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

## NOTE

Versions of the same question may be 'grouped' together (no spacing between)
if they share a single Surveycraft spec number (Spec:___) ; if telephone and
personal versions share text/codes, the text/codes may appear only once,
orange underlined - highlighted on laptop screen
labeled or 'tagged' for both item numbers (e.g. G1a, G1a.T)
$\Rightarrow$ Surveycraft QxQ text

RELEASE VARIABLE NUMBER

## SECTION A

## A1-A4 - CURRENT CAMPAIGN AND POLITICS

A1.
Some people don't pay much attention to political 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?
1 VERY MUCH INTERESTED
3 SOMEWHAT INTERESTED
5 NOT MUCH INTERESTED
8 DK
$\Rightarrow$ Definition: by political campaigns, we mean the election campaigns in general and not the campaign for a
specific race or office.
A2.
Did you watch any programs about the campaign on television?
1 YES
$\begin{array}{ll}5 \text { NO } & -->\text { SKIP TO A3 } \\ 8 \text { DK } & -->\text { SKIP TO A3 }\end{array}$
8 DK -->SKIP TO A3
9 RF -->SKIP TO A3
A2a.
Spec: 129_
V001203
(IF YES)
Would you say you watched a good many, several, or just one or two?
1 A GOOD MANY
3 SEVERAL
5 JUST ONE OR TWO
8 DK
A3.
Spec: 130_
V001204
Do you ever discuss politics with your family or friends?
1 YES
5 NO -->SKIP TO A4
8 DK -->SKIP TO A4
$\Rightarrow$ Respondents may have difficulty deciding whether they "discuss politics". If asked what we mean by "discuss,"
say "whatever it means to you." We want to know if they think they discuss politics, whether they have in mind a
lengthy debate over candidate stands on policy, or briefly mention the scandals of politicians.

## A3a.

## (IF YES)

How many days in the past week did you talk about politics with family or friends?
ENTER NUMBER OF DAYS
96 NONE (NO DAYS)
98 DK
$\Rightarrow$ This asks for number of days, not number of times

## A4. <br> (IF NOT WASHINGTON D.C.)

Do you happen to remember the names of the candidates for Congress -- that is, for the House of
Representatives in Washington -- who ran in the November election from this district?
1 YES, REMEMBER
5 NO, DON'T REMEMBER -->SKIP TO B1
8 DK -->SKIP TO B1
$\Rightarrow$ Please record as accurately and leqibly as possible the names supplied by the R. Accept any name R gives
you. Some R's may mention a senatorial candidate here---accept it without comment
$\Rightarrow$ 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.
$\Rightarrow$ If the respondent says something like, "I don't remember the name of the candidate, but he is a Democrat," write DK on the line reserved for the name, and indicate the party, in this case DEM, by marking the appropriate box. If R gives no indication of remembering the name or party of candidate at first mention, don't probe for second mention; go on.

```
A4a1, A4a2, A4a3
(IF YES)
Who were they? (PROBE: Any others?)
\(\qquad\)
\(\Rightarrow\) Enter name, then probe, if needed, for party. Probe for additional names until R says she/he can't think of more. Accept any name R gives even if you know it to be a "wrong" answer.

\section*{A4b1. , A4b2., \(4 b 3\). \\ (ASK FOR EACH NAME GIVEN)}

What is <NAME'S] party?
1 DEMOCRAT
5 REPUBLICAN
7 OTHER (SPECIFY)
8 DK

SECTION B

\section*{B1-B12 - PARTICIPATION, CONTRIBUTIONS}

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?
1 YES
5 NO --.SKIP TO B1b

8 DK --.SKIP TO B1b
\(\Rightarrow\) B1-B12 are items about R's participation in this year's campaign, not activities the respondent has performed in the past. References to "the campaign this year" and to "candidates" mean campaigns and candidates in partisan elections-- those in which candidates are running from specific parties. Thus, for example, money given to school board candidates are not what we have in mind (if you're asked).
B1a.
(IF YES)
Which party was that?
1 DEMOCRATS
5 REPUBLICANS
6 BOTH
7 OTHER (SPECIFY)
8 DK

B1b.
Other than someone from the two major parties, did anyone (else) call you up or come around and talk to you about supporting specific candidates in this last election?
1 YES
5 NO
8 DK
\(\Rightarrow\) B1-B12 are items about R's participation in this year's campaign, not activities the respondent has performed
in the past. References to "the campaign this year" and to "candidates" mean campaigns and candidates in partisan
elections-- those in which candidates are running from specific parties. Thus, for example, money given to school board candidates are not what we have in mind (if you're asked).

\section*{B1c.}

Spec: 145_
V001222
Did anyone from one of the political parties send you mail about the campaign this year?
1 YES
5 NO
-->SKIP TO B1D
\(\Rightarrow\) B1-B12 are items about R's participation in this year's campaign, not activities the respondent has performed
in the past. References to "the campaign this year" and to "candidates" mean campaigns and candidates in partisan
elections-- those in which candidates are running from specific parties. Thus, for example, money given to school
board candidates are not what we have in mind (if you're asked).
B1c1.
(IF YES)
Which party was that?
1 DEMOCRATS
5 REPUBLICANS
6 BOTH
7 OTHER (SPECIFY)
8 DK

\section*{B1d.}

Other than someone from the two major parties, did anyone (else) send you mail about supporting specific candidates in this last election?
1 YES
5 NO
8 DK
\(\Rightarrow\) B1-B12 are items about R's participation in this year's campaign, not activities the respondent has performed in the past. References to "the campaign this year" and to "candidates" mean campaigns and candidates in partisan elections-- those in which candidates are running from specific parties. Thus, for example, money given to school board candidates are not what we have in mind (if you're asked).

\section*{B2.}

Spec: 156
V001225
We would like to find out about some of the things people do to help a party or a candidate win an election.
During the campaign, did you talk to any people and try to show them why they should vote for or against
one of the parties or candidates?
1 YES
5 NO
8 DK
\(\Rightarrow\) 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." \(\Rightarrow\) B1-B12 are items about R's participation in this year's campaign, not activities the respondent has performed in the past. References to "the campaign this year" and to "candidates" mean campaigns and candidates in partisan elections-- those in which candidates are running from specific parties. Thus, for example, money given to school board candidates are not what we have in mind (if you're asked).

B3.
Did you wear a campaign button, put a campaign sticker on your car, or place a sign in your window or in front of your house?
1 YES
5 NO
8 DK
\(\Rightarrow\) B1-B12 are items about R's participation in this year's campaign, not activities the respondent has performed in the past. References to "the campaign this year" and to "candidates" mean campaigns and candidates in partisan elections-- those in which candidates are running from specific parties. Thus, for example, money given to school board candidates are not what we have in mind (if you're asked).

B4.
Did you go to any political meetings, rallies, speeches, dinners, or things like that in support of a particular candidate?

\section*{1 YES}

5 NO
8 DK
\(\Rightarrow\) B1-B12 are items about R's participation in this year's campaign, not activities the respondent has performed in the past. References to "the campaign this year" and to "candidates" mean campaigns and candidates in partisan elections-- those in which candidates are running from specific parties. Thus, for example, money given to school board candidates are not what we have in mind (if you're asked).

Did you do any (other) work for one of the parties or candidates?
1 YES
5 NO
8 DK
\(\Rightarrow\) The optional use of "other" in this question is here in case R has answered "YES" to B4 ; it makes the question a
little smoother for the R.
B6.
During an election year people are often asked to make a contribution to support campaigns. Did you give money to an individual candidate running for public office?
1 YES \(\quad->\) SKIP TO B7

5 NO -->SKIP TO B7
8 DK \(\quad->\) SKIP TO B7
parto 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.
\(\Rightarrow\) B1-B12 are items about R's participation in this year's campaign, not activities the respondent has performed
in the past. References to "the campaign this year" and to "candidates" mean campaigns and candidates in partisan elections-- those in which candidates are running from specific parties. Thus, for example, money given to school board candidates are not what we have in mind (if you're asked)
B6a.
(IF YES)
Which party did that candidate belong to?
1 DEMOCRATS
3 REPUBLICANS
5 OTHER (SPECIFY)
6 BOTH DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE AND REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE (VOL)
8 DK
B7. V001231

Did you give money to a political party during this election year?
1 YES
5 NO
-->SKIP TO B8
8 DK
-->SKIP TO B8
\(\Rightarrow\) This is a difficult series, in part because respondents don't always know whether they gave to a party or to a candidate, and in part because there could be some overlap (e.g., money given to a party to support a candidate or a ballot proposal). When in doubt, make copious notes and move on; we'll do our best to sort it out in coding. \(\Rightarrow\) B1-B12 are items about R's participation in this year's campaign, not activities the respondent has performed in the past. References to "the campaign this year" and to "candidates" mean campaigns and candidates in partisan elections-- those in which candidates are running from specific parties. Thus, for example, money given to school board candidates are not what we have in mind (if you're asked)

\section*{B7a. \\ (IF YES)}

To which party did you give money?
1 DEMOCRATS
3 REPUBLICANS
5 OTHER (SPECIFY)
6 BOTH DEMOCRATS AND REPUBLICANS
8 DK

Did you give any money to any other group that supported or opposed candidates?
1 YES
5 NO
8 DK
\(\Rightarrow\) This is a difficult series, in part because respondents don't always know whether they gave to a party or to a
candidate, and in part because there could be some overlap (e.g., money given to a party to support a candidate or a ballot proposal). When in doubt, make copious notes and move on; we'll do our best to sort it out in coding.
\(\Rightarrow\) B1-B12 are items about R's participation in this year's campaign, not activities the respondent has performed in the past. References to "the campaign this year" and to "candidates" mean campaigns and candidates in partisan elections-- those in which candidates are running from specific parties. Thus, for example, money given to school board candidates are not what we have in mind (if you're asked).

B9.
During the campaign this year, did anyone talk to you about registering to vote or getting out to vote?
1 YES, SOMEONE DID
5 NO, NO ONE DID
8 DK
\(\Rightarrow\) 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."
\(\Rightarrow\) B1-B12 are items about R's participation in this year's campaign, not activities the respondent has performed i \(n\) the past. References to "the campaign this year" and to "candidates" mean campaigns and candidates in partisan elections-- those in which candidates are running from specific parties. Thus, for example, money given to school board candidates are not what we have in mind (if you're asked).

\section*{B10.}

Were there any groups concerned with moral or religious issues that tried to encourage you to vote in a particular way?
1 YES, THERE WERE GROUPS
5 NO, NO GROUPS TRIED TO ENCOURAGE
8 DK
\(\Rightarrow\) B1-B12 are items about R's participation in this year's campaign, not activities the respondent has performed in
the past. References to "the campaign this year" and to "candidates" mean campaigns and candidates in partisan
elections-- those in which candidates are running from specific parties. Thus, for example, money given to schoo board candidates are not what we have in mind (if you're asked)

\section*{B11. \\ Was information about candidates, parties, or political issues made available in your place of worship}
before the election? [DON'T PROBE DK RESPONSE]
1 YES
5 NO, NO INFORMATION AVAILABLE
7 NO, DON'T GO TO CHURCH [VOL] -->C1
8 DK
-->C1
\(\Rightarrow\) If R asks, we do mean activities at R's place of worship - in the parking lot, the parish center, the church basement, the vestibule-as well as actions happening inside the church/synagogue/temple itself.
\(\Rightarrow\) B1-B12 are items about R's participation in this year's campaign, not activities the respondent has performed in the past. References to "the campaign this year" and to "candidates" mean campaigns and candidates in partisan elections-- those in which candidates are running from specific parties. Thus, for example, money given to school board candidates are not what we have in mind (if you're asked).

\section*{(IF R DID NOT INDICATE NON-ATTENDANCE IN B11)}

Did the clergy or other church leaders at your place of worship encourage you to vote for a particular candidate or party?
1 YES
5 NO
```

>SKIP TO C1

```
-->SKIP TO C1
```

B12a. Spec: 170
(IF YES)
Which candidate?
(IF R SAYS CAN'T REMEMBER CANDIDATE NAME, PROBE:
WHICH ELECTION OR WHAT OFFICE? ANY OTHERS?)
OPENENDED
V001238 [MENT 1 code]
V001239 [MENT 2 code]
V001240,}[MENT 3 code]

```

\section*{SECTION C}

\section*{C1-C4 - TURNOUT, REGISTRATION}

\section*{C1.}

In talking to people about elections, we often find that a lot of people were not able to vote because they weren't registered, they were sick, or they just didn't have time. Which of the following statements best describes you: One, I did not vote(in the election this November); Two, I thought about voting this time but didn't; Three, I usually vote, but didn't this time; or Four, I am sure I voted?
[INTERVIEWER: PLEASE READ ALL OPTIONS]
1 I DID NOT VOTE (IN THE ELECTION THIS NOVEMBER).
2 I THOUGHT ABOUT VOTING THIS TIME, BUT DIDN'T
3 I USUALLY VOTE, BUT DIDN'T THIS TIME.
4 I AM SURE I VOTED
\(\rightarrow\) SKIP TO C3
8 DK
9 RF

\section*{C2.}

\section*{(IF R DID NOT VOTE)}

Were you registered to vote in this election?
\begin{tabular}{ll}
1 YES & \\
5 NO & -->SKIP TO C9(2) \\
6 VOL: NOT REQUIRED TO REGISTER IN R'S STATE & -->SKIP TO C9(2) \\
8 DK & -->SKIP TO C9(2) \\
9 RF & -->SKIP TO C9(2)
\end{tabular}
```

C3.

## ((IF YES REGISTERED) OR (IF VOTER)) AND

```
(IF NOT WASHINGTON D.C.)
Your residence is located in
``` \(\qquad\)
``` County. (PRELOAD COUNTY)
Are you registered to vote in
``` \(\qquad\)
``` County? (PRELOAD COUNTY)
1 YES, REGISTERED IN (PRELOAD COUNTY) -->IF C1 IS YES GO TO C4, ELSE GO TO C9(1))
```

5 NO, REGISTERED IN OTHER COUNTY

## DK

((IF YES REGISTERED) OR (IF VOTER)) AND
(IF WASHINGTON D.C.)
Your residence is located in Washington D.C.
Are you registered to vote in Washington D.C.?
1 YES, REGISTERED IN WASHINGTON D.C. -->IF C1 IS YES GO TO C4, ELSE GO TO C9(1))
5 NO, REGISTERED IN OTHER COUNTY
8 DK
9 RF
-->SKIP TO C3a
-->IF C1 IS YES GO TO C4, ELSE GO TO C9(1) [HANDLE AS 'IN COUNTY'] -->IF C1 IS YES GO TO C4, ELSE GO TO C9(1) [HANDLE AS 'IN COUNTY']

## C3a. Spec: 184,185

```
(IF NOT REGISTERED IN COUNTY/IN WASH. D.C.)
In what county and state are you registered?
```



## C4.

## (IF VOTED)

```
Did you vote on election day - that is, November 7th 2000, or did you vote at some time
before this?
1 ELECTION DAY --> SKIP TO C5
5 SOME TIME BEFORE THIS --> C4a
8 DK
\(-->\) C4a
9 RF
--> SKIP TO C5
--> SKIP TO C5
```


## C4a. <br> (IF VOTED PRIOR TO ELECTION DAY)

```
How long before November 7th did you vote?
(PROBE: A FEW DAYS, A WEEK, LONGER THAN THAT?)
OPENENDED
``` \(\qquad\)
``` --> SKIP
```

[^0]
# Did you vote in person or by absentee ballot? 

1 IN PERSON
$->$ SKIP TO C5
5 ABSENTEE BALLOT
->SKIP TO C5
7 R VOLUNTEERS: BY MAIL [OREGON ONLY] -->SKIP TO C5

8 DK
-->SKIP TO C5

## C5-C8- VOTE FOR PRESIDENT

## C5

## (IF VOTED)

How about the election for President? Did you vote for a candidate for President?
1 YES, VOTED FOR PRESIDENT

| 5 NO, DIDN'T VOTE FOR PRESIDENT |  |
| :--- | :--- |
| 8 DK | $-->$ SKIP TO C9 |
| -->SKIP TO C9 |  |

9 RF -->SKIP TO C9

C6.
(IF R VOTED FOR PRESIDENT)
Who did you vote for?

| 1 AL GORE | -->SKIP TO C6a |
| :--- | :--- |
| 3 GEORGE W. BUSH | -->SKIP TO C6a |
| 5 PAT BUCHANAN | -->SKIP TO C6a |
| 6 RALPH NADER | -->SKIP TO C6a |
| 7 OTHER (SPECIFY) | -->SKIP TO C6a |
| 8 DK | -->SKIP TO C9 |
| 9 RF | $-->$ SKIP TO C9 |

## C6a.

(IF PRESIDENTIAL VOTE NAME IS NOT DK/REF)
Would you say that your preference for (IF NAME GIVEN: <candidate name> /
IF OTHER SPECIFY: this candidate) was strong or not?
strong?
1 STRONG
5 NOT STRONG
8 DK
C7.

## (IF PRESIDENTIAL VOTE NAME IS NOT DK/REF)

How long before the election did you decide that you were going to vote the way you did?
[PROBE if necessary "Would that have been a few days before the election, a week, or longer than that?]

OPENENDED
$\Rightarrow$ Try to elicit an answer that can be translated into a time frame. For example, "When I attended a PTA meeting", should be probed with "When was this meeting held?" Answers referring to recognizable events are acceptable, such as "I decided during the second presidential debate."

## C8.

## (IF PRESIDENTIAL VOTE NAME IS NOT DK/REF)

If you could have cast more than one vote in the Presidential election this (past)
November, is there any other candidate you would have found acceptable and
have voted for? (MULTIPLE RESPONSE; name in C6 not acceptable)
1 AL GORE
3 GEORGE W BUSH
5 PAT BUCHANAN
6 RALPH NADER
7 OTHER (SPECIFY)
8 NO OTHER CANDIDATE (VOL)
98 DK
99 RF


Spec: 193M1-M3 V001252a,b,c

## Congressional vote C9-C12

## FOR House vote, parallel face-to-face and telephone SERIES ARE DOCUMENTED SEPARATELY.

## House Vote series:

| FTF | - IN COUNTY | $--->$ C9 SERIES |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | - OUT OF COUNTY | $--->$ C10 SERIES |
| TEL | - IN COUNTY | $--->$ C11.T SERIES |
|  | - OUT OF COUNTY | $--->$ C12.T SERIES |

## FACE TO FACE: C9 series - VOTE FOR CONGRESS in-county

NOTE: names appear on ballot card in order of C9(2) [blue or gold card]
NOTE: in VT01 and VA05, the independent incumbent candidate was randomized
in the FTF ballot card and in the order of names in the Telephone
wording, as if the candidate were a major party candidate: VT01
candidate Bernie Sanders was randomized as if a Democratic name,
and in VA05 Virgil Goode Jr. was randomized as if a Republican
name (no Democratic name was preloaded for VT0 1 and no Republican name was preloaded for VA05).
All other ind/3rd-party candidate names appearing on the FTF ballot card or included in Telephone wording appear last in order.
NOTE: ind/3rd-party candidate names are included in response codes/question wording
whenever they have been preloaded; ind/3rd-party names are preloaded only for candidates who have been identified as especially viable.
C9a.
(IF R VOTED ) AND
(IF REGISTERED IN COUNTY OF RESIDENCE) AND
(IF NOT WASHINGTON D.C.)
[SHOW <BLUE/GOLD> BALLOT CARD]
Here is a list of candidates for the major races in this district.
How about the election for the House of Representatives in Washington.
Did you vote for a candidate for the U.S. House of Representatives?
1 YES, VOTED FOR HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES >C9b
5 NO, DIDN'T VOTE FOR HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES -->C13a
8 DK
-->C13a
$\Rightarrow$ The Ballot Card is used to gather data on how R's voted in the various races. (Until 1978, Election Studies asked R's to recall who they voted for without a "visual cue"). The Ballot Card should not be presented to the respondent until you reach this question. This is most important--be certain that the card is not in R's sight before this time, as the information on it could alter R's responses to earlier
questions, particularly the one requiring $R$ to recall candidates rather than to simply recognize candidate
names.
$\Rightarrow$ A second important point to make is that it is vital that the Ballot Card be the correct card for he R's congressional district.
$\Rightarrow$ Note that, when asking this, R may also say that the race for the U.S. House of Representatives in which he/she voted is not the one described on the Ballot Card. This could be true because $R$ may have gone to vote in the congressional district where he/she recently lived, as most states allow. Since this district could be different from the one in which R now resides, the House race on the Ballot Card may, indeed, be the wrong one. If this is the case, use the OTHER (specify) category to enter Rs answer and statement about this. This is also the one you should choose if the respondent says he/she voted for a "write-in" candidate.
$\Rightarrow$ NOTE: It sometimes happens, particularly in biq cities, that R voted for different candidates-
because we have misidentified the CD to which a segment belongs. Be sensitive to this possibility, and if you have suspicion that such might be the case, call your supervisor before you do another interview in
that segment
C9b.
(IF VOTED FOR CONGRESS IN C9a)
Spec: 200
V001255
Who did you vote for?
V001256 [cand code]

1 <PRELOAD DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE NAME〉 -->C13a
3 <PRELOAD IND/3RD-PARTY INCUMBENT NAME -->C13a
5 <PRELOAD REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE NAME -->C13a
7 OTHER (SPECIFY) -->C13a
8 DK -->C13a

## FACE TO FACE: C10 series - VOTE FOR CONGRESS out-of-county

## C10a.

## (IF R VOTED) AND

(IF REGISTERED OUTSIDE COUNTY OF RESIDENCE) AND
(IF NOT WASHINGTON D.C.:)
[DO NOT SHOW BALLOT CARD]
How about the election for the House of Representatives in Washington.
Did you vote for a candidate for the U.S. House of Representatives?
1 YES, VOTED FOR HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES >C10b
5 NO, DIDN'T VOTE FOR HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES -->C14a
7 R VOLUNTEERS: NO RACE IN STATE -->C14a
8 DK

C10b.
(IF VOTED FOR CONGRESS IN C10a)
Who did you vote for?
OPENENDED $->C 10 c$

## C10c. <br> (IF VOTED FOR CONGRESS IN C10a) <br> Which party was that?

V001261

| 1 DEMOCRAT | $-->C 14 a$ |
| :--- | :--- |
| 5 REPUBLICAN | $-->C 14 a$ |
| 7 OTHER: SPECIFY: | $-->C 14 a$ |
| 8 DK | $-->C 14 a$ |

## Telephone: C11 series - VOTE FOR CONGRESS in-county

NOTE: names are preloaded into question text per order in C9(2)
NOTE: in VT01 and VA05, the independent incumbent candidate was randomized in the FTF ballot card and in the order of names in the Telephone wording, as if the candidate were a major party candidate: VT01 candidate Bernie Sanders was randomized as if a Democratic name, and in VA05 Virgil Goode Jr. was randomized as if a Republican name (no Democratic name was preloaded for VT01 and no Republican name was preloaded for VA05).
All other ind/3rd-party candidate names appearing on the FTF ballot card or included in Telephone wording appear last in order.
NOTE: ind/3rd-party candidate names are included in response codes/question wording whenever they have been preloaded; ind/3rd-party names are preloaded only for candidates who have been identified as especially viable.

C11a.T<br>(IF R VOTED ) AND<br>(IF REGISTERED IN COUNTY OF RESIDENCE) AND<br>(IF NOT WASHINGTON D.C.)<br>How about the election for the House of Representatives in Washington.<br>Did you vote for a candidate for the U.S. House of Representatives?<br>1 YES, VOTED FOR HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES -->C11b(1).T or C11b(2).T or C11b(3).T or C11b(4).T<br>5 NO, DIDN'T VOTE FOR HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES -->C15a.T<br>8 DK<br>->C15a.T

C11b(1).T
(IF YES VOTED FOR CONGRESS IN C11a.T) AND
(IF TWO MAJOR PARTY CANDIDATES IN HOUSE RACE) AND
(IF DEMOCRAT NAME IS FIRST IN C9(2))
Who did you vote for?
Did you vote for the Democrat, <NAME OF DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE>,
(or) the Republican, <NAME OF REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE (or
the <PARTY> candidate, <NAME OF IND/3RD-PARTY CANDIDATE>) ?
1<PRELOAD DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE NAME>
3 <PRELOAD IND/3RD-PARTY CANDIDATE NAME
5 <PRELOAD REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE NAME
7 OTHER (SPECIFY)
8 DK

C11b(2).T
(IF YES VOTED FOR CONGRESS IN C11a.T) AND
(IF TWO MAJOR PARTY CANDIDATES IN HOUSE RACE) AND
(IF REPUBLICAN NAME IS FIRST IN C9(2))
Who did you vote for?
Did you vote for the Republican <NAME OF REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE>, (or) the Democrat, <NAME OF DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE> (or the <PARTY> candidate, <NAME OF IND/3RD-PARTY CANDIDATE>)?

1 <PRELOAD DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE NAME>
$3<$ PRELOAD IND/3RD-PARTY CANDIDATE NAME
5 <PRELOAD REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE NAME
7 OTHER (SPECIFY)
8 DK
$-->C 15 a . T$
$--\mathrm{C} 15 \mathrm{a} . \mathrm{T}$
$\rightarrow->$ C15a.T
$\xrightarrow{-->\text { C15a.T }}$
C11b(3).T
(IF YES VOTED FOR CONGRESS IN C11a.T) AND
(IF TWO MAJOR PARTY CANDIDATES IN HOUSE RACE) AND
(IF HOUSE RACE IS DEMOCRAT UNOPPOSED BY REPUBLICAN)
Who did you vote for?
Did you vote for the Democrat, <NAME OF DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE>, (or the <PARTY> candidate, <NAME OF IND/3RD-PARTY CANDIDATE>,)
(IF NO OPPONENT: or someone else)?
$\begin{array}{ll}1 \text { <PRELOAD DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE NAME> } & \text {-->C15a.T } \\ 3 \text { <PRELOAD IND/3RD-PARTY CANDIDATE NAME } & \text {-->C15a.T } \\ 7 \text { OTHER (SPECIFY) } & \text {-->C15a.T }\end{array}$
7 OTHER (SPECIFY) $\rightarrow$ C15a.T
8 DK
-->C15a.T
C11b(4).T
(IF YES VOTED FOR CONGRESS IN C11a.T) AND
(IF HOUSE RACE IS REPUBLICAN UNOPPOSED BY DEMOCRAT)
Who did you vote for?
Did you vote for the Republican, <NAME OF REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE>, (or the <PARTY> candidate, <NAME OF IND/3RD-PARTY CANDIDATE>,) (IF NO OPPONENT: or someone else)?
3 <PRELOAD IND/3RD-PARTY CANDIDATE NAME -->C15a.T
5 SPRELOAD REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE NAME $\quad$--C15a.T

| 7 OTHER (SPECIFY) | -->C15a.T |
| :--- | :--- |
| 8 DK | $->$ C15a.T |

$\Rightarrow$ C11b: Note that, when asking this, R may say that the race for the U.S. House in which
$\Rightarrow$ C11b: Note that, when asking this, $R$ may say that the race for the U.S. House in which
he/she voted is not the one mentioned. This could be true because $R$ may have gone to vote in the congressional district where he/she recently lived, as most states allow. Since this district could be different from the one in which R now resides, the preloaded names for the House race may, indeed, be wrong. If this is the case, use the OTHER (specify) category to enter R's answer and statement about this. This is also the one you should choose if the respondent says he/she voted for a "write-in" candidate.
$\Rightarrow$ NOTE: It sometimes happens, particularly in bia cities, that R voted for different candidatesbecause we have misidentified the CD to which a segment belongs. Be sensitive to this possibility, and if you have suspicion that such might be the case, call your supervisor before you do another interview in that segment.

## Telephone: C12 series - VOTE FOR CONGRESS out-of-county



## Senate vote C13-C16

For Senate vote, parallel face-to-face and telephone SERIES ARE DOCUMENTED SEPARATELY.

## SENATE VOTE SERIES:

| FTF | - IN COUNTY | $--->$ C13 SERIES |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | - OUT OF COUNTY | $--->$ C14 SERIES |
| TEL | -IN COUNTY | $--->$ C15.T SERIES |
|  | - OUT OF COUNTY | $--->$ C16.T SERIES |

V001264 CKPT: race in state?
$\underline{\mathbf{V 0 0 1 2 6 5}} \mathrm{in} /$ out status

## FACE TO FACE: C13 series - VOTE FOR SENATE in-county

NOTE: names appear on ballot card in order of C9(2) [blue/gold card]
NOTE: ind/3rd-party candidate names are included in response codes/question wording whenever they have been preloaded; ind/3rd-party names are preloaded only for candidates who have been identified as especially viable. For Senate races, up to 2 ind $/ 3$ rd-party names may appear.


Who did you vote for?
1 <PRELOAD DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE NAME> -->D1
3 <PRELOAD 1ST IND/3RD-PARTY CAND NAME> -->D1
4 <PRELOAD 2ND IND/3RD-PARTY CAND NAME> -->D
5 <PRELOAD REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE NAME -->D1
7 OTHER (SPECIFY) -->Dl
8 DK -->D

## C14a.

## (IF R VOTED OUTSIDE COUNTY OF RESIDENCE) AND

(IF NOT WASHINGTON D.C.)
[DO NOT SHOW BALLOT CARD]
How about the election for the United States Senate?
Did you vote for a candidate for the U.S. Senate?
1 YES, VOTED FOR SENATE
5 NO, DIDN'T VOTE FOR SENATE $->C 14 b$
R VOLUNTEERS: NO RACE IN STATE -->D1
8 DK
-->D1
C14b.
(IF YES VOTED FOR SENATE IN C14a)
Who did you vote for?
$\qquad$
C14c.
宛

## (IF YES VOTED FOR SENATE IN C14a)

Which party was that?

| 1 DEMOCRAT | -->D1 |
| :--- | :--- |
| 5 REPUBLICAN | -->D1 |
| 7 OTHER: SPECIFY: | $-->D 1$ |
| 8 DK | $-->D 1$ |

Spec: 207
$\qquad$

7 OTHER: SPECIFY: -->D1
8 DK -->D1

V001271 [cand code]
V001272 [party summary]

## TELEPHONE: C15 series - VOTE FOR SENATE in-county

NOTE: names are preloaded into question text per order in C9(2)
NOTE: ind/3rd-party candidate names are included in response codes/question wording whenever they have been preloaded; ind/3rd-party names are preloaded only for candidates who have been identified as especially viable. For Senate races, up to 2 ind/3rd-party names may appear.

C15a.T
(IF SENATE ELECTION IN STATE) AND
(IF R VOTED IN COUNTY OF RESIDENCE) AND
(IF NOT WASHINGTON D.C.)
How about the election for the United States Senate?
Did you vote for a candidate for the U.S. Senate?
1 YES, VOTED FOR SENATE $\quad-->$ C15b(1).T or C15b(2).T
5 NO, DIDN'T VOTE FOR SENATE -->D1
8 DK
-->D1

C15b(1).T
Spec: 205__ V001267
(IF YES R VOTED FOR SENATOR IN C15a.T) AND
(IF 2 MAJOR PARTY CANDIDATES) AND
Who did you vote for?
Did you vote for the Democrat, <NAME OF DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE>, (or) the Republican, <NAME OF REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE> ([or]
the <1st PARTY> candidate, <NAME OF 1st IND/3RD-PARTY CANDIDATE> [or the <2ND PARTY> candidate, <NAME OF 2nd IND/3RD-PARTY CANDIDATE>])?
1 <PRELOAD DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE NAME> -->D1
3 <PRELOAD 1ST IND/3RD-PARTY CAND NAME> -->D1
4 <PRELOAD 2ND IND/3RD-PARTY CAND NAME> -->D1
5 <PRELOAD REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE NAME $\quad \rightarrow$-->D1
7 OTHER (SPECIFY) $->\mathrm{D}$
C15b(2).T
(IF YES R VOTED FOR SENATOR IN C15a.T) AND
(IF 2 MAJOR PARTY CANDIDATES) AND
(IF REPUBLICAN NAME IS FIRST IN C9(2))
Who did you vote for?
Did you vote for the Republican, <NAME OF REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE>,
(or) the Democrat, <NAME OF DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE>> ([or]
the <1st PARTY> candidate, <NAME OF 1st IND/3RD-PARTY CANDIDATE>
[or the <2ND PARTY> candidate, <NAME OF 2nd IND/3RD-PARTY CANDIDATE>])?
1 <PRELOAD DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE NAME> -->D1
3 <PRELOAD 1ST IND/3RD-PARTY CAND NAME> -->D1
$\begin{array}{lll}3 \text { <PRELOAD 1ST IND/3RD-PARTY CAND NAME> } & \text {-->D } 1 \\ 4 \text { <PRELOAD 2ND IND/3RD-PARTY CAND NAME> } & ->D 1\end{array}$
$\begin{array}{lll}4 \text { <PRELOAD 2ND IND/IRD-PARTY CAND NAME> } & \text {->D } \\ 5 \text { <PRELOAD REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE NAME } & ->D 1\end{array}$
7 OTHER (SPECIFY) -->D
8 DK
$-->D 1$
C15b(3).T
(IF YES R VOTED FOR SENATOR IN C15a.T) AND
(IF SENATE RACE IS DEMOCRAT UNOPPOSED BY REPUBLICAN)
Who did you vote for?
Did you vote for the Democrat, <NAME OF DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE>
([or] the <1st PARTY> candidate, <NAME OF 1st IND/3RD-PARTY CANDIDATE>
[or the <NAME OF 2ND PARTY> candidate, <2nd IND/3RD-PARTY CANDIDATE>])
(IF NO OPPONENT: or someone else)?
1 <PRELOAD DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE NAME>
$-->D 1$
3 〈PRELOAD 1ST IND/3RD-PARTY CAND NAME> $\rightarrow \mathrm{D} 1$
4 <PRELOAD 2ND IND/3RD-PARTY CAND NAME> -->D1
7 OTHER (SPECIFY)
$\rightarrow->$ D1
C15b(4).T
(IF YES R VOTED FOR SENATOR IN C15a.T) AND
(IF SENATE RACE IS REPUBLICAN UNOPPOSED BY DEMOCRAT)
Who did you vote for?
Did you vote for the Republican, <NAME OF REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE>
([or] the <1st PARTY> candidate, <NAME OF 1st IND/3RD-PARTY CANDIDATE> [or the <NAME OF 2ND PARTY> candidate, <2nd IND/3RD-PARTY CANDIDATE>]) (IF NO OPPONENT: or someone else)?
3 <PRELOAD 1ST IND/3RD-PARTY CAND NAME> -->D 4 <PRELOAD 2ND IND/3RD-PARTY CAND NAME> $-->D 1$ $\begin{array}{lll}4 \text { <PRELOAD 2ND IND/3RD-PARTY CAND NAME> } & -->D 1 \\ 5 \text { <PRELOAD REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE NAME } & -->D 1\end{array}$ 5 <PRELOAD REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE NAME $-->D 1$ $\begin{array}{ll}7 \text { OTHER (SPECIFY) -->D } 1 \\ 8 \text { DK } & -->D 1\end{array}$

## TELEPHONE: C16 series - VOTE FOR SENATE out-of-county

## C16aT.

(IF SENATE ELECTION IN STATE) AND
(IF R VOTED OUTSIDE COUNTY OF RESIDENCE) AND
(IF NOT WASHINGTON D.C.)
How about the election for the United States Senate?
Did you vote for a candidate for the U.S. Senate?
1 YES, VOTED FOR SENATE $\quad$--> C16b.T
5 NO, DIDN'T VOTE FOR SENATE -->D1
7 R VOLUNTEERS: NO RACE IN STATE OF VOTE -->D1
8 DK
-->D1
C16b.T
(IF YES VOTED FOR SENATOR IN C16a.T)
Who did you vote for? OPENENDED____________C16c.T

C16c.T
(IF YES VOTED FOR SENATOR IN C16a.T)
Which party was that?

| 1 DEMOCRAT | $->$ D1 |
| :--- | :--- |
| 5 REPUBLICAN | $->D 1$ |
| 7 OTHER: SPECIFY: | $->D 1$ |
| 8 DK | $->$ D1 |

V001271 [cand code]
V001272 [party summary]

## (IF R DID NOT VOTE)

How about the election for President? Did you prefer one of the candidates for President?

| 1 YES | -->SKIP TO C17 |
| :--- | :--- |
| 5 NO | -->SKIP TO C18 |
| 8 DK | $-->$ SKIP TO C18 |

C17a.
(IF YES R PREFERRED A PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE )
Who did you prefer?
1 AL GORE
3 GEORGE W. BUSH
5 PAT BUCHANAN
6 RALPH NADER
7 OTHER (SPECIFY)
8 DK -->C18

| C17b. | Spec: 212 -_ 001278 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |

## (IF PRESIDENTIAL PREFERENCE IS NOT DK/REF)

Would you say that your preference for this candidate was strong or not strong?
1 STRONG-
5 NOT STRONG
8 DK

## Congressional and Senate nonvoter preference

For House and Senate nonvoter preference, parallel face-to-face and telephone series are documented separately.

## Nonvoter Preference series:

| FTF: | HOUSE: | $--->$ C18 SERIES |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | SENATE: | $--->$ C19 SERIES |
| TELEPHONE: | HOUSE | $--->$ C18.TSERIES |
|  | SENATE: | $--->$ C19.T SERIES |

## FACE TO FACE: C18-C19 - NONVOTER PREFERENCES FOR HOUSE, SENATE

Note: HOUSE: C18 series
SENATE: C19 series
names appear on ballot card in order of C9(2) [blue/gold card]
NOTE: in VT01 and VA05, the independent incumbent candidate was randomized
in the FTF ballot card and in the order of names in the Telephone
wording, as if the candidate were a major party candidate: VT01
candidate Bernie Sanders was randomized as if a Democratic name, and in VA05 Virgil Goode Jr. was randomized as if a Republican name (no Democratic name was preloaded for VT01 and no Republican name was preloaded for VA05).
All other ind/3rd-party candidate names appearing on the FTF ballot card or included in Telephone wording appear last in order.
NOTE: ind/3rd-party candidate names are included in response codes/question wording
whenever they have been preloaded; ind/3rd-party names are preloaded only for candidates who have been identified as especially viable. For Senate races, up to 2 ind/3rd-party names may appear.

## C18.

## (IF R DID NOT VOTE) AND

(IF NOT WASHINGTON D.C.)
[SHOW <BLUE/GOLD> BALLOT CARD]
Here is a list of candidates for the major races in this district.
How about the election for the House of Representatives in Washington? Did you prefer
one of the candidates for the U.S. house of representatives?

| 1 YES | -->C18a. |
| :--- | :--- |
| 5 NO | -->SKIP TO D1 |
| 8 DK | -->SKIP TO D1 |
| 9 RF | $-->$ SKIP TO D1 |

## C18a.

## (IF YES R PREFERED A HOUSE CANDIDATE)

## Which candidate did you prefer?

1 <PRELOAD DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE NAME〉
3 <PRELOAD IND/3RD-PARTY CAND NAME>
5 <PRELOAD REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE NAME>
7 OTHER (SPECIFY)
8 DK
C19a.

## (IF R DID NOT VOTE) AND

(IF SENATE ELECTION IN STATE) AND
(IF NOT IN WASHINGTON D.C.)
[SHOW <BLUE/GOLD>BALLOT CARD]
How about the election for the United States Senate? Did you prefer one of the candidates
for the U.S. Senate?
1 YES
5 NO
-->D1
8 DK
-->D1

## C19b.

## (IF YES R PREFERRED A SENATE CANDIDATE)

Which candidate did you prefer?
1 <PRELOAD DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE NAME>
3 <PRELOAD 1ST IND/3RD-PARTY CAND NAME> $\quad->$ D1
4 <PRELOAD 2ND IND/3RD-PARTY CAND NAME> -->D1
5 <PRELOAD REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE NAME>
Spec: 215__ V001280

Spec: 218_- V001284
V001285 [cand code]
V001286 [party summary]

## TELEPHONE: C17-C19 - NONVOTER PREFERENCES FOR HOUSE, SENATE

$$
\begin{array}{ll}
\text { Note: } & \text { HOUSE: C18.T series } \\
& \text { SENATE: C19.T series } \\
& \text { [names are preloaded into question text per order in C9(2)] }
\end{array}
$$

NOTE: in VT01 and VA05, the independent incumbent candidate was randomized in the FTF ballot card and in the order of names in the Telephone wording, as if the candidate were a major party candidate: VT01 candidate Bernie Sanders was randomized as if a Democratic name, and in VA05 Virgil Goode Jr. was randomized as if a Republican name (no Democratic name was preloaded for VT01 and no Republican name was preloaded for VA05).
All other ind/3rd-party candidate names appearing on the FTF ballot card or included in Telephone wording appear last in order.
NOTE: ind/3rd-party candidate names are included in response codes/question wording whenever they have been preloaded; ind/3rd-party names are preloaded only for candidates who have been identified as especially viable. For Senate races, up to 2 ind/3rd-party names may appear.

## C18.T

(IF R DID NOT VOTE) AND

## IF NOT WASHINGTON D.C.)

How about the election for the House of Representatives in Washington. Did you prefer one of the candidates for the U.S. house of representatives?

| 1 YES | -->C18a(1).T or C18a(2).T or C18a(3).T or C18a(4).T |
| :--- | :--- |
| 5 NO | -->SKIP TO D1 |
| 8 DK | ->SKIP TO D1 |
| 9 RF | -->SKIP TO D1 |

C18a(1).T
(IF YES R PREFERRED A HOUSE CANDIDATE) AND
(IF 2 MAJOR PARTY CANDIDATES) AND
(IF DEMOCRAT NAME IS FIRST IN C9(2))
Who did you prefer?
Did you prefer the DEMOCRAT, <NAME OF DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE>,
(or) the REPUBLICAN, <NAME OF REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE> (or
the <PARTY> candidate, <NAME OF IND/3RD-PARTY CANDIDATE>?
1 <PRELOAD DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE NAME>
3 <PRELOAD IND/3RD-PARTY CAND NAME>
5 <PRELOAD REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE NAME〉
7 OTHER (SPECIFY)
8 DK

C18a(2).T
(IF YES R PREFERRED A HOUSE CANDIDATE) AND (IF 2 MAJOR PARTY CANDIDATES) AND
(IF REPUBLICAN NAME IS FIRST IN C9(2))
Who did you prefer?
Did you prefer the REPUBLICAN, <NAME OF REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE>, (or) the DEMOCRAT, <NAME OF DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE> (or the <PARTY> candidate, <NAME OF IND/3RD-PARTY CANDIDATE>?
1 <PRELOAD DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE NAME>
3 <PRELOAD IND/3RD-PARTY CAND NAME>
5 <PRELOAD REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE NAME>
7 OTHER (SPECIFY)
8 DK
C18a(3).T
(IF YES R PREFERRED A HOUSE CANDIDATE) AND
(IF HOUSE RACE IS DEMOCRAT UNOPPOSED BY REPUBLICAN)
Who did you prefer?
Did you prefer the DEMOCRAT, <NAME OF DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE> (the <PARTY> candidate, <NAME OF IND/3RD-PARTY CANDIDATE>) (IF NO OPPONENT: or someone else)?
1 <PRELOAD DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE NAME>
3 <PRELOAD IND/3RD-PARTY CAND NAME>
7 OTHER (SPECIFY)
7 OTHER
8 DK
C18a(4).T
(IF YES R PREFERRED A HOUSE CANDIDATE) AND
(IF HOUSE RACE IS REPUBLICAN UNOPPOSED BY DEMOCRAT)
Who did you prefer?
Did you prefer the REPUBLICAN, <NAME OF REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE>
(the <PARTY> candidate, <NAME OF IND/3RD-PARTY CANDIDATE>)
(IF NO OPPONENT: or someone else)?
3 <PRELOAD IND/3RD-PARTY CAND NAME>
5 <PRELOAD REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE NAME>
7 OTHER (SPECIFY)
8 DK
(IF R DID NOT VOTE) AND
(IF SENATE ELECTION IN STATE) AND
(IF NOT IN WASHINGTON D.C.)
How about the election for the United States Senate? Did you prefer one of the candidates for the U.S. Senate?
1 YES
5 NO
8 DK
8 DK
$\rightarrow$-->D1
-->D1


```
C19a(4).T
(IF YES R VOTED FOR SENATOR IN C19.T) AND
(IF SENATE RACE IS REPUBLICAN UNOPPOSED BY DEMOCRAT)
Who did you prefer?
Did you prefer the Republican, <NAME OF REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE>
([or] the <1st PARTY> candidate, <NAME OF 1st IND/3RD-PARTY CANDIDATE>
[or the <2ND PARTY> candidate, <NAME OF 2nd IND/3RD-PARTY CANDIDATE>])
(IF NO OPPONENT: or someone else)?
3<PRELOAD 1ST IND/3RD-PARTY CAND NAME> -->D1
4 <PRELOAD 2ND IND//RDDPARTY CAND NAME> -->D1
5 <PRELOAD REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE NAME -->D1
7 OTHER (SPECIFY) -->D1
8 DK -->D
```

VARIABLES V001287-V001290 are blank

## C20 - FAIRNESS OF PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

## C20.

Please continue thinking about the November election.
In some countries, people believe their elections are conducted fairly. In other countries, people believe
that their elections are conducted unfairly. Thinking of the presidential election we've just had, do you
believe it was very fair, somewhat fair, neither fair nor unfair, somewhat unfair, or very unfair?
1 VERY FAIR
2 SOMEWHAT FAIR
3 NEITHER FAIR NOR UNFAIR
4 SOMEWHAT UNFAIR
5 VERY UNFAIR
8 DK
Note: this question was added 11/10/2000

## SECTION D

## D1-D2 - THERMOMETERS

## FIRST, ADMINISTER D1A. <br> SECOND, RANDOMI ZE AND ADMI NISTER D1B-D1E. <br> THIRD, ADMI NISTER D1F. <br> FOURTH, RANDOMI ZE AND ADMI NISTER D1G-D1M. <br> FINALLY, RANDOMI ZE AND ADMI NISTER D2A-D2Z. <br> D1. <br> Please look at page 1 of the booklet.

I'd like to get your feelings toward some of our political leaders and other people who are in the news these days. I'll read the name of a person and I'd like you to rate that person using something we call the feeling thermometer. Ratings between 50 degrees and 100 degrees mean that you feel favorable and warm toward the person. Ratings between 0 degrees and 50 degrees mean that you don't feel favorable toward the person and that you don't care too much for that person. You would rate the person at the 50 degree mark if you don't feel particularly warm or cold toward the person. If we come to a person whose name you don't recognize, you don't need to rate that person. Just tell me and we'll move on to the next one.
(Looking at page 1 of the booklet) (How would you rate:)
PROBE FOR DON'T KNOW RESPONSE: When you say "don't know" do you mean that you don't know who the person is or do you have something else in mind?
T D1.T
I'd like to get your feelings toward some of our political leaders and other people who are in the news these days. I'll read the name of a person and I'd like you to rate that person using something we call the feeling thermometer. The feeling thermometer can rate people from 0 to 100 degrees.
Ratings between 50 degrees and 100 degrees mean that you feel favorable and warm toward the person.
Ratings between 0 degrees and 50 degrees mean that you don't feel favorable toward the person. Rating the person at the midpoint, the 50 degree mark, means you don't feel particularly warm or cold toward the person. If we come to a person whose name you don't recognize, you don't need to rate that person. Just tell me and we'll move on to the next one.
Our first person is Bill Clinton. Where on that feeling thermometer would you rate Bill Clinton? /
The next person is $\wedge$. (Where on that feeling thermometer would you rate him/her?)
PROBE FOR DON'T KNOW RESPONSE: When you say "don't know" do you mean that you don't know who the person is or do you have something else in mind?
$\Rightarrow$ In this study we are using the feeling thermometer to measure R's feeling toward important political figures. The list of political figures includes the Democrat and Republican presidential and vice-presidential candidates, some possible future candidates, and some other noted figures.
$\Rightarrow$ Make sure that warmth of feeling is not equated with anger. In order to avoid such a mix-up, make sure that R understand that warm or favorable is the same as "liking" someone and cold means "disliking."
$\Rightarrow$ If R asks what capacity (NAME) is to be rated on (e.g., his personality? his performance in office?) we mean "In general..."
$\Rightarrow$ FTF ONLY: If R wants to select a degree level which is not pictured on the feeling thermometer in the Respondent Booklet (for example, 93 degrees) in order to indicate more accurately his/her feeling toward a person, by all means let him/her do so and record this response to the exact degree.
$\Rightarrow$ Any whole number from 0 to 100 is acceptable. Answers outside the 0 to 100 scale are not acceptable.
$\Rightarrow R$ 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?" $\Rightarrow$ Please take time to be sure that $R$ understands the mechanics of the feeling thermometer.
$\Rightarrow$ A probe has been supplied which you may use when the respondent is not able to rate a person. For instance, if $R$
only says, "I don't know" -- this probe will help you determine which of the following two situations apply:
$\Rightarrow$ 1. Is R trying to tell you that s/he knows the person (recognizes the name), but doesn't know (can't decide) how to rate the person because s/he is unfamiliar with the ideas, stances, personality, of the political figures? This answer belongs in DON'T KNOW WHERE TO RATE: CAN'T JUDGE.
$\Rightarrow$ 2. Does $R$ mean that the name just doesn't "ring a bell," that is, that s/he really doesn't know who the person is
in which case the answer should be logged R DOESN'T RECOGNIZE NAME.
$\Rightarrow$ FTF: This is the first time you will be asking the respondent to work with the Respondent Booklet. Hand R the
booklet, and say something to the effect that "This is a booklet we'll be using for some of the questions throughout
the questionnaire. It will help you keep in mind what the questions I am asking you are about." Some respondents keep on looking at the respondent booklet when it no longer applies. If this situation arises, please say something like, "We use the booklet only for some of the questions. I'll let you know the next time we will use it."
For any subsequent questions which require the use of the Respondent Booklet, prompt $R$ at the beginning of the question, according to the text on the screen.
$\Rightarrow$ FTF: Use the Respondent Booklet! It is part of the question, and part of the uniform stimulus we want all respondents to receive. Asking a question without the designated Respondent Booklet page could alter the response choice the respondent makes.
$\Rightarrow$ In this study, we are using the feeling thermometer to accomplish two things 1.measure R's feelings toward important political figures 2 . establish whether respondents who didn't recall some or all of the congressional candidate names in A4a are now able to recognize the candidates when the names are read by you.
$\Rightarrow$ We are testing the proposition that recalling a name may be more difficult than recognizing one. Our perception of the level of information among American voters may vary depending upon whether we look at the proportion who are able to recall candidate names in contrast to the proportion who are able to recognize them. The data for this year, compared to that obtained in 1978, 1980, 1982, 1984, 1986, 1988, 1990, 1992, and 1994 will tell us whether House candidates are more or less visible in presidential election years than in congressional off-year elections.

| D1a./D1a.T | Spec: 245_1 | V001292 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| BILL CLINTON |  |  |
| D1b./D1b.T | Spec: 245_2 | V001293 |
| AL GORE |  |  |
| D1c/D1c.T | Spec: 245_3 | V001294 |
| GEORGE W. BUSH |  |  |
| D1dD1d.T | Spec: 245_4 | V001295 |
| RALPH NADER |  |  |
| D1e/D1e.T | Spec: 245_5 | V001296 |
| JESSE JACKSON |  |  |
| D1f/D1f.T | Spec: 245_6 | V001297 |
| FORMER PRESIDENT, GEORGE BUSH |  |  |
| D1g/D1g.T <br> (IF NOT WASHINGTON D.C.) AND (IF DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE RUNNING IN HOUSE RACE) | Spec: 245_7 | V001298 |
| <DEMOCRATIC HOUSE CANDIDATE> |  |  |

## (IF NOT WASHINGTON D.C.) AND (IF REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE RUNNING IN HOUSE RACE)

<REPUBLICAN HOUSE CANDIDATE>
D1j/D1j.T Spec: 245_9

V001300
(IF NOT WASHINGTON D.C.) AND (IF HOUSE INCUMBENT NOT RUNNING)
<RETIRING HOUSE REPRESENTATIVE>
D1k/D1k.T $\quad$ Spec: 245_10

V001301
(IF NOT WASHINIGTON D.C.) AND
(IF SENATE RACE IN STATE) AND (DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE IN SENATE RACE) AND
(IF CANDIDATE IS NOT ALSO RETIRING HOUSE CANDIDATE)
<DEMOCRATIC SENATE CANDIDATE>
(IF NOT WASHINGTON D.C.) AND
(IF SENATE RACE IN STATE) AND (REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE IN SENATE RACE) AND
(IF CANDIDATE IS NOT ALSO RETIRING HOUSE CANDIDATE)
<REPUBLICAN SENATE CANDIDATE>
D1n/D1n.T
(IF VT01 OR VA05)
245_12
(IF VT01 OR VA05)
<INDEPENDENT HOUSE INCUMBENT CANDIDATE >
0-100
997 DON'T RECOGNIZE
998 DK WHERE TO RATE

## D2.

Still using the thermometer, how would you rate:
$\Rightarrow$ After the candidates, we continue with the groups "feeling thermometer" series to measure how R feels about a number of important groups and institutions in society.
$\Rightarrow$ If R does not recognize a group, record the answer 998.
$\Rightarrow$ Please note the following problems that surfaced in over time. First, some R's say, "I don't have anything against GROUP X, give them 100." Remind R that 100 is for groups he/she 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).

| D2a. | Spec: 249_1 | V001304 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| THE SUPREME COURT |  |  |
| D2b. | Spec: 249_2 | V001305 |
| CONGRESS |  |  |
| D2c. | Spec: 249_3 | V001306 |
| THE MILITARY |  |  |
| D2d. | Spec: 249_4 | V001307 |
| THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IN WASHINGTON |  |  |
| D2e. | Spec: 2495 | V001308 |

D2e.
Spec: 249_5
V001308
BLACKS
$\Rightarrow$ Please say Blacks and not African-Americans. Our interest is in tapping people's assessment of black influence
speaking broadly. Not all Blacks are from Africa (Jamaicans, Cubans, and many others from the Caribbean)
D2f.

| Spec: $249 \_6$ | V001309 |
| :--- | ---: |
| Spec: $249 \_7$ | V001310 |
| Spec: $249 \_8$ | V001311 |
| Spec: 249_9 | V001312 |
| Spec: $249 \_10$ | V001313 |
| Spec: $249 \_11$ | V001314 |

POOR PEOPLE
D2n.

| Spec: 249_12 | V001315 |
| :--- | ---: |
| Spec: 249_13 | V001316 |
| Spec: 249_14 | V001317 |
| Spec: 249_15 | V001318 |
| Spec: 249_16 | V001319 |
| Spec: 249_17 | V001320 |
| Spec: 249_18 | V001321 |
| Spec: 249_19 | V001322 |
| Spec: 249_20 | V001323 |
| Spec: 249_21 | V001324 |
| Spec: 249_22 | V001325 |
| Spec: 249_23 | V001326 |
| Spec: 249_24 | V001327 |

SECTION E

E1-E4 - HOUSE CANDIDATE LIKES/DISLIKES

## RANDOMIZE ORDER OF E1-E2 SERIES AND E3-E4 SERIES <br> (E2 ALWAYS FOLLOWS E1; E4 ALWAYS FOLLOWS E3)

Note: for VT01, the independent incumbent candidate's name was used in the Democratic like/dislike questions; in VA05 the independent

E0.
Next I would like to ask you some questions about the candidate(s) who ran in this district for the U.S.
House of Representatives.
E1.
Next I would like to ask you some questions about the candidate(s) who ran in this district for the U.S.
House of Representatives. Was there anything in particular that you liked about <NAME>, the Democratic candidate (VT01: the independent candidate) for the U.S. House of Representatives?

## 1 YES

## -->SKIP TO E1a

5 NO
->SKIP TO E2
7 R VOLUNTEERS: I DON'T KNOW ANYTHING ABOUT THIS CANDIDATE --> E3 or E5a
8 DK
->SKIP TO E2
$\Rightarrow$ Section Notes: You may wonder why we ask this section if the respondent did not recall the House candidates in A4. In Section E we give the respondent the name of the candidate, and his/her party affiliation. People often know something about their Representative, have seen him/her on television, have read about the campaign, and so on, without ever having focused on the name. Respondents frequently have a lot to say in answer to questions in Section E--when we give them enough 'cues' to trigger their memories.
E1a.
(IF YES)
(IF YES)
(What was that?)
(PROBE: Anything else that you liked about this candidate? UNTIL R SAYS "NO.")

## OPENENDED

$\Rightarrow$ 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 congressiona district. Therefore, if R mentions only one thing, probe, "Anything else?", and continue probing until R says "NO".
$\Rightarrow$ Specific probes are very important for this set of questions. You are likely to get responses such as: ike 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?
$\Rightarrow$ We'd also like you to probe a little behind the standard adjectives, clichés, and slogans that are used.
When R gives such responses as "the $\qquad$ 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.
$\Rightarrow$ We recognize the necessity, however, for not forcing $R$ to respond beyond the point at which he/she has something meaningful to say. Also, the probing should not be carried to the point of being offensive and irritating to the R who cannot provide more particulars.

E2.
Was there anything in particular that you didn't like about <NAME>, the Democratic candidate (VT01: the independent candidate) for the U.S. House of Representatives?
1 YES, R NAMES SOMETHING DISLIKED
-->SKIP TO E2a
5 NO, NOTHING DISLIKED
-->SKIP TO E3
8 DK
-->SKIP TO E3

## (IF YES)

(What was that?)
(PROBE: Anything else that you didn't like about this candidate? UNTIL R SAYS "NO.")
OPENENDED
$\Rightarrow$ Here, we want to get as complete a picture as possible of what $R$ feels are the positive and negative characteristics of the major party candidates for the U.S. House of Representatives in R's congressional district. Therefore, if R mentions only one thing, probe, "Anything else?", and continue probing until R says "NO".
$\Rightarrow$ Specific probes are very important for this set of questions. You are likely to get responses such as: "I
like his/her stand on issues"--we want to know what issues and what stands: "She is a better candidate"
--but why is she better?; or "He/she favors certain interests"--which interests?
$\Rightarrow$ We'd also like you to probe a little behind the standard adjectives, clichés, and slogans that are used. When
$\Rightarrow$ gives such responses as "the $\qquad$ 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.
$\Rightarrow$ We recognize the necessity, however, for not forcing $R$ to respond beyond the point at which he/she has something meaningful to say. Also, the probing should not be carried to the point of being offensive and irritating to the R who cannot provide more particulars.

E3.
Was there anything in particular that you liked about <NAME>, the Republican candidate (VA05: the independent candidate) for the U.S. House of Representatives?

## 1 YES, R NAMES SOMETHING LIKED <br> $-->$ SKIP TO E3a <br> 5 NO, NOTHING LIKED <br> -->SKIP TO E4

7 R VOLUNTEERS: I DON'T KNOW ANYTHING ABOUT THIS CANDIDATE -->SKIP TO E3 or E5a
$\qquad$
$\Rightarrow$ Section Notes: You may wonder why we ask this section if the respondent did not recall the House candidates in A4. In Section E we give the respondent the name of the candidate, and his/her party affiliation. People often know something about their Representative, have seen him/her on television, have read about the campaign, and so on, without ever having focused on the name. Respondents frequently have a lot to say in answer to questions in Section E--when we give them enough 'cues' to trigger their memories.

## E3a. <br> (IF YES)

V001341-1345
(What was that?)
(PROBE: Anything else that you liked about this candidate? UNTIL R SAYS "NO.")

## OPENENDED

$\Rightarrow$ 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 congressiona district. Therefore, if R mentions only one thing, probe, "Anything else?", and continue probing until R says "NO".
$\Rightarrow$ Specific probes are very important for this set of questions. You are likely to get responses such as: "I like his/her stand on issues"--we want to know what issues and what stands: "She is a better candidate"
--but why is she better?; or "He/she favors certain interests"--which interests?
$\Rightarrow$ We'd also like you to probe a little behind the standard adjectives, clichés, and slogans that are used. When $R$ gives such responses as "the $\qquad$ 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.
$\Rightarrow$ 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

Was there anything in particular that you didn't like about <NAME>, the Republican candidate
(VA05: the independent candidate) for the U.S. House of Representatives?

| 1 YES, R NAMES SOMETHING DISLIKED | $-->$ SKIP TO E4a |
| :--- | :--- |
| 5 NO, NOTHING DISLIKED | $-->$ SKIP TO E5 |
| 8 DK | $-->$ SKIP TO E5a |

## E4a.

->SKIP TO E5
(IF YES)
(What was that?)
(PROBE: Anything else that you didn't like about this candidate? UNTIL R SAYS "NO.")

## OPENENDED

$\Rightarrow$ Here, we want to get as complete a picture as possible of what $R$ feels are the positive and negative characteristics of the major party candidates for the U.S. House of Representatives in R's congressional district. Therefore, if R mentions only one thing, probe, "Anything else?", and continue probing until R says "NO".
$\Rightarrow$ Specific probes are very important for this set of questions. You are likely to get responses such as: "I like his/her stand on issues"--we want to know what issues and what stands: "She is a better candidate" --but why is she better?; or "He/she favors certain interests"--which interests?
$\Rightarrow$ We'd also like you to probe a little behind the standard adjectives, clichés, and slogans that are used. When R gives such responses as "the $\qquad$ 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.
$\Rightarrow$ 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.

## E5-E7 - POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE (HOUSE AND SENATE)

Note: for VT01/VA05, the independent incumbent candidate's name was included in E5a in place of the Dem/Rep candidate name.
V001352 CHEKPT- No. cands
E5a/E5b SKIPPED FOR WASHINGTON D.C

## E5a.

Spec: 273
V001353
(IF 2 OR MORE CANDIDATES IN HOUSE RACE)
Do you happen to know if either of these candidates, <DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE NAME>/(VT01:
INDEPENDENT INCUMBENT CAND NAME) or <REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE NAME>/(VA05:
INDEPENDENT INCUMBENT CAND NAME), was already in the U.S. House of Representatives before
the election? [PROBE FOR NO: DO YOU MEAN "NEITHER CANDIDATE" OR "DON'T KNOW"?]
1 YES, <DEMOCRATIC NAME> -->E6
2 YES, <REPUBLICAN NAME>
-->E6
3 YES <INDEPENDENT CANDIDATE>-->E6
4 BOTH [VOL] -->E6
5 NO, NEITHER WAS[VOL]
-->E6
7 DON'T KNOW, NOT SURE[[VOL] -->E6
$\Rightarrow$ "NO" answers for either E5a or E5b are ambiguous and must be probed.

```
E5b.
(IF ONLY 1 CANDIDATE IN HOUSE RACE)
Do you happen to know if <NAME OF DEMOCRATIC OR REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE> was already in the U.S. House of Representatives before the election?
[PROBE FOR NO: DO YOU MEAN "NO, HE/SHE WASN'T" OR "DON’T KNOW"?]
1 YES
5 NO
7 DON'T KNOW, NOT SURE[VOL]
\(\Rightarrow\) "NO" answers for either E5a or E5b are ambiguous and must be probed.
E6. Spec: 276 - V001356
Do you happen to know which party had the most members in the House of Representatives in Washington
BEFORE the election (this/last) month? (IF NECESSARY: WHICH ONE?)
[DON'T PROBE DK]
1 THE DEMOCRATS
5 THE REPUBLICANS
8 DK
E7.
Do you happen to know which party had the most members in the U.S. Senate BEFORE the election (this/last) month? (IF NECESSARY: WHICH ONE?)
[DON'T PROBE DK]
1 THE DEMOCRATS
5 THE REPUBLICANS
8 DK
```

SECTION F

F1-F4 - MEMBER OF CONGRESS

F1-F4 SKIPPED FOR WASHINGTON D.C

## F1.

In general, do you approve or disapprove of the way Representative < RUNNING INCUMBENT OR RETIRING INCUMBENT NAME> has been handling <HIS/HER> job?

## 1 APPROVE

5 DISAPPROVE
8 DK
$\rightarrow->$ SKIP TO Fla
-->SK2

Spec: 291__ V001358
F1a. $\quad$ Spec: 292_- V001359

## (IF APPROVE)

Do you approve strongly or not strongly?
1 APPROVE STONGLY

| NOT STRONGLY | $-->$ SKIP TO F2 |
| :--- | :--- |
| 5 NOT | -->SKIP TO F2 |
| 8 DK | $-->$ SKIP TO F2 |

## F1b.

(IF DISAPPROVE)
Do you disapprove strongly or not strongly?
1 DISAPPROVE STRONGLY
5 NOT STRONGLY
8 DK

## V001361 SUMMARY

F2.
Do you happen to remember anything special that Representative <RUNNING INCUMBENT OR
RETIRING INCUMBENT NAME> has done for the people in <HIS/HER> district while <HE/SHE>
has been in Congress?
1 YES
5 NO
8 DK
F3.
Spec: 295
V001363
Do you happen to know about how many years <HE/SHE> has been in the House of Representatives?
1 YES, R KNOWS
-->SKIP TO F3a
5 NO
$\rightarrow-->$ SKIP TO F3b
5 NO
-->SKIP TO F3b

## F3a.

(IF YES)
(About how many?)
OPENENDED _____ --_SKIP to F4

## F3b.

(IF NO OR DON'T KNOW)
Would you say less than 12 years, about 12 years, or more than 12 years?
[DON'T PROBE DK]
1 LESS THAN 12 YEARS
3 ABOUT 12 YEARS
5 MORE THAN 12 YEARS
8 DK
F4.
How good a job would you say U.S. Representative <NAME> does of keeping in touch with the people in your district -- does (he/she) do a very good job, fairly good, fairly poor, or a very poor job of keeping in touch with the people in this district?
1 VERY GOOD
2 FAIRLY GOOD
3 FAIRLY POOR
4 VERY POOR
8 DK

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 DK

## SECTION G

## G1-G10 - LIBERAL-CONSERVATIVE PLACEMENT

Note: for VT01/VA05, the independent incumbent candidate was included in place of Democratic (VT01) or Republican (VA05) candidate.
G1.
Please look at page 2 of the booklet. We hear a lot of talk these days about liberals and conservatives. Here is a seven-point scale on which the political views that people might hold are arranged from extremely liberal to extremely conservative.

## T G1.T

We hear a lot of talk these days about liberals and conservatives.
G1a.
Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?

## [DO NOT PROBE ]

## T G1a.T

When it comes to politics, do you usually think of yourself as extremely liberal, liberal, slightly liberal, moderate or middle of

## the road, slightly conservative, conservative, extremely conservative, or haven't you thought much about this?

1 EXTREMELY LIBERAL
-->G2b

2 LIBERAL
$-->G 2 b$
3 SLIGHTLY LIBERAL
4 MODERATE. MIDDLE OF THE ROAD -->G2b
5 SLIGHTLY CONSERVATIVE ROAD
5 SLIGHTLY CONSERVATIVE
>-G2b
6 CONSERVATIVE
7 EXTREMELY CONSERVATIVE -->G2b
8 DK
$\rightarrow$ G1b
0 HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH [DO NOT PROBE] $\rightarrow$ G1b
$\Rightarrow$ If you've worked on election studies before, you're familiar with this "proximity format" for determining where $\vec{R}$ stands on issues in relation to where he thinks political leaders and groups stand. We realize that these questions are demanding of both you and R; however, much valuable research information has already been derived from this technique
$\Rightarrow$ Our first task for the respondent is to place himself/herself on the scale. Note that if R respondents with DK or HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH ABOUT THIS with regard to his/her own placement on the scale at G4, you do not probe,
but go directly to G4aa, asking R, "If you had to choose..." If R still responds DK, the skip leads to where he/she would place the presidential candidates. We are interested in knowing whether respondents who have trouble figuring out where they stand may nevertheless have a good idea where other political figures stand.
$\Rightarrow$ If R placed himself/herself, then he/she is asked to place the presidential and congressional candidates and the Democrat and Republican parties.
$\Rightarrow$ It is important that $R$ understands that he/she should place the groups and the political leaders on the scale in terms of where he/she thinks they stand now, NOT in terms of where he/she would like them to be.
$\Rightarrow$ Whenever such confusion becomes apparent to you, please try to get $R$ to think in terms of where he/she thinks the leader or party position is now. (Needless to say, it is possible that $R$ does think everyone is at 1 or 7 , and that's a legitimate answer--just make sure that that is what you are getting before you go on.)
$\Rightarrow$ Definitely try to get $R$ to specify his/her response in terms of a number on the scale. If $R$ gives a range (e.g. 5-7), record this, but also ask $R$ to give, if possible, a single number within that range. "Which would you say is closest to the way you feel?"
$\Rightarrow$ We do not want you to help R define the terms 'liberal' and 'conservative'. If R has too much trouble understanding the terms 'liberal' and 'conservative' to answer these questions, say something like, "it's alright if you haven't thought much about this. We can just go on to the next question."

## G1b.

## IF MODERATE, DK OR HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH)

If you had to choose, would you consider yourself a liberal, a conservative, or a moderate?
1 LIBERAL
3 CONSERVATIVE
5 MODERATE [VOL]
7 R REFUSES TO CHOOSE [VOL]
8 DK
$\Rightarrow$ We do not want you to help R define the terms 'liberal' and 'conservative'. If R has too much trouble
understanding the terms 'liberal' and 'conservative' to answer these questions, say something like, "it's
alright if you haven't thought much about this. We can just go on to the next question."

G2.
Where would you place Bill Clinton on this scale?
[DON'T PROBE DK]

## T G2.T

What about Bill Clinton? Do you think he is extremely liberal, liberal, slightly liberal, moderate or middle of

## the road, slightly conservative, conservative, or extremely conservative? [DON'T PROBE DK]

## 1 EXTREMELY LIBERAL

2 LIBERAL
3 SLIGHTLY LIBERAL
4 MODERATE; MIDDLE OF THE ROAD
5 SLIGHTLY CONSERVATIVE
6 CONSERVATIVE
7 EXTREMELY CONSERVATIVE
8 DK
$\Rightarrow$ It is important that R understands that he/she should place the groups and the political leaders on the scale in terms of where he/ she thinks they stand now, NOT in terms of where he/she would like them to be.
$\Rightarrow$ Whenever such confusion becomes apparent to you, please try to get R to think in terms of where he/she thinks the leader or party position is now.
$\Rightarrow$ A "Don't Know" answer for any of the groups or political leaders is a perfectly acceptable response to be handled by pausing to be sure the R doesn't want to change his/her mind, and then entering the DK and moving on to the next group or person on the list. in other words, DO NOT PROBE "DON'T KNOW" responses here or on any other part of

G3.
T G3.T
What about Al Gore? (Do you think he is extremely liberal, liberal, slightly liberal, moderate or middle of the road, slightly conservative, conservative, or extremely conservative?) [DON'T PROBE DK]
1 EXTREMELY LIBERAL
2 LIBERAL
3 SLIGHTLY LIBERAL
4 MODERATE; MIDDLE OF THE ROAD
5 SLIGHTLY CONSERVATIVE
6 CONSERVATIVE
7 EXTREMELY CONSERVATIVE
8 DK
--> NEXT PRES. CANDIDATE IN RANDOMIZATION OR G6/G6.T
$\Rightarrow$ It is important that R understands that he/she should place the groups and the political leaders on the scale in terms of where he/she thinks they stand now, NOT in terms of where he/she would like them to be.
$\Rightarrow$ Whenever such confusion becomes apparent to you, please try to get R to think in terms of where he/she thinks the leader or party position is now.
$\Rightarrow$ A "Don't Know" answer for any of the groups or political leaders is a perfectly acceptable response to be handled by pausing to be sure the R doesn't want to change his/her mind, and then entering the DK and moving on to the next group or person on the list.
$\Rightarrow$ In other words, DO NOT PROBE "DON'T KNOW" responses here or on any other part of their "placements"
throughout the interview. To do so probably invites R to guess, and often elicits "random" responses.

```
G3a.
G3a.T
```


## (IF NOT DK)

How certain are you of this? Very certain, pretty certain or not very certain?
1 VERY CERTAIN
3 PRETTY CERTAIN
5 NOT VERY CERTAIN
8 DK
G4.
Where would you place George W. Bush on this scale? [DON'T PROBE DK]

## T G4.T

What about George W. Bush? (Do you think he is extremely liberal, liberal, slightly liberal, moderate or middle
of the road, slightly conservative, conservative, or extremely conservative? [DON'T PROBE DK]
1 EXTREMELY LIBERAL
2 LIBERAL
3 SLIGHTLY LIBERAL
4 MODERATE; MIDDLE OF THE ROAD
5 SLIGHTLY CONSERVATIVE
6 CONSERVATIVE
7 EXTREMELY CONSERVATIVE
8 DK
$\Rightarrow$ It is important that R understands that he/she should place the groups and the political leaders on the scale
in terms of where he/she thinks they stand now, NOT in terms of where he/she would like them to be.
$\Rightarrow$ Whenever such confusion becomes apparent to you, please try to get $R$ to think in terms of where he/she thinks the leader or party position is now
$\Rightarrow$ A "Don't Know" answer for any of the groups or political leaders is a perfectly acceptable response to be handled by pausing to be sure the $R$ doesn't want to change his/her mind, and then entering the DK and moving on to the next group or person on the list.
$\Rightarrow$ In other words, DO NOT PROBE "DON'T KNOW" responses here or on any other part of their "placements"
throughout the interview. To do so probably invites R to guess, and often elicits "random" responses.

## G4a.

G4a. 1

## (IF NOT DK)

How certain are you of this? Very certain, pretty certain or not very certain?
1 VERY CERTAIN
3 PRETTY CERTAIN
5 NOT VERY CERTAIN
8 DK

G5.
Where would you place Pat Buchanan on this scale? [DON'T PROBE DK]

## T G5.T

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

## 2 LIBERAL

3 SLIGHTLY LIBERAL
4 MODERATE; MIDDLE OF THE ROAD
5 SLIGHTLY CONSERVATIVE
6 CONSERVATIVE
7 EXTREMELY CONSERVATIVE
8 DK
--> NEXT PRES. CANDIDATE IN RANDOMIZATION OR G6/G6.T
$\Rightarrow$ It is important that R understands that he/she should place the groups and the political leaders on the scale
in terms of where he/she thinks they stand now, NOT in terms of where he/she would like them to be.
$\Rightarrow$ Whenever such confusion becomes apparent to you, please try to get R to think in terms of where he/she thinks the leader or party position is now.
$\Rightarrow$ A "Don't Know" answer for any of the groups or political leaders is a perfectly acceptable response to be handled
by pausing to be sure the $R$ doesn't want to change his/her mind, and then entering the DK and moving on to the next group or person on the list.
$\Rightarrow$ In other words, DO NOT PROBE "DON'T KNOW" responses here or on any other part of their "placements"
throughout the interview. To do so probably invites R to guess, and often elicits "random" responses.

## (IF NOT DK)

How certain are you of this? Very certain, pretty certain or not very certain?
VERY CERTAIN
3 PRETTY CERTAIN
5 NOT VERY CERTAIN
8 DK

## TELEPHONE: ORDER OF G6.T AND G7.T IS RANDOMIZED [SKIP IF WASHINGTON D.C. OR NO CAND]

G6.
Spec: 314_5,
V001378a, 1378b
Where would you place <DEMOCRATIC HOUSE CANDIDATE>/(VT01: INDEPENDENT INCUMBENT 314_7 HOUSE CANDIDATE) on this scale? [DON'T PROBE DK]
T G6.T
What about <DEMOCRATIC HOUSE CANDIDATE>/ (VT01: INDEPENDENT INCUMBENT HOUSE
CANDIDATE)?
(Do you think he is extremely liberal, liberal, slightly liberal, moderate or middle of the road, slightly conservative, conservative, or extremely conservative?) [DON'T PROBE DK]
1 EXTREMELY LIBERAL
2 LIBERAL
3 SLIGHTLY LIBERAL
4 MODERATE; MIDDLE OF THE ROAD
5 SLIGHTLY CONSERVATIVE
6 CONSERVATIVE
7 EXTREMELY CONSERVATIVE
8 DK
-->G7 OR PARTY PLACEMENTS
$\Rightarrow$ It is important that R understands that he/she should place the groups and the political leaders on the scale
in terms of where he/she thinks they stand now, NOT in terms of where he/she would like them to be.
$\Rightarrow$ Whenever such confusion becomes apparent to you, please try to get $R$ to think in terms of where he/she thinks the leader or party position is now.
$\Rightarrow$ A "Don't Know" answer for any of the groups or political leaders is a perfectly acceptable response to be handled by pausing to be sure the R doesn't want to change his/her mind, and then entering the DK and moving on to the next group or person on the list.
$\Rightarrow$ In other words, DO NOT PROBE "DON'T KNOW" responses here or on any other part of their "placements" throughout the interview. To do so probably invites R to guess, and often elicits "random" responses.
G6a.
G6a.T
(IF NOT DK)
How certain are you of this? Very certain, pretty certain or not very certain?
1 VERY CERTAIN
3 PRETTY CERTAIN
5 NOT VERY CERTAIN
8 DK

V001379a,1379b
G6a.
315_7
(IF NOT DK)
1 VERY CERTAIN
5 NOT VERY CERTAIN
8 DK

G7.
Where would you place <REPUBLICAN HOUSE CANDIDATE>/(VA05: <INDEPENDENT INCUMBENT 314_7 HOUSE CANDIDATE>) on this scale? [DON'T PROBE DK]
T G7.T
What about <REPUBLICAN HOUSE CANDIDATE>/ (VA05: INDEPENDENT INCUMBENT HOUSE

## CANDIDATE)?

(Do you think he is extremely liberal, liberal, slightly liberal, moderate or middle of the road, slightly conservative, conservative, or extremely conservative?) [DON'T PROBE DK]

3 SLIGHTLY LIBERAL
4 MODERATE; MIDDLE OF THE ROAD
5 SLIGHTLY CONSERVATIVE
6 CONSERVATIVE
7 EXTREMELY CONSERVATIVE
8 DK
-->G7 OR PARTY PLACEMENTS
$\Rightarrow$ It is important that R understands that he/she should place the groups and the political leaders on the scale
in terms of where he/she thinks they stand now, NOT in terms of where he/ she would like them to be.
$\Rightarrow$ Whenever such confusion becomes apparent to you, please try to get R to think in terms of where he/she thinks the leader or party position is now.
$\Rightarrow$ A "Don't Know" answer for any of the groups or political leaders is a perfectly acceptable response to be handled by pausing to be sure the R doesn't want to change his/her mind, and then entering the DK and moving on to the next group or person on the list.
$\Rightarrow$ In other words, DO NOT PROBE "DON'T KNOW" responses here or on any other part of their "placements"
throughout the interview. To do so probably invites $R$ to guess, and often elicits "random" responses.
G7a.
G7a.T
(IF NOT DK)
How certain are you of this? Very certain, pretty certain or not very certain?
1 VERY CERTAIN
3 PRETTY CERTAIN
5 NOT VERY CERTAIN
8 DK

## (IF NOT DK)

Where would you place the Democratic party on this scale? [DON'T PROBE DK]
T G8.T
What about the Democratic Party? (Do you think they are extremely liberal, liberal, slightly liberal, moderate or middle of the road, slightly conservative, conservative, or extremely conservative?)

## [DON'T PROBE DK]

## 1 EXTREMELY LIBERAL

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

## -->NEXT PARTY IN RANDOMIZATION OR G11

$\Rightarrow$ It is important that R understands that he/she should place the groups and the political leaders on the scale
in terms of where he/she thinks they stand now, NOT in terms of where he/she would like them to be.
$\Rightarrow$ Whenever such confusion becomes apparent to you, please try to get R to think in terms of where he/she thinks the leader or party position is now
$\Rightarrow$ A "Don't Know" answer for any of the groups or political leaders is a perfectly acceptable response to be handled by pausing to be sure the $R$ doesn't want to change his/her mind, and then entering the DK and moving on to the next group or person on the list.
$\Rightarrow$ In other words, DO NOT PROBE "DON'T KNOW" responses here or on any other part of their "placements" throughout the interview. To do so probably invites R to guess, and often elicits "random" responses.

G9.
Where would you place the Republican party on this scale? [DON'T PROBE DK]

## T G9.T

What about the Republican Party? (Do you think they are extremely liberal, liberal, slightly liberal, moderate or middle of the road, slightly conservative, conservative, or extremely conservative?)
[DON'T PROBE DK]

## 1 EXTREMELY LIBERAL

2 LIBERAL
3 SLIGHTLY LIBERAL
4 MODERATE; MIDDLE OF THE ROAD
5 SLIGHTLY CONSERVATIVE
6 CONSERVATIVE
7 EXTREMELY CONSERVATIVE
8 DK
$\Rightarrow$ It is important that R understands that he/she should place the groups and the political leaders on the scale in terms of where he/she thinks they stand now, NOT in terms of where he/she would like them to be.
$\Rightarrow$ Whenever such confusion becomes apparent to you, please try to get $R$ to think in terms of where he/she thinks the leader or party position is now.
$\Rightarrow$ A "Don't Know" answer for any of the groups or political leaders is a perfectly acceptable response to be handled by pausing to be sure the R doesn't want to change his/her mind, and then entering the DK and moving on to the next group or person on the list.
$\Rightarrow$ In other words, DO NOT PROBE "DON'T KNOW" responses here or on any other part of their "placements" throughout the interview. To do so probably invites R to guess, and often elicits "random" responses.

G10. Spec: 314_10 V001384
Where would you place the Reform party on this scale? [DON'T PROBE DK]
T G10.T
What about the Reform Party? (Do you think they are extremely liberal, liberal, slightly liberal,
moderate or middle of the road, slightly conservative, conservative, or extremely conservative?)
[DON'T PROBE DK]
1 EXTREMELY LIBERAL
2 LIBERAL
3 SLIGHTLY LIBERAL
4 MODERATE; MIDDLE OF THE ROAD
5 SLIGHTLY CONSERVATIVE
6 CONSERVATIVE
7 EXTREMELY CONSERVATIVE
8 DK
-->NEXT PART Y IN RANDOMIZATION OR G11
$\Rightarrow$ It is important that R understands that he/she should place the groups and the political leaders on the scale in terms of where he/she thinks they stand now, NOT in terms of where he/ she would like them to be.
$\Rightarrow$ Whenever such confusion becomes apparent to you, please try to get $R$ to think in terms of where he/she thinks the leader or party position is now.
$\Rightarrow$ A "Don't Know" answer for any of the groups or political leaders is a perfectly acceptable response to be handled
by pausing to be sure the R doesn't want to change his/her mind, and then entering the DK and moving on to the next group or person on the list.
$\Rightarrow$ In other words, DO NOT PROBE "DON'T KNOW" responses here or on any other part of their "placements"
throughout the interview. To do so probably invites $R$ to guess, and often elicits "random" responses.

Note: for VT01/VA05, the independent incumbent candidate was included in place of Democratic (VT01) or Republican (VA05) candidate.

## G11.

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

## T G11.T

Some people think the government should provide fewer services, even in areas such as health and education in order to reduce spending. Still others feel it is important for the government to provide many more services even if it means an increase in spending.
G11a.
Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?
GOVERNMENT SHOULD PROVIDE

MANY FEWER SERVICES; REDUCE
SPENDING A LOT
MANY MORE SERVICES;
1 FEWER SERVICES; REDUCE SPENDING INCREASE SPENDING A LOT

2
3
4
5
6
7 MORE SERVICES; INCREASE SPENDING
9 HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH ABOUT THI
8 DK $\rightarrow$ G11b or G11c
$\rightarrow$ G11b or G11c
$\rightarrow$ G11b or G11c
$\rightarrow$ G11b or G11c
$\rightarrow$ G11b or G11c
$\rightarrow$ G11b or G11c
$\rightarrow$ G11b or G11c
$\rightarrow$ G11b or G11c
thinks a proximity format question for determining where R stands on issues in relation to where he/ she $\Rightarrow$ ns political leaders and groups stand. Again, we know these are hard, but we have learned a lot from them $\Rightarrow$ Our first task for the respondent is to place himself/herself on the scale. Note that R responds HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH ABOUT THIS only with regard to his/her own placement.
$\Rightarrow$ Definitely try to get $R$ to specify his/her response in terms of a number on the scale. If $R$ gives a range (e.g. 5-7),
record this, but also ask $R$ to give, if possible, a single number within that range. "Which would you say is closest
to the way you fee?"
$\Rightarrow$ Read this question slowly and allow time for the respondent to digest the information. The question poses a complicated trade-off situation. It's not just a matter of whether government should provide more or fewer services, but whether the government should do one or the other in light of what happens to spending. Thus, people may feel that 7 is the preferred answer for the desired amount of government services, yet come down to settling for point 5 because they feel government spending must be curtailed.

## T G11a.T

How about you? Do you think the government should provide fewer services, many more services, or continue Spec: 317__ providing services at the present level, or haven't you thought much about this?

$\Rightarrow$ It is important that R understands that he/she should place the groups and the political leaders
in terms of where he/she thinks they stand now, NOT in terms of where he/she would like them to be.
$\Rightarrow$ Whenever such confusion becomes apparent to you, please try to get R to think in terms of where he/she thinks the leader or party position is now.
$\Rightarrow$ A "Don't Know" answer for any of the groups or political leaders is a perfectly acceptable response to be handled by pausing to be sure the R doesn't want to change his/her mind, and then entering DK and moving on to the next group or person on the list. In other words, DO NOT PROBE "DON'T KNOW" responses here or on any other part of their "placements" throughout the interview. To do so probably invites R to guess, and often elicits "random" responses.
$\Rightarrow$ Again, we feel that Rs who can't decide where to place themselves may possibly have a pretty good idea of where
the Democratic and Republican parties stand on this issue.
$\Rightarrow$ DO NOT PROBE "DON'T KNOW" responses here or on any other part of their "placements" throughout
the interview. To do so probably invites R to guess, and often elicits "random" responses.

G11c.
(IF NOT WASHINGTON D.C) AND (IF REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE IN HOUSE RACE) AND (IF R NOT CODED 997 IN D1g THERMOMETER):
Where would you place <REPUBLICAN HOUSE CANDIDATE> /(VA05: INDEPENDENT

## INCUMBENT HOUSE CANDIDATE) on this issue? [DON'T PROBE DK]

1 FEWER SERVICES; REDUCE SPENDING
1 FEWER SERVICES; REDUCE SPENDING $\quad \rightarrow \mathrm{G12}$



5
$\rightarrow$ G12
$\rightarrow$ G12
$\rightarrow$ G12
$\rightarrow$ G12
6
$\rightarrow$ G12
7 MORE SERVICES; INCREASE SPENDING
$\rightarrow \mathrm{G12}$
8 DK
$\rightarrow$ G12
$\Rightarrow$ It is important that R understands that he/she should place the groups and the political leaders in terms of where he/she thinks they stand now, NOT in terms of where he/she would like them to be. Whenever such confusion becomes apparent to you, please try to get R to think in terms of where he/she thinks the leader or party position is now.
$\Rightarrow$ A "Don't Know" answer for any of the groups or political leaders is a perfectly acceptable response to be handled by pausing to be sure the R doesn't want to change his/her mind, and then entering DK and moving on to the next group or person on the list. In other words, DO NOT PROBE "DON'T KNOW" responses here or on any other part of their "placements" throughout the interview. To do so probably invites $R$ to guess, and
often elicits "random" responses.
$\Rightarrow$ Again, we feel that Rs who can't decide where to place themselves may possibly have a pretty good idea of where the Democratic and Republican parties stand on this issue.
$\Rightarrow$ DO NOT PROBE "DON'T KNOW" responses here or on any other part of their "placements"
throughout the interview. To do so probably invites R to guess, and often elicits "random" responses.
(IF NOT WASHINGTON D.C) AND (IF DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE IN HOUSE RACE) AND (IF R NOT CODED 997 IN D1g THERMOMETER):
What about <DEMOCRATIC HOUSE CANDIDATE> /(VT01: INDEPENDENT INCUMBENT HOUSE CANDIDATE)?
Do you think <HE/SHE> would like the government to provide fewer services in order to reduce spending, provide many services even if it means an increase in spending, or continue services at the present level? [DON'T PROBE DK]

## 1 FEWER SERVICES; REDUCE SPENDING $\rightarrow$ G11b1.T <br> 3 MORE SERVICES; INCREASE SPENDING <br> 5 CONTINUE SERVICES AT PRESENT LEVEL <br> $\rightarrow$ G11b2.T

8 DK
$\rightarrow$ NEXT HOUSE CANDIDATE OR G12.T
$\Rightarrow$ It is important that R understands that he/she should place the groups and the political leaders in terms of where he/she thinks they stand now, NOT in terms of where he/she would like them to be. $\Rightarrow$ Whenever such confusion becomes apparent to you, please try to get R to think in terms of where he/she thinks the leader or party position is now.
$\Rightarrow$ A "Don't Know" answer for any of the groups or political leaders is a perfectly acceptable response to be handled by pausing to be sure the R doesn't want to change his/her mind, and then entering DK and moving on to the next group or person on the list. In other words, DO NOT PROBE "DON'T KNOW" responses here or on any other part of their "placements" throughout the interview. To do so probably invites R to guess, and often elicits "random" responses.
$\Rightarrow$ Again, we feel that Rs who can't decide where to place themselves may possibly have a pretty good idea of where the Democratic and Republican parties stand on this issue.
$\Rightarrow$ DO NOT PROBE "DON'T KNOW" responses here or on any other part of their "placements"
throughout the interview. To do so probably invites R to guess, and often elicits "random" responses.
(IF DEMIIND WOULD LIKE TO REDUCE SERVICES AND SPENDING)
Do you think <HE/SHE> would like to reduce services and spending a great deal or (reduce services and spending) only some?
1 A GREAT DEAL $\rightarrow$ NEXT HOUSE CANDIDATE OR G12.T
5 ONLY SOME $\rightarrow$ NEXT HOUSE CANDIDATE OR G12.T
8 DK $\quad \rightarrow$ NEXT HOUSE CANDIDATE OR G12.T
$\Rightarrow$ DO NOT PROBE "DON'T KNOW" responses here or on any other part of their "placements"
throughout the interview. To do so probably invites $R$ to guess, and often elicits "random" responses.
G11b2.T Spec: 325_1

V001394a, 1394b
(IF DEM/IND WOULD LIKE TO INCREASE SERVICES AND SPENDING) 325_3
Do you think <HE/SHE> would like to increase services and spending a great deal or (increase services and spending) only some?
1 A GREAT DEAL $\rightarrow$ NEXT HOUSE CANDIDATE OR G12.T
5 ONLY SOME $\rightarrow$ NEXT HOUSE CANDIDATE OR G12.T
8 DK $\rightarrow$ NEXT HOUSE CANDIDATE OR G12.T
$\Rightarrow$ DO NOT PROBE "DON'T KNOW" responses here or on any other part of their "placements" throughout the interview. To do so probably invites $R$ to guess, and often elicits "random" responses.

G11b3.T
(IF DEM/IND WOULD LIKE TO CONTINUE SERVICES AT PRESENT LEVEL)
326_3
If the level of services and spending were to be changed, do you think $\langle H E / S H E>$ would be more in favor of an increase or a decrease?

| 1 INCREASE | $\rightarrow$ NEXT HOUSE CANDIDATE OR G12.T |
| :--- | :--- |
| 3 DECREASE | $\rightarrow$ NEXT HOUSE CANDIDATE OR G12.T |
| 5 NEITHER | $\rightarrow$ NEXT HOUSE CANDIDATE OR G12.T |
| 8 DK | $\rightarrow$ NEXT HOUSE CANDIDATE OR G12.T |

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

G11c.T
Spec: 323_2
V001396 COMB. 7pt SUMMARY
(IF NOT WASHINGTON D.C) AND (IF REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE IN HOUSE RACE) AND
(IF R NOT CODED 997 IN D1g THERMOMETER):
What about <REPUBLICAN HOUSE CANDIDATE>/(VA05: INDEPENDENT INCUMBENT HOUSE CANDIDATE)?
Do you think <HE/SHE> would like the government to provide fewer services in order to reduce spending, provide many more services even if it means an increase in spending, or continue services at the present level? [DON'T PROBE DK]
1 FEWER SERVICES; REDUCE SPENDING 3 MORE SERVICES; INCREASE SPENDING 5 CONTINUE SERVICES AT PRESENT LEVEL 5 CON
$\rightarrow$ G11c1.T

解 terms of where he/she thinks they stand now, NOT in terms of where he/she would like them to be
$\Rightarrow$ Whenever such confusion becomes apparent to you, please try to get R to think in terms of where he/she thinks the leader or party position is now.
$\Rightarrow$ A "Don't Know" answer for any of the groups or political leaders is a perfectly acceptable response
to be handled by pausing to be sure the R doesn't want to change his/her mind, and then entering
DK and moving on to the next group or person on the list. In other words, DO NOT PROBE "DON'T
KNOW" responses here or on any other part of their "placements" throughout the interview. To do so probably invites R to guess, and often elicits "random" responses.
$\Rightarrow$ Again, we feel that Rs who can't decide where to place themselves may possibly have a pretty good idea of where the Democratic and Republican parties stand on this issue.
$\Rightarrow$ DO NOT PROBE "DON'T KNOW" responses here or on any other part of their "placements"
throughout the interview. To do so probably invites $R$ to guess, and often elicits "random" responses.

## G11c1.T

(IF REP/IND WOULD LIKE TO REDUCE SERVICES AND SPENDING)
Do you think <HE/SHE> would like to reduce services and spending a great deal or (reduce services and spending) only some?
1 A GREAT DEAL $\rightarrow$ NEXT HOUSE CANDIDATE OR G12.T
5 ONLY SOME $\rightarrow$ NEXT HOUSE CANDIDATE OR G12.T
8 DK $\rightarrow$ NEXT HOUSE CANDIDATE OR G12.T
$\Rightarrow$ DO NOT PROBE "DON'T KNOW" responses here or on any other part of their "placements" throughout the interview. To do so probably invites R to guess, and often elicits "random" responses.

G11c2.T
Spec: 325_2
V001400a, 1400b
(IF REP/IND WOULD LIKE TO INCREASE SERVICES AND SPENDING)
3253
Do you think <HE/SHE> would like to increase services and spending a great deal or (increase services and spending) only some?

| 1 A GREAT DEAL | $\rightarrow$ NEXT HOUSE CANDIDATE OR G12.T |
| :--- | :--- |
| 5 ONLY SOME | $\rightarrow$ NEXT HOUSE CANDIDATE OR G12.T |
| 8 DK | $\rightarrow$ NEXT HOUSE CANDIDATE OR G12.T |


| G11c3.T | pec: 326_2 |
| :---: | :---: |
|  | 326 |

If the level of services and spending were to be changed, do you think <HE/SHE> would be more in favor of an increase or a decrease?
1 INCREASE $\rightarrow$ NEXT HOUSE CANDIDATE OR G12.T
3 DECREASE $\rightarrow$ NEXT HOUSE CANDIDATE OR G12.T
5 NEITHER $\rightarrow$ NEXT HOUSE CANDIDATE OR G12.T
8 DK $\rightarrow$ NEXT HOUSE CANDIDATE OR G12.T
$\Rightarrow$ DO NOT PROBE "DON'T KNOW" responses here or on any other part of their "placements"
throughout the interview. To do so probably invites R to guess, and often elicits "random" responses.
$\underline{001402}$ COMB. 7pt SUMMARY

## G12-ABORTION

Note: for VT01/VA05, the independent incumbent candidate was included in place of Democratic/Republican candidate
G12. Spec: 334_- V001403

Please look at page 4 of the booklet.
There has been some discussion about abortion during recent years. Which one of the opinions on this
page best agrees with your view? You can just tell me the number of the opinion you choose.

## T G12.T

There has been some discussion about abortion during recent years. I am going to read you a short list of opinions. Please tell me which one of the opinions best agrees with your view? You can just tell me the number of the opinion you choose.
1 BY LAW, ABORTION SHOULD NEVER BE PERMITTED.
2 THE LAW SHOULD PERMIT ABORTION ONLY IN CASE OF RAPE, INCEST, OR WHEN THE WOMAN'S LIFE IS IN DANGER.
3 THE LAW SHOULD PERMIT ABORTION FOR REASONS OTHER THAN RAPE, INCEST, OR DANGER TO THE WOMAN'S LIFE,
BUT ONLYAFTER THE NEED FOR THE ABORTION HAS BEEN CLEARLY ESTABLISHED.
4 BY LAW, A WOMAN SHOULD ALWAYS BE ABLE TO OBTAIN AN ABORTION AS A MATTER OF PERSONAL CHOICE.
7 OTHER (SPECIFY) [VOL]
8 DK
$\Rightarrow$ Give R plenty of time to think this one over. People usually have strong feelings on the subject, but it takes them a while to match their feelings with one of the response options.
$\Rightarrow$ If R says, "none of these agrees with my view, "enter "OTHER, SPECIFY" (which we have put there for this very contingency) and PROBE for R's view. (Try not to let a digression develop -- a one sentence equivalent of the other alternatives is just fine.)

## G12a.

How important is this issue to you personally? Not at all important, not too important, somewhat important, very important, or extremely important?
1 NOT AT ALL IMPORTANT
2 NOT TOO IMPORTANT
3 SOMEWHAT IMPORTANT
4 VERY IMPORTANT
5 EXTREMELY IMPORTANT
8 DK

## Telephone: G12b.T and G12c.T are randomly administered

| G12b. | Spec:338_1 | V001405a, 1405b |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| (IF NOT WASHINGTON D.C) AND (IF DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE IN HOUSE RACE) AND | 338_3 |  |
| (IF R NOT CODED 997 IN D1g THERMOMETER): |  |  |
| Where would you place <DEMOCRATIC HOUSE CANDIDATE>/(VT01: INDEPENDENT |  |  |
| INCUMBENT HOUSE CANDIDATE) (on abortion)? [DON'T PROBE DK] |  |  |
| G12b.T |  |  |
| (IF NOT WASHINGTON D.C) AND (IF DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE IN HOUSE RACE) AND |  |  |
| (IF R NOT CODED 997 IN D1g THERMOMETER): |  |  |
| What about <DEMOCRATIC HOUSE CANDIDATE> /(VT01: INDEPENDENT INCUMBENT |  |  |
| HOUSE CANDIDATE) (on abortion)? Which opinion best agrees with [HIS/HER] views? |  |  |
| [DON'T PROBE DK] |  |  |
| 1 BY LAW, ABORTION SHOULD NEVER BE PERMITTED. | -->G12c or G13 |  |
| 2 THE LAW SHOULD PERMIT ABORTION ONLY IN CASE OF RAPE, INCEST, OR WHEN THE WOMAN'S LIFE IS IN DANGER. 3 THE LAW SHOULD PERMIT ABORTION FOR REASONS OTHER THAN RAPE INCEST, OR DANGER TO THE WOMAN'S LIFE | .-->G12c or G13 |  |
| BUT ONLYAFTER THE NEED FOR THE ABORTION HAS BEEN CLEARLY ESTABLISHED. | ---G12c or G13 |  |
| 4 BY LAW, A WOMAN SHOULD ALWAYS BE AbLE TO OBTAIN AN ABORTION AS A MATTER OF PERSONAL CHOICE. | -->G12c or G13 |  |
| 7 OTHER (SPECIFY) [VOL] | -->G12c or G13 |  |
| 8 DK | -->G12c or G13 |  |
| $\Rightarrow$ We think R's will answer these placements on the abortion question easily. Don't probe DON'T KN |  |  |

G12b.T
(IF R NOT CODED 997 IN D1g THERMOMETER):
What about <DEMOCRATIC HOUSE CANDIDATE> /(VT01: INDEPENDENT INCUMBENT HOUSE CANDIDATE) (on abortion)? Which opinion best agrees with [HIS/HER] views?

DONT PROBE DK]
THE LAW SHOULD PERMIT ABORTION ONLY CASE OF RAPE, INCEST, OR WHEN THE WOMAN'S LIFE IS IN DANGER
3 THE LAW SHOULD PERMIT ABORTION FOR REASONS OTHER THAN RAPE, INCEST, OR DANGER TO THE WOMAN'S LIFE,
BUT ONLYAFTER THE NEED FOR THE ABORTION HAS BEEN CLEARLY ESTABLISHED.
4 BY LAW, A WOMAN SHOULD ALWAYS BE ABLE TO OBTAIN AN ABORTION AS A MATTER OF PERSONAL CHOICE. -->G12c or G13
DK (SACCIFY)[VOL
$->$ G12c or G13
on candidate placement. If Respondent says DON'T KNOW, enter alt-D

```
G12b1.T S39_3
```

(IF NOT DK/REF)
How certain are you of <DEMOCRATIC/IND HOUSE CANDIDATE>'s position? Very certain,
pretty certain, or not very certain?
1 VERY CERTAIN
3 PRETTY CERTAIN
5 NOT VERY CERTAIN
8 DK
G12c. $\quad$ Spec: 338_2 V001407a,1407b
(IF NOT WASHINGTON D.C) AND (IF REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE IN HOUSE RACE) AND
(IF R NOT CODED 997 IN D1H THERMOMETER):
Where would you place <REPUBLICAN HOUSE CANDIDATE> /(VA05: INDEPENDENT INCUMBENT HOUSE CANDIDATE) (on abortion)? [DON'T PROBE DK]
G12c.T
(IF NOT WASHINGTON D.C) AND (IF REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE IN HOUSE RACE) AND (IF R NOT CODED 997 IN D1H THERMOMETER):
What about <REPUBLICAN HOUSE CANDIDATE> /(VA05: INDEPENDENT INCUMENT
HOUSE CANDIDATE) (on abortion)? Which opinion best agrees with <HIS/HER> views? [DON'T PROBE DK]

```
1 BY LAW, ABORTION SHOULD NEVER BE PERMITTED.
    -->G12b or G13
1 BY LAW, ABORTION SHOULD NEVER BE PERMITTED.
THE LAW SHOULD PERMIT ABORTION FOR REASONS OTHER THAN RAPE, INCEST, OR DANGER TO THE WOMAN'S LIFE,
```

BUT ONLYAFTER THE NEED FOR THE ABORTION HAS BEEN CLEARLY ESTABLISHED
BY LAW, A WOMAN SHOULD ALWAYS BE ABLE TO OBTAIN AN ABORTION AS A MATTER OF PERSONAL CHOICE. 7 OTHER (SPECIFY) [VOL]
8 DK $\qquad$
$\Rightarrow$ We think R's will answer these placements on the abortion question easily. Don't probe DON'T KNOW
If Respondent says DON'T KNOW, enter alt-D.

G12c1.T
(IF NOT DK/REF)
How certain are you of <REPUBLICAN/IND HOUSE CANDIDATE>'s position? Very certain,
pretty certain, or not very certain?
1 VERY CERTAIN
3 PRETTY CERTAIN
5 NOT VERY CERTAIN
8 DK
G13.
Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Democrat or Republican?
1 DEMOCRAT
3 REPUBLICAN
5 NEITHER [VOL]
7 OTHER [SPECIFY]
8 DK
$\Rightarrow$ Here we are attempting to measure the respondent's party identification. By party identification we mean
a person's feeling of attachment or belonging to a party. The question is intended to pin down the respondent's
"usual" or customary general sense of party affiliation, not particularly how he/she voted in the election. This
means that a response such as, "Oh, I have been a Democrat but I really don't know about this year" classifies the respondent as a Democrat, and not as "Neither." The people who are deviating from a usual party preference are identified by questions on vote choice. At this point, we want to know if they have a "usual" party. However, if $R$ mentions any recent change in his feelings toward a party, be sure to enter that in a comment.
$\Rightarrow$ A few respondents may shy away from the question with responses such as, "I am an American." Such evasions
should be probed further with something such as, "Well, a lot of us who feel that we are good Americans also think of ourselves as Democrats, Republicans, and so forth. Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself...?"

## Section H

## RESPONDENT IS RANDOMLY SELECTED TO GET SECTION H IN PRE OR POST [SECTIONE INPRE].

H1.
We are interested in how people are getting along financially these days. Would you say that you (and your family living here/there) are better off, worse off, or just about the same financially as you were a year ago?

| 1 BETTER |  |
| :--- | :--- |
| 3 WORSE | SKIP $\rightarrow \mathrm{H} 1 \mathrm{~b}$ |
| 5 THE SAME | SKIP $\rightarrow \mathrm{H} 2$ |
| 8 DK | SKIP $\rightarrow \mathrm{H} 2$ |

5 THE SAME SKIP $\rightarrow$ H2
$\Rightarrow$ We think economics is an extremely powerful factor in how people assess issues, candidates, and the
government. These questions have to do with R's personal economics -- how things are going for $R$ and R's family
$\Rightarrow$ If R says they are "better off" in some respects and "worse off" in others, probe by asking, "Overall, would
you say..." Remember, this series is about circumstances particular to the $R$ and need not be linked to national economic trends and events. R's loss of a job, the sale of some property -- these are quite appropriate for R to be thinking about at this point. However, we do not need to have all of R's spoken mental calculations recorded. It's what he decides that is important, not how he got there (unless you have strong reason to believe that s/he has misunderstood the questions).

## H1a. <br> (IF BETTER)

Much better or somewhat better?
MUCH BETTER SKIP $\rightarrow$ H2
5 SOMEWHAT BETTER SKIP $\rightarrow$ H2
8 DK SKIP $\rightarrow$ H2

## H1b. <br> (IF WORSE)

Much worse or somewhat worse?
1 MUCH WORSE
5 SOMEWHAT WORSE
8 DK
V001412 SUMMARY
H2.
In the past year did you (or anyone in your family living here/there) put off medical or dental treatment because you didn't have the money?
1 YES
8 DK
H3.
Spec: 348
V001414
Now looking ahead, do you think that a year from now you (and your family living here/there) will be better off financially, worse off, or just about the same as now?

| 1 BETTER |  |
| :--- | :--- |
| 3 WORSE | Skip $\rightarrow$ H3b |
| 5 THE SAME | Skip $\rightarrow$ H4 |
| 8 DK | Skip $\rightarrow$ H4 |

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

## H3a.

(IF BETTER) Spec: 349_ V001415
Much better off or somewhat better off?
MUCH BETTER
SKIP $\rightarrow$ H4
SOMEWHAT BETTER
SKIP $\rightarrow$ H4
SO
Skip $\rightarrow$ H4

## H3b.

## (IF WORSE)

Much worse off or somewhat worse off?
1 MUCH WORSE
5 SOMEWHAT WORSE
8 DK

## V001417 SUMMARY

## H4 - FEAR OF BEING ASSAULT VICTIM

H4.
How afraid are you that a member of your family, or a close friend, or you yourself might be the victim of an assault during the coming year? Would you say you are very afraid, somewhat afraid, a little bit afraid, or not afraid?
1 VERY AFRAID
3 SOMEWHAT AFRAID
5 A LITTLE BIT AFRAID
7 NOT AFRAID
8 DK

## SECTION J

## J1- JURY DUTY

J1.
Spec: 354
V001419
If you were selected to serve on a jury, would you be happy to do it or would you rather not serve?
1 HAPPY TO DO IT
5 RATHER NOT SERVE
8 DK

## J2 - GOVERNMENT ROLE AND SELF-RELIANCE

J2.
Next, I am going to ask you to choose which of two statements I read comes closer to your own opinion.
You might agree to some extent with both, but we want to know which one is closer to your own views.
[IF NECESSARY, PROBE "WHICH IS CLOSER" ONCE EACH QUESTION.]
$\Rightarrow$ Note: J2 items are numbered 1 and 2 rather than 1 and 5 for consistency with the explicitly offered options called 1 and 2.

J2a.
ONE, the less government, the better; OR
TWO, there are more things that government should be doing?
[IF NECESSARY, PROBE "WHICH IS CLOSER"]

## 1 THE LESS GOVERNMENT THE BETTER

## 2 MORE THINGS GOVERNMENT SHOULD BE DOING

8 DK
$\Rightarrow$ These may be hard questions for respondents to answer. Sometimes you could agree with neither, or both
alternatives. They are phrased as WHICH IS CLOSER; and respondents who are having difficulty choosing between the alternatives should be probed "Which is closer...RQ". Do not use the probe more than once with each question, but use it each time the situation arises. As always, record each use of a probe.

J2b. Spec: 357 V001421
ONE, we need a strong government to handle today's complex economic problems; OR
TWO, the free market can handle these problems without government being involved.
[IF NECESSARY, PROBE "WHICH IS CLOSER"]
1 NEED A STRONG GOV'T TO HANDLE COMPLEX ECONOMIC PROBLEMS
2 FREE MARKET CAN HANDLE WITHOUT GOV’T INVOLVEMENT
8 DK
$\Rightarrow$ These may be hard questions for respondents to answer. Sometimes you could agree with neither, or both
alternatives. They are phrased as WHICH IS CLOSER; and respondents who are having difficulty choosing between the alternatives should be probed "Which is closer...RQ". Do not use the probe more than once with each question, but use it each time the situation arises. As always, record each use of a probe.
$\Rightarrow R$ might ask what the "free market" is. "Whatever it means to you" is the only answer we can give
J2c.
ONE, the main reason government has become bigger over the years is because it has gotten involved in
things that people should do for themselves; OR
TWO, government has become bigger because the problems we face have become bigger.
[IF NECESSARY, PROBE "WHICH IS CLOSER"]
1 GOV'T BIGGER BECAUSE IT'S I NVOLVED IN THINGS PEOPLE SHOULD HANDLE THEMSELVES
2 GOV'T BIGGER BECAUSE PROBLEMS BIGGER
8 DK
$\Rightarrow$ These may be hard questions for respondents to answer. Sometimes you could agree with neither, or both
alternatives. They are phrased as WHI CH IS CLOSER; and respondents who are having difficulty choosing between the alternatives should be probed "Which is closer...RQ". Do not use the probe more than once with each question, but use it each time the situation arises. As always, record each use of a probe.

## J2d.

ONE, it is more important to be a cooperative person who works well with others; OR
TWO, it is more important to be a self-reliant person able to take care of oneself.
[IF NECESSARY, PROBE "WHICH IS CLOSER"]
1 MORE IMPT. TO BE COOPERATIVE
2 MORE IMPT. TO BE SELF-RELIANT
8 DK
$\Rightarrow$ These may be hard questions for respondents to answer. Sometimes you could agree with neither, or both
alternatives. They are phrased as WHICH IS CLOSER; and respondents who are having difficulty choosing between
the alternatives should be probed "Which is closer...RQ". Do not use the probe more than once with each question,
but use it each time the situation arises. As always, record each use of a probe.

J3
Now I'd like to ask you a few short questions about television viewing, because what you watch often
determines what political advertising you will see.
How many times in the last week have you watched "Jeopardy"?
1-20 NUMBER OF TIMES
95 EVERY DAY
96 NEVER, NOT AT ALL
97 R VOLUNTEERS,"NEVER WATCHES TELEVISION" -->SKIP TO J 8
98 DON'T KNOW
Spec: 360_ V001424

J4. Spec: 361 V001425
How many times in the last week have you watched "Wheel of Fortune"?
1-20 NUMBER OF TIMES
95 EVERY DAY
96 NEVER, NOT AT ALL
98 DON'T KNOW
J5.
How many times in the last week have you watched morning news programs such as "Today," "Good
Morning America," or "The Early Show"?
1-20 NUMBER OF TIMES
95 EVERY DAY
96 NEVER, NOT AT ALL
98 DON'T KNOW
J6. Spec: 363_ V001427

How many times in the last week have you watched daytime television talk shows such as "Oprah
Winfrey," "Rosie O'Donnell," or "Jerry Springer"?
1-20 NUMBER OF TIMES
95 EVERY DAY
96 NEVER, NOT AT ALL
98 DON'T KNOW
J7. Spec. 364 V001428
Which of the network news programs do you watch most often- "World News Tonight" on ABC, "NBC
Nightly News," "The CBS Evening News," or some other network news program?
1 ABC
3 NBC
5 CBS
6 WATCH NO NETWORK NEWS PROGRAM [VOL]
7 OTHER (SPECIFY)
8 DK
J8.
How much of the time do you think you can trust the media to report the news fairly? Just about always, most of the time, only some of the time, or almost never?
$\Rightarrow$ This question refers to news coverage in general, not just coverage of the campaign.

J9.
There are a number of programs on radio in which people call in to voice their opinions about politics. Do you ever listen to political talk radio programs of this type?

| 1 YES, LISTEN | -->GOTO J9a |
| :--- | :--- |
| 5 NO, DON'T LISTEN | $-->G O T O ~ J 10 ~$ |
| 8 DK | $-->G O T O ~ J 10 ~$ |



## J10.

Spec: 369
V001433
Do you have access to the Internet or the World Wide Web?

1. YES

5 NO -->J11
8 DK -->J11
J10a.

Spec: 366
V001430

## (IF YES)

How often do you listen to those programs --every day, most days, once or twice a week, or only
occasionally?
1 EVERYDAY
3 ONCE OR TWICE A WEEK
4 ONLY OCCASIONALLY
8 DK
J9b.
Spec: 368
V001432
(IF YES)
eople listen cars just keep
background while they do other things. How about you? When you turn on a political talk radio
program, would you say you pay very close attention, fairly close attention, occasional attention,
or very little attention?
2 FAIRLY CLOSE ATTENTION
OCCASIONAL ATTENTION
4 VERY LITTLE ATTENTION
8 DK

## (IF YES)

Have you seen any information about this election campaign on the (Internet/Web)?

1. YES
2. NO
3. DK

Do you think there are any important differences in what the Republicans and Democrats stand for?
1 YES, DIFFERENCES
5 NO, NO DIFFERENCES
8 DK

```
J11a.
(IF YES)
What are those differences? [PROBE:] Any other important differences? [UNTIL R SAYS "NO."]
```

$\qquad$

```
OPENENDED
```


## SECTION K

## K1 - GROUP INFLUENCE

K1.
Some people think that certain groups have too much influence in American life and politics, while other people feel that certain groups don't have as much influence as they deserve. I am going to read you a list of groups, for each one please tell me whether that group has too much influence, just about the right amount of influence or too little influence.

K1a. Spec: 384_1 V001437
The first group is WHITES. Would you say they have too much influence, just about the right amount of influence, or too little influence?
1 TOO MUCH INFLUENCE
2 JUST ABOUT THE RIGHT AMOUNT
3 TOO LITTLE INFLUENCE
8 DK

## K1b - K1h.

What about <GROUP>?
(Would you say they have too much influence, just about the right amount of influence, or too little influence?)

## K1b.

$\Rightarrow$ Please say Blacks and not African-Americans. Our interest is in tapping people's assessment of black influence
speaking broadly. Not all Blacks are from Africa (J amaicans, Cubans, and many others from the Caribbean)
K1c.
K1d.
Spec: 384_3
V001439
Spec: 384_4
V001440
Asian Americans

## K1e.

Spec: 384_5
V001441
JEWS
$\Rightarrow$ Please say "J ews." We mean no offense, but we'd like to keep this group name consistent with past surveys.
$\overrightarrow{\mathrm{K}} 1 \mathrm{f}$
Spec: 384_6
V001442
PROTESTANTS
K1g.
CATHOLICS
K1h.
Spec: 384_7
V001443

Spec: 384_8
V001444
MEN
1 TOO MUCH INFLUENCE
2 JUST ABOUT THE RIGHT AMOUNT
3 TOO LITTLE INFLUENCE
8 DK
K1j.
And the last group is <WOMEN>. (Would you say they have too much influence, just about the right amount
of influence, or too little influence?)
1 TOO MUCH INFLUENCE
3 JUST ABOUT THE RIGHT AMOUNT
5 TOO LITTLE INFLUENCE
8 DK

## K2 - OFFICE RECOGNITION OF POLITICAL FIGURES

## RESPONDENTS ARE RANDOMLY SELECTED TO RECEIVE THE K2A-K2D BATTERY WITHOUT "DON'T KNOW" PROBES OR THE K2A.E-K2D.E BATTERY WITH "DON'T KNOW" PROBES.

K2.
Now we have a set of questions concerning various public figures. We want to see how much information about them gets out to the public from television, newspapers and the like.
[PAUSE AFTER EACH NAME. RECORD EXACTLY WHAT IS SAID]
K2a.
The first name is TRENT LOTT.

What job or political office does he NOW hold?
[DON'T PROBE DON'T KNOWS]
K2a. E
The first name is TRENT LOTT.
What job or political office does he NOW hold?
[PROBE DON'T KNOWS WITH, "WELL, WHAT'S YOUR BEST GUESS?"]
OPENENDED
$\Rightarrow$ Very important: be very careful to probe only if your screen tells you to. This will vary from interview to
interview. Respondents are randomly selected to be probed on don't knows, while other respondents are not.

$$
\Rightarrow \text { Here are a few suggestions from pretest interviewers: Respondents frequently begin all their answers with }
$$ "Isn't that...?" If the respondent really wants to know whether he/she is right, tell him/her you aren't supposed to discuss the questions during the interview, but you can discuss it with them at the end of the interview. If the answer is being phrased as a rhetorical "Isn't that...?" try to get away with a noncommittal "um-hum" as you record the response. The point is to avoid a test-like atmosphere, so if you can carry off a "you-and-me together" feeling with R, do it--e.g., putting a respondent at ease by saying, "I'm not sure about that one either", is O.K. with the study staff, although it may make your supervisors cringe.

$\Rightarrow$ This is the "political information" series, and it will take some footwork on your part to handle it well.
Unlike most of our questions, these questions have right answers, and some people may feel a little uneasy a bout answering them. Read the questions directly to R and record his/her responses in a straightforward manner so as not to make R feel uncomfortable even if R's answers are incorrect.

## K2a1.E

(IF RANDOMLY SELECTED FOR USE OF DK PROBE) CHECKPOINT: PROBE USED?

1. YES
2. NO

K2b.
WILLIAM REHNQUIST [PRON: Renn-kwist]
(What job or political office does he NOW hold?)
[DON'T PROBE DON'T KNOWS]

## K2b. E

V001449a

WILLIAM REHNQUIST [PRON: Renn-kwist]
(What job or political office does he NOW hold?)

## [PROBE DON'T KNOWS WITH, "WELL, WHAT'S YOUR BEST GUESS?"]

## OPENENDED

$\Rightarrow$ Very important: be very careful to probe only if your screen tells you to. This will vary from interview to interview. Respondents are randomly selected to be probed on don't knows, while other respondents are not. $\Rightarrow$ Here are a few suggestions from pretest interviewers: Respondents frequently begin all their answers with "Isn't that...?" If the respondent really wants to know whether he/she is right, tell him/her you aren't supposed to discuss the questions during the interview, but you can discuss it with them at the end of the interview. If the answer is being phrased as a rhetorical "Isn't that...?" try to get away with a noncommittal "um-hum" as you record the response. The point is to avoid a test-like atmosphere, so if you can carry off a "you-and-me together" feeling with R, do it--e.g., putting a respondent at ease by saying, "I'm not sure about that one either", is O.K. with the study staff, although it may make your supervisors cringe.
$\Rightarrow$ This is the "political information" series, and it will take some footwork on your part to handle it well. Unlike most of our questions, these questions have right answers, and some people may feel a little uneasy about answering them. Read the questions directly to $R$ and record his/her responses in a straightforward manner so as not to make R feel uncomfortable even if R's answers are incorrect.
K2b1.E

## (IF RANDOMLY SELECTED FOR USE OF DK PROBE) CHECKPOINT: PROBE USED?

1. YES
2. NO

## K2c.

## TONY BLAIR

(What job or political office does he NOW hold?)
[DON'T PROBE DON'T KNOWS]

## K2c.E

TONY BLAIR
(What job or political office does he NOW hold?)
[PROBE DON'T KNOWS WITH, "WELL, WHAT'S YOUR BEST GUESS?"]

## OPENENDED

$\Rightarrow$ Very important: be very careful to probe only if your screen tells you to. This will vary from interview to interview. Respondents are randomly selected to be probed on don't knows, while other respondents are not $\Rightarrow$ Here are a few suggestions from pretest interviewers: Respondents frequently begin all their answers with "Isn't that...?" If the respondent really wants to know whether he/she is right, tell him/her you aren't supposed to discuss the questions during the interview, but you can discuss it with them at the end of the interview. If the answer is being phrased as a rhetorical "Isn't that...?" try to get away with a noncommittal "um-hum" as you record the response. The point is to avoid a test-like atmosphere, so if you can carry off a "you-and-me together" feeling with R, do it--e.g., putting a respondent at ease by saying, "I 'm not sure about that one either", is O.K. with the study staff, although it may make your supervisors cringe.
$\Rightarrow$ This is the "political information" series, and it will take some footwork on your part to handle it well. Unlike most of our questions, these questions have right answers, and some people may feel a little uneasy about answering them. Read the questions directly to $R$ and record his/her responses in a straightforward manner so as not to make R feel uncomfortable even if R's answers are incorrect.

## K2c1.E <br> (IF RANDOMLY SELECTED FOR USE OF DK PROBE) <br> CHECKPOINT: PROBE USED? <br> 1. YES <br> 5. NO

## K2d. <br> JANET RENO

(What job or political office does she NOW hold?)
[DON'T PROBE DON'T KNOWS]
K2d. E Spec: 399
V001455b

## JANET RENO

(What job or political office does she NOW hold?)
[PROBE DON'T KNOWS WITH, "WELL, WHAT'S YOUR BEST GUESS?"]

## OPENENDED

$\Rightarrow$ Very important: be very careful to probe only if your screen tells you to. This will vary from interview to interview. Respondents are randomly selected to be probed on don't knows, while other respondents are not.
$\Rightarrow$ Here are a few suggestions from pretest interviewers: Respondents frequently begin all their answers with "Isn't that...?" If the respondent really wants to know whether he/she is right, tell him/her you aren't supposed to discuss the questions during the interview, but you can discuss it with them at the end of the interview. If the answer is being phrased as a rhetorical "Isn't that...?" try to get away with a noncommittal "um-hum" as you record the response. The point is to avoid a test-like atmosphere, so if you can carry off a "you-and-me together" feeling with R , do it--e.g., putting a respondent at ease by saying, "I'm not sure about that one either", is O.K.
with the study staff, although it may make your supervisors cringe
$\Rightarrow$ This is the "political information" series, and it will take some footwork on your part to handle it well. Unlike most of our questions, these questions have right answers, and some people may feel a little uneasy about
answering them. Read the questions directly to $R$ and record his/her responses in a straightforward manner so as not to make $R$ feel uncomfortable even if R's answers are incorrect.

## V001456 COMBINED

## K2d1.E <br> (IF RANDOMLY SELECTED FOR USE OF DK PROBE)

CHECKPOINT: PROBE USED?

1. YES
2. NO

## K3-K4 - KNOWLEDGE ABOUT PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES

K3.
Next, I'd like to ask you about the candidates who ran for President and their running mates. We're
interested in some of the things that people may have heard about these candidates. The first candidate I'd like to ask you about is George W. Bush.
K3a.
What U.S. state does George W. Bush live in now?
( PROBE DK WITH, "WELL, WHAT IS YOUR BEST GUESS?")
[INTERVIEWER: IF R'S RESPONSE IS ANYTHING OTHER THAN THE MENTION OF A
SINGLE ONE OF THE STATES LISTED, CODE AS 7. OTHER AND DOCUMENT R'S RESPONSE]
1 CONNECTICUT
2 TENNESSEE
3 TEXAS
4 WYOMING
7 OTHER (SPECIFY)
8 DK

| K3a1. | Spec: $416 \_1 \quad$ V001459 |
| :--- | :--- |
| CHECKPOINT: PROBE USED? |  |
| 1. YES |  |
| 5. NO |  |

K3b.
What is George W. Bush's religion?
(PROBE DK WITH, "WELL, WHAT IS YOUR BEST GUESS?")
0 NONE
1 BAPTIST
2 METHODIST
3 JEWISH
7 OTHER (SPECIFY)
8 DK

## K3b1. <br> CHECKPOINT: PROBE USED? <br> 1. YES

5. NO

K4.
Now take Al Gore
K4a.
What U.S. state is Al Gore from originally? $\quad$ Spec: 415_2 V001462
(PROBE DK WITH, "WELL, WHAT IS YOUR BEST GUESS?")
[INTERVIEWER: IF R'S RESPONSE IS ANYTHING OTHER THAN THE MENTION OF A
SINGLE ONE OF THE STATES LISTED, CODE AS 7. OTHER AND DOCUMENT R'S RESPONSE]
1 CONNECTICUT
2 TENNESSEE
3 TEXAS
4 WYOMING
7 OTHER (SPECIFY)
8 DK
K4a1. Spec: 416_2_ V001463

## CHECKPOINT: PROBE USED?

1. YES
2. NO

K4b.
What is Al Gore's religion? $\quad$ Spec: 417_2 V001464
(PROBE DK WITH, "WELL, WHAT IS YOUR BEST GUESS?")
0 NONE
1 BAPTIST
2 METHODIST
3 JEWISH
7 OTHER (SPECIFY)
8 DK
K4b1. Spec: 418_2 V001465

## CHECKPOINT: PROBE USED?

1. YES
2. NO

## K5-K6 - KNOWLEDGE ABOUT VICE-PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES

K5.
What about Dick Cheney.
K5a.
What U.S. state does Dick Cheney live in now?

```
Spec: 415_3 V001466
```

(PROBE DK WITH, "WELL, WHAT IS YOUR BEST GUESS?")
[INTERVIEWER: IF R'S RESPONSE IS ANYTHING OTHER THAN THE MENTION OF A
SINGLE ONE OF THE STATES LISTED, CODE AS 7. OTHER AND DOCUMENT R'S RESPONSE]

```
K5a1.
CHECKPOINT: PROBE USED?
1. YES
5. NO
```

K5b.
What is Dick Cheney's religion? Spec: 417_3 V001468
(PROBE DK WITH, "WELL, WHAT IS YOUR BEST GUESS?")
0 NONE
1 BAPTIST
2 METHODIST
3 JEWISH
7 OTHER (SPECIFY)
8 DK
K5b1. Spec: 418_3 V001469

CHECKPOINT: PROBE USED?

1. YES
2. NO

K6.
And Joseph Lieberman.
K6a.
What U.S. state does Joseph Lieberman live in now?
(PROBE DK WITH, "WELL, WHAT IS YOUR BEST GUESS?")
[INTERVIEWER: IF R'S RESPONSE IS ANYTHING OTHER THAN THE MENTION OF A
SINGLE ONE OF THE STATES LISTED, CODE AS 7. OTHER AND DOCUMENT R'S RESPONSE]
1 CONNECTICUT
2 TENNESSEE
3 TEXAS
4 WYOMING
7 OTHER (SPECIFY)
8 DK

## K6a1. <br> CHECKPOINT: PROBE USED? <br> 1. YES <br> 5. NO

K6b.
What is Joseph Lieberman's religion?

0 NONE
1 BAPTIST
2 METHODIST
3 JEWISH
7 OTHER (SPECIFY)
8 DK

## K6b1. Spec: 418_4 V001473 <br> CHECKPOINT: PROBE USED? <br> 1. YES <br> 5. NO

## K7 - INVOLVEMENT IN VOLUNTEER WORK

K7
Many people say they have less time these days to do volunteer work. What about you, were you able to
devote any time to volunteer work in the last 12 months or did you not do so?
1 YES
5 NO
8 DK
$\Rightarrow$ Volunteer work is unpaid work on behalf of someone other than $R$ or his/her family. If $R$ asks, we can say: work that you do for other people or groups that you don't expect to be paid for.

## K8-K10 - TRUST IN PEOPLE

K8
Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted, or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people?
1 MOST PEOPLE CAN BE TRUSTED
5 CAN'T BE TOO CAREFUL
8 DON'T KNOW

K9. Spec: 422 V001476
Do you think most people would try to take advantage of you if they got the chance or would they try to
be fair?
1 TAKE ADVANTAGE
5 TRY TO BE FAIR
8 DON'T KNOW
K10.
Spec: 423
V001477
Would you say that most of the time people try to be helpful, or that they are just looking out for
themselves?
1 TRY TO BE HELPFUL
5 JUST LOOKING OUT FOR THEMSELVES
8 DON'T KNOW

K11.
Recently there has been a lot of talk about job discrimination. Do you favor or oppose laws to protect homosexuals against job discrimination?
1 FAVOR
5 OPPOSE
-->SKIP TO K12
$\Rightarrow$ These may make some respondents uncomfortable. Move through them matter-of-factly, and at a pace to discourage digressions and "it depends qualifications". Of course, it depends, but "generally speaking" and RQ.

## K11a. Do you favor such laws strongly or not strongly?

$\begin{array}{ll}\text { 1 FAVOR STRONGLY } & -->K 12 \\ \text { 5 FAVOR NOT STRONGLY } & -->K 12\end{array}$
$\begin{array}{ll}5 \text { FAVOR NOT STRONGLY } & -->K 12 \\ 8 \text { DK } & -->K 12\end{array}$
K11b.
Do you oppose such laws strongly or not strongly? 1 OPPOSE STRONGLY
5 OPPOSE NOT STRONGLY
8 DK

## K12 - WAYS TO REDUCE CRIME

## K12.

Please look at page 5 of the booklet. Some people say that the best way to reduce crime is to address the social problems that cause crime, like bad schools, poverty and joblessness. (Suppose these people are at one end of a scale, at point 1.) Other people say the best way to reduce crime is to make sure that criminals are caught, convicted and punished. (Suppose these people are at the other end, at point 7.) And, of course, some other people have opinions somewhere in between at points $2,3,4,5$ or 6 .
K12a. Spec: $427 \quad$ V001482

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

[^1]Spec: 424
V001478

路

V001481 SUMMARY

V001480

CAUGHT, CONVICTED AND PUNISHED
$\qquad$
$\Rightarrow$ Definitely try to get $R$ to specify his/her response in terms of a number on the scale. If $R$ gives a range (e.g. 5-7), record this, but also ask R to give, if possible, a single number within that range. "Which would you say is closest to the way you feel?"

## T K12T.

Some people say that the best way to reduce crime is to address the social problems that cause crime, like bad schools, poverty and joblessness. Still others say the best way to reduce crime is to make sure that criminals are caught, convicted and punished.
T K12a.T
How about you? Do you think that the best way to reduce crime is to address social problems or to make
sure criminals are caught, convicted, and punished, or that we should do something in between, or haven't
you thought much about this?
1 ADDRESS SOCIAL PROBLEMS THAT CAUSE CRIME -->K12al.T
3 MAKE SURE CRIMINALS ARE CAUGHT, CONVICTED AND PUNISHED -->K12a2.T
5 DO SOMETHING IN BETWEEN
-->K12a3.T
0 HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH ABOUT THIS
--->K12a3.T
8 DK
K12a1.T
(IF R'S OPINION IS TO ADDRESS SOCIAL PROBLEMS)
Do you think that addressing the social problems that cause crime, rather than making sure criminals are caught, convicted, and punished is a much better way or somewhat better way to reduce crime? 1 MUCH BETTER
5 SOMEWHAT BETTER
-->K13
8 DK
(IF R'S OPINION IS TO MAKE SURE CRIMINALS ARE CAUGHT AND PUNISHED)
Do you think that making sure criminals are caught, convicted, and punished, rather than addressing the social problems that cause crime is a much better way or a somewhat better way to reduce crime? 1 MUCH BETTER -->K13
5 SOMEWHAT BETTER
-->K13
8 DK
(IF R'S OPINION IS 'SOMETHING IN BETWEEN') OR (IF DK) OR (IF HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH)
If you had to choose, which way would you say is better at reducing crime -- addressing the social problems that cause or crime or making sure criminals are caught, convicted, and punished?
1 ADDRESSING SOCIAL PROBLEMS
5 MAKING SURE CRIMINALS ARE CAUGHT, CONVICTED AND PUNISHED
7 R REFUSES TO CHOOSE [VOL]
8 DK

K13.
How worried are you about our country getting into a nuclear war at this time? Are you very worried,
somewhat worried, or not worried at all?
1 VERY WORRIED
3 SOMEWHAT WORRIED
5 NOT WORRIED AT ALL
8 DK
K14.
How worried are you about our country getting into a conventional war at this time, one in which nuclear
How worn are not used? Are you very worried, somewhat worried, or not worried at all?
1 Veapons are not
3 SOMEWHAT WORRIED
5 NOT WORRIED AT ALL
8 DK

## K15-K16 - CAMPAIGN FINANCE

K15.
Recently, there has been a lot of talk about campaign finance reform. Some people believe that we should protect government from excessive influence by campaign contributors. Others think that protecting the freedom of individuals to financially support political candidates and parties is more important.

| K15a. | Spec: 435 |
| :--- | :--- |
| Which is closer to the way you think, or haven't you thought much about this? |  |

Which is closer to the way you think, or haven't you thought much about this?
1 PROTECT GOVERNMENT FROM EXCESSIVE INFLUENCE
5 PROTECTING THE FREEDOM OF INDIVIDUALS
0 HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH ABOUT THIS
8 DK
K16.
In general, which of the following statements best represents what you feel about the way political
campaigns are financed in this country: it needs to be completely overhauled, it needs major changes, it
needs minor changes, or it is basically fine the way it is?
1 COMPLETELY OVERHAULED
3 MAJOR CHANGES
5 MINOR CHANGES
7 FINE THE WAY IT IS

L5.
Spec: 443_
V001491
During the past 12 months, have you worked with other people to deal with some issue facing your community?
1 YES
5 NO
8 DK
L6.
During the past twelve months, have you telephoned, written a letter to, or visited a government official
to express your views on a public issue?
1 YES
5 NO
8 DK
L7.

$$
\text { Spec: } 445
$$

V001493
During the past twelve months, did you attend a meeting about an issue facing your community or schools?
1 YES
5 NO
5 NO
8 DK

## L8 - ORGANIZATIONAL INVOLVEMENT AND INFLUENCE

L8.
Spec: 448
V001494
Here is a list of some organizations people can belong to.
There are labor unions, associations of people who do the same kinds of work, fraternal groups such as Lions or Kiwanis, hobby clubs or sports teams, groups working on political issues, community groups,
and school groups. Of course, there are lots of other types of organizations, too. Not counting membership
in a local church or synagogue, are you a member of any of these kinds of organizations?
1 YES
5 NO -->L9
8 DK -->L9
L8a.
How many organizations are you currently a member of?

| 0 | NO ORGANIZATIONS | $-->L 9$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1 | ONE ORGANIZATION | $-->L 8 b$ |
| $2-96$ | ORGANIZATIONS | $-->L 8 b b$ |
| 97 | 97 OR MORE ORGANIZATIONS-->L8bb |  |

9797 OR MORE ORGANIZATIONS-->L8bb
98 DK
$->$ L8bb

## L8b.

(IF ONE ORGANIZATION ONLY)
If you average across the past twelve months, about how many hours per week did
you spend doing things with or for your organizations?
ENTER NUMBER OF HOURS PER WEEK
96 NONE (NO DAYS)
98 DK

## L8c.

## (IF ONE ORGANIZATION ONLY)

Does the organization you belong to ever try to influence government?
1 YES
5 NO
8 DON'T KNOW

## L8d.

Spec: 452_ V001498
(IF ONE ORGANIZATION ONLY)
Does the organization you belong to ever try to influence schools?
1 YES -->L9
5 NO -->L9
8 DON'T KNOW -->L9

## L8bb. (IF TWO OR MORE ORGANIZATIONS OR DK HOW MANY)

If you average across the past twelve months, about how many hours per week did you spend doing things with or for your organizations?
_ ENTER NUMBER OF HOURS PER WEEK
96 NONE (NO DAYS)
98 DK

## L8cc.

Spec: 454_ V001500
(IF TWO OR MORE ORGANIZATIONS OR DK HOW MANY)
Do any of the organizations you belong to ever try to influence government?
1 YES
5 NO
8 DON'T KNOW

## L8dd.

Spec: 455_ V001501
(IF TWO OR MORE ORGANIZATIONS OR DK HOW MANY)
Do any of the organizations you belong to ever try to influence schools?
1 YES
5 NO
8 DON'T KNOW
Spec: 451_ V001497
ec: 452
V001498

Many people are finding it more difficult to make contributions to church or charity as much as they used to.
How about you -- were you able to contribute any money to church or charity in the last 12 months?
1 YES
5 NO
8 DK

L10 - PROTEST
L10.
Aside from a strike against your employer, in the past twelve months, have you taken part in a protest, march, or demonstration on some national or local issue?
1 YES
5 NO
8 DK

## L10a.

Spec: 458_
V001507

## (IF YES)

About how many times was that - once, two or three times, or four times or more?
1 ONCE
2 TWO OR THREE
4 FOUR TIMES OR MORE
7 CAN'T REMEMBER [VOL]
8 DK

## SECTION M

## M3 - POSITION OF BLACKS IN SOCIETY

M3.
Please turn to page 6 in the booklet.
Now I'm going to read several statements. After each one, I would like you to tell me how strongly you agree or disagree. The first statement is:
T M3.T
Now I'm going to read several statements. After each one, I would like you to tell me how strongly you agree or disagree. The first statement is:

## M3a.

## T M3a.T

'Irish, Italians, Jewish and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same without any special favors.'
Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly with this statement?

```
1 AGREE STRONGLY
2 AGREE SOMEWHAT
```

3 NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE
4 DISAGREE SOMEWHAT
5 DISAGREE STRONGLY
8 DK
$\Rightarrow$ The focus of this question is whether the respondent agrees that the statement is a reason for why white
people seem to get more of the good things in life. Please be sure R understands the frame of reference
(especially if you need to probe).
$\Rightarrow$ Some interviewers may find themselves uncomfortable reading some of the statements objectively. Remember that the R is not associating the statement with your personal beliefs
$\Rightarrow$ Please say Blacks and not African-Americans. Our interest is in tapping people's assessment of black influence speaking broadly. Not all Blacks are from Africa (Jamaicans, Cubans, and many others from the Caribbean)
M3b. V001509 469 Spec: V0
(Still looking at page 6 in the booklet.)
'Over the past few years, blacks have gotten less than they deserve.'
(Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree
strongly with this statement?)

## T M3b.T

'Over the past few years, blacks have gotten less than they deserve.'
Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree
strongly with this statement?
1 AGREE STRONGLY
2 AGREE SOMEWHAT
3 NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE
4 DISAGREE SOMEWHAT
5 DISAGREE STRONGLY
8 DK
$\Rightarrow$ Please say Blacks and not African-Americans. Our interest is in tapping people's assessment of black
influence speaking broadly. Not all Blacks are from Africa (Jamaicans, Cubans, and many others from the Caribbean)
M3c.
(Still looking at page 6 in the booklet.)
'It's really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; if blacks would only try harder they could be just as well off as whites.'
(Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree
strongly with this statement?)
T M3c.T
'It's really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; if blacks would only try harder they could
be just as well off as whites.'
(Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree
strongly with this statement?)
1 AGREE STRONGLY
3 NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE
4 DISAGREE SOMEWHAT
5 DISAGREE STRONGLY
8 DK
$\Rightarrow$ Please say Blacks and not African-Americans. Our interest is in tapping people's assessment of black influence speaking broadly. Not all Blacks are from Africa (Jamaicans, Cubans, and many others from the Caribbean)
M3d.
Spec: 471_
V001511
(Still looking at page 6 in the booklet.)
'Generations of slavery and discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for blacks to
work their way out of the lower class.'
(Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree
strongly with this statement?)

## T M3d.T

'Generations of slavery and discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for blacks to work their way out of the lower class.'
(Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree

## strongly with this statement?)

1 AGREE STRONGLY
2 AGREE SOMEWHAT
3 NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE
4 DISAGREE SOMEWHAT
5 DISAGREE STRONGLY
8 DK
$\Rightarrow$ Please say Blacks and not African-Americans. Our interest is in tapping people's assessment of black
influence speaking broadly. Not all Blacks are from Africa (J amaicans, Cubans, and many others from the Caribbean)

## SECTION N

## N1 - POWER OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

N1.
Spec: 488_
V001512
Now I'd like to ask you about your feelings toward the federal government.
Some people are afraid the government in Washington is getting too powerful for the good of the country and the individual person. Others feel that the government in Washington is not getting too strong.
Do you have an opinion on this or not?
1 YES
5 NO
$\begin{array}{ll}5 \mathrm{NO} & \rightarrow \mathrm{N} 2 \\ 8 \mathrm{DK} & \rightarrow \mathrm{N} 2\end{array}$
$\Rightarrow$ We are aware that the question is difficult for both you and respondents, but it is an old item and we are reluctant to part with it or revise it.
$\Rightarrow$ We do not want to force $R$ to come up with an answer. If $R$ says "NO", do not probe.

## N1a.

## (IF R HAS AN OPINION)

What is your feeling, do you think the government is getting too powerful or do you think the government is not getting too strong?

| 1 GOVERNMENT TOO POWERFUL | -->SKIP TO N1b |
| :--- | :--- |
| 5 GOVERNMENT NOT GETTING TOO STRONG |  |
| 7 OTHER; DEPENDS (SPECIFY) | $-->$ SKIP TO N2 |
| 8 DK |  |

```
T
DK

\section*{N1a1. \\ (IF GOVT NOT GETTING TOO STRONG)}

Spec: 490
V001514

Do you think the government should become more powerful or should it stay the way it is?
1 BECOME MORE POWERFUL -->N1b

5 STAY THE WAY IT IS
\(\rightarrow\) N2
8 DK
-->N2

\section*{N1b.}

\section*{(IF GOVT TOO POWERFUL IN N1a) OR}

\section*{(GOVT SHOULD BECOME MORE POWERFUL IN N1a1)}

Which party do you think is more likely to favor a powerful government in
Washington - the Democrats, the Republicans, or wouldn't there be much
difference between them on this?
1 DEMOCRATS
3 REPUBLICANS
5 NO DIFFERENCE
8 DON'T KNOW

\section*{N2- POLITICAL EFFICACY OF THE RESPONDENT}

N2.
Please continue looking at page 6 of the booklet. I'd like to read you a few statements about public life.
I'll read them one at a time and please tell me how strongly you agree or disagree with each of them.
T N2.T
I'd like to read you a few statements about public life. I'll read them one at a time. Please tell me how strongly you agree or disagree with each of them.
N2a. Spec: 499_ V001516

\section*{T N2a.T}
' I feel that I have a pretty good understanding of the important political issues facing our country. '
Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly with this statement?
1 AGREE STRONGLY
2 AGREE SOMEWHAT
3 NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE
4 DISAGREE SOMEWHAT
5 DISAGREE STRONGLY
8 DK

\section*{N2b.}
(Still looking at page 6 in the booklet.)
' I consider myself well-qualified to participate in politics.
(Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree
strongly with this statement?)

\section*{T N2b.T}
' I consider myself well-qualified to participate in politics. '
Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly with this statement?
1 AGREE STRONGLY
2 AGREE SOMEWHAT
3 NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE
4 DISAGREE SOMEWHAT
5 DISAGREE STRONGLY
8 DK

\section*{N2c.}
(Still looking at page 6 in the booklet.)
' I feel that I could do as good a job in public office as most other people. '
(Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree
strongly with this statement?)

\section*{T N2c.T}
' I feel that I could do as good a job in public office as most other people.'
(Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly with this statement?)
1 AGREE STRONGLY
2 AGREE SOMEWHAT
3 NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE
4 DISAGREE SOMEWHAT
5 DISAGREE STRONGLY
8 DK

\section*{N2d.}
(Still looking at page 6 in the booklet.)
' I think that I am better informed about politics and government than most people. '
(Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree
strongly with this statement?)
T N2d.T
I think that I am better informed about politics and government than most people.
(Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly with this statement?)
1 AGREE STRONGLY
2 AGREE SOMEWHAT
3 NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE
4 DISAGREE SOMEWHAT
5 DISAGREE STRONGLY
8 DK

So many other people vote in the national election that it doesn't matter much to me whether I vote or not.
(Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree
strongly with this statement?
1 AGREE STRONGLY
3 AGREE SOMER AGREE NOR DISAGREE
4 DISAGREE SOMEWHAT
5 DISAGREE STRONGLY
8 DK
Note: this question was added 11/10/2000

\section*{SECTION P}

\section*{P1 - EGALITARIANISM}

\section*{P1.}
(Looking at page 6 of the booklet)
Next, I'd like to ask you about equal rights.
I am going to read several more statements. After each one, I would like you to tell me how
strongly you agree or disagree. The first statement is:

\section*{T P1.T}

I am going to read several statements about equal rights. After each one, I would like you to tell me how strongly you agree or disagree. The first statement is:
P1a. Spec:519_ V001521

\section*{T Pla.T}
' Our society should do whatever is necessary to make sure that everyone has an equal opportunity to succeed. '
Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly with this statement?
1 AGREE STRONGLY
2 AGREE SOMEWHAT
3 NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE
4 DISAGREE SOMEWHAT
5 DISAGREE STRONGLY
8 DK
\(\Rightarrow\) This series is designed to elicit R's feelings about egalitarianism (equality among people) in this country.
\(\Rightarrow\) Respondents don't seem to have trouble answering these. In fact, the bigger problem is to get them to stop talking. Try to keep R on course here, minimizing digressions. Another problem may be that you'll read a statement and R will say, "Oh, I agree." Probe, "Do you agree strongly or not strongly?" Or, R may say, "Yes, that's right." Probe by repeating all the response options, "Do you agree strongly with the statement, agree somewhat, neither agree nor..."
(Still looking at page 6 in the booklet)
' We have gone too far in pushing equal rights in this country.
(Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree
strongly with this statement?)

\section*{T P1b.T}
' We have gone too far in pushing equal rights in this country.'
Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly with this statement?
1 AGREE STRONGLY
2 AGREE SOMEWHAT
3 NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE
4 DISAGREE SOMEWHAT
5 DISAGREE STRONGLY
8 DK
\(\Rightarrow\) Respondents don't seem to have trouble answering these. In fact, the bigger problem is to get them to stop talking. Try to keep R on course here, minimizing digressions. Another problem may be that you'll read a statement and R will say, "Oh, I agree." Probe, "Do you agree strongly or not strongly?" Or, R may say, "Yes, that's right." Probe by repeating all the response options, "Do you agree strongly with the statement, agree somewhat, neither agree nor..."

\section*{P1c.}
(Still looking at page 6 in the booklet)
' One of the big problems in this country is that we don't give everyone an equal chance.
(Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly with this statement?)

\section*{T Plc.T}
' One of the big problems in this country is that we don't give everyone an equal chance.'
(Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree

\section*{strongly with this statement?)}

1 AGREE STRONGLY
2 AGREE SOMEWHAT
3 NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE
4 DISAGREE SOMEWHAT
5 DISAGREE STRONGLY
8 DK
\(\Rightarrow\) Respondents don't seem to have trouble answering these. In fact, the bigger problem is to get them to stop talking. Try to keep R on course here, minimizing digressions. Another problem may be that you'll read a statement and R will say, "Oh, I agree." Probe, "Do you agree strongly or not strongly?" Or, R may say,
"Yes, that's right." Probe by repeating all the response options, "Do you agree strongly with the statement,
agree somewhat, neither agree nor..."

\section*{P1d}
(Still looking at page 6 in the booklet)
' This country would be better off if we worried less about how equal people are.
(Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree
strongly with this statement?)

T P1d.T
' This country would be better off if we worried less about how equal people are.'
(Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree
strongly with this statement?)
1 AGREE STRONGLY
2 AGREE SOMEWHAT
3 NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE
4 DISAGREE SOMEWHAT
5 DISAGREE STRONGLY
8 DK
\(\Rightarrow\) Respondents don't seem to have trouble answering these. In fact, the bigger problem is to get them to stop
talking. Try to keep R on course here, minimizing digressions. Another problem may be that you'll read a statement and R will say, "Oh, I agree." Probe, "Do you agree strongly or not strongly?" Or, R may say,
"Yes, that's right." Probe by repeating all the response options, "Do you agree strongly with the statement,
agree somewhat, neither agree nor..."

\section*{P1e.}
(Still looking at page 6 in the booklet)
' It is not really that big a problem if some people have more of a chance in life than others. '
(Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree
strongly with this statement?)
T Ple.T
'It is not really that big a problem if some people have more of a chance in life than others.'
(Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree
strongly with this statement?)
1 AGREE STRONGLY
2 AGREE SOMEWHAT
3 NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE
4 DISAGREE SOMEWHAT
5 DISAGREE STRONGLY
8 DK
\(\Rightarrow\) Respondents don't seem to have trouble answering these. In fact, the bigger problem is to get them to stop
talking. Try to keep R on course here, minimizing digressions. Another problem may be that you'll read a
statement and R will say, "Oh, I agree." Probe, "Do you agree strongly or not strongly?" Or, R may say,
"Yes, that's right." Probe by repeating all the response options, "Do you agree strongly with the statement,
agree somewhat, neither agree nor..."

\section*{P1f.}
(Still looking at page 6 in the booklet)
' If people were treated more equally in this country we would have many fewer problems. '
(Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree
strongly with this statement?)

\section*{T Plf.T}
'If people were treated more equally in this country we would have many fewer problems.'
(Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree
strongly with this statement?)

\section*{1 AGREE STRONGLY}

2 AGREE SOMEWHAT
3 NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE
4 DISAGREE SOMEWHAT
5 DISAGREE STRONGLY
8 DK
\(\Rightarrow\) Respondents don't seem to have trouble answering these. In fact, the bigger problem is to get them to stop
talking. Try to keep R on course here, minimizing digressions. Another problem may be that you'll read a
statement and R will say, "Oh, I agree." Probe, "Do you agree strongly or not strongly?" Or, R may say,
"Yes, that's right." Probe by repeating all the response options, "Do you agree strongly with the statement,
agree somewhat, neither agree nor..."

\section*{SECTION Q}

\section*{Q1 - EXTERNAL POLITICAL EFFICACY}

Q1.
(Again looking at page 6 of the booklet)
Please tell me how much you agree or disagree with these statements about the government. The first is:
T Q1.T
Please tell me how much you agree or disagree with these statements about the government. The first is:
Q1a.
' Public officials don't care much what people like me think. '
Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly with this statement?
1 AGREE STRONGLY
2 AGREE SOMEWHAT
3 NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE
4 DISAGREE SOMEWHAT
5 DISAGREE STRONGLY
8 DK
\(\Rightarrow\) These are questions on "personal efficacy".
Q1b.
(Still looking at page 6 in the booklet)
' People like me don't have any say about what the government does.
(Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly with this statement?)
T Q1b.T
' People like me don't have any say about what the government does.'
Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly with this statement?

Q1c.
(Still looking at page 6 in the booklet)
' Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on.
(Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly with this statement?)
T Q1c.T
'Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on. '
(Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly with this statement?)
1 AGREE STRONGLY
2 AGREE SOMEWHAT
3 NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE
4 DISAGREE SOMEWHAT
5 DISAGREE STRONGLY
8 DK

\section*{Q2 - MORAL TRADITIONALISM}

\section*{Q2.}
(Still on page 6)
Now I am going to read several statements about society in general. After each one, I would like you to tell me how strongly you agree or disagree. The first statement is...

\section*{T Q2.T}

Now I am going to read several statements about society in general. After each one, I would like you to tell me how strongly you agree or disagree. The first statement is...

Q2a.
' The newer lifestyles are contributing to the breakdown of our society.'
Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly with this statement?
1 AGREE STRONGLY
2 AGREE SOMEWHAT
3 NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE
4 DISAGREE SOMEWHAT
5 DISAGREE STRONGLY
8 DK
\(\Rightarrow\) Just for your information, these are the "morality" questions.
Q2b.
(Still looking at page 6 in the booklet)
' The world is always changing and we should adjust our view of moral behavior to those changes. '
(Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly with this statement?)
T Q2b.T
'The world is always changing and we should adjust our view of moral behavior to those changes.'
Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly with this statement?
1 AGREE STRONGLY
2 AGREE SOMEWHAT
3 NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE
4 DISAGREE SOMEWHAT
5 DISAGREE STRONGLY
8 DK

\section*{Q2c.}
(Still looking at page 6 in the booklet)
' This country would have many fewer problems if there were more emphasis on traditional family ties. '
(Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly with this statement?)
T Q2c.T
' This country would have many fewer problems if there were more emphasis on traditional family ties. '
(Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree
strongly with this statement?)
1 AGREE STRONGLY
2 AGREE SOMEWHAT
3 NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE
4 DISAGREE SOMEWHAT
5 DISAGREE STRONGLY
8 DK
Q2d.
(Still looking at page 6 in the booklet)
' We should be more tolerant of people who choose to live according to their own moral standards, even
if they are very different from our own. '
(Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree
strongly with this statement?)

\section*{T Q2d.T}
' We should be more tolerant of people who choose to live according to their own moral standards, even if they are very different from our own. '
(Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly with this statement?)

Q3.
(Not using the booklet)
People have different ideas about the government in Washington. These ideas don't refer to Democrats or
Republicans in particular, but just to the government in general. We want to see how you feel about these ideas.
For example:
T Q3.T
People have different ideas about the government in Washington. These ideas don't refer to Democrats or
Republicans in particular, but just to the government in general. We want to see how you feel about these
ideas. For example:
Q3a.
How much of the time do you think you can trust the government in Washington to do what is right--just about always, most of the time, or only some of the time?
1 JUST ABOUT ALWAYS
2 MOST OF THE TIME
3 ONLY SOME OF THE TIME
4 NEVER [VOL]
8 DK
Q4.
Spec: 556__

V001535
Do you think that people in government waste a lot of the money we pay in taxes, waste some of it, or don't waste very much of it?
1 WASTE A LOT
3 WASTE SOME
5 DON'T WASTE VERY MUCH
8 DK
Q5.
Would you say the government is pretty much run by a few big interests looking out for themselves or that it is run for the benefit of all the people?
1 GOV'T RUN BY A FEW BIG INTERESTS
5 GOV'T RUN FOR THE BENEFIT OF ALL
8 DK
Q6.
V001537
Do you think that quite a few of the people running the government are crooked, not very many are, or do you think hardly any of them are crooked?

\section*{Q7-Q8 - GOVERNMENT RESPONSIVENESS}

Q7.
How much do you feel that having elections makes the government pay attention to what the people think
Spec: 559_

V001538
-- good deal, some, or not much?
1 A GOOD DEAL
3 SOME
5 NOT MUCH
8 DK
Q8.
Spec: 560_

Over the years, how much attention do you feel the government pays to what people think when it decides
what to do -- a good deal, some, or not much?
1 A GOOD DEAL
3 SOME
5 NOT MUCH
8 DK

\section*{SECTION R}

\section*{R1- GROUPS R FEELS CLOSE TO}

R1.
Looking at page 7 of the booklet, here is a list of groups.
Please read over the list and tell me the number of those groups you feel particularly close to -- people who
are most like you in their ideas and interests and feelings about things.
T R1.T
I am going to read a list of groups. For each, please tell me if it is a group you feel particularly close to - people who are most like you in their ideas and interests and feelings about things.
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|}
\hline R1a. & Spec: 579M1 & V001540 \\
\hline WHITES & & \\
\hline R1a.T & Spec: 581 1 & V001540a \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

What about whites? Do you feel particularly close to whites?


R1g.
LABOR UNIONS

\section*{T R1g.T}
(What about) labor unions
(Do you feel particularly close to them?)

R1h.
FEMINISTS
T R1h.T
(What about) feminists
(Do you feel particularly close to them?)

R1j.
SOUTHERNERS
T R1j.T
(What about) southerners
(Do you feel particularly close to them?)

R1k.
BUSINESS PEOPLE
T R1k.T
(What about) business people
(Do you feel particularly close to them?)

R1m.
YOUNG PEOPLE
T R1m.T
(What about) young people
(Do you feel particularly close to them?)

R1n.
CONSERVATIVES
T R1n.T
(What about) conservatives
(Do you feel particularly close to them?)
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|}
\hline Spec: 579M7 & V001552 \\
\hline \multirow[t]{2}{*}{Spec: 581_7} & V001552a \\
\hline & V001553 COMB. FTF/PH \\
\hline Spec: 579M8 & V001554 \\
\hline \multirow[t]{2}{*}{Spec: 581_8} & V001554a \\
\hline & V001555 COMB. FTF/PH \\
\hline Spec: 579M9 & V001556 \\
\hline \multirow[t]{2}{*}{Spec: 581_9} & V001556a \\
\hline & \(\underline{\text { V001557 }}\) COMB. FTF/PH \\
\hline Spec: 579M10 & V001558 \\
\hline \multirow[t]{2}{*}{Spec: 581_10} & V001558a \\
\hline & V001559 COMB. FTF/PH \\
\hline Spec: 579M11 & V001560 \\
\hline \multirow[t]{2}{*}{Spec: 581_11} & V001560a \\
\hline & \(\underline{\text { V001561 }}\) COMB. FTF/PH \\
\hline Spec: 579M12 & V001562 \\
\hline Spec: 581_12 & V001562a \\
\hline & \(\underline{\text { V001563 COMB. FTF/PH }}\) \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline & R1p. HISPANIC-AMERICANS & Spec: 579M13 & V001564 \\
\hline \multirow[t]{3}{*}{T} & \begin{tabular}{l}
R1p.T \\
(What about) Hispanic-Americans \\
(Do you feel particularly close to them?)
\end{tabular} & Spec: 581_13_ & V001564a \\
\hline & & & \(\underline{\text { V001565 COMB. FTF/PH }}\) \\
\hline & \begin{tabular}{l}
R1q. \\
WOMEN
\end{tabular} & Spec: 579M14 & V001566 \\
\hline T & \begin{tabular}{l}
R1q.T \\
(What about) women \\
(Do you feel particularly close to them?)
\end{tabular} & Spec: 581_14 & V001566a \\
\hline \multicolumn{2}{|r|}{(Do you feel particularly close to them?)} & & \(\underline{\text { V001567 }}\) COMB. FTF/PH \\
\hline \multirow{3}{*}{T} & \begin{tabular}{l}
R1r. \\
WORKING-CLASS PEOPLE
\end{tabular} & Spec: 579M15 & V001568 \\
\hline & \begin{tabular}{l}
R1r.T \\
(What about) working-class people \\
(Do you feel particularly close to them?)
\end{tabular} & Spec: 581_15 & V001568a \\
\hline & & & V001569 COMB. FTF/PH \\
\hline \multirow{3}{*}{T} & \begin{tabular}{l}
R1s. \\
MIDDLE-CLASS PEOPLE
\end{tabular} & Spec: 579M16 & V001570 \\
\hline & \begin{tabular}{l}
R1s.T \\
(What about) middle-class people \\
(Do you feel particularly close to them?)
\end{tabular} & Spec: 581_16 & V001570a \\
\hline & & & \(\underline{\text { V001571 }}\) COMB. FTF/PH \\
\hline & \begin{tabular}{l}
R1t. \\
MEN
\end{tabular} & Spec: 579M17 & V001572 \\
\hline \multirow[t]{2}{*}{T} & \begin{tabular}{l}
R1t.T \\
(What about) men
\end{tabular} & Spec: 581_17 & V001572a \\
\hline & \begin{tabular}{l}
(Do you feel particularly close to them?) \\
1 YES; MENTIONED/MARKED \\
5 NO; NOT MENTIONED/MARKED \\
8 DK
\end{tabular} & & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

R2.
Please turn to page 8 of the booklet.
Now I have some questions about different groups in our society.
I'm going to show you a seven-point scale on which the characteristics of the people in a group can be rated.
In the first statement a score of 1 means that you think almost all of the people in that group tend to be
"hard-working." A score of 7 means that you think most people in the group are "lazy." A score of 4
means that you think that most people in the group are not closer to one end or the other, and of course,
you may choose any number in between.
1_-_-_-_-_-1 \(\qquad\) _3______-_-_4 4____-_-_ \(\qquad\)
\(\qquad\) _ 7

\section*{T R2.T}

Now I have some questions about different groups in our society.
Imagine a seven-point scale on which the characteristics of the people in a group can be rated.
In the first question a score of 1 means that you think almost all of the people in that group tend to be "hard-working." A score of 7 means that you think most people in the group are "lazy." A score of 4 means that you think that most people in the group are not closer to one end or the other, and of course, you may choose any number in between.
\(\Rightarrow\) TELEPHONE: Telephone version asks people to imagine a seven point scale since R will not have the booklet Be careful to speak very slowly and repeat the question if respondent seems confused

R2a. Where would you rate whites in general on this scale?

\section*{T R2a.T}

Where would you rate whites in general on a scale of 1 to 7,_where 1 indicates
hard working, 7 means lazy, and 4 indicates most whites are not closer to one end or the other.
1 HARDWORKNG
\(\square\)
6
7
LAZY
8 DK
\(\Rightarrow\) We ask about whites first because that's the way it's been asked on comparable national surveys, and because it's a common reference point.
\(\Rightarrow\) If R objects that these questions are prejudiced or that they promote stereotypes, or if R otherwise questions their purpose, explain, "People have differing images of groups. These questions as about how people perceive various groups in America,
\(\Rightarrow\) If R objects further that the questions are prejudiced, you may add, "The questions can be answered in any way you wish. You can rate groups towards one end or the other and you can rate groups the same or differently."

\section*{RANDOMIZE ORDER OF R2/ R2.T GROUPS AFTER WHITES.}

\section*{R2b.}

Still looking at page 8 of the booklet,
Where would you rate blacks on this scale?

\section*{T R2b.T}

Where would you rate blacks on a scale of 1 to 7 ?
(where 1 indicates hard working, 7 means lazy, and 4 indicates most blacks are not closer to one end or the other.)

\section*{1 HARDWORKNG}

2
3
4
5
6
7 LAZY
8 DK
\(\Rightarrow\) If R objects that these questions are prejudiced or that they promote stereotypes, or if R otherwise questions their purpose, explain, "People have differing images of groups. These questions as about how people perceive various groups in America,"
\(\Rightarrow\) If \(R\) objects further that the questions are prejudiced, you may add, "The questions can be answered in any way
you wish. You can rate groups towards one end or the other and you can rate groups the same or differently.
\(\Rightarrow\) Please say Blacks and not African-Americans. Our interest is in tapping people's assessment of black influence
speaking broadly. Not all Blacks are from Africa (Jamaicans, Cubans, and many others from the Caribbean)
R2c.
Spec: 592_3
V001576

Still looking at page 8 of the booklet,
Where would you rate Hispanic-Americans on this scale?
T R2c.T
Where would you rate:
Hispanic Americans on a scale of 1 to 7 ?
(where 1 indicates hard working, 7 means lazy, and 4 indicates most Hispanic-Americans are not closer
to one end or the other.)

\section*{1 HARDWORKNG}

2
3
4
5
5
6
7 LAZY
8 DK
\(\Rightarrow\) If R objects that these questions are prejudiced or that they promote stereotypes, or if R otherwise questions their purpose, explain, "People have differing images of groups. These questions as about how people perceive various groups in America,"
\(\Rightarrow\) If \(R\) objects further that the questions are prejudiced, you may add, "The questions can be answered in any way you wish. You can rate groups towards one end or the other and you can rate groups the same or differently."

\section*{R2d.}

Still looking at page 8 of the booklet,
Where would you rate Asian-Americ ans on this scale?

Where would you rate Asian-Americans on a scale of 1 to 7 ? (where 1 indicates hard working, 7 means lazy, and 4 indicates most Asian-Americans are not closer to one end or the other.)
1 HARDWORKNG
2
3
4
5
6
7
7
8 LAZY
8
\(\Rightarrow\) If R objects that these questions are prejudiced or that they promote stereotypes, or if R otherwise questions
their purpose, explain, "People have differing images of groups. These questions as about how people perceive various groups in America,"
\(\Rightarrow\) If R objects further that the questions are prejudiced, you may add, "The questions can be answered in any way you wish. You can rate groups towards one end or the other and you can rate groups the same or differently."

R3.
Please turn to page 9 of the booklet.
The next set asks if people in each group tend to be "intelligent" or "unintelligent."


T R3.T
The next set of questions ask about intelligence.
Again, please imagine a seven-point scale on which the characteristics of the people in a group can be rated. A score of 1 means that you think almost all of the people in that group tend to be "intelligent." A score of 7 means that you think most people in the group are "unintelligent." A score of 4 means that you think that most people in the group are not closer to one end or the other, and of course, you may choose any number in between.
\(\Rightarrow\) TELEPHONE: Telephone version asks people to imagine a seven point scale since R will not have the booklet. \(\overrightarrow{B e}\) careful to speak very slowly and repeat the question if respondent seems confused.

R3a.
Where would you rate whites in general on this scale?

\section*{T R3a.T}

Where would you rate whites on a scale of 1 to 7,_where 1 indicates intelligent, 7 means unintelligent, and 4 indicates most whites are not closer to one end or the other.
1 INTELLIGENT
2
\begin{tabular}{l}
3 \\
4 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
5
6
7 UNINTELLIGENT
8 DK
\(\Rightarrow\) We ask about whites first because that's the way it's been asked on comparable national surveys, and because
it's a common reference point.
\(\Rightarrow\) If R objects that these questions are prejudiced or that they promote stereotypes, or if R otherwise questions
their purpose, explain, "People have differing images of groups. These questions as about how people perceive various groups in America,"
\(\Rightarrow\) If R objects further that the questions are prejudiced, you may add, "The questions can be answered in any way
you wish. You can rate groups towards one end or the other and you can rate groups the same or differently."

\section*{RANDOMIZE ORDER OF R3/ R3.T GROUPS AFTER WHITES.}
R3b. \(\quad\) Spec: 596_2 2

Still looking at page 9 of the booklet,
Where would you rate blacks on this scale?

\section*{T R3b.T}

Where would you rate blacks on a scale of 1 to 7? (where 1 indicates intelligent, 7 means unintelligent, and 4 indicates most blacks are not closer to one end or the other.)

\section*{1 INTELLIGENT}

2
3
4
4
6
6
7 UNINTELLIGENT
8 DK
\(\Rightarrow\) If R objects that these questions are prejudiced or that they promote stereotypes, or if R otherwise questions their purpose, explain, "People have differing images of groups. These questions as about how people perceive various groups in America,"
\(\Rightarrow\) If \(R\) objects further that the questions are prejudiced, you may add, "The questions can be answered in any way you wish. You can rate groups towards one end or the other and you can rate groups the same or differently."
\(\Rightarrow\) Please say Blacks and not African-Americans. Our interest is in tapping people's assessment of black influence speaking broadly. Not all Blacks are from Africa (Jamaicans, Cubans, and many others from the Caribbean)

\section*{R3c.}

Still looking at page 9 of the booklet,
Where would you rate Hispanic-Americans on this scale?

\section*{T R3c.T}

Where would you rate Hispanic-Americans on a scale of 1 to 7? (where 1 indicates intelligent, 7 means
unintelligent, and 4 indicates most Hispanic-Americans are not closer to one end or the other.)
1 INTELLIGENT
2
3
4
5
6
7
7 UNINTELLIGENT
8 DK
\(\Rightarrow\) If R objects that these questions are prejudiced or that they promote stereotypes, or if \(R\) otherwise questions
their purpose, explain, "People have differing images of groups. These questions as about how people perceive various groups in America,"
\(\Rightarrow\) If \(R\) objects further that the questions are prejudiced, you may add, "The questions can be answered in any way
you wish. You can rate groups towards one end or the other and you can rate groups the same or differently."

\section*{R3d.}

Still looking at page 9 of the booklet,
Where would you rate \(\qquad\) on this scale?

\section*{T R3d.T}

Where would you rate:
Asian-Americans on a scale of 1 to 7 ? (where 1 indicates intelligent, 7 means unintelligent, and 4
indicates most Asian-Americans are not closer to one end or the other.)

\section*{1 INTELLIGENT}

2
3
4
5
6
7 UNINTELLIGENT
8 DK
\(\Rightarrow\) If R objects that these questions are prejudiced or that they promote stereotypes, or if R otherwise questions their purpose, explain, "People have differing images of groups. These questions as about how people perceive various groups in America,"
\(\Rightarrow\) If R objects further that the questions are prejudiced, you may add, "The questions can be answered in any way you wish. You can rate groups towards one end or the other and you can rate groups the same or differently."

R4.
Please turn to page 10 of the booklet.
The next set asks if people in each group tend to be "trustworthy" or "untrustworthy."
Trustworthy _3_______ 4 \(\qquad\)
\(\qquad\)
Trustworthy Untrustworthy

\section*{T R4.T}

Thinking about trustworthiness as a general group characteristic, please imagine a seven point scale again. A score of 1 means that you think almost all of the people in that group tend to be trustworthy. A score of 7 means that you think most people in the group are untrustworthy. A score of 4 means that you think that most people in the group are not closer to one end or the other, and of course, you may choose any number in between.
\(\Rightarrow\) TELEPHONE: Telephone version asks people to imagine a seven point scale since R will not have the booklet.
Be careful to speak very slowly and repeat the question if respondent seems confused.
R4a. Where would you rate whites in general on this scale?
Where would you rate whites on a scale of 1 to 7,_where 1 indicates \(\quad\) Spec: 600_1 V001582
trustworthy, 7 means untrustworthy, and 4 indicates most whites are not closer to one end or the other.
1 TRUSTWORTHY
2
3
4
5
6
7 UNTRUSTWORTHY
8 DK
\(\Rightarrow\) We ask about whites first because that's the way it's been asked on comparable national surveys, and because
it's a common reference point.
\(\Rightarrow\) If R objects that these questions are prejudiced or that they promote stereotypes, or if R otherwise questions their purpose, explain, "People have differing images of groups. These questions as about how people perceive various groups in America,"
\(\Rightarrow\) If \(R\) object further that the questions are prejudiced, you may add, "The questions can be answered in any way you wish. You can rate groups towards one end or the other and you can rate groups the same or differently."

\section*{RANDOMIZE ORDER OF R4/ R4.T GROUPS AFTER WHITES.}

\section*{R4b.}
(Still looking at page 10 of the booklet),
Where would you rate blacks on this scale?

\section*{T R4b.T}

Where would you rate blacks on a scale of 1 to 7? (where 1 indicates trustworthy, 7 means untrustworthy, and 4 indicates most blacks are not closer to one end or the other.)
1 TRUSTWORTHY
2
3
4
5
6
7 UNTRUSTWORTHY
8 DK
\(\Rightarrow\) If R objects that these questions are prejudiced or that they promote stereotypes, or if R otherwise questions
their purpose, explain, "People have differing images of groups. These questions as about how people perceive various groups in America,"
\(\Rightarrow\) If R objects further that the questions are prejudiced, you may add, "The questions can be answered in any way
you wish. You can rate groups towards one end or the other and you can rate groups the same or differently."
\(\Rightarrow\) Please say Blacks and not African-Americans. Our interest is in tapping people's assessment of black influence
speaking broadly. Not all Blacks are from Africa (Jamaicans, Cubans, and many others from the Caribbean)
R4c.
(Still looking at page 10 of the booklet),
Where would you rate Hispanic-Americans on this scale?

\section*{T R4c.T}

Where would you rate Hispanic-Americans on a scale of 1 to 7 ? (where 1 indicates trustworthy, 7 means untrustworthy, and 4 indicates most Hispanic-Americans are not closer to one end or the other.)
1 TRUSTWORTHY
2
3
4
5
5
7 UNTRUSTWORTHY
8 DK
\(\Rightarrow\) If R objects that these questions are prejudiced or that they promote stereotypes, or if R otherwise questions their purpose, explain, "People have differing images of groups. These questions as about how people perceive various groups in America,"
\(\Rightarrow\) If R objects further that the questions are prejudiced, you may add, "The questions can be answered in any way
you wish. You can rate groups towards one end or the other and you can rate groups the same or differently."
R4d. Spec: 600_4 V001585
(Still looking at page 10 of the booklet),
Where would you rate Asian-Americans on this scale?

\section*{T R4d.T}

Where would you rate Asian-Americans on a scale of 1 to 7? (where 1 indicates trustworthy, 7 means untrustworthy, and 4 indicates most Asian-Americans are not closer to one end or the other.)
1 TRUSTWORTHY
1
2
3
3
4
5
5
6
7 UNTRUSTWORTHY
8 DK
\(\Rightarrow\) If R objects that these questions are prejudiced or that they promote stereotypes, or if R otherwise questions
their purpose, explain, "People have differing images of groups. These questions as about how people perceive
various groups in America,"
\(\Rightarrow\) If \(R\) objects further that the questions are prejudiced, you may add, "The questions can be answered in any way
you wish. You can rate groups towards one end or the other and you can rate groups the same or differently."

\section*{R5- QUALITIES TO ENCOURAGE IN CHILDREN}

R5.
Although there are a number of qualities that people feel that children should have, every person thinks that some are more important than others. I am going to read you pairs of desirable qualities.

\section*{R5a.}

Please tell me which one you think is more important for a child to have: independence or respect for elders

\section*{1 INDEPENDENCE}

3 BOTH [VOL]
5 RESPECT FOR ELDERS
7. NEITHER [VOL]

8 DK

\section*{R5b.}
(Please tell me which one you think is more important for a child to have:)
obedience or self-reliance
1 OBEDIENCE
3 BOTH [VOL]
5 SELF-RELIANCE
7. NEITHER [VOL]

8 DK

\section*{R5c.}
(Please tell me which one you think is more important for a child to have:)
curiosity or good manners
1 CURIOSITY
3 BOTH [VOL]
5 GOOD MANNERS
7. NEITHER [VOL]

8 DK
R5d.
(Please tell me which one you think is more important for a child to have:)
being considerate or well behaved
1 BEING CONSIDERATE
3 BOTH
5 WELL BEHAVED
7. NEITHER [VOL]

8 DK

\section*{SECTION S:}

\section*{S1-S11 - CLINTON LEGACY}

S0.
Now we'd like to talk to you about Bill Clinton.

\section*{RESPONDENTS ARE RANDOMLY ASSIGNED EITHER TO THE RETROSPECTIVE ASSESSMENTS BATTERY}

\section*{(S1-S11) OR THE AFFECTS AND TRAITS BATTERY (S14-S15). IF R DOES NOT GET SELECTED} FOR THE RETROSPECTIVE BATTERY IN THE PRE ELECTION INSTRUMENT (Q1-Q11) THEY SHOULD RECEIVE THIS IN THE POST AND VICE VERSA.

S1.
As you know, Bill Clinton was first elected President in November 1992. He will soon be leaving office after 8 years as President. The next several questions ask whether you think things have changed since Clinton came into office. First, would you say that compared to 1992, the federal budget deficit is now smaller, larger, or
about the same?
1 GOTTEN SMALLER
3 GOTTEN LARGER \(\rightarrow\) SKIP TO S1b
5 STAYED ABOUT THE SAME \(\rightarrow\) SKIP TO S2
8 DK \(\rightarrow\) SKIP TO S2
\(\Rightarrow\) Respondents are randomly assigned either to the retrospective assessments battery (S1-S11) or the affects
and traits battery (S14-S15). If R does not get selected for the retrospective battery in the pre election instrument
(Q1-Q11) they should receive this in the post and vice versa.
\(\Rightarrow\) This battery of questions asks about their evaluation of the state of affairs in the U.S. and then asks a question
specifically assessing Clinton's responsibility for those state of affairs.

S1a.
(IF SMALLER)
(Would you say that the budget deficit is) much smaller or somewhat smaller?
MUCH SMALLER
5 SOMEWHAT SMALLER \(\rightarrow\) SKIP TO S2
8 DK \(\rightarrow\) SKIP TO S

\section*{S1b.
(IF LARGER)}
(Would you say that the budget deficit is) much larger or somewhat larger?
MUCH LARGER
5 SOMEWHAT LARGER
8 DK
Spec: 630_ V001591a

V001592 SUMMARY
V001592a PRE/PO SUMMARY
S2.
Has federal spending on assistance to the poor been increased, decreased, or has it stayed about the same as
in 1992?
\begin{tabular}{ll}
1 INCREASED \\
3 DECREASED \\
5 STAYED ABOUT THE SAME & \(\rightarrow\) SKIP TO S3 \\
8 DK & \(\rightarrow\) SKIP TO S3
\end{tabular}

\section*{S2a. \\ IF NOT SAME OR DK}

A lot or somewhat?
1 A LOT
5 SOMEWHAT
8 DK

S3.
Would you say that compared to 1992, the nation's economy is better, worse, or about the same?
1 BETTER
3 WORSE
5 THE SAME
\(\underset{\text { SKIP TO } \rightarrow \text { S3b }}{ }\)
SKIP TO \(\rightarrow\) S 4

8 DK SKIP TO S4
\(\Rightarrow\) We are interested in R's "perceptions" or "feelings" as opposed to knowledge.
\(\Rightarrow\) The frame of reference here is the nation.

\section*{S3a.}

\section*{(IF BETTER)}

Would you say) much better or somewhat better?
1 MUCH BETTER
5 MOCH BETTER \(\rightarrow\) SKIP TO S4
SOMEWHAT BETTER \(\rightarrow\) SKIP TO S4
S3b.
(IF WORSE)
(Would you say) much worse or somewhat worse?
1 MUCH WORSE
5 SOMEWHAT WORSE
8 DK

Spec: 631 \(\qquad\)

V001595 SUMMARY
V001595a PRE/PO SUMMARY

V001596
\(\qquad\)

Since 1992, would you say President Clinton has made the nation's economy better, made the economy worse,
or had no effect on the economy one way or the other?
\begin{tabular}{ll}
1 MADE THE ECONOMY BETTER & \\
3 MADE THE ECONOMY WORSE & SKIP TO \(\rightarrow \mathrm{S} 4 \mathrm{~b}\) \\
5 NO EFFECT & SKIP TO \(\rightarrow \mathrm{S} 5\) \\
8 DK & SKIP TO \(\rightarrow\) S5
\end{tabular}

8 DK
SKIP TO \(\rightarrow\) S5
SKIP TO \(\rightarrow\) S5

\section*{S4a.
(IF BETTER)}

Much better or somewhat better?
\begin{tabular}{ll}
1 MUCH BETTER & SKIP TO S5 \\
5 SOMEWHAT BETTER & SKIP TO S5 \\
8 DK & SKIP TO S5 \\
S4b. &
\end{tabular}

\section*{(IF WORSE)}

Much worse or somewhat worse?
1 MUCH WORSE
5 SOMEWHAT WORSE
8 DK

\section*{V001603 SUMMARY}

\section*{V001603a PRE/PO SUMMARY}

S5.
Have you personally been helped or have you been hurt economically by the Clinton Administration, or hasn't it affected you one way or the other?
1 HELPED
3 HURT
5 NOT AFFECTED
8 DK

S6.
Would you say that compared to 1992, the United States is more secure from its foreign enemies, less secure, or hasn't this changed very much?
\begin{tabular}{ll} 
1 MORE SECURE & \\
3 LESS SECURE & SKIP TO \(\rightarrow\) S6b \\
5 NO CHANGE & SKIP TO \(\rightarrow\) S7 \\
8 DK & SKIP TO \(\rightarrow\) S7
\end{tabular}
(Would you say) much more secure or somewhat more secure?
1 MUCH MORE SECURE \(\rightarrow\) SKIP TO S7
\(\underset{5 \text { SOMEWHAT MORE SECURE }}{\rightarrow \rightarrow \text { SKIP TO S7 }}\)
\(\underset{8}{5 \text { DOMEWHAT MORE SECURE }} \rightarrow \rightarrow\) SKIP TO S7
S6b.
(IF LESS SECURE)
(Would you say) much less secure or somewhat less secure?
1 MUCH LESS SECURE
5 SOMEWHAT LESS SECURE
8 DK

\section*{S6a. \\ S6a.
(IF MORE SECURE)}

Spec: 640
V001604
Spec: 638_ V001601

Spec: 639_ V001602

五
V001608 SUMMARY
V001608a PRE/PO SUMMARY

Would you say that the Clinton administration has made the United States more secure from its
foreign enemies, less secure, or hasn't it made much difference either way?
1 MORE SECURE
3 LESS SECURE
5 NO CHANGE
\(\underset{\text { KIP TO } \rightarrow \text { S7b }}{\rightarrow \text { S } 8}\)
8 DK
SKIP TO \(\rightarrow\) S8

\section*{S7a.
(IF MORE SECURE)}

Much more secure or somewhat more secure?
1 MUCH MORE SECURE \(\rightarrow\) SKIP TO S8
5 SOMEWHAT MORE SECURE \(\rightarrow\) SKIP TO S8
8 DK \(\rightarrow\) SKIP TO S
S7b.
(IF LESS SECURE)
Much less secure or somewhat less secure?
1 MUCH LESSSECURE
5 SOMEWHAT LESS SECURE
8 DK

\section*{V001612 SUMMARY}

\section*{V001612a PRE/PO SUMMARY}

S8.
Would you say that compared to 1992 the nation's crime rate has gotten better, gotten worse, or stayed
about the same?
\begin{tabular}{ll}
1 BETTER & \\
3 WORSE & SKIP TO \(\rightarrow \mathrm{S} 8 \mathrm{~b}\) \\
5 THE SAME & SKIP TO \(\rightarrow \mathrm{S} 9\) \\
8 DK & SKIP TO \(\rightarrow\) S 9
\end{tabular}

\section*{S8a.
(IF BETTER)}
(Would you say) much better or somewhat better?
1 MUCH BETTER
\(\rightarrow\) SKIP TO S9
5 SOMEWHAT BETTER \(\rightarrow\) SKIP TO S9
8 DK \(\rightarrow\) SKIP TO S9
S8b.
(Would you say) much worse or somewhat worse?
1 MUCH WORSE
5 SOMEWHAT WORSE
8 DK

\section*{V001616 SUMMARY \\ V001616a PRE/PO SUMMARY}

S9.
Would you say that the Clinton administration has made the nation's crime rate better, worse, or hasn't it made much difference either way?
1 BETTER
5 NO DIFFERENCE
SKIP TO \(\rightarrow\) S9b
SKIP TO \(\rightarrow\) S9b
SKIP TO S10
S9a.
Spec: 651
V001618
(IF BETTER)
Much better or somewhat better?
1 MUCH BETTER \(\rightarrow\) SKIP TO S10
5 SOMEWHAT BETTER \(\rightarrow \rightarrow\) SKIP TO S10
\(\begin{array}{ll}5 \text { SOMEWHAT BETTER } & \rightarrow \text { SKIP TO S10 } \\ 8 \text { DK } & \rightarrow \text { SKIP TO S10 }\end{array}\)

S9b.
(IF WORSE)
Much worse or somewhat worse?
1 MUCH WORSE
5 SOMEWHAT WORSE
8 DK
Spec: 652__ V001619

V001620 SUMMARY

\section*{V001620a PRE/PO SUMMARY}

S10.
Would you say that compared to 1992, the nation's moral climate has gotten better, stayed about the same, or gotten worse?
\begin{tabular}{ll} 
1 BETTER & \\
3 WORSE & SKIP TO \(\rightarrow\) S10b \\
5 THE SAME & SKIP TO \(\rightarrow\) S 11 \\
8 DK & SKIP TO S11
\end{tabular}

\section*{S10a.
(IF BETTER)}
(Would you say) much better or somewhat better?
MUCH BETTER
5 SOMEWHAT BETTER \(\rightarrow\) SKIP TO S 11
\(\rightarrow\) SKIP TO S11
8 DK \(\rightarrow\) SKIP TO S11
S10b.
(IF WORSE)
(Would you say) much worse or somewhat worse?
1 MUCH WORSE
5 SOMEWHAT WORSE
8 DK

\section*{S11.}

Has the Clinton administration made the nation's moral climate better, worse, or hasn't it made much difference either way?
\begin{tabular}{ll}
1 BETTER & \\
3 WORSE & SKIP TO \(\rightarrow\) S11b \\
5 NO DIFFERENCE & SKIP TO \(\rightarrow\) S14 \\
8 DK & SKIP TO S14
\end{tabular}

8 DK

\section*{S11a. \\ (IF BETTER)}

Much better or somewhat better?
I MUCH BETTER \(\rightarrow\) SKIP TO S14
5 SOMEWHAT BETTER \(\rightarrow\) SKIP TO S14
8 DK \(\rightarrow\) SKIP TO S14

\section*{S11b.}

\section*{(IF WORSE)}

Much worse or somewhat worse?
1 MUCH WORSE
5 SOMEWHAT WORSE

\section*{S14-CLINTON AFFECTS}

\section*{CLINTON AFFECTS ARE ASKED IN RANDOM ORDER.}

S14.
Has Bill Clinton -- because of the kind of person he is, or because of something he has done -- ever made you feel: \(\Rightarrow\) Clinton affects are asked in random order.
\(\Rightarrow\) These questions on feelings toward the president are complemented by another set of questions of somewhat similar layout in S15, tapping perceived candidate qualities. These questions measure in depth people's evaluations of individuals who aspire to political leadership. Respondents tend to enjoy them.
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline S14a. & & \multirow[t]{2}{*}{Spec: 665_1_-} & \multirow[t]{2}{*}{\[
\begin{aligned}
& \text { V001629 } \\
& \text { V001629a COMB. PRE/PO }
\end{aligned}
\]} \\
\hline Angry & & & \\
\hline \multicolumn{4}{|l|}{1 YES SKIP \(\rightarrow\) toner} \\
\hline \multicolumn{4}{|l|}{8 DK SKIP \(\rightarrow\) to next affect} \\
\hline & \begin{tabular}{l}
S14a1. \\
(IF YES) \\
How often woul \\
1 VERY OFTEN \\
2 FAIRLY OFTEN \\
3 OCCASIONALLY \\
4 RARELY \\
8 DK
\end{tabular} & Spec: 666_1 & \[
\begin{aligned}
& \text { V001630 } \\
& \text { V001630a COMB. PRE/PO }
\end{aligned}
\] \\
\hline S14b. & & Spec: 665_2_- & V001631 \\
\hline Hopeful & & & V001631a COMB. PRE/PO \\
\hline \multicolumn{4}{|l|}{1 YES} \\
\hline 8 DK & SKIP \(\rightarrow\) to next affect & & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

\section*{S14b1.}
(IF YES)
How often would you say you've felt hopeful -- very often, fairly often, occasionally, or rarely?
1 VERY OFTEN
2 FAIRLY OFTEN
3 OCCASIONALLY
4 RARELY
8 DK

V001632
V001632a COMB. PRE/PO
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline \begin{tabular}{l}
S14c. \\
Afraid
\end{tabular} & & Spec: 665_3_- & \[
\begin{aligned}
& \text { V001633 } \\
& \text { V001633a COMB. PRE/PO }
\end{aligned}
\] \\
\hline \[
\begin{aligned}
& 1 \text { YES } \\
& 5 \text { NO } \\
& 8 \text { DK }
\end{aligned}
\] & SKIP \(\rightarrow\) to next affect SKIP \(\rightarrow\) to next affect & & \\
\hline & \begin{tabular}{l}
S14c1. \\
(IF YES) \\
How often would you say you've felt afraid -- very often, fairly often, occasionally, or rarely? \\
1 VERY OFTEN \\
2 FAIRLY OFTEN \\
3 OCCASIONALLY \\
4 RARELY \\
8 DK
\end{tabular} & Spec: 666_3_- & \[
\begin{aligned}
& \text { V001634 } \\
& \text { V001634a COMB. PRE/PO }
\end{aligned}
\] \\
\hline \begin{tabular}{l}
S14d. \\
Proud
\end{tabular} & & Spec: 665_4_- & \[
\begin{aligned}
& \text { V001635 } \\
& \text { V001635a COMB. PRE/PO }
\end{aligned}
\] \\
\hline \[
\begin{aligned}
& 1 \mathrm{YES} \\
& 5 \mathrm{NO} \\
& 8 \mathrm{DK}
\end{aligned}
\] & SKIP \(\rightarrow\) to next affect SKIP \(\rightarrow\) to next affect & & \\
\hline & \begin{tabular}{l}
S14d1. \\
(IF YES) \\
How often would you say you've felt proud -- very often, fairly often, occasionally, or rarely? \\
1 VERY OFTEN \\
2 FAIRLY OFTEN \\
3 OCCASIONALLY \\
4 Rarely \\
8 DK
\end{tabular} & Spec: 666_4_- & \[
\begin{aligned}
& \text { V001636 } \\
& \text { V001636a COMB. PRE/PO }
\end{aligned}
\] \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

\section*{Q15-CLINTON TRAITS}

\section*{CLI NTON TRAITS ARE ASKED IN RANDOM ORDER.}

S15.
Please look at page 11 of the booklet.
In your opinion, does the phrase 'he (is) <trait>?' describe Bill Clinton extremely well, quite well, not too well, or not well at all? [DO NOT PROBE "DK"] [NOTE: this wording used for 1st trait only]

\section*{T S15.T}

I am going to read a list of words and phrases people may use to describe Bill Clinton. For each, tell me whether the word or phrase describes him extremely well, quite well, not too well, or not well at all. \(\Rightarrow\) Clinton traits are asked in random order.
\(\Rightarrow\) In this section we are asking \(R\) to evaluate the President according to a list of qualities that reflect aspects of political leadership.
\(\Rightarrow\) 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.
S15a.
Spec: 673_1_
V001637
(What about) He (is)

MORAL
(Does this phrase describe Bill Clinton extremely well, quite well, not too well, or not well at all?)
1 EXTREMELY WELL
2 QUITE WELL
3 NOT TOO WELL
4 NOT WELL AT ALL
8 DK
\(\Rightarrow\) If you need to, you may remind \(R\) (by rereading the stem and stressing your) that we are interested in his/her opinion and not what others might think.
S15b.
Spec: 673_2
V001638
(What about) He (is)

REALLY CARES ABOUT PEOPLE LIKE YOU
(Does this phrase describe Bill Clinton extremely well, quite well, not too well, or not well at all?)
1 EXTREMELY WELL
2 QUITE WELL
3 NOT TOO WELL
4 NOT WELL AT ALL
8 DK
\(\Rightarrow\) If you need to, you may remind \(R\) (by rereading the stem and stressing your) that we are interested in his/her opinion and not what others might think.
S15c.
Spec: 673_3_
V001639
(What about) He (is)
001639 a

KNOWLEDGEABLE
(Does this phrase describe Bill Clinton extremely well, quite well, not too well, or not well at all?)
1 EXTREMELY WELL
2 QUITE WELL
3 NOT TOO WELL
4 NOT WELL AT ALL
8 DK
\(\Rightarrow\) If you need to, you may remind \(R\) (by rereading the stem and stressing your) that we are interested in his/her opinion and not what others might think.
S15d.
(What about) He (is)

PROVIDES STRONG LEADERSHIP
(Does this phrase describe Bill Clinton extremely well, quite well, not too well, or not well at all?)
1 EXTREMELY WELL
2 QUITE WELL
3 NOT TOO WELL
4 NOT WELL AT ALL
8 DK
\(\Rightarrow\) If you need to, you may remind \(R\) (by rereading the stem and stressing your) that we are interested in his/her opinion and not what others might think.

S15e.
(What about) He (is)
DISHONEST
(Does this phrase describe Bill Clinton extremely well, quite well, not too well, or not well at all?)
1 EXTREMELY WELL
2 QUITE WELL
3 NOT TOO WELL
4 NOT WELL AT ALL
8 DK
\(\Rightarrow\) If you need to, you may remind \(R\) (by rereading the stem and stressing your) that we are interested in his/her opinion and not what others might think.
S15f.
(What about) He (is)
V001642

INTELLIGENT
(Does this phrase describe Bill Clinton extremely well, quite well, not too well, or not well at all?)
1 EXTREMELY WELL
2 QUITE WELL
3 NOT TOO WELL
4 NOT WELL AT ALL
8 DK
\(\Rightarrow\) If you need to, you may remind \(R\) (by rereading the stem and stressing your) that we are interested in his/her opinion and not what others might think.
S15g.
Spec: 673_7_
V001643
(What about) He (is)

V001643a
OUT OF TOUCH WITH ORDINARY PEOPLE
(Does this phrase describe Bill Clinton extremely well, quite well, not too well, or not well at all?)
1 EXTREMELY WELL
2 QUITE WELL
3 NOT TOO WELL
4 NOT WELL AT ALL
8 DK
\(\Rightarrow\) If you need to, you may remind \(R\) (by rereading the stem and stressing your) that we are interested in his/her opinion and not what others might think.

\section*{SECTION T}

\section*{T1-T5 - CAMPAIGN MEDIA EXPOSURE}

T1.
Spec: 678
V001644
Did you watch a televised presidential debate between Al Gore and George W. Bush?
1 YES, WATCHED
-->SKIP TO T1a
5 NO, DIDN'T WATCH
-->SKIP TO T2
8 DK
-->SKIP TO T2

Did you watch an entire debate or just part of it?
1 WATCHED ENTIRE DEBATE
5 JUST PART OF IT
8 DK
T2.
Did you listen to any speeches or discussions about the campaign on the radio?
1 YES \(\quad-->\) SKIP TO T2a

8 DK
>SKIP
T2a.
(IF YES)
Would you say you listened to a good many, several, or just one or two?
1 A GOOD MANY
3 SEVERAL
5 JUST ONE OR TWO
8 DK

T3.
Looking at page 12 in the booklet:
In general, how much attention did you pay to news about the campaign for President -- a great deal, quite
a bit, some, very little, or none?
T T3.T
In general, how much attention did you pay to news about the campaign for President -- a great deal, quite
a bit, some, very little, or none?
1 A GREAT DEAL
2 QUITE A BIT
3 SOME
4 VERY LITTLE
5 NONE

\section*{T4.}
(Still on page 12 in the booklet)
In general, how much attention did you pay to news about the campaigns for election to Congress -- that is,
the House of Representatives in Washington -- a great deal, quite a bit, some, very little, or none?

\section*{T T4.T}

In general, how much attention did you pay to news about the campaigns for election to Congress -- that is,
the House of Representatives in Washington -- a great deal, quite a bit, some, very little, or none?
1 A GREAT DEAL
2 QUITE A BIT
3 SOME
4 VERY LITTLE
5 NONE
8 DK

T5.
Looking at page 13 of the booklet:
Here is a question about political parties.
Which of the following outcomes regarding political parties best represents what you would like to
see happen? You can just tell me the number of the outcome you choose.
T T5.T
Which one of the following outcomes regarding political parties best represents what you would
like to see happen?
One, a continuation of the two party system of Democrats and Republicans.
Two, elections in which candidates run as individuals without party labels or
Three, the growth of one or more parties that could effectively challenge the Democrats and Republicans?
1. ...A CONTINUATION OF THE TWO PARTY SYSTEM OF DEMOCRATS AND REPUBLICANS?
2. ...ELECTIONS IN WHICH CANDIDATES RUN AS INDIVIDUALS WITHOUT PARTY LABELS?
3....THE GROWTH OF ONE OR MORE PARTIES THAT COULD EFFECTIVELY CHALLENGE THE DEMOCRATS AND REPUBLICANS?
8 DK

\section*{T6 - DEMOCRACY IN THE UNITED STATES}

On the whole, are you satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied, or not at all satisfied with the way
democracy works in the United States?
1 SATISFIED
2 FAIRLY SATISFIED
3 NOT VERY SATISFIED
4 NOT AT ALL SATISFIED
8 DK
Note: this question was added 11/10/2000

\section*{SECTION V}

\section*{V1-V4 - BUSH LEGACY}

\section*{V1.}

As you will remember, former President George Bush (George W. Bush's father) was elected in November 1988. The next several questions ask you to think about his four years as President.
Would you say President Bush made the nation's economy better, made the economy worse,
or had no effect on the economy one way or the other?

1 MADE THE ECONOMY BETTER 3 MADE THE ECONOMY WORSE 5 NO EFFECT
7 DK ANYTHING ABOUT BUSH SR. [VOL.]
8 DK
SKIP TO \(\rightarrow\) V2
 then asks questions specifically assessing Bush's responsibility for those state of affairs.
\(\Rightarrow\) Younger voters are quite likely not to have an opinion about George W. Bush simply because they don't remember him. Please remember Clinton has been in office almost eight years now. Use Code 7.
\begin{tabular}{ll} 
V1a. & \\
(IF BETTER) & \\
Much better or somewhat better? & \\
1 MUCH BETTER & SKIP TO V2 \\
5 SOMEWHAT BETTER & SKIP TO V2 \\
8 DK & SKIP TO V2 \\
V1b. & \\
(IF WORSE) &
\end{tabular}

\section*{IF BETTER)}
or somewhat better? SOMEWHAT BETTER

SKIP TO V2
(IF WORSE)
Much worse or somewhat worse?
1 MUCH WORSE
5 SOMEWHAT WORSE
8 DK
V001655 SUMMARY

V2.
Would you say that the Bush administration made the United States more secure from its foreign enemies,
less secure, or didn't it make much difference either way?
\begin{tabular}{ll} 
1 MORE SECURE & \\
3 LESS SECURE & SKIP TO \(\rightarrow\) V2b \\
5 NO DIFFERENCE & SKIP TO \(\rightarrow \mathrm{V} 3\) \\
8 DK & SKIP TO \(->\) V3
\end{tabular}

8 DK SKIP TO \(->\) V3

\section*{V2a. \\ IF MORE SECURE)}

Much more secure or somewhat more secure?
1 MUCH MORE SECURE \(\rightarrow\) SKIP TO V3
5 SOMEWHAT MORE SECURE \(\rightarrow\) SKIP TO V3
\(\rightarrow\) DK \(\rightarrow\) SKIP TO V3
V2b.
(IF LESS SECURE)
Much less secure or somewhat less secure?
1 MUCH LESS SECURE
5 SOMEWHAT LESS SECURE
8 DK

V3.
Would you say that the Bush administration made the nation's crime rate better, worse, or didn't it make much difference either way?
```

1 BETTER
la
8 DK
SKIP TO V4

```
\begin{tabular}{ll} 
V3a. \\
(IF BETTER) & \\
Much better or somewhat better? \\
1 MUCH BETTER & \(\rightarrow\) SKIP TO V4 \\
5 SOMEWHAT BETTER & \(\rightarrow\) SKIP TO V4 \\
8 DK & \(\rightarrow\) SKIP TO V4 \\
V3b. & \\
(IF WORSE) &
\end{tabular}

Much worse or somewhat worse?
1 MUCH WORSE
5 SOMEWHAT WORSE
8 DK
Spec: 705_
V001661
(IF BETTER)
Much better or somewhat better?

V3b.
Spec: 706_- V001662

\section*{V4.}
Spec: 707_ V001664

Did the Bush administration make the nation's moral climate better, worse, or didn't it make much difference either way?
\begin{tabular}{ll} 
1 BETTER & \\
3 WORSE & SKIP TO \(\rightarrow\) V4b \\
5 NO DIFFERENCE & SKIP TO \(\rightarrow\) V5 \\
8 DK & SKIP TO V5
\end{tabular}

SKIP TO

V4a.
(IF BETTER
Much better or somewhat better?
MUCH BETTER
5 SOMEWHAT BETTER \(\rightarrow\) SKIP TO V5
\(\begin{array}{ll}5 \text { SOMEWHAT BETTER } & \rightarrow \text { SKIP TO V5 } \\ 8 \text { DK } & \rightarrow \text { SKIP TO V5 }\end{array}\)
8 DK \(\rightarrow\) SKIP TO V5
V4b.
(IF WORSE)
Much worse or somewhat worse?
1 MUCH WORSE
SOMEWHAT WORSE
8 DK \(\quad\) V001667 SUMMARY

BUSH TRAITS ARE ASKED IN RANDOM ORDER.

\section*{V5.}

Please look at page 11 of the booklet.
I am going to read a list of words and phrases people may use to describe former President George Bush.
For each, please tell me how well the word or phrase describes him. [DO NOT PROBE "DK"]
(FIRST TRAIT:) In your opinion, does the phrase 'he (is) <trait>?' describe former President George
Bush extremely well, quite well, not too well, or not well at all? [DO NOT PROBE "DK"]
T V5.T
I am going to read a list of words and phrases people may use to describe former President George Bush.
For each, please tell me how well the word or phrase describes him. [DO NOT PROBE "DK"]
(FIRST TRAIT:) In your opinion, does the phrase 'he (is) <trait>?' describe former President George
Bush extremely well, quite well, not too well, or not well at all? [DO NOT PROBE 'DK"]
\(\Rightarrow\) Bush traits are asked in random order.
\(\Rightarrow\) In this section we are asking R to evaluate former President Bush according to a list of qualities that reflect
aspects of political leadership.

\section*{V5a.}
(What about) He (is)
MORAL
(Does this phrase describe former President George Bush extremely well, quite well, not too well, or not
well at all?
1 EXTREMELY WELL
2 QUITE WELL
3 NOT TOO WELL
4 NOT WELL AT ALL
8 DK
\(\Rightarrow\) 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.
\(\Rightarrow\) If you need to, you may remind \(R\) (by rereading the stem and stressing "your") that we are interested in his/her opinion and not what others might think.
\(\begin{array}{ll}\text { V5b. } & \text { Spec: } 713 \_2 \quad \text { V001669 }\end{array}\)
(What about) He (is)
REALLY CARES ABOUT PEOPLE LIKE YOU
(Does this phrase describe former President George Bush extremely well, quite well, not too well, or not
well at all?)
1 EXTREMELY WELL
2 QUITE WELL
3 NOT TOO WELL
4 NOT WELL AT ALL
8 DK
\(\Rightarrow\) 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.
\(\Rightarrow\) If you need to, you may remind R (by rereading the stem and stressing "your") that we are interested in his/her
opinion and not what others might think.
(What about) He (is)
KNOWLEDGEABLE
(Does this phrase describe former President George Bush extremely well, quite well, not too well, or not well at all?)
1 EXTREMELY WELL
2 QUITE WELL
3 NOT TOO WELL
4 NOT WELL AT ALL
4 NOT
\(\Rightarrow\) 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.
\(\Rightarrow\) If you need to, you may remind \(R\) (by rereading the stem and stressing "your") that we are interested in his/her opinion and not what others might think.
V5d. Spec: 713_4 V001671
(What about) He (is)
PROVIDES STRONG LEADERSHIP
(Does this phrase describe former President George Bush extremely well, quite well, not too well, or not
well at all?)
1 EXTREMELY WELL
2 QUITE WELL
3 NOT TOO WELL
4 NOT WELL AT ALL
8 DK
\(\Rightarrow\) 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.
\(\Rightarrow\) If you need to, you may remind \(R\) (by rereading the stem and stressing "your") that we are interested in his/her opinion and not what others might think.
V5e. \(\quad\) Vpec: 713_5 5
(What about) He (is)
DISHONEST
(Does this phrase describe former President George Bush extremely well, quite well, not too well, or not
well at all?)
1 EXTREMELY WELL
1 EXTREMELY
3 QUITE WELL
3 NOT TOO WELL
4 NOT
\(\Rightarrow\) 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.
\(\Rightarrow\) If you need to, you may remind R (by rereading the stem and stressing "your") that we are interested in his/her opinion and not what others might think.

\section*{V5f.}
(What about) He (is)
INTELLIGENT
(Does this phrase describe former President George Bush extremely well, quite well, not too well, or not well at all?)

\section*{1 EXTREMELY WELL}

2 QUITE WELL
3 NOT TOO WELL
4 NOT WELL AT ALL
8 DK
\(\Rightarrow\) 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.
\(\Rightarrow\) If you need to, you may remind \(R\) (by rereading the stem and stressing "your") that we are interested in his/her opinion and not what others might think.

\section*{V5g.}
(What about) He (is)
OUT OF TOUCH WITH ORDINARY PEOPLE
(Does this phrase describe former President George Bush extremely well, quite well, not too well, or not
well at all?)
1 EXTREMELY WELL
2 QUITE WELL
3 NOT TOO WELL
4 NOT WELL AT ALL
8 DK
\(\Rightarrow\) 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.
\(\Rightarrow\) If you need to, you may remind R (by rereading the stem and stressing "your") that we are interested in his/her
opinion and not what others might think.

\section*{SECTION Y}

\section*{Y5-Y17 - CHARACTERISTICS OF WORK COLLEAGUES}

Y4. Now, on another topic....

Y5.
Are you currently working?
1 YES
5 NO
8 DK

Y6.
(IF NOT CURRENTLY WORKING):
Please look at page 14 of the booklet.
We'd like to know if you are temporarily laid off, or are you unemployed, retired, permanently
disabled, a homemaker, a student, or what?
1 TEMPORARILY LAID OFF
-->SKIP TO Y10 IF TLO ONLY
2 UNEMPLOYED
-->SKIP TO Z1 IF UNEMPLOYED ONLY
3 RETIRED
4 PERMANENTLY DISABLED
5 HOMEMAKER
6 STUDENT
-->SKIP TO Y15 IF RETIRED ONLY
-->SKIP TO Z1 IF DISABLED ONLY
-->SKIP TO Z1 IF HOMEMAKER ONLY
-->SKIP TO Z1 IF STUDENT ONLY
MULTIPLE MENTIONS; IF TLO AND RETIRED, GO TO Y10; IF RETIRED AND ANY OTHER COMBINATION(S)
EXCEPT TLO GO TO Y15; COMBINATIONS NOT INCLUDING RETIRED OR TLO SKIP TO Z1]

\section*{Curently W orking series Y7-Y8}

\section*{Y7. \\ (IF CURRENTLY WORKING)}

Spec: 730
V001677

On the whole, how satisfied are you with the work you do? Would you say you are very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied?
1 VERY SATISFIED
2 SOMEWHAT SATISFIED
3 SOMEWHAT DISSATISFIED
4 VERY DISSATISFIED
8 DK

\section*{Y7a. \\ (IF CURRENTLY WORKING)}

In your current position, do you spend time during the day with other people or are you pretty much
by yourself?
1 WITH OTHER PEOPLE
5 OR BY YOURSELF
8 DON'T KNOW
Y8.

\section*{(IF CURRENTLY WORKING)}

I'm going to ask you a few questions about the people you regularly see at work.
In general, with these people in mind, would you say that they are just looking out for
themselves all of the time, most of the time, some of the time, hardly ever, or never?
1 ALL OF THE TIME
2 MOST OF THE TIME
3 SOME OF THE TIME
4 HARDLY EVER
5 OR NEVER
7 R INSISTS [VOL]: NOT APPROPRIATE TO WORK SITUATION --->Z1
8 DON'T KNOW

\section*{Y8a.}

\section*{(IF CURRENTLY WORKING)}

Would you say those people you see regularly at work try to take advantage of others all of the time, most of the time, some of the time, hardly ever, or never?
1 ALL OF THE TIME
2 MOST OF THE TIME
3 SOME OF THE TIME
4 HARDLY EVER
5 OR NEVER
8 DON'T KNOW

\section*{Y8b. \\ (IF CURRENTLY WORKING)}
(Again, thinking about those people you see regularly at work) Would you say that they treat others with respect all of the time, most of the time, some of the time, hardly ever, or never?
1 ALL OF THE TIME
2 MOST OF THE TIME
3 SOME OF THE TIME
4 HARDLY EVER
5 OR NEVER
8 DON'T KNOW

\section*{Y8c. \\ (IF CURRENTLY WORKING)}

Would you say that honest describes the people you work with extremely well, quite well, not too well, or not well at all?
1 EXTREMELY WELL \(\quad-->Z 1\)
2 QUITE WELL
3 NOT TOO WELL -->Z1
OR NOT WELL AT ALL \(\rightarrow\) Z1
8 DON'T KNOW \(-->Z 1\)

\section*{Y8d. \\ (IF CURRENTLY WORKING)}

Thinking about the diversity of your workplace, are the people who work where you work all White, mostly white, about half and half, mostly Black, or all Black?
1 ALL WHITE
2 MOSTLY WHITE
3 ABOUT HALF AND HALF
4 MOSTLY BLACK
5 ALL BLACK
7 R VOLUNTEERS: OTHER (SPECIFY)
8 DON'T KNOW

\section*{Temporarily Laid Off series Y10-Y 11}
(IF TEMPORARILY LAID OFF)
When you are working, do you spend time during the day with other people or are you pretty much by yourself?
1 WITH OTHER PEOPLE
5 OR BY YOURSELF
8 DON'T KNOW
\(\Rightarrow\) Temporarily Laid Off series Y10-Y11

\section*{(IF TEMPORARILY LAID OFF)}

I'm going to ask you a few questions about the people you regularly see at work.
In general, with these people in mind, would you say that they are just looking out for themselves all of the time, most of the time, some of the time, hardly ever, or never?
1 ALL OF THE TIME
2 MOST OF THE TIME
3 SOME OF THE TIME
4 HARDLY EVER
5 OR NEVER
7 R INSISTS [VOL]: WAS NOT APPROPRIATE TO WORK SITUATION --->Z1
8 DON'T KNOW

\section*{Y11a.
(IF TEMPORARILY LAID OFF)}

Would you say those people you see regularly at work try to take advantage of others all of the time, most of the time, some of the time, hardly ever, or never?
1 ALL OF THE TIME
2 MOST OF THE TIME
3 SOME OF THE TIME
4 HARDLY EVER
5 OR NEVER
8 DON'T KNOW

\section*{Y11b.}

\section*{(IF TEMPORARILY LAID OFF)}
(Again, thinking about those people you see regularly at work) Would you say that they treat others with respect all of the time, most of the time, some of the time, hardly ever, or never?
1 ALL OF THE TIME
2 MOST OF THE TIME
3 SOME OF THE TIME
4 HARDLY EVER
5 OR NEVER
8 DON'T KNOW

\section*{Y11c.}

\section*{(IF TEMPORARILY LAID OFF)}

Would you say that honest describes the people you work with extremely well, quite well, not too well, or not well at all?
1 EXTREMELY WELL -->Z1
2 QUITE WELL
-->Z1
3 NOT TOO WELL -->Z1
4 OR NOT WELL AT ALL -->Z1
8 DON'T KNOW -->Z1

\section*{Y15.}

\section*{(IF RETIRED)}

Thinking about your last job, did you spend time during the day with other people or were you pretty much by yourself?
1 WITH OTHER PEOPLE
5 OR BY YOURSELF
8 DON'T KNOW
\(\Rightarrow\) Retired series Y15-Y17

\section*{Y16. \\ (IF RETIRED)}

For these next few questions please continue thinking about your last job. I'm going to ask you about v the people you saw regularly at work. In general, with these people in mind, would you say that they were just looking out for themselves all of the time, most of the time, some
of the time, hardly ever, or never?
1 ALL OF THE TIME
2 MOST OF THE TIME
3 SOME OF THE TIME
4 HARDLY EVER
5 OR NEVER
7 R INSISTS [VOL]: WAS NOT APPROPRIATE TO WORK SITUATION --->Z1
8 DON'T KNOW

\section*{Y16a.}

\section*{(IF RETIRED)}

Would you say those people you saw regularly at work tried to take advantage of others all of the time, most of the time, some of the time, hardly ever, or never?
1 ALL OF THE TIME
2 MOST OF THE TIME
3 SOME OF THE TIME
4 HARDLY EVER
5 OR NEVER
8 DON'T KNOW

\section*{Y16b.}
(IF RETIRED)
(Again, thinking about those people you saw regularly at work) Would you say that they treated
others with respect all of the time, most of the time, some of the time, hardly ever, or never?
1 ALL OF THE TIME
2 MOST OF THE TIME
3 SOME OF THE TIME
4 HARDLY EVER
5 OR NEVER
8 DON'T KNOW

\section*{(IF RETIRED)}

Would you say that honest described the people you worked with extremely well, quite well, not
too well, or not well at all?
1 EXTREMELY WELL
OUITE WELL
3 NOT TOO WELL
4 OR NOT WELL AT ALL
8 DON'T KNOW
V001694 COMB. -WK BY SELF
V001695 COMB.- LOOK OUT V001696 COMB.-TAKE ADV
\(\overline{\text { V001697 }}\) COMB.-TREAT OTH
V001698 COMB.-HONEST

\section*{SECTION Z}

\section*{Z1-Z24 - POLITICAL DISCUSSION IN SOCIAL NETWORK}

\section*{Z1.}

Now let's shift our attention to another area.
From time to time, people discuss government, elections and politics with other people. I'd like to ask you about the people with whom you discuss these matters. These people might or might not be relatives.
Can you think of anyone?
\begin{tabular}{ll}
1 YES & \\
5 NO & \(-->Z 25\) \\
8 DK & \(-->Z 25\)
\end{tabular}

8 DK -->Z25
\(\Rightarrow\) We don't need actual names of friends or relatives. Be very sensitive to the fact that \(R\) may be worried about your and/or our intention for wanting these names. Names are not important. They can give us nicknames or initials. \(\Rightarrow\) We are interested in the networks in which R discusses politics, primarily where those conversations go on, the gender of those they engage in these talks with, and their perception of what their friends know about politics

\section*{Z2. \\ (IF YES TO Z1)}

What is this person's first name? (All I need is a first name.)
\(\qquad\) NAME 1
\(\Rightarrow\) We don't need actual names of friends or relatives. Be very sensitive to the fact that R may be worried about your and/or our intention for wanting these names. Names are not important. They can give us nicknames or initials.

Is there anyone else you talk with about these matters?
1 YES
5 NO
-->Z9
8 DK
-->Z9
Z4.

\section*{(IF YES TO Z3)}

What is this person's first name? (All I need is a first name.)
OPENEND

\section*{NAME 2}
\(\Rightarrow\) We don't need actual names of friends or relatives. Be very sensitive to the fact that \(R\) may be worried about your and/or our intention for wanting these names. Names are not important. They can give us nicknames or initials.
75.

Is there anyone else (you talk with about these matters)?
1 YES
1 YE
5 NO -->Z9
8 DK -->Z9
Z6.
Spec: 773_
(IF YES TO Z5)
What is this person's first name? (All I need is a first name.)
- OPENEND NAME 3
\(\Rightarrow\) We don't need actual names of friends or relatives. Be very sensitive to the fact that R may be worried
about your and/or our intention for wanting these names. Names are not important. They can give us
nicknames or initials.
Z7.
Is there anyone else (you talk with about these matters) ?
1 YES
5 NO
-->Z9
8 DK -->Z9

\section*{Z8.}

Spec: 775
(IF YES TO Z7)
What is this person's first name? (All I need is a first name.)
\[
\text { OPENEND___ NAME } 4
\]
\(\Rightarrow\) We don't need actual names of friends or relatives. Be very sensitive to the fact that R may be worried about your and/or our intention for wanting these names. Names are not important. They can give us nicknames or initials.

Z9.
Is [fill nam1] a spouse or partner, other relative, or unrelated to you by blood or marriage?
1 SPOUSE OR PARTNER (A PARTNER IS LIKE A SPOUSE, BUT WITHOUT BEING MARRIED) -->SKIP TO Z10
3 OTHER RELATIVE, OR \(\quad-\quad\)-->SKIP TO Z9a
5 UNRELATED BY BLOOD OR MARRIAGE -->SKIP TO Z9a
\(\Rightarrow\) Person \#1 Z9-Z12
Z9a.
1 MALE -->IF SPOUSE/PARTNER OR OTHER RELATIVE, SKIP TO Z10
5 FEMALE
    -->IF SPOUSE/PARTNER OR OTHER RELATIVE, SKIP TO Z10
5 FEMALE \#1 -->IF SP
\(\Rightarrow\) You don't have to ask gender if R has said something like, "J udy, my wife or Harry, obvious names which are clear
hints to gender. If there is any possibility that they could be male or female....ask.


Z10.
Spec: 781_ V001708
When you talk with [fill name 1], do you discuss political matters...often, sometimes, rarely, or never?
1 OFTEN
3 SOMETIMES
5 RARELY, OR
7 NEVER
8 DK
Z11. \(\quad\) Spec: 782_ V001709

Generally speaking, how much do you think [fill name 1] knows about politics? Would you say:
1 A GREAT DEAL
3 AN AVERAGE AMOUNT, OR
5 NOT MUCH AT ALL
8 DK - DON'T PROBE
9 RF - DON'T PROBE

I have another question about the first person you have named. How do you think [fill name 1] voted in the

\section*{election?}

Do you think he/she voted for Al Gore, George Bush, some other candidate, or do you think
[fill name1] didn't vote?
1 AL GORE
3 GEORGE W BUSH
5 SOME OTHER CANDIDATE (SPECIFY)
7 DIDN'T VOTE
8 INELIGIBLE TO VOTE [VOL]
98 DK - DON'T PROBE
99 RF - DON'T PROBE

\section*{Person \#2 Z13-Z12}

\section*{Z13.}

Is [fill nam2] a spouse or partner, other relative, or unrelated to you by blood or marriage?
1 SPOUSE OR PARTNER (A PARTNER IS LIKE A SPOUSE, BUT WITHOUT BEING MARRIED) -->SKIP TO Z14
3 OTHER RELATIVE OR
5 UNRELATED BY BLOOD OR MARRIAGE
\(\Rightarrow\) Person \#2 Z13-Z16
Z13a. Spec: 785_ V001712
(Is [fill nam2] male or female?)
1 MALE
-->IF SPOUSE/PARTNER OR OTHER RELATIVE, SKIP TO Z14
5 FEMALE -->IF SPOUSE/PARTNER OR OTHER RELATIVE, SKIP TO Z14
\(\Rightarrow\) Person \#2 Z13-Z16
\(\Rightarrow\) You don't have to ask gender if R has said something like, "Judy, my wife or Harry," obvious names which are clear hints to gender. If there is any possibility that they could be male or female....ask.
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|}
\hline Z13b. & Spec: 786__ & V001713 \\
\hline [IF NOT SPOUSE/PARTNER] & & \\
\hline Is [fill name 2] a co-worker? & & \\
\hline 1 YES
5 NO & & \\
\hline 8 DK & & \\
\hline Z13c. \} & Spec: 787_ & V001714 \\
\hline [IF NOT SPOUSE/PARTNER OR OTHER RELATIVE] & & \\
\hline Do you and [fill name 2] go to the same place of worship? & & \\
\hline 1 YES & & \\
\hline 5 NO & & \\
\hline 8 DK & & \\
\hline Z13d. & Spec: 788_ & V001715 \\
\hline [IF NOT SPOUSE/PARTNER OR OTHER RELATIVE] & & \\
\hline Does [fill name 2] live in your neighborhood? & & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

Z14.
When you talk with [fill name 2], do you discuss political matters...often, sometimes, rarely, or never?
1 OFTEN
3 SOMETIMES
5 RARELY
7 NEVER
8 DK
Z15.
Generally speaking, how much do you think [fill name 2] knows about politics? Would you say:
1 A GREAT DEAL
3 AN AVERAGE AMOUNT, OR
5 NOT MUCH AT ALL
8 DK - DON'T PROBE
9 RF - DON'T PROBE
Z16. Spec: 791 V001718
Do you think [fill nam2] voted for Al Gore, George Bush, some other candidate, or do you think
he/she didn't vote?)
1 AL GORE
3 GEORGE W BUSH
5 SOME OTHER CANDIDATE (SPECIFY) [SPECIFY]
7 DIDN'T VOTE
8 INELIGIBLE TO VOTE [VOL]
98 DK - DON'T PROBE
99 RF - DON'T PROBE

\section*{Person \#3 Z17-Z20}

Z17.
Is [fill nam3] a spouse or partner, other relative, or unrelated to you by blood or marriage?
1 SPOUSE OR PARTNER (A PARTNER IS LIKE A SPOUSE, BUT WITHOUT BEING MARRIED) -->SKIP TO Z18
3 OTHER RELATIVE, OR -->SKIP TO Z17a
5 UNRELATED BY BLOOD OR MARRIAGE
-->SKIP TO Z17a
\(\Rightarrow\) Person \#3 Z17-Z20

Z17a.
Is [fill nam3] male or female?
1 MALE
-->IF SPOUSE/PARTNER OR OTHER RELATIVE, SKIP TO Z18
5 FEMALE
-->IF SPOUSE/PARTNER OR OTHER RELATIVE, SKIP TO Z18
\(\Rightarrow\) Person \#3 Z17-Z20
\(\Rightarrow\) You don't have to ask gender if R has said something like, "Judy, my wife or Harry," obvious names which are clear
hints to gender. If there is any possibility that they could be male or female....ask.

Spec: 792_ V001719

\section*{Z17b.}

\section*{(IF NOT SPOUSE/PARTNER)}

Is [fill nam3] a co-worker?
1 YES
5 NO
8 DK

\section*{Z17c. \\ (IF NOT SPOUSE/PARTNER OR OTHER RELATIVE)}

Spec: 795 \(\qquad\) V001722

Do you and [fill nam3] go to the same place of worship?
1 YES
5 NO
8 DK

\section*{Z17d. \\ (IF NOT SPOUSE/PARTNER OR OTHER RELATIVE)}

Does [fill name 3] live in your neighborhood?
1 YES
5 NO
8 DK
Z18.
When you talk with [fill name 3], do you discuss political matters...often, sometimes, rarely, or never?
1 OFTEN
3 SOMETIMES
5 RARELY, OR
7 NEVER
8 DK
Z19.
Generally speaking, how much do you think [fill name 3] knows about politics? Would you say:
1 A GREAT DEAL
3 AN AVERAGE AMOUNT, OR
5 NOT MUCH AT ALL
8 DK - DON'T PROBE
Z20.
Spec: 799
V001726
Do you think [fill nam3] voted for Al Gore, George Bush, some other candidate, or do you think
fill he/she didn't vote?)
1 AL GORE
3 GEORGE W BUSH
5 SOME OTHER CANDIDATE (SPECIFY) [SPECIFY]
7 DIDN'T VOTE
8 INELIGIBLE TO VOTE [VOL]
98 DK - DON'T PROBE
99 RF - DON'T PROBE

Is [fill nam4] a spouse or partner, other relative, or unrelated to you by blood or marriage?
1 SPOUSE OR PARTNER (A PARTNER IS LIKE A SPOUSE, BUT WITHOUT BEING MARRIED) -->SKIP TO Z22
3 OTHER RELATIVE, OR
-->SKIP TO Z21a
5 UNRELATED BY BLOOD OR MARRIAGE
-->SKIP TO Z21
\(\Rightarrow\) Person \#4 Z21-Z24

\section*{Z21a.}

Is [fill nam4] male or female?
1 MALE -->IF SPOUSE/PARTNER OR OTHER RELATIVE, SKIP TO Z22
5 FEMALE -->IF SPOUSE/PARTNER OR OTHER RELATIVE, SKIP TO Z22
\(\Rightarrow\) Person \#4 Z21-Z24
\(\Rightarrow\) You don't have to ask gender if R has said something like, "Judy, my wife or Harry," obvious names which are clear
hints to gender. If there is any possibility that they could be male or female....ask.

\section*{Z21b. (IF NOT SPOUSE/PARTNER)}

Spec: \(\mathbf{8 0 2}\)
V001729
Is [fill name 4] a co-worker?
1 YES
5 NO
8 DK

\section*{Z21c. \\ (IF NOT SPOUSE/PARTNER OR OTHER RELATIVE)}

Spec: 803
V001730

Do you and [fill name 4] go to the same place of worship?
1 YES
5 NO
8 DK
Z21d.
Spec: 804
V001731
(IF NOT SPOUSE/PARTNER OR OTHER RELATIVE)
Does [fill name 4] live in your neighborhood?
1 YES
NK
8 DK

\section*{Z22.}

Spec: 805_ V001732
When you talk with [fill name 4], do you discuss political matters...often, sometimes, rarely, or never?
1 OFTEN
3 SOMETIMES
5 RARELY, OR
7 NEVER
8 DK
Z23.
Spec: 806
V001733
Generally speaking, how much do you think [fill name 4] knows about politics? Would you say:
1 A GREAT DEAL
```

3 AN AVERAGE AMOUNT, OR

```
5 NOT MUCH AT ALL

98 DK - DON'T PROBE
99 RF - DON'T PROBE
Z24.
Do you think [fill NAME 4] voted for Al Gore, George Bush, some other candidate, or do you
think fill he/she didn't vote?)
1 AL GORE
3 GEORGE W BUSH
5 SOME OTHER CANDIDATE (SPECIFY)
7 DIDN'T VOTE
8 INELIGIBLE TO VOTE [VOL]
98 DK - DON'T PROBE
99 RF - DON'T PROBE

\section*{Z25-Z29 - R'S NEIGHBORHOOD}

Z25.
Now, I'd like to ask you a few questions about life in your neighborhood.
During the past twelve months, have you worked with others from your neighborhood to deal with a
common issue or problem?
1 YES
5 NO
8 DK
Z26. Spec: 809 V001736

On the whole, how satisfied are you with your neighborhood? Would you say you are very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied?
1 VERY SATISIFIED
2 SOMEWHAT SATISFIED
3 SOMEWHAT DISSATISFIED
4 VERY DISSATISFIED
8 DK

\section*{Z27.}

Spec: 811
V001737
I'm going to ask you a few questions about the people you regularly see in your neighborhood.
In general, with these people in mind, would you say that they are just looking out for themselves all of the time, most of the time, some of the time, hardly ever, or never?
1 ALL OF THE TIME
2 MOST OF THE TIME
3 SOME OF THE TIME
4 HARDLY EVER
5 NEVER
98 DK

Z27a.
Would you say those people you see regularly in your neighborhood try to take advantage of others all of

Spec: 813
V001738
the time, most of the time, some of the time, hardly ever, or never?
1 ALL OF THE TIME
2 MOST OF THE TIME
3 SOME OF THE TIME
4 HARDLY EVER
5 OR NEVER
98 DON'T KNOW
Z27b . Spec: 814_ V001739
(Again, thinking about those people you see in your neighborhood) Would you say they treat others with respect all of the time, most of the time, some of the time, hardly ever, or never?.
1 ALL OF THE TIME
2 MOST OF THE TIME
3 SOME OF THE TIME
4 HARDLY EVER
5 OR NEVER
98 DON'T KNOW

\section*{Z27c.}

Would you say that honest describes the people in your neighborhood extremely well, quite well, not too
well, or not well at all?
1 EXTREMELY WELL
2 QUITE WELL
3 NOT TOO WELL
4 OR NOT WELL AT ALL
8 DON'T KNOW

\section*{Z27d.}

Thinking about the diversity of your neighborhood, are the people who live where you live all White, mostly white, about half and half, mostly Black, or all Black?
1 ALL WHITE
2 MOSTLY WHITE
3 ABOUT HALF AND HALF
4 MOSTLY BLACK
5 ALL BLACK
7 R VOLUNEERS: OTHER (SPECIFY)
8 DON'T KNOW

\section*{Z28 - R'S SATISFACTION WITH LIFE}

Now, one final question
Z28.
In general, how satisfying do you find the way you're spending your life these days? Would you call it completely satisfying, pretty satisfying, or not very satisfying?
1 COMPLETELY SATISFYING
3 PRETTY SATISFYING
5 NOT VERY SATISFYING
8 DK

That was my final question. Thank you very much for your time and your help with our research.

\section*{ZZ1-ZZ8 - INTERVIEWER OBSERVATION}
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|}
\hline ZZ1. & Spec: 829M1-M3 & V001743a,b,c \\
\hline Others present at time of interview: (CHECK ALL THAT APPLY) & & \\
\hline 1 NONE & & \\
\hline 2 CHLDREN UNDER 6 & & \\
\hline 3 OLDER CHILDREN & & \\
\hline 3 SPOUSE & & \\
\hline 4 OTHER RELATIVES & & \\
\hline 5 OTHER ADULTS & & \\
\hline 7 PHONE INTERVIEW - COULD NOT TELL & & \\
\hline 8 DK & & \\
\hline ZZ2. & Spec: 830 & V001744 \\
\hline R's cooperation was: & & \\
\hline 1 VERY GOOD & & \\
\hline 2 GOOD & & \\
\hline 3 FAIR & & \\
\hline 4 POOR & & \\
\hline 5 VERY POOR & & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

5 VERY POOR
ZZ3.
Spec: 831
V001745

R's general level of information about politics and public affairs seemed:
1 VERY HIGH
2 FAIRLY HIGH
3 AVERAGE
4 FAIRLY LOW
5 VERY LOW
ZZ4. Spec: 832_- V01746

R's apparent intelligence:
1 VERY HIGH
2 FAIRLY HIGH
3 AVERAGE
4 FAIRLY LOW
5 VERY LOW
ZZ5. Spec: 833__ V001747

How suspicious did R seem to be about the study before the interview?:
1 NOT AT ALL SUSPICIOUS
2 SOMEWHAT SUSPICIOUS
3 VERY SUSPICIOUS
ZZ6. Spec:834_ V001748

Overall, how great was R's interest in the interview?
1 VERY HIGH
2 FAIRLY HIGH
3 AVERAGE
4 FAIRLY LOW
5 VERY LOW

How sincere did R seem in his/her answers?
1 COMPLETE SINCERE \(\rightarrow\) ZZ11
3 USUALLY SINCERE \(\rightarrow\) ZZ7a
5 OFTEN SEEMED TO BE INSINCERE \(\rightarrow\) ZZ7a

\section*{ZZ7a.}
(IF NOT COMPLETELY SINCERE)
Spec: 836 \(\qquad\) V001750 [blanked]
Were there any particular parts of the interview for which you doubted R's sincerity?
(IF SO NAME THEM BY SECTION OR QUESTION NUMBER)
OPENEND

ZZ11.
Spec: 837M1-M7 V001751a,b,c,d,e,f,g
R's reaction to IW:
[ENTER ALL THAT APPLY]
10 NEGATIVE - GENERAL
11 NEGATIVE - TOO LONG
12 NEGATIVE - TOO COMPLICATED
13 NEGATIVE - BORING/TEDIOUS/REPETITIOUS
15 R WANTED TO STOP BEFORE IW COMPLETED. AFTER STARTING IW, R MADE COMMENTS INDICATING REGRETS HAVING AGREED TO DO IW
20 R COMPLAINED AND/OR IWR OBSERVED R WAS ILL/DEAF/TIRED/HAD BAD EYESIGHT ETC. IW WAS HARD FOR R
22 R COMPLAINED AND/OR IWR OBSERVED R WAS CONFUSED BY Qs, R WAS SLOW READER. IW WAS HARD FOR R
32 R EXPRESSED DOUBTS/APOLOGIES/EMBARRASSMENTS OVER LACK OF KNOWLEDGE OR OWN SUITABILITY FOR IW
31 R EXPRESSED DOUBTS/APOLOGIES/EMBARRASSMENTS OVER LACK OF POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE, CANDIDATE NAMES, ELECTION ISSUES
OR OWN LACK OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION.
40 R WAS AGITATED OR STRESSED BY INTERVIEW PROCESS
41 R BECAME ANGRY AT INTERVIEW CONTENT
45 R BECAME CONCERNED ABOUT SAMPLING PURPOSES OR BIAS
50 R COULD NOT READ RESPONDENT BOOKLET
70 R APPEARED TO ENJOY THE IW (R WAS COOPERATIVE/INTERESTED/PLEASANT)
80 NEUTRAL OR NO FEEDBACK

\section*{TN1.}

Please describe any ambiguous or conflicting situation that you want project staff to know about. If none, enter "none"

OPENEND

\section*{TN2.}

Please provide a few words about this respondent which would help you remember the interview if you had to call back.

OPENEND
\(\qquad\)
not released
not released```


[^0]:    $\Rightarrow$ We want R to refer to time, rather than referring to a particular event in the state
    of his/her personal life.

[^1]:    ADDRESS SOCIAL PROBLEMS THAT MAKE SURE

    CAUSE CRIME
    1 ADDRESS SOCIAL PROBLEMS THAT CAUSE CRIME
    $1 \begin{aligned} & 1 \\ & 2\end{aligned}$
    5
    6
    7 MAKE SURE CRIMINALS ARE CAUGHT, CONVICTED AND PUNISHED
    0 HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH ABOUT THIS
    8 DK
    I

