that some resondents from this study may be contacted by phone from Ann Arbor sometime in the future, but that you have no way of knowing whether your respondent will be among those selected. The odds, obviously, are that he/she will not be selected.

V . Persuasion Letters

In the Pre-Election we provided supervisors with a number of different persuasion letters geared to specific refusal situations. With the Post-Election, however, there is only one point we want to stress with the respondent — that he/she is particularly valuable to us as a respondent because of the time R has already spent with us in the Pre-Election. So one version of the persuasion letter is all that is required. The persuasion letter we plan to use is reproduced following this section.

VI. Report to Respondents

A report on some of the study findings will be sent to all respondents automatically. If your practice interview respondent would like a copy of this report, please give his/her name to Jeanne Castro, c/o the Field Office. Please warn respondents that the report we promise in the recontact statement (Rl on page 2 of the cover sheet) will not be forthcoming for at least a year. The reason for this is that we will be collecting data through December of this year, coding probably through February, 1985, after which the data must be "cleaned." Only then can we begin analysis for a meaningful report.



SURVEY RESEARCH CENTER

INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH

THE UNIVERSITY
OF MICHIGAN

ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN 48106 One of our interviewers called your home recently in connection with a follow-up of the study we conducted earlier this year. I understand you are reluctant to be interviewed at this time. Of course the final decision rests with you, but I thought that if you knew more about the importance of your participation you might reconsider and allow us to interview you again.

For the study in which you participated, scientific sampling methods were used to select a national sample of addresses. Within each selected household, we used another scientific selection process in order to choose one person to be interviewed. Each person thus selected represents many other persons in the country.

Now we are asking all those who were selected and interviewed in that survey to talk with us again. Our current study serves two purposes. First, we are gathering information to establish how the public feels at the present time. Second, since we are now re-interviewing the same group of respondents, we will be able to compare the information gathered in the current study with information from the earlier one. As a result, we will understand better the development of people's perceptions and opinions in response to recent changes and events.

The two purposes stated above are central to the scientific merit of the study. In order to conduct this kind of research we must talk again with as many of our study participants as possible. We cannot interview anyone who did not participate in the earlier study. Thus, not having an opportunity to interview you again not only represents a serious loss to the current study, but also limits considerably the analytic use of the information collected in the earlier study.

The identity of the persons with whom we talk is never disclosed to anyone, and every interview is held in strict confidence. The results of all interviews are combined into statistical reports, and a summary of findings will be sent to you, as promised, after the current study is completed.

In light of this additional information, we hope you will allow an interview as soon as possible. I have asked our interviewer to call you after you have had a chance to read this letter. Our interviewer will be happy to set a time convenient for you to be interviewed and will give you any further information you would like about the nature of this study.

Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely,

Keya Tricker

Supervisor, Telephone Interviewing Facility

Edilting

This questionnaire requires extensive editing both prior to the interview and following it. Please read these instructions carefully, as your attention to the pre-edit procedure is essential to the proper administration of the interview, and your attention to the post-edit procedure will save us hours of problem-solving in coding. Telephone interviewers will have to pre-edit their own questionnaire for their practice interview. However, the questionnaires they receive for production interviewing will have been pre-edited in advance. However, before beginning work on a cover sheet, please check to make certain the questionnaire you have has been properly pre-edited using the instructions below.

pre-ediling

Be sure to keep track of your pre-edit time. There is space provided on the face page of the questionnaire to record the time at which you begin pre-editing (item 8), the time when you finish (item 9) and the total number of minutes it took to do the pre-editing (item 10). We are interested in the edit time primarily for estimating costs on future studies.

Our experience in the pretest was that it took interviewers 10-12 minutes to pre-edit their first questionnaire. However, the pre-edit time consistently fell to 3-5 minutes per questionnaire once the procedure was clear. This is not meant to be a suggested time limit (!), but a suggestion that you should not be discouraged by the length of time your first pre-edit experience takes. Once you understand the process, pre-editing will go very quickly.

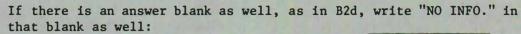
The Candidate List: When you read through the questionnaire, you will notice a heavy emphasis on questions about candidates, especially for the House of Representatives. Throughout the questionnaire you are asked to read a name in blanks that look like this:

(NAME #31, 33 or 35)

You will find the name to fill this "hole" on the Candidate List. And you will find only one name -- either a name for #31, or 33, or 35.

There are three things to remember about the use of the Candidate List:

- 1) When the blank lists more than one candidate number (NAME #31, 33 or 35)
 you will have only one name on the list to fill that blank.
- 2) When you have no number on the Candidate List which corresponds with a number under the blank (e.g., no #31, no 33, and no 35), write "NO INFO." in the blank -- this means it is inappropriate for that congressional district. (An example of this situation might be a question about the Democratic candidate to the House of Representatives in a congressional district in which the Republican incumbent is running unopposed. The question is inappropriate because there is no challenger to the incumbent in that district.)



d. No INFO (NAME #31, 33 or 35)

3) There is a different Candidate List for each congressional district.

Obviously, it is essential that the Candidate List match the congressional district in which the respondent lives. Be aware that once the questionnaire has been pre-edited, you must use it with the cover sheet for which it was pre-edited. Using the wrong pre-edited questionnaire will be very embarassing for you during the course of the interview, and will make the interview virtually worthless to us.

In case you are curious about the meaning of the codes on the Candidate List, a "master" list of the codes is reproduced on the next page. Don't memorize it, or anything like that (!); it's here strictly for your information.

PROCEDURE FOR PRE-EDITING

- 1. Plan to pre-edit several questionnaires ahead of the time when you might need them. Begin by completing item 4 on the face sheet of the questionnaire, by writing in the state and congressional district from the sample label on the cover sheet.
- 2. Note the time you begin pre-editing in item 8 on the face sheet of the questionnaire.
- 3. Using the Candidate List, begin editing in the names of the candidates. Write in both <u>first and last</u> names. Then circle the name number under the line. So, for example, let's say your Candidate List tells you that House candidate #33 is John Politician. You would pre-edit the following:

JOHN POLITICIAN (NAME #31, (33) or 35)

If there is no number on the Candidate List which corresponds with the name numbers under the line, write "NO INFO." in the blank.

Pages which need to be pre-edited have a box (i.e., ____) at the top of the page with a number indicating the number of places on the page requiring pre-editing. For your convenience, the following is a list of the pages and question numbers requiring pre-editing. Note that the list also includes checkpoints which must be met in pre-editing as well. You will be able to meet these checkpoints by referring to your Candidate List. If the checkpoints indicate that questions should be skipped, write "NO INFO." in the name blanks for those questions during your pre-editing. In Section G, should the checkpoint G8 indicate you are to skip to p. 34, you may staple the intervening pages together and omit writing "NO INFO." on those pages (see the list which follows).

For States With No Incumbent Senator Running	For States With Running Incumbent Senator
11. Democratic Candidate 12. Republican Candidate	13. Democratic Incumbent 14. Republican Incumbent 15. Democratic Candidate
19. Other Senate Incumbent whose term is not up	16. Republican Candidate
20. Independent Candidate	19. Other Senate Incumbent whose term is not up
For States With No Senate Race	20. Independent Candidate
17. (1st) Incumbent 18. (2nd) Incumbent	
For Districts With No Incumbent Representative Running	For Districts With Running Incumbent Representative(s)
31. Democratic Candidate	33. Democratic Incumbent
32. Republican Candidate	34. Republican Incumbent 35. Democratic Candidate 36. Republican Candidate
39. Independent Candidate	37. Liberal or Conservative Candidate
	39. Independent Candidate
For States With No Incumbent Governor Running	For States With Running Incumbent Governor
51. Democratic Candidate 52. Republican Candidate	53. Democratic Incumbent 54. Republican Incumbent 55. Democratic Candidate 56. Republican Candidate
58. Independent Candidate	58. Independent Candidate

PRE-EDITING LIST OF QUESTIONS

PAGE NO.	QUESTION NO.
5	B2
9	C4, C5 (CHECKPOINT), C6
14	C15
25	G1, G2
26	G3, G4
27	G5 (CHECKPOINT) G6, G7
28	G8 (CHECKPOINT) If your candidate list includes names "31, or #32, or BOTH, you may draw a line through page 29 and 30 and staple pages 29-32 together, so that the next available question is G18 on page 33.
28	G9, G10
29	G11, G12
30	G13
31	G14, G15, G16
32	G17
33	G18, G19
34	G20, G21

- 4. The next step in the pre-editing procedure is to take a Ballot Card matching the congressional district number on the Candidate List, fold it in a way that exposes only the state and congressional district number, and insert it at p. 9 in the questionnaire. The Ballot Card should not be presented to (or even seen by) the respondent before you reach p. 9 during the course of the interview (see the question-by-question o jective for C4, p. 9).
- 5. Enter the ending time of your pre-editing in item 9 on the face sheet of the questionnaire.
- 6. Calculate the total number of minutes it took to pre-edit the questionnaire and enter this number in item 10 on the face sheet of the questionnaire.

SUGGESTION: In the past, interviewers have found it helpful to make the first questionnaire they pre-edit a "master" for the rest of the questionnaires for that district. Using a pre-edited questionnaire this way does make pre-editing much faster than looking up the names each time. The catch is that you better be certain your "master" is correct!

post-editing

In addition to the usual post-editing you should always be doing to every interview you take, there is an additional post-edit task on this study. In several questions we have asked the respondent to tell us the name of a candidate. Using the Candidate List again, please enter the name numbers in the coding boxes beside these questions. For example, let's say #33 on your

Candidate List is (who else?) Joe Politician, and that in response to Bla the respondent said "Joe Politician." This is how it should look after you have post-edited:



What we are asking you to do here is pre-code for us the candidate names, using your Candidate List. You have no idea how much time and effort you can save us in coding if this pre-coding by you is done thoroughly and accurately. We will cheerfully be paying your salary for the time it takes you, however long it takes you, to pre-code these names in order not to face the problems that coding the names in Coding would cause.

IF the respondent answers with the name of a candidate that appears on the Candidate List, but you know is the wrong name for the question, enter the name numbers for the respondent's choice of candidates, rame in a question about a Representative, enter the Senator's name number.)

IF the respondent gives you a name which is not on your Candidate List, leave the coding boxes blank.

coding boxes blank. IF a question is not asked of the respondent, leave the

IF a question was marked "NO INFO." because there are no corresponding candidate numbers on the Candidate List, leave the coding boxes blank.

In no case should you ever write anything in (or over) coding boxes other than name codes from the Candidate List.

We have flagged the pages requiring post-editing by putting a triangle at the top of the page (i.e., ∇). These triangles contain a number which represents

the number of places on that page where candidate name coding boxes appear. For your convenience, the following is a list of the pages and questions requiring post-edit coding:

PAGE NO. QUESTION NO.

15 D26

16 C42, C63

17 C63, C63

27 C63, C73

PROCEDURE FOR POST-EDITING

questionnaire,

1. Complete items 5-7 on the face sheet of the questionnaire. 2. Note the time you begin post-editing in item 11 on the face sheet of the

3. Using your Candidate List, go through the questionnaire, pre-coding the candidates' names in the code boxes,

- 4. Go through the questionnaire, doing a usual careful post-edit.
- 5. Note the time you complete you post-edit in item 12 on the face page of the questionnaire.
- 6. Calculate the time in minutes it took to complete the post-edit and enter this number in item 13 on the face page of the questionnaire.
- 7. Pat youself on the back for us, for a job well done.

AS ALWAYS, TRY TO EDIT YOUR QUESTIONNAIRES IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE INTERVIEWS ARE COMPLETED.

CANDIDATE LIST

STATE: MICHIGAN

CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT: 02

(A) NAMES FOR U.S. SENATE

13. Carl Levin

16. Jack Lousma

19. Don Riegle

-- Democratic incumbent

-- Republican candidate

-- Democratic (term not up)

(B) NAMES FOR U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

35. Mike McCauley

34. Carl Pursell

-- Democratic candidate

-- Republican incumbent

BALLOT CARD

For the November 1984 General Election

STATE: MICHIGAN

CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT: 02

	DEMOCRATIC PARTY CANDIDATE	REPUBLICAN PARTY CANDIDATE	INDEPENDENT CANDIDATE
Candidates for the J.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES	Mike McCauley	Carl Pursell	
Candidates for the U.S. SENATE	Carl Levin	Jack Lousma	

Q-by-Q Objectives

- A. For use for your practice interview, I have printed the Michigan congressional district 2 Candidate List and Ballot Card on the following pages.
- B. There are some words used so frequently by respondents in answering our questions that we have developed a list of our own abbreviations you may use, in addition to the "standard probes" printed later in this section). Note that there is an additional standard probe you may use for NES, "can you give me some example of what you have in mind (GE)?"

Dem. = Democratic (Democrat)

Rep. = Republican
Indp. = Independent
Fed. = Federal

Govt. = Gpvernment

Unemp. = Unemployed (unemployment)

Econ. = Economic (Economy)

Pres. = President

C.D. = Congressional District

REPEAT QUESTION	100
REPEAT FRAME OF REFERENCE	(RQ)
REPEAT CHOICES	
Whatever means to you	(MTY
Whatever you think of as	
Would you tell me more about your thinking on that?	(TM)
Would you tell me what you have in mind?	
What do you mean?	CWM
How do you mean?	
What do you think?	(WT)
What do you expect?	
Are there any other reasons why you feel that way?	(AO)
Which would be closer to the way you feel?	(WC)
*Would that be good times or bad times?	*(G/B)
*Would that be favorable or unfavorable?	*(F/U)
ANY PROBES USED FOR OCCUPATION INFORMATION	(PO)
	(PI)
ANY PROBES USED FOR INDUSTRY INFORMATION	(FI)
***FOR NES: Can you give me some examples of what you have in mind?	(GE)

NEUTRAL PREFACES TO PROBES WHICH SHOULD NOT BE RECORDED:

GENERALLY SPEAKING...

IN THE COUNTRY AS A WHOLE ...

YES, BUT...

OF COURSE NO ONE KNOWS FOR SURE...

OR COURSE THERE ARE NO RIGHT OR WRONG ANSWERS...

WE ALL HOPE ...

WE'RE JUST INTERESTED IN WHAT YOU THINK...

LET ME REPEAT THE QUESTION ...

^{*}Used only on the Consumer Attitude Surveys at specified questions.

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LUDIES

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POST-ELECTION SURVE	
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Date of Interview: Length of Interview: Time at beginning of pre-interview editing: Total time to pre-interview editing: Total time at beginning of post-interview editing: Time at beginning of post-interview editing:	.51 .01
Date of Interview: Length of Interview: Time at beginning of pre-interview editing: Time at end of pre-interview editing: Total time to pre-interview edit: Total time to pre-interview edit:	.6 .01
Date of Interview: Length of Interview: Time at beginning of pre-interview editing: Time at end of pre-interview editing:	.8 .9
Date of Interview: Length of Interview: Time at beginning of pre-interview editing:	٠.8
Date of Interview: (Minutes)	٠.٢
Date of Interview:	
**************************************	• 0
	.9
Your Interview Number:	٠,
Congressional District from Sample Label or Item 1 on Cover Sheet:	٠ 7
J. YES S. NO	
Panel R found living at original address reported on the Sample Label?	.٤
ID Number from Sample Label on Cover Sheet:	.2
Interviewer No.	1.
· (DO NOT WRITE IN ABOVE SPACE)	
	23
SURVEY RESERRCH CENTER INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL RESERRCH THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN 48106 ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN 48106	

THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT MUST BE READ TO ALL RESPONDENTS

just let me know and we'll go on to the next question. we should come to any question which you don't want to answer, This interview is completely voluntary and confidential--if

Face Sheet

- Item 1: Enter your interviewer ID.
- Item 2: Enter the ID number. This number can be found on the sample label on the cover sheet. Please enter it carefully, and then double check it. We've had troubles with transposed numbers on the Pre-Election Study.
- Item 3: Check "YES" if the respondent is still living at the sample address, that is, the address listed on the sample label on the cover sheet. Check "NO" if the respondent no longer resides at the address given on the label.
- Item 4: Enter the state and congressional district number as listed on the sample label on the cover sheet.
- Item 5: This item was printed in error. Leave it blank.
- Item 6: Enter the date on which the interview was completed. If the interview was taken in two parts, enter the date on which the interview was finished.
- Item 7: Length of interview should be entered in minutes, calculated from the beginning time on p. 1 of the questionnaire and ending time on p.47. Subtract from this time any "time outs" of five minutes duration or longer that the respondent took to, e.g., answer the door, put the kids to bed, etc.
- Item 8: When you sit down with your Candidate List to pre-edit this interview, enter the time here.
- Item 9, When you've completed pre-editing, enter the and time in item 9, subtract the time in item 8

 Item from the time in item 9, and enter the number of minutes it took to pre-edit the interviews in item 10.

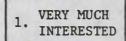
Items 11-

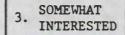
- 13: Similar to the instructions for items 8-10.
- This statement, read to all respondents, is a requirement under the terms of our federal grant and the ISR Human Subjects Review Board. It is also a smooth lead into the interview.

SECTION A

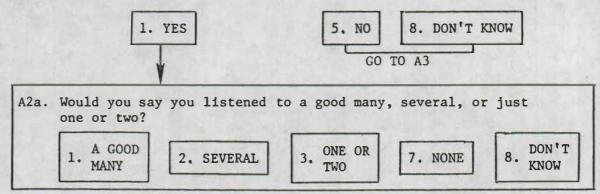
In this interview I will be talking with you about the recent elections, as well as a number of other things. First, I have some questions about the political campaigns which took place this election year.

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

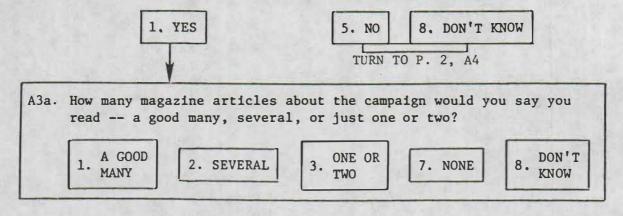




- 5. NOT MUCH INTERESTED
- A2. Did you listen to any speeches or discussions about the campaign on the radio?



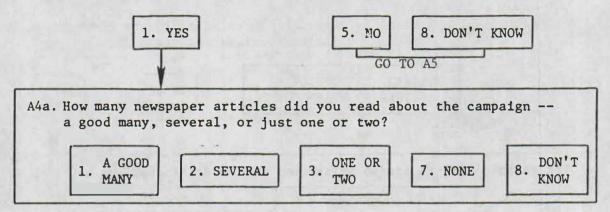
A3. How about magazines -- did you read about the campaign in any magazines?



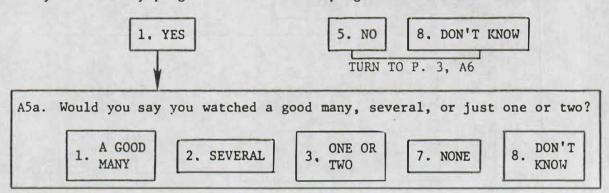
Be sure to enter the exact time at which the interview begins in the space provided.

- A1-A5. By campaign we mean the election campaigns in general and not the campaign for a specific race or office.
- A2-A5. A2-A5 are traditional items on R's attention to-and potential influence by-the media.

A4. Did you read about the campaign in any newspapers?

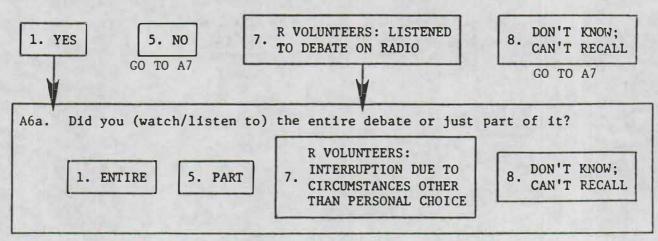


A5. Did you watch any programs about the campaign on television?

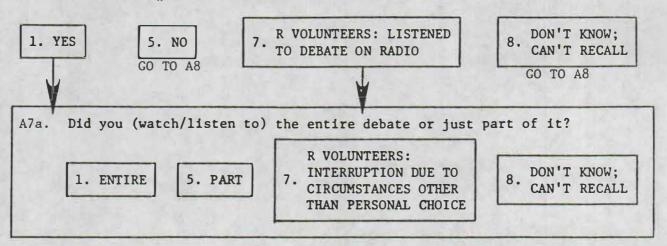


A5. If R asks, "programs about the campaign" include news programs and "political spots" or advertisements for candidates.

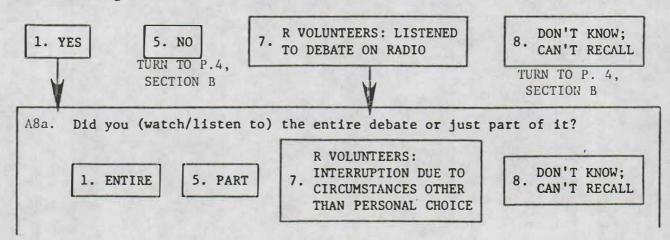
A6. Did you watch the first televised presidential debate held on October 7 between Ronald Reagan and Walter Mondale?



A7. Did you watch the second televised presidential debate held on October 21 between Ronald Reagan and Walter Mondale?



A8. Did you watch the televised vice-presidential debate held on October 11 between George Bush and Geraldine Ferraro?



A6-A8. In these questions we have done what we could to identify for the respondent which of the debates we mean. However, you may get a response in A6, "I know I watched one of the debates, but I don't know which one." Write R's statement in the margin, check box 8, "Don't Know; Can't Recall," and go on to A7. A7 may jog R's memory.

The respondent, in answer to A6, A7, or A8 may volunteer immediately that he/she watched "part" of the debate. Check "yes" and ask A6a (A7a, A8a) as it's written. The reason we insist on this is that R may elaborate on the reason he/she watched only part of debate, and the elaboration may indicate that box 7 should be checked rather than box 5.

In A6a, A7a, and A8a, examples of volunteered responses belonging in box 7 might be, "I got a phone call just before it started and missed the first half hour," or "my child was ill and I had to deal with that, so I only saw snatches." We have in mind interruptions "inflicted" on R. If you're in doubt about whether to check box 5 or box 7, write the respondents explanation in the margin and leave the boxes unchecked. On the other hand, do not probe these: If the respondent simply says "part," check box 5 and move on.



SECTION B

B1. Do you happen to remember the names of the candidates for Congress—that is, for the <u>House of Representatives in Washington—that</u> ran in your district this November?

1. YES		5. NO TURN TO P. 5, B2
Bla. Who were they?	CAND #	Blb. (ASK FOR EACH NAME IN Bla) What was (NAME's) party?
1.		1. 1. DEM 5. REP 8. DON'T KNOW
		7. OTHER PARTY; SPECIFY:
2.	CAND #	2. 1. DEM 5. REP 8. DON'T KNOW
NO MENTION		7. OTHER PARTY; SPECIFY:
3.	CAND #	3. 1. DEM 5. REP 8. DON'T KNOW
NO MENTION		7. OTHER PARTY; SPECIFY:

B1-B1b. Please record as accurately and <u>legibily</u> as possible the names supplied by the R. Accept <u>any</u> name R gives you. Some R's may mention a senatorial candidate hereaccept it without comment.

This question measures the respondent's ability to recall: A) the actual number of candidates in the race, B) their names, and C) their party affiliation. Accept the number of the names given by R and do not probe for additional names in the event that R's answer fails to cover the number of actual candidates in the race.

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.

Use NO MENTION box to indicate that R gave no further mentions. For example, mark NO MENTION in item 3 if the district had two candidates and R conveys to you that he/she has finished naming candidates when he gives you the second candidate name. Similarly, you would record NO MENTION, this time in line 2, if there are two candidates in the district, but the respondent indicates that he/she is through naming candidates after giving you one name only.

In Post-Editing - Enter the candidate numbers for any name which appears on the candidate list (including incorrect names, e.g., that of a senatorial candidate).

B2.	Now	let	s	talk	about	your	feelings	toward	some	political	figures.
-----	-----	-----	---	------	-------	------	----------	--------	------	-----------	----------

I'll read the name of a person and I will ask you to rate that person on a thermometer that runs from 0 degrees to 100 degrees. Ratings between 50 degrees and 100 degrees mean that you feel favorable and warm toward that person. Ratings between 0 degrees and 50 degrees mean that you don't feel too favorable and are cool toward that person. You may use any number from 0 to 100 to tell me how favorable or unfavorable your feelings are for each person.

If we come to a name you recognize, but you don't feel particularly warm or cold toward the person, you would rate the person at the 50 degree mark.

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 "I 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?		DK WHERE TO RATE; CAN'T JUDGE 998.
RATING:		
a. Ronald Reagan	_ a.	
b. Walter Mondale	_ b.	
c. Jesse Jackson	_ c.	
d(NAME #31, 33, or 35)	_ d.	
e	_ e.	
f	_ f.	
(NAME #37 or 39)		
g. George Bush	_ g.	
h. Geraldine Ferraro	_ h.	
And, still using the thermometer, how would you rathe following?	te	HERE TO RATE;
1. the Democratic Party	_ i.	
j. the Republican Party	_ j.	
k. people who call themselves political independents	_ k.	

- B2. 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 Bla, 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, and 1982, will tell us whether House candidates are more or less visible in presidential election years than in congressional off-year elections.

The list includes names of important 1984 presidential and vice-presidential candidates and 1984 House candidates.

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

We want the ratings entered in degrees on the interview schedule. If R wants to select a degree level which is mentioned as being on the feeling thermometer—for example, 95 degrees—in order to indicate more accurately his/her feelings toward a person, by all means let him/her do so and record this response to the exact degree.

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?"

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

B2. (CONTINUED. R.B., STILL P. 1)

998. DK WHERE TO RATE; CAN'T JUDGE

			KATING:		
m. political parti	es in general	m.			-
n. women		n.			4
o. blacks		0.	15-15-21-		4
p. conservatives		p	Heren		-
q. Hispanics		q.	50.70	e Hillian	4
r. middle-class pe	ople	r.			
s. labor unions		s.			-
t. poor people		t.			4
u. whites		u			
v. liberals		v			4
w. older people		w			4
x. Evangelical grows such as the Mora	ups active in politics, al Majority	х			
y. big business		у			-
z. Catholics		z			
aa. black militant	s	aa.			-
bb. the U.S. Supre	me Court	bb.			
cc. people on welfa	are	cc.			
dd. gay men and le	sbians, that is	dd			
ee. civil rights lo	eaders	ee.			
ff. anti-abortionis	sts	ff.			
gg. the military		gg			
hh. the women's lil	beration movement	hh.			

- B2. In this study, we are using the feeling thermometer to accomplish two things.
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 - 2) establish whether respondents who didn't recall some or all of the congressional candidate names in Bla, 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, and 1982, will tell us whether House candidates are more or less visible in presidential election years than in congressional off-year elections.

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

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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

B2. (CONTINUED. R.B., STILL P. 1)

998. DK WHERE TO RATE; CAN'T JUDGE

			RATING.
m.	political parties in general	n.	
n.	women	n.	
0.	blacks	0.	
p.	conservatives	р.	
q.	Hispanics	q.	
r.	middle-class people	r.	THE RESERVE
s.	labor unions	s.	
t.	poor people	t.	
u.	whites	u.	
v.	liberals	ν.	
w.	older people	w.	
x.	Evangelical groups active in politics, such as the Moral Majority	ж.	
у.	big business	у.	
z.	Catholics	z	
aa.	black militants	aa.	
bb.	the U.S. Supreme Court	bb.	
cc.	people on welfare	cc.	
dd.	gay men and lesbians, that is homosexuals	dd.	
ee.	civil rights leaders	ee.	
ff.	anti-abortionists	ff.	
gg.	the military	gg.	
hh.	the women's liberation movement	hh.	

B2. (Continued)

probe will help you determine which of the following two situations applies.

- 1. Is R tying to tell you that he knows the person (recognizes the name), but doesn't know (can't decide) how to rate the person because he/she is unfamiliar with the ideas, stances, personality, of the political figure? This answer belongs in the column labeled: 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 he/she really doesn't know who the person is, in which case the answer should be logged in the column labeled: R DOESN'T RECOGNIZE NAME.

Please take time to be sure that R understands the mechanics of the feeling thermometer.

After the candidates, we continue with the groups "feeling thermometer" series to measure how R feels about a number of important groups in society.

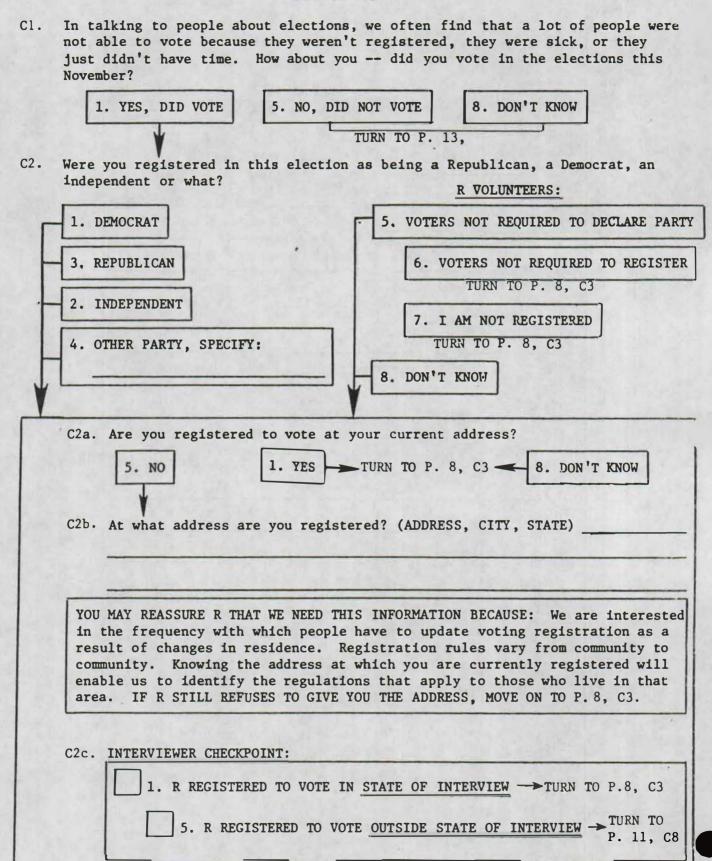
If R does not recognize a group (for example, "evangelical groups active in politics, such as the Moral Majority"), record the answer in the DK answer box.

Please note the following problems that surfaced in our pretest. 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 very much likes; if all he/she can say is that he/she has nothing against them, 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).

SECTION C



C2. R may say, "We don't register by party in this state;" check box 5. R may also say, "We don't have to register in this state;" check box 6. Either answer could be correct for some congressional districts.

Some states have "independent" as a category for registration, along with Democrat and Republican. This belongs in box 2, and is different from the situation in states with non-partisan registration (box 5) where nobody gives a party when registering. By "independent," we do not mean the "Independent Party." The "Independent Party" (along with "Libertarian," "Socialist," "Liberal," and many others) belongs in box 4.

- C2a. WARNING: A "no" answer in this question routes you to the next question, whereas a "yes" answer skips you to the next page. Since this situation is not typical of most questions (where "yes" means continue and "no" means skip), several interviewers in 1982 followed the improper path of questioning. Please follow the path of questioning as indicated in the questionnaire.
- C2b. Be certain you get a <u>complete</u> address (including city and state). This information will be used to contact the appropriate election registrar's office in the vote validation portion of the study.
- C2c. If R is not registered at his current address, you will need to meet this CHECKPOINT to ask the correct voting series. It is most important that you choose the appropriate checkpoint value: If l. (Registered in state of residence), you will ask C4-C6. If 2. (Registered outside state of residence), you will ask C9-C10.

C3. How about the election for President? Did you vote for a candidate for President? 8. DON'T KNOW 1. YES 5. NO TURN TO P. 9, C4 C3a. Who did you vote for? 7. OTHER, SPECIFY: 1. REAGAN 2. MONDALE C3b. Would you say that your preference for this candidate was strong or not strong? 5. NOT STRONG 1. STRONG 8. DON'T KNOW C3c. How long before the election did you decide that you were going to vote the way you did?

C3c. 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."

My favorite answer to this question (which had to be probed, but I still loved it) was, "I came down the birth canal voting Democratic."

2 9
I am going to read a list of candidates for the major races in your district. In the election for the House of Representatives, the ballot listed:
(NAMES OF ALL HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVE CANDIDATES LISTED ON THE BALLOT CARD)
Did you vote for a candidate for the U.S. House of Representatives?
1. YES 7. R VOLUNTEERS: VOTED FOR CAND. 7. WHOSE NAME WAS NOT READ IN B4 5. NO 8. DON'T KNOW 8. DON'T KNOW
GO TO C5
C4a. Who did you vote for?
C4b. Would you say that your preference for this candidate was strong or not strong?
1. STRONG 5. NOT STRONG 8. DON'T KNOW
INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:
1. U.S. SENATE RACE IN THIS STATE (CANDIDATE LIST INCLUDES AT LEAST ONE NAME FROM #10 - #16)
2. NO U.S. SENATE RACE (NO NAME FROM #10 - #16 ON CANDIDATE LIST) TURN TO P. 10, C7
In the election for the United States Senate, the ballot listed:
(NAMES OF ALL U.S. SENATE CANDIDATES LISTED ON THE BALLOT CARD.)
Did you vote for a candidate for the U.S. Senate?

(NAMES OF ALL HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVE CANDIDATES Did you vote for a candidate for the U.S. House of R VOLUNTEERS: VOTED FOR CAND. 1. YES WHOSE NAME WAS NOT READ IN B4 C4a. Who did you vote for? C4b. Would you say that your preference for this ca strong or not strong? 5. NOT STRONG 1. STRONG C5. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT: 1. U.S. SENATE RACE IN THIS STATE (CANDIDATE L. NAME FROM #10 - #16) 2. NO U.S. SENATE RACE (NO NAME FROM #10 CANDIDATE LIST) - TURN TO P. 10 C6. In the election for the United States Senate, the ba (NAMES OF ALL U.S. SENATE CANDIDATES LISTED ON THE Did you vote for a candidate for the U.S. Senate? 8. DON'T KNOW 1. YES 5. NO TURN TO P. 10, C7 CAND. # C6a. Who did you vote for?

C4. I am going to read a list of candidates for the maj

In the "personal" version of this questionnaire, the Ballot Card is presented to the Respondent. For telephone interviewing it is necessary to pre-edit the names from the Ballot Card into the blanks so they can be read to R at the appropriate time. Please be certain you pre-edit the correct set of candidate names into the House blank (C4) and the Senate blank (C6).

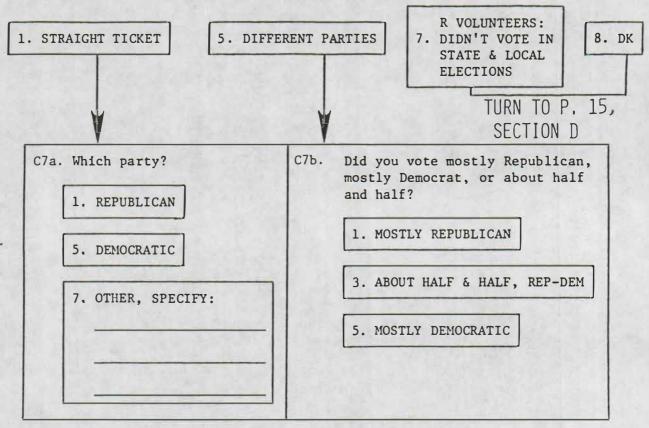
It is vital that the Ballot Card be the correct card for the R's congressional district.

Double and triple check to make certain the Ballot Card matches R's Congressional district.

R now resides, the House race on the Ballot Card may, indeed, be the wrong one. If this is the case, check Box 7 in C4 and ask for the his/her voter registration, and since used to live or where he/she chooses to keep he/she voted is not the one described on the Ballot district is different from the one in which to vote in the congressional district where he/she for the U.S. House of Representatives in which Note that, when asking C4, R may say that the race This could be true because R may have gone the House candidate in C4a. this

respondent says he/she voted for a "write-in" candidate who was not listed in the official ballot. Box 7 is the one you should check if the Obtain the candidate's name in C4a.

C7. How about the elections for other state and local offices -- did you vote a straight ticket, or did you vote for candidates from different parties?



TURN TO P. 15, SECTION D

C7. We had <u>mucho problemos</u> (pardon my French) with this question in the pretest. Unfortunately, it's an old question and we cannot change the wording. I will therefore describe what we mean by the question, and tell you what to do with various kinds of answers you might get:

What we want to know is whether the respondent voted for state and local candidates all from one party or whether some of his/her votes for state and local candidates went to Democrats and some to Republicans or to other parties. Seems simple enough, right?

However, some respondents hear "straight ticket" and think we mean, did they pull the lever ('X' the box, punch the hole, or whatever) which meant they voted for one party in all races including the national ones (for president, the U.S. House of Representatives, and the U.S. Senate). So, first of all, as you read the question, stress "other state and local offices." Second, if the respondent simply says, "straight ticket," you have to accept it and assume R knows what we're talking about. Howver, if R says something like: "I don't know what you mean. Are you asking me if I pulled the 'straight ticket' lever?", the answer is "no," and reread the question. If R still doesn't 'get it,' record R's statements in the margin, and follow the skip for box 8, "Don't know" (DO NOT MARK THE BOX). If R says, "Well, I don't know what you want, but I did pull the 'straight ticket' lever," then we know what we wanted to know (by accident, unfortunately), and you can mark "straight ticket" and go on.

FOR R'S REGISTERED OUTSIDE STATE OF INTERVIEW

ClOa. Who did you vote for?

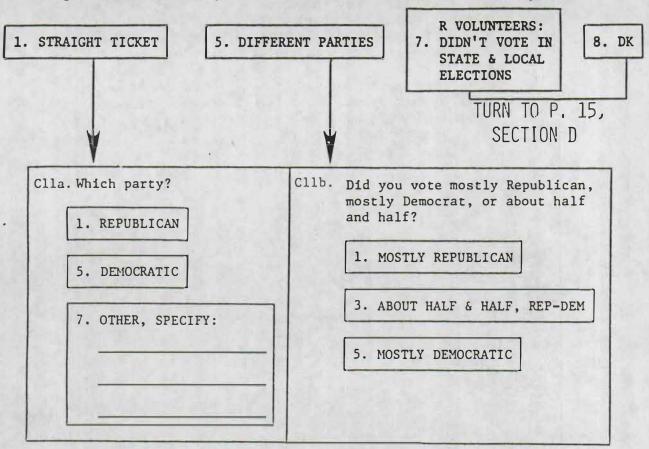
C8. How about the election for President. Did you vote for a candidate for President? 5. NO→ GOTO C9 8. D ON'T KNOW 1. YES C8a. Who did you vote for? 7. OTHER, SPECIFY: 1. REAGAN 2. MONDALE C8b. Would you say that your preference for this candidate was strong or not strong? 1. STRONG 5. NOT STRONG 8, DON'T KNOW C8c. How long before the election did you decide that you were going to vote the way you did? C9. How about the election for the House of Representatives in Washington. you vote for a candidate for the U.S. House of Representatives? 1, YES 6. NO -GO TO C10 8, DON'T KNOW C9a. Who did you vote for? C9b. Would you say that your preference for this candidate was strong or not strong? 1. STRONG 5. NOT STRONG 8. DON'T KNOW ClO. How about the election for the United States Senate? Did you vote for a candidate for the U.S. Senate? R VOLUNTEERS: NO SENATE 8. DON'T KNOW 1. YES 5. NO RACE IN STATE R VOTED TURN TO P. 12, C11

C8-C10. These questions are to be used, as indicated at the top of the page, when R has told you that he/she is registered to vote in a state different from the one in which he/she currently resides. (You find out about the situation at C2b, and having checked the appropriate checkpoint value at C2c), you are skipped to information R recalls about the races without the aid of a Ballot Card.

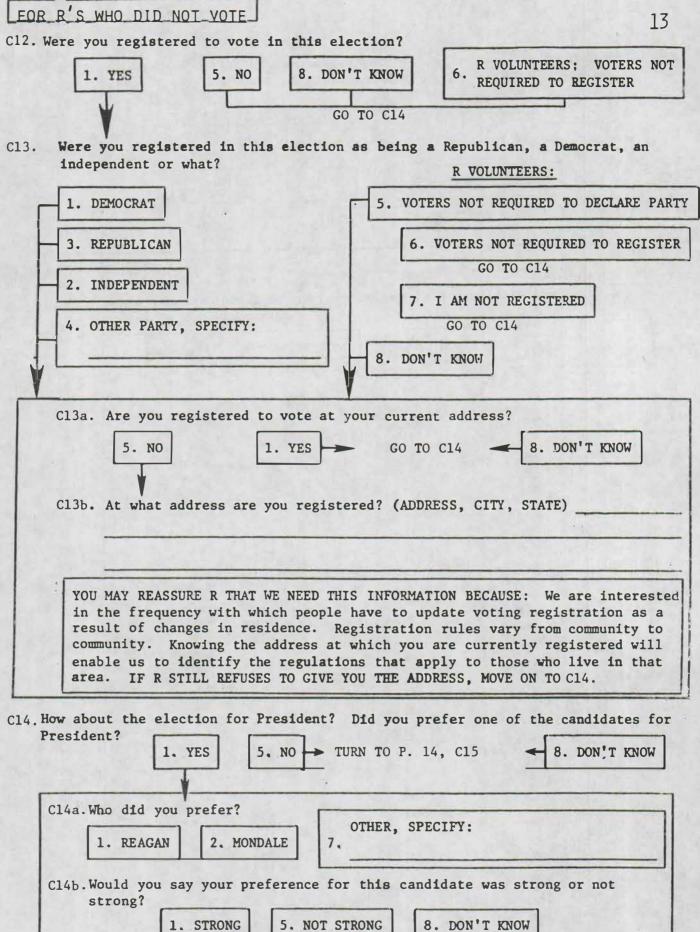
Note that you do not have to worry about postediting candidate numbers into boxes on this page. (You'd be psychic, if you could do that!) This will be done in coding.

FOR R'S REGISTERED OUTSIDE STATE OF INTERVIEW

Cll. How about the elections for other state and local offices -- did you vote a straight ticket, or did you vote for candidates from different parties?



TURN TO P. 15, SECTION D



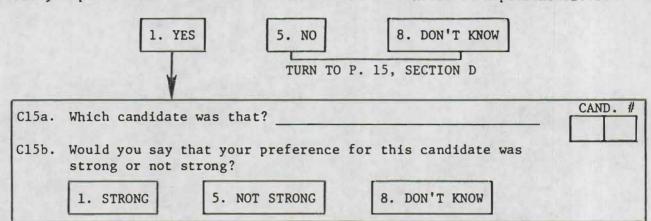
- C12. R may say he/she is registered, but not in this state/city/district, etc. This is still a 'yes' answer, since what we want to know is whether R is registered at all. "I'm not sure" answers should be probed by repeating the question—emphasizing "As far as you know..." Incidentally, many people really don't know whether they are registered.
- C13. See C2, p.7.
- C13a. See C2a, p.7.
- C13b. See C2b, p.7.

14	1	VI
		V

Cl5. I am going to read a list of candidates for the major races in your district. In the election for the House of Representatives, the ballot listed:

(NAMES OF ALL HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVE CANDIDATES LISTED ON THE BALLOT CARD)

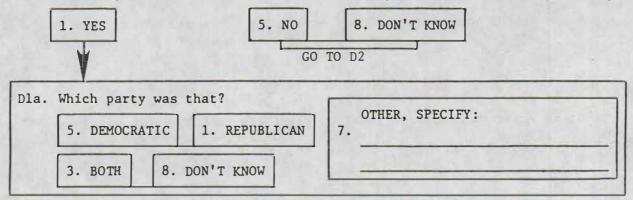
Did you prefer one of the candidates for the U.S. House of Representatives?



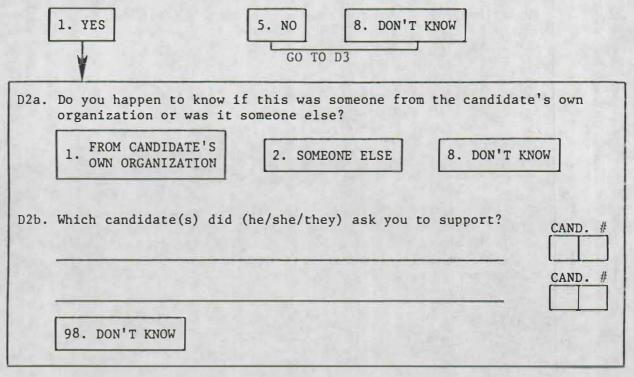


SECTION D

D1. 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 call you up or come around and talk to you about the campaign this year?



D2. 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?



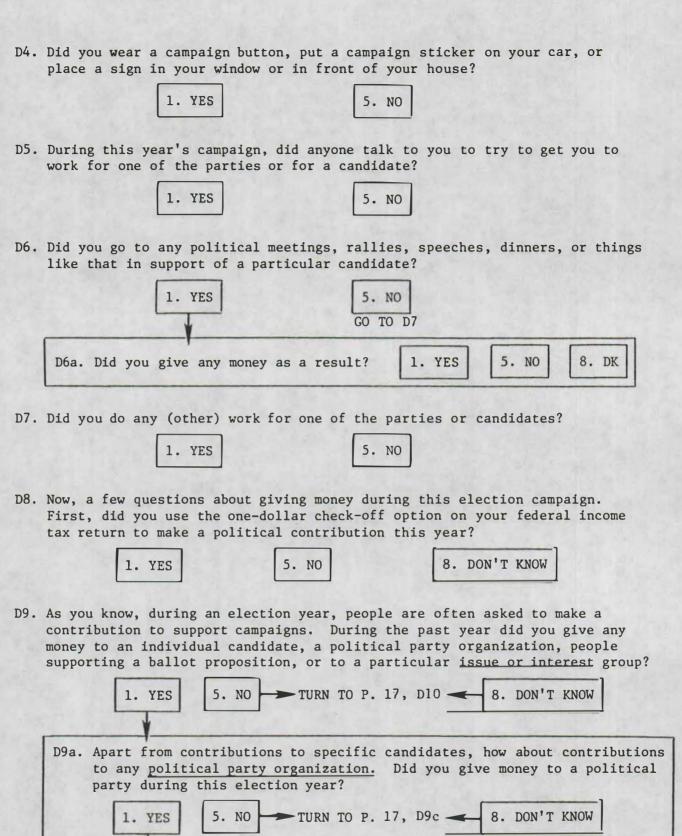
D3. We would like to find out about some of the things people do to help a party or a candidate win an election.

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?



- D1-D12 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 or dog catchers are not what we have in mind (if you're asked).
- D2b. Note that we have allowed for two candidate names given as responses. Please probe for 'Any others' and use the margin if necessary.
- D3. 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."



5. DEMOCRATIC

D9b. Which party was that?

7. OTHER, SPECIFY:

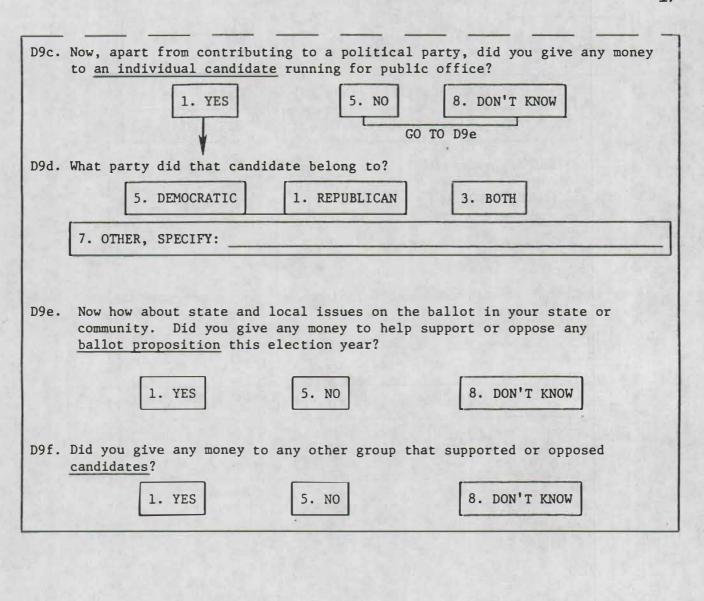
1. REPUBLICAN

3. BOTH

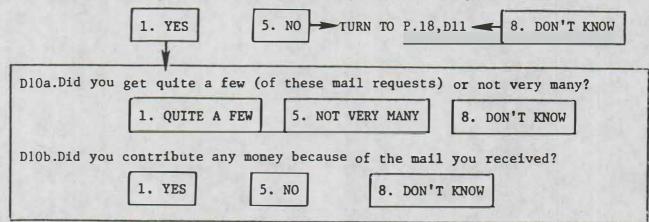
D6a. A pretest respondent said, "Well, I paid \$125. for the dinner. Does that count?" You bet it does! The answer is "yes."

D6a. The optional use of "other" in this question is here in case R has answered "yes" to D4, D5 or D6; it makes the question a little smoother for the R.

D9-D9f. This is a difficult series, in part because respondents don't always know whether they gave to a party or 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.



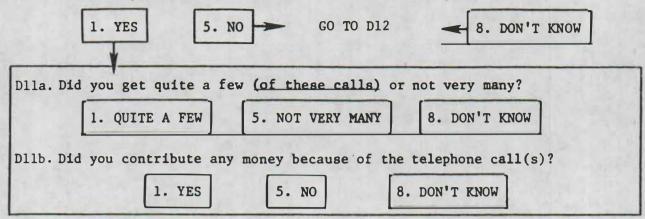
D10. During the past year did you receive any requests through the mail asking you to contribute money to a candidate, a party or an issue group?



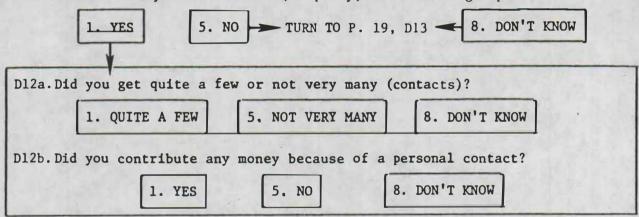
D9c. "Ballot propositions" includes state and local initiatives, ordinances, and constitutional amendments.

D10-D12b. Again, there may be overlap with responses in the D9 series. For example, a respondent may have contributed money to a political party ("yes" in D9a) in response to a telephone call ("yes" in D11). This is OK. In D9 we were trying to find out what kinds of things (parties, candidates, propositions) appeal enough to a respondent for him/her to give money. In D10-D12 we're interested in whether mail contact, telephone contact or face-to-face contact are effective methods of getting contributions, and which are most effective.

Dll. In the last year, did you receive any telephone calls asking you to contribute money to a candidate, a party, or an issue group?



D12. In the last year, have you been contacted directly, face to face, and asked to contribute money to a candidate, a party, or an issue group?



to vote or about	voting:			
	1. YES	5. NO	8. DON'T KNOW	

D14. In the last six months, have you worked with others or joined an organization trying to do something about some <u>national problem?</u>

1. YES 5. NO 8. DON'T KNOW

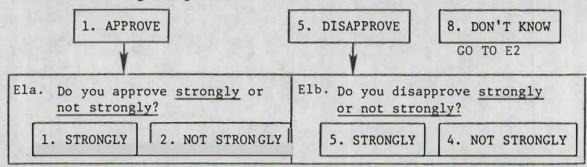
There are massive retgistration and get-out-the-vote drives going on this year, particularly in response to Jesse Jackson's efforts to encourage blacks to register and vote. We are interested in how many of our respondents have been contacted by these registration and voting drives.

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."

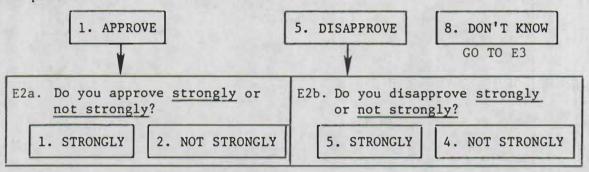
Please note the focus on <u>national problem</u>, as opposed to things like ballot propositions or organizations working on a local or state problem.

SECTION E

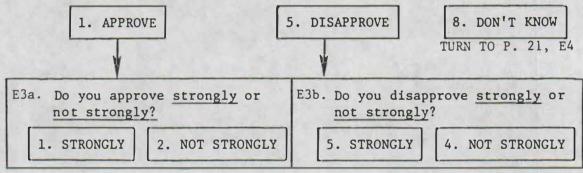
El. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the way the U.S. Congress has been handling its job?



E2. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling his job as president?



E3. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling the balancing of the national budget?



E1-E3 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).

E4. 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.

Think about Ronald Reagan. Now, has Reagan -- because of the kind of person he is, or because of something he has done -- ever made you feel:

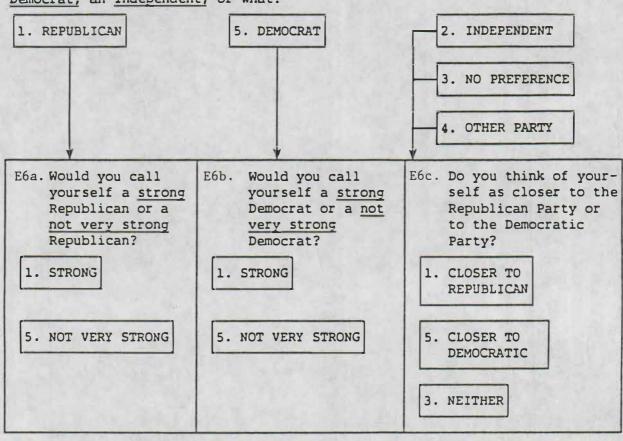
	1. YES; HAVE FELT	5. NO; NEVER FELT
a. angry		
o. hopeful		
c. afraid of him	Hat Make	
d. proud		
e. disgusted		
f. sympathetic toward him		
g. uneasy		

E5. Think about Walter Mondale. Now, has Mondale (--because of the kind of person he is, or because of something he has done--) ever made you feel:

		ES; HAVE 5.	NO; NEVER
a. angry			
o. hopeful			
c. afraid of him			
d. proud			
e. disgusted			
sympathetic toward	him		
g. uneasy			

These questions on <u>feelings</u> toward the President and Walter Mondale are complimented by another set of somewhat similar layout, F3-F4, tapping perceived candidate <u>qualities</u>. These questions measure in depth people's evaluations of individuals who aspire to political leadership.

E6. Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or what?



E6-E6c. 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 (probably, when R responds to E6b, 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, check the "other" box 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 E6a, E6b, and E6c probes concerning strength and closeness, we are again interested in R's <u>usual</u> party feelings. However, if R mentions any recent change in his feelings toward a party, be sure to record that in the margin.

F1-F2 OMITTED.

F3. Now we'd like to know about your impressions of Ronald Reagan. I am going to read a list of words and phrases people use to describe political figures. After each one, I would like you to tell me how much the word or phrase fits your impression of Ronald Reagan.

The first phrase is "hard-working." How much would you say "hard-working" fits your impression of Ronald Reagan: a great deal, somewhat, a little, or not at all?

			A GREAT DEAL	2. SOMEWHAT	3. CAN'T DECIDE	4. A LITTLE	5. NOT AT ALL	8. DK
a.	HARD-WORKING	a.						
ь.	decent	ь.						
c.	compassionate	c.			MERCE	THE REAL PROPERTY.		
d.	commands respect	d.	1			- 16		
e.	intelligent	e.	3 10					
f.	moral	f.		10/10/19				
g.	kind	g.	-	EV JAN				
h.	inspiring	h.						
1.	knowledgeable	i.						
_	sets a good example	j.						
k.	really cares about people like you	k.				*		
m.	provides strong leadership	m.						
n.	understands people like you	n.						
0.	fair	0.						
p.	in touch with ordinary people	p.						
r.	religious	r.						

In this section we are asking R to evaluate each of the major candidates according to a list of qualities that reflect aspects of political leadership.

F3-F4

you, that respondents enjoyed it. 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. This section will undoubtedly seem repetitive to but we know from earlier election studies respondents enjoyed it. If respondents say

Also see instruction for E4-E5, p.21.

F4. Now about Walter Mondale. Would you say "hard-working" fits your impression of him: a great deal, somewhat, a little, or not at all?

		1. A GREAT DEAL	2. SOMEWHAT	3. CAN'T DECIDE	4. A LITTLE	5. NOT AT ALL	8. DK
a. HARD-WORKING	a.						
b. decent	b.						
c. compassionate	c.						
d. commands respect	d.						
e. intelligent	e.						
f. moral	f.						
g. kind	g.						
h. inspiring	h.						
i. knowledgeable	i.				1,000.5		
j. sets a good example	j.					1-1	
k. really cares about people like you	k.						
m. provides strong leadership	m.				Halley		
n. like you	n.						
o. fair	0.						
p. in touch with ordinary people	р.						
r. religious	r.						

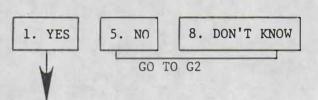
SECTION G

Gl.	Next	I	would	like	to	ask	you	some	ques	tions	about	the	candidate(s)	who	ran
	in yo	uı	dist	cict i	for	the	U.S.	Hous	se of	Repre	esenta	tives	3.		

Was there anything in particular that you liked about

(NAME # 31, 33 or 35)

the Democratic candidate for the U.S. House of Representatives?



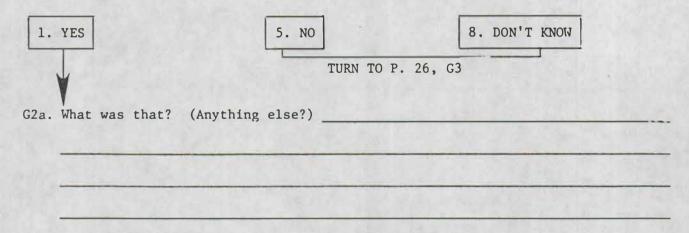
R VOLUNTEERS: "I DON'T
7. KNOW ANYTHING ABOUT THIS PERSON."

TURN TO P. 26, G3

Gla.	What was that?	(Anything else?)	

G2. Was there anything in particular that you didn't like about

(NAME # 31, 33, or 35)



Section G: You may wonder whether you should go through this section if the respondent did not recall the House candidates in Bl and did not recognize the candidates' names in B2. The answer is yes, we do want you to go through Section G. The reason is that in Section G we give the respondent not only the name of the candidate, but also information about whether he/she is an incumbent or a challenger 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 G-when we give them enough 'cues' to trigger their memories.

G1-G4a 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?"

Specificity probes are also particularly 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, cliches, 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.

1. YES		8. DON'T KNOW TO G4	R VOLUNTEERS: "I DON'T 7. KNOW ANYTHING ABOUT THIS PERSON." TURN TO P. 27, G5
G3a. Wha	t was that?	(Anything else?)	10RV 10 1. 27, G3
-		BUSINESSES	
Was there	e anything ir	n particular that	you didn't like about (NAME # 32, 34 or
Was there	e anything in	particular that	
	e anything in		(NAME # 32, 34 or

1.	DISTRICT IN WHICH TWO HOUSE CANDIDATES RAN (CANDIDATE LIST INCLUDES ONE NAME # 31, 33 OR 35 AND ONE NAME # 32, 34 OR 36)
	2. DISTRICT IN WHICH ONLY ONE HOUSE CANDIDATE RAN (CANDIDATE LIST INCLUDES EITHER NAME # 31, 33 OR 35 OR NAME # 32, 34 OR 36, BUT NOT BOTH)
V	
	IF ONLY ONE HOUSE CANDIDATE RAN IN THE DISTRICT:
Ge	(NAME # 31, 32, 33, 34, 35 OR 36) already in the U.S. House of Representatives before the election?
	1. YES, CANDIDATE WAS 3. NO, CANDIDATE WAS NOT 5. DON'T KNOW
(G	CAND # 6a)
-	TURN TO P. 28, G8
V	
IF TWO	HOUSE CANDIDATES RAN IN THE DISTRICT:
	happen to know if either of these candidates,
	(NAME # 31, 33 OR 35)
Do you (NAME	
Do you (NAME before	(NAME # 31, 33 OR 35) was already in the U.S. House of Representatives # 32, 34 OR 36)
Do you (NAME before	(NAME # 31, 33 OR 35) , was already in the U.S. House of Representatives # 32, 34 OR 36) the election? , ONE 2 YES, BOTH 3 NEITHER 5 DON'T KNOW

G6-G7a. These items are in the interview to aid in measuring the respondent's level of political information.

Post-Editing

Note that G6a consists only of coding boxes. Please enter the number for the candidate name you used in G6, but only if R answered "YES" in G6. If the answer was "NO" or "DK," leave the boxes in G6a blank.

G8. INTE	RVIEWER CHECKPOINT
	1. DISTRICT IN WHICH NO HOUSE INCUMBENT RAN (CANDIDATE LIST INCLUDES # 31 OR # 32, OR BOTH) TURN TO P. 33, G18
	2. DISTRICT IN WHICH HOUSE INCUMBENT RAN (CANDIDATE LIST INCLUDES # 33 OR # 34)
. There	are many ways in which U.S. representatives can have contact with
the pe	ople from their districts. Think of
who ha	(NAME # 33 or 34) s been a U.S. Representative in Washington.
wile ita	1. YES 5. NO.
G9a.	Have you met (him/her) personally?
G9b.	Have you attended a meeting or gathering where (he/she) spoke?
G9c.	Have you talked to a member of (his/her) staff or to someone in (his/her) office?
G9d.	Have you received something in the mail from (him/her)?
G9e.	Have you read about (him/her) in a newspaper or magazine?
G9f.	Have you heard (him/her) on the radio?
G9g.	Have you seen (him/her) on TV?
Do you k	now anyone, any of your family, friends, or people at work, who have contact with?
1	YES 5. NO 8. DON'T KNOW

Questions for districts in Which House Incumbent Ran

G9-G10. These questions will tell us whether R has had any direct or indirect contact with the district incumbent.

In G9, "NO; NO CONTACT AT ALL" means R has had no contact or learned anything about the Representative.

In G9a, item h, "Other contact not included in A-G above" means R has had contact but it took some form which does not appear on the list.

who also ran for the U.S. House of

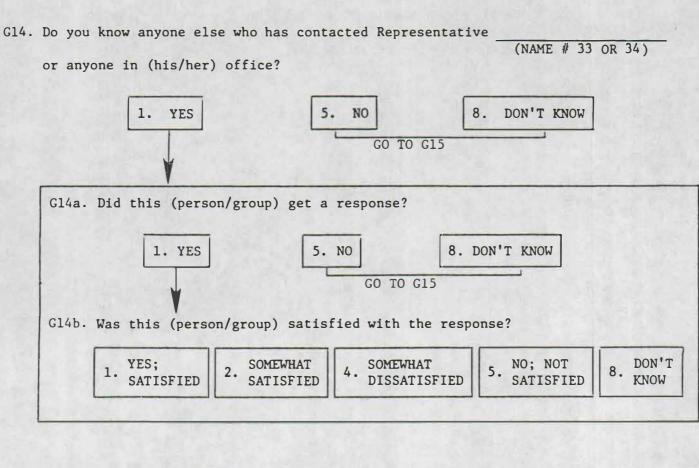
G11. How			_ who also ran	for the U.S. House of
Rep		NAME # 35 or 36) om your district in	the last election	on?
				1. YES 5. NO
G11	a. Have you me	t (him/her) personal	lly?	
G11	h. Have you at (he/she) spe	tended a meeting or oke?	gathering where	
G11		lked to a member of ne in (his/her) off:		
G11	d. Have you re (him/her)?	ceived something in	the mail from	
G11	e. Have you remagazine?	ad about (him/her)	in a newspaper or	
G11	f. Have you he	ard (him/her) on the	e radio?	
G11	g. Have you se	en (him/her) on TV?		
G12.Do yo	u know anyone, a	any of your family, h (NAME # 35 OR	?	le at work, who have
	1. YES	5. NO		8. DON'T KNOW

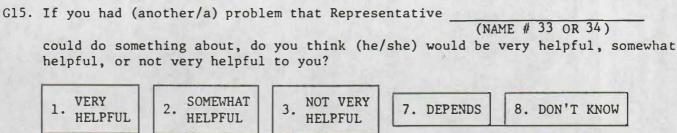
G11-G12. These questions will tell us whether R has had any direct or indirect contact with the candidate opposing the district incumbent in the race for U.S. House of Representatives. See instruction for G9-G10, p. 28.

Gl3. Have you (or anyone in your family living here) ever contacted Representative or anyone in (his/her) office

or anyone in (his/her) office (NAME # 33 OR 34) 8. DON'T KNOW 1. YES 5. NO TURN TO P. 31, G14 G13a. Was it to: (ACCEPT MORE THAN ONE MENTION) express an opinion? seek information? seek help on a problem you had? Gl3b. Did you get a response from your Representative or (his/her) office? 1. YES 8. DON'T KNOW 5. NO TURN TO P. 31, G14 G13c. How satisfied were you with the response: very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, not very satisfied, or not at all satisfied? DON'T VERY SOMEWHAT NOT VERY NOT AT ALL 2. 1. KNOW SATISFIED SATISFIED SATISFIED SATISFIED

G13-G13c. In cases where R has contacted the incumbent directly or has heard of such contacts by others, we'd like to find out whether R thinks the district incumbent has responded to the satisfaction of the person (group) who contacted him/her.





C16. Do you happen to remember anything special that Representative (NAME # 33 OR 34) has done for (his/her) district or for the people in (his/her) district while (he/she) has been in Congress?

1. YES 5. NO

G14-G14a. the groups R's have mentioned. associations, charity organizations, and social and recreational clubs are examples of some of Representative, but they knew of groups who had done so. We revised Gl4a and Gl4b to allow for the inclusion of groups. Neighborhood In answer to G14, interviewers in the past have encountered some respondents who said they didn't know of specific individuals who had contacted the In answer to G14,

G16. by the respondents. This question is directed at disclosing instances in which a Representative's actions are remembered remembered

1

32

In general, do you approve or disapprove of the way Representative has been handling (his/her) job? G17.

(NAME # 33 OR 34)

1. APPROVE

5. DISAPPROVE

8. DON'T KNOW

SECTION H 35, ط TURN TO

FOR DISTRICT WITH NO INCUMBENT RUNNING

G:	18. There are many ways in which congressional candidates can have contact with
	the people from thisr district. Think about
	(NAME # 31) who ran for the U.S. House of Representatives from this district in the last election. 1. YES 5. NO
	G18a. Have you met (him/her) personally?
	G18b. Have you attended a meeting or gathering where (he/she) spoke?
	Gl8c. Have you talked to a member of (his/her) staff or to someone in (his/her) office?
	Gl8d. Have you received something in the mail from (him/her)?
	Gl8e. Have you read about (him/her) in a newspaper or magazine?
	G18f . Have you heard (him/her) on the radio?
	G18g . Have you seen (him/her) on TV?
319.	Do you know anyone, any of your family, friends, or people at work, who have had some contact with?
	1. YES 5. NO 8. DON'T KNOW

Questions for Districts With No Incumbent Running

G18-G21. These questions will Tell us whether R has had any direct or indirect contact with either of the major party candidates for the U.S. House of Representatives. See instructions for G9-G10, p. p. 28.

who also ran for the U.S. House of	(NAME # 32)	Representatives from your district in the last election?
G20. How about		Representatives
0.		

G20a. Have you met (him/her) personally?

Have you attended a meeting or gathering where (he/she) spoke? G20b.

Have you talked to a member of (his/her) staff or to someone in (his/her) office? G20c.

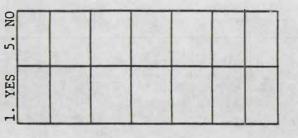
Have you received something in the mail from (him/her)? G20d.

Or Have you read about (him/her) in a newspaper magazine? G20e.

G20g. Have you seen (him/her) on TV?

Have you heard (him/her) on the radio?

320f.



G21. Do you know anyone, any of your family, friends, or people at work, who have had some contact with 32) (NAME #

1. YES

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW

SECTION H

H1. 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 most of the time, some of the time, only now and then, or hardly at all?

1. MOST OF THE TIME 2. SOME OF THE TIME

3. ONLY NOW AND THEN

4. HARDLY AT ALL

8. DON'T KNOW

_	
4	
INTERV	JIEWER CHECKPOINT:
	. R HAS NOT MENTIONED ANY PROBLEMS — TURN TO P. 38, SECTION J
ſ	
	2. R HAS MENTIONED ONE PROBLEM — TURN TO P. 37, H5
	2. R HAS MENTIONED ONE PROBLEM — TURN TO P. 37, H5 3. R HAS MENTIONED MORE THAN ONE PROBLEM
	3. R HAS MENTIONED MORE THAN ONE PROBLEM ose you've mentioned, what would you say is the single most importa
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conveyed the meaning to us. feels are important, that you understand what R has in mind with each problem, and that you have opportunity to mention all of the problems he and very valuable to us. Please make an effort to take your time and probe fully. When you finish the series, you should feel that the respondent had full "most important problems" series is traditional,

H2-H4.

in which the high cost of oil causes a deficit in questions like, "Could you tell me what you have in mind?", "Could you tell me a little more about that?" we cannot code such general answers. of energy? services is poor? or what?); and "energy" (the cost or that we shouldn't? common responses are "foreign affairs" (what does this mean? The Arab-Israeli problems? The Ameri to get specific problems R has in mind. the balance of trade? Pipeline? this mean that we should have socialized medicine? talks with Russia? political or governmental in nature. Please try these questions, nearly all of the responses will the scarcity of energy? the Alaskan problems with the OPEC nations? the way or what?); "national health" or what?). or that the quality of health The point is, Proble with The American For example, (does

more nuclear power plants, fewer, or feels the problem is at the root of a lot of social unrest. mentioned, but we don't know whether Or too little. dissatisfied because we're spending too much. what's being spent now, or whether he/she is the respondent's thoughts. "Medicare spending" -- but we don't know if R favors We also need to know here about the "direction" or something similar. Again, probe with, "Nuclear power" is sometimes "Tell me what you have in mind," For example, we get R favors

Probe for problems ("any other important problems?") until R says "no".

Н5.	How go	od a	job is	s the	govern	nment	doing	in	dealing	with	this	problem,
	a good	job,	only	fair,	or a	poor	job?					
	1 (COOD	TOR	1	ONLY	FATD			DOOR TOR		0 DC	N'T KNOU

- H6. 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 5. DEMOCRATS 3. NOT MUCH DIFFERENCE 8. DON'T KNOW

SECTION J

Jl. If you had a say in making up the federal budget this year, which programs would you like to see increased and which reduced—

		1. INCREASED	2. SAME	8. DON'T KNOW
a.	Should federal spending on improving and protecting the environment be increased, decreased, or kept about the same?			
b.	Should federal spending on <u>dealing</u> with crime be increased, decreased, or <u>kept about the same?</u>			
c.	Public schools (Should federal spending on <u>public schools</u> be <u>increased</u> , <u>decreased</u> , or <u>kept about the same?</u>)			
d.	Social Security			
e.	Food stamps			
f.	Medicare			
g.	Government jobs for the unemployed			
h.	Science and technology			
i.	Defense			
j.	Assistance to blacks			

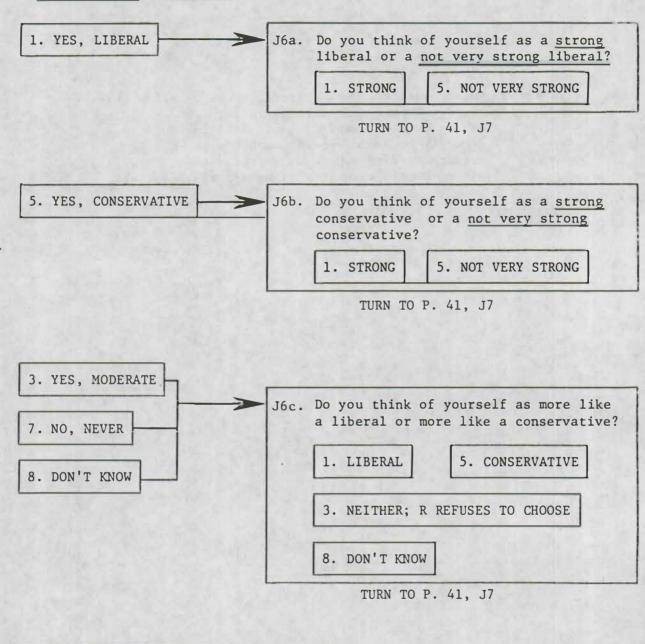
11.

We have printed the stem of the question ("Should federal spending on decreased, or kept about the same?) in the first three question (a, b, and c). Please repeat it as often as necessary to keep the answer categories in the respondent's mind.

52.	Representatives in Washington <u>before</u> the election (this/last) month? (IF NECESSARY: Which one?)			
	1. REPUBLICANS	5. DEMOCRATS	8. NO, DON'T KNOW	
J3.	As a result of the election the most members in the Ho			
	1. REPUBLICANS	5. DEMOCRATS	8. DON'T KNOW	
J4.	Do you happen to know which before the elections (this			
	1. REPUBLICANS	5. DEMOCRATS	8. NO, DON'T KNOW	
J5.	As a result of the election the most members in the U.	The state of the s	hich party will now have	
	1. REPUBLICANS	5. DEMOCRATS	8. DON'T KNOW	

J2-J5. Unlike most of our questions, these question 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.

J6. When it comes to politics, do you usually think of yourself as a <u>liberal</u>, a conservative, a <u>moderate</u>, or what?



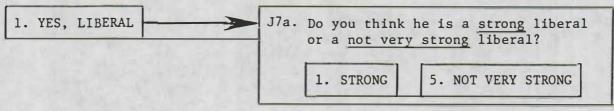
TURN TO P. 43, SECTION K

O. R HAS ABSOLUTELY NO UNDERSTANDING OF TERMS "LIBERAL" AND "CONSERVATIVE"

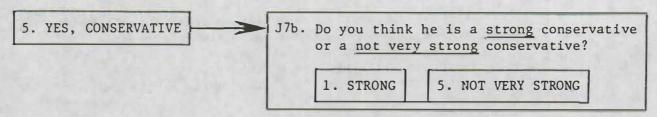
J6. If the respondent has trouble with the terms liberal, conservative and moderate, meaning that he/she has no idea at all what the terms mean and insists he/she can't answer the question, say something like, "It's all right if you haven't thought much about this. We can just go on to the next question, "check box 9, and skip to Section K. Please do not help the respondent define the words "liberal" and "conservative."

If the respondent gives an answer other than "liberal," "conservative," or "moderate," (e.g., "communist," "radical"), probe by repeating the question. If the answer is still not one of the responses boxed, record the respondent's choice in the margin and move on to J7.

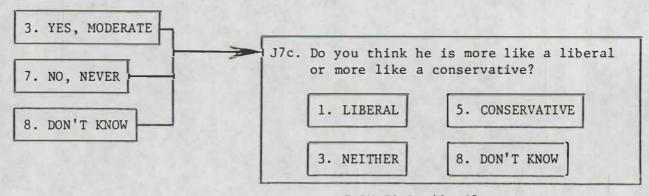
J7. What about Ronald Reagan? Do you usually think of Ronald Reagan as a liberal, a conservative, a moderate, or what?



TURN TO P. 42, J8



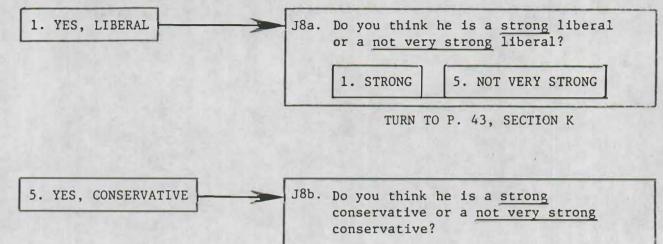
TURN TO P. 42, J8



TURN TO P. 42, J8

J7-J8. Even if R has trouble deciding whether he/she is liberal or conservative, he/she usually has much less trouble deciding how the rest of the world stacks up. Self-placement (J6) is more difficult than placement of others (J7-J8).

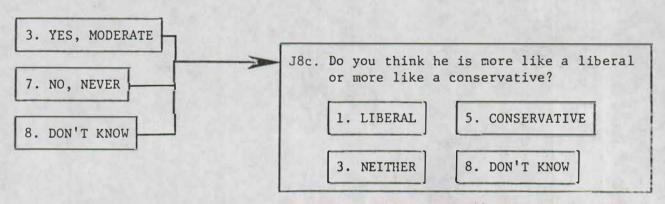
J8. What about <u>Walter Mondale?</u> Do you usually think of Walter Mondale as a liberal, a conservative, a moderate, or what?



1. STRONG

TURN TO P. 43, SECTION K

5. NOT VERY STRONG



TURN TO P. 43, SECTION K

SECTION K

K1-K2 OMITTED.

K3. Some people think it is all right for the public schools to start each day with a prayer. Others feel that religion does not belong in the public schools but should be taken care of by the family and the church. Have you been interested enough in this to favor one side over the other?

been	een interested enough in this to favor one side over the other?	
	1. YES 5. NO TURN TO P.46, SECTION L	
K3a. Which do you think schools should be allowed to start each day with a prayer or religion does not belong in the schools?		
	1. SCHOOLS SHOULD BE ALLOWED TO START EACH DAY WITH A PRAYER.	
	E DELICION DODG NOT DELONG IN THE COHOOLG	
	5. RELIGION DOES NOT BELONG IN THE SCHOOLS	
	7 OTHER; DEPENDS; SPECIFY:	
	8. DON'T KNOW	

SECTION L

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:

L1. Do you think that people in the government waste <u>a lot</u> of the money we pay in taxes, waste some of it, or don't waste very much of it?

5. A LOT 3. SOME 1. NOT VERY MUCH 8. DON'T KNOW

L2. 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
3. MOST OF 5. SOME OF 7. R VOLUNTEERS: NONE OF THE TIME 7. NONE OF THE TIME 8. KNOW TIME

L3. 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?

5. FEW BIG INTERESTS 1. FOR THE BENEFIT OF ALL 8. DON'T KNOW

L4. Do you think that <u>quite a few</u> of the people running the government are crooked, <u>not very many</u> are, or do you think <u>hardly anv</u> of them are crooked?

5. QUITE A FEW 3. NOT MANY 1. HARDLY ANY 8. DON'T KNOW

L5 - L11 OMITTED.

L2. If R wants to know what we mean by "right," say "Whatever 'right' means to you; whatever you think the government should do."

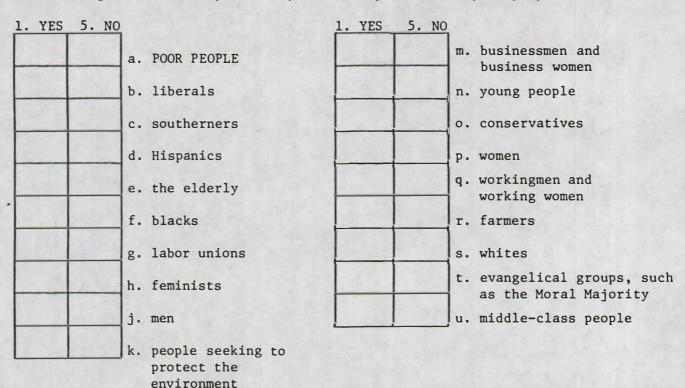
L3. If the R has a difficult time make a choice, repeat the question, beginning with, "In general..."

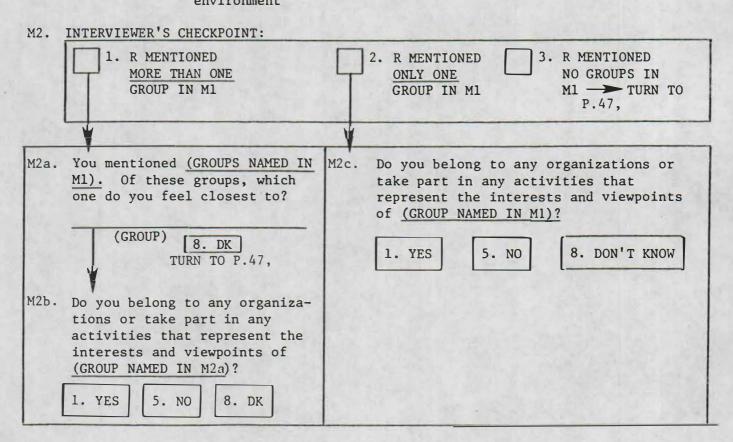
L4. Some cynical R's pick "hardly any," but they mean "hardly any are just a little crooked." If you read the item over a couple of times you can see how it could be interpreted that way, but that's obviously not what we mean. If you think that's what you're getting, try repeating the question once, and note any comments R makes.

L12. Do you consider religion to be an important part of your life, or not?				
1. YES, IMPORTANT 5. NO, NOT IMPORTANT 8. DON'T KNOW				
GO TO L15				
L13. Would you say your religion provides some guidance in your day-to-day living, quite a bit of guidance, or a great deal of guidance in your day-to-day living				
1. SOME 2. QUITE A BIT 3. A GREAT DEAL 8. DON'T KNOW				
L14. Some people have had deep religious experiences which have transformed their lives. I'm thinking of experiences sometimes described as "being born again in one's faith" or "discovering Jesus Christ in one's life." There are deeply religious people who have not had an experience of this sort. How about you;				
have you had such an experience?				
1. YES 5. NO 8. DON'T KNOW				
L15. I am going to read four statements about the Bible, and I'd like you to tell me which is closest to your own view:				
1. The Bible is God's word and all it says is true.				
2. The Bible was written by men inspired by God but it contains some human errors.				
3. The Bible is a good book because it was written by wise men, but God had nothing to do with it.				
4. The Bible was written by men who lived so long ago that it is worth very little today.				
7. OTHER, SPECIFY:				
8. DON'T KNOW				

SECTION M

M1. Now I am going to read a list of groups, and I'd like to know whether each is a group you feel particularly close to -- that is, whether they are people who are like you in their ideas and interests and feelings about things. First, do you feel particularly close to "poor people?"





M1. In our pretest this year our interviewers told us that respondents gave us only one group in answer to M1 because we have taught them to give us only one answer to each question throughout the questionnaire. If your respondent names one group, pause, look expectant, and/or probe "Any others?"

SECTION Y

Yl. Would you mind telling me your race? Are you white, black, American Indian or Alaskan native, Asian or Pacific Islander?				
1. WHITE 2. BLACK 3. AMERICAN INDIAN OR 4. ASIAN OR PACIFIC ISLANDER				
Y2. And is your ethnic origin Hispanic, that is, are you Mexican-American or Chicano, Puerto Rican, Cuban, or some other Hispanic origin?				
5. NO 1. YES, MEXICAN- 2. YES, PUERTO 3. YES, CUBAN 4. YES, OTHER HISPANIC				
EXACT TIME NOW:				
TURN TO P. 2 OF COVER SHEET, "RECONTACT INFORMATION"				
SECTION Z (INTERVIEWER SUPPLEMENT) Z1. Respondent's sex is:				
Z2-Z3. OMITTED.				
Z4. Relationship of R to head of family: 1. R IS LEAD 2. R IS WIFE OTHER:				
Z5. Omitted.				
Z6. Respondent's cooperation was:				
1. VERY GOOD 2. GOOD 3. FAIR 4. POOR 5. VERY POOR				
27. Respondent'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				

Don't Forget to Mark the Time Here!

If you're in doubt about this one...you're fired, especially now that the respondent has been interviewed twice.

Z4. This is "head of the family."

Z6-Z11. We know these are judgemental, but please give us your opinion.

z8.	Rate R's apparent intelligence:
	1. VERY HIGH 2. ABOVE AVERAGE 3. AVERAGE 4. BELOW AVERAGE 5. VERY LOW
29.	How suspicious did R seem to be about the study, <u>before</u> the interview? [1. NOT AT ALL SUSPICIOUS] [3. SOMEWHAT SUSPICIOUS] [5. VERY SUSPICIOUS]
Z10.	Overall, how great was R's interest in the interview?
	1. VERY HIGH 2. ABOVE AVERAGE 3. AVERAGE 4. BELOW AVERAGE 5. VERY LOW
Z11. Z12.	How sincere did R seem to be in (his/her) answers? 1. COMPLETELY SINCERE 2. USUALLY SINCERE 3. OFTEN SEEMED TO BE INSINCERE GO TO Z13 Were there any particular parts of the interview for which you doubted R's sincerity? If so, name them by section or question numbers.
	OMITTED.
214.	Was this interview conducted entirely in English, or was it necessary to translate some (or all) questions into another language?
	1. INTERVIEW CONDUCTED ENTIRELY IN ENGLISH TURN TO P. 49, THUMBNAIL SKETCH

TURN TO P. 49, THUMBMAIL SKETCH

Zl4a. What language?

214. Here we're trying to determine whether the interview was entirely in English, or whether some questions had to be translated into another language.

THUMBNAIL SKETCH:

This space is provided for you to enter a short description of the respondent and the interview situation. This is a good place to capture the special flavor of the respondent or the situation. You can also "blow off steam" here about the interview. Coders turn first to the thumbnail sketch so that they can get some idea about the personality behind the responses before they start translating these responses into numbers.

A thumbnail sketch could contain the following types of information:

- -- The respondent's attitude toward you and the survey.
- -- Unusual circumstances and events that had any bearing on the interview such as interruptions, language difficulty, etc.
- -- Feelings that you might have about the respondent and the interview, things you sense or suspect.

A good rule of thumb(nail) is to include in your sketch any information that would enable you to recall this particular respondent and/or the interview situation. "Good interview, no problem," is not very revealing. (My personal favorite "no info." thumbnail is "R terse.")

Remember that respondents have a legal right to come to Ann Arbor and ask to look at their interview—including the comments in the thumbnail sketch.

"R had trouble with the respondent book, also limited interest in the survey compounded by three small, demanding children," is an appropriate comment to put in the thumbnail—"This was the dumbest R I have ever interviewed," is not... Also keep in mind that NO NAMES and NO ADDRESSES should appear anywhere in the interview, including the thumbnail sketch. Information of this sort is appropriate only on the cover sheet.