

## I. DESCRIPTION OF THE 1987 PILOT STUDY

The 1987 Pilot Study, like its predecessors, provides an opportunity for social scientists to refine existing NES measures and develop and test new instrumentation. This Pilot Study carries new measures of foreign policy attitudes, system support, and morality. A significant portion of the study is devoted to experiments in question wording and question order effects.

**Study Design** The Pilot Study can be thought of as a three-wave panel. A subsample of 457 respondents to the 1986 National Election Study were interviewed between May 5 and May 30, 1987; 360 of these people were reinterviewed between June 2 and July 2, 1987. The ICPSR dataset includes variables from the 1986 NES for the 457 Pilot Study cases. To facilitate the testing of the new items, two forms were used in each of the two waves.

**Study Administration** The Survey Research Center at the Institute for Social Research administered the pilot study by Computer Assisted Telephone Interviewing (CATI). Responses to open-ended questions, however, were recorded in pencil in separate booklets, and later coded by the SRC coding section. To facilitate your use of the dataset, we have prepared paper and pencil questionnaires so that the flow of the questioning can be more easily seen.

**Documentation** A codebook and copy of the questionnaire are provided with the dataset. Although the 1986 variables (from the Early Release dataset) are incorporated into the Pilot Study data file, documentation for the 1986 items is not included in the 1987 Pilot Study codebook. Users should refer to their 1986 NES codebook for the variable descriptions and coding of the items asked in that survey. If you do not have a copy of the 1986 NES codebook, please order the 1986 Early Release documentation from the ICPSR when you request the 1987 Pilot Study data.

**Study Processing** Interviewing on the study ended July 2nd, and coding continued for two additional weeks. After the various components of the dataset had been merged together, the study staff scanned the frequencies for each variable. Beyond these very minimal checks, the NES staff has not done any processing of these data. If you discover any problems in the data or encounter difficulty using the data file, please contact me or a member of the project staff so we can assist you and alert other users to the problem.

**How to Order the 1987 Pilot Study** If you are at an institution that is a member of the ICPSR, you should contact your Consortium representative and order this Class IV dataset in the usual manner. If you are not affiliated with an ICPSR member institution, you can also secure the 1987 Pilot Study Data and accompanying documentation from the ICPSR. Contact me for details. The charge is \$80. If you are a nonmember who also needs a copy of the 1986 NES Early Release Documentation, the total cost of the data and documentation is \$100.

**NES 1987**

**WAVE 1**

**FORM A**

EXACT TIME NOW: \_\_\_\_\_

A1. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling his job as president?

1. APPROVE

5. DISAPPROVE

8. DON'T  
KNOW

GO TO A2

A1a. Do you approve strongly or not strongly?

1. STRONGLY  
APPROVE

2. NOT STRONGLY  
APPROVE

A1a. Do you disapprove strongly or not strongly?

4. NOT STRONGLY  
DISAPPROVE

5. STRONGLY  
DISAPPROVE

A2. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling the economy?

1. APPROVE

5. DISAPPROVE

8. DON'T  
KNOW

A2a. Do you approve strongly or not strongly?

1. STRONGLY  
APPROVE

2. NOT STRONGLY  
APPROVE

A2a. Do you disapprove strongly or not strongly?

4. NOT STRONGLY  
DISAPPROVE

5. STRONGLY  
DISAPPROVE

A3. I'd like to get your feelings toward some of our political leaders who are in the news these days. I will use something we call the feeling thermometer and here is how it works: I'll read the name of a person and I'd like you to rate that person using the thermometer. Ratings between 50 and 100 degrees mean that you feel favorable and warm toward that person. Ratings between 0 degrees and 50 degrees mean that you don't feel favorable toward the person and you don't care too much for that person. If you recognize a name, but don't feel particularly warm or cold toward the person, you would rate them at the 50 degree mark. If we come to a person whose name you don't recognize, you don't need to rate that person. Just tell me and we'll move on to the next one.

DEGREE

A3a. Our first person is Ronald Reagan. How would you rate him using this thermometer? (PROBE "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?)

A3b. Robert Dole? (How would you rate him using this thermometer?)

A3c. George Bush?

A3d. Jack Kemp?

A3e. Gary Hart?

- A4. (Ratings between 50 and 100 degrees mean that you feel favorable and warm toward the group. Ratings between 0 and 50 degrees mean that you don't feel favorable toward the group and that you don't care too much for that group. If you recognize the name, but you don't feel particularly warm or cold toward the group, you would rate it at the 50 degree mark.)

And still using the thermometer, how would you rate the following groups?

DEGREE

- A4a. Our first group is liberals. (How would you rate it using this thermometer?

\_\_\_\_\_

- A4b. Poor people?

\_\_\_\_\_

- A4c. Conservatives?

\_\_\_\_\_

- A4d. Feminists?

\_\_\_\_\_

- A4e. Republicans?

\_\_\_\_\_

- A4f. Moral Majority?

\_\_\_\_\_

- A4g. Democrats?

\_\_\_\_\_

- A4h. Blacks?

\_\_\_\_\_

- A4i. Christian Fundamentalists?

\_\_\_\_\_

- A4j. People on Welfare?

\_\_\_\_\_

- A5. I am going to read several statements. After each one, please tell me whether you strongly agree, somewhat agree, neither agree nor disagree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree.

	STRONGLY AGREE (1)	SOMEWHAT AGREE (2)	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE (3)	SOMEWHAT DISAGREE (4)	STRONGLY DISAGREE (5)
A5a. Generally, the more influence America has on other nations, the better off they are.					
A5b. Other countries should try to make their governments as much like ours as possible.					
A5c. The important thing for the U.S. foreign aid program should be to make sure that the U.S. gains a political advantage in world affairs.					
A5d. In view of America's moral and material superiority, it is only right that we should have the biggest say in deciding United Nations policies.					

- A6. (I am going to read several statements. After each one, please tell me whether you strongly agree, somewhat agree, neither agree nor disagree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree.)

	STRONGLY AGREE (1)	SOMEWHAT AGREE (2)	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE (3)	SOMEWHAT DISAGREE (4)	STRONGLY DISAGREE (5)
A6a. Personal income should not be determined just by one's worth. Rather, everyone should get what they need to provide a decent life for their family.					
A6b. It is good for society as a whole when <u>a few people do much better in life</u> than most people.					
A6c. All in all, I think economic differences in this country are justified.					
A6d. It would be better for everyone if the distribution of wealth in this country were more equal.					

- A7. Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an independent, or what?

1. REPUBLICAN

NEXT PAGE, A7c

3. (IF VOLUNTEERED):  
INDEPENDENT



4. ALL OTHER  
VOLUNTEERED  
STATEMENTS

GO TO A7b

2. DEMOCRAT

NEXT PAGE, A7d

- A7a. When you say you are an independent, what do you mean by that?

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GO TO A8

- A7b. How do you think of yourself politically?

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A7d. Would you call yourself a strong Republican or a not very strong Republican?

1. STRONG

5. NOT VERY STRONG

A7e. Would you call yourself a strong Democrat or a not very strong Democrat?

1. STRONG

5. NOT VERY STRONG

A8. 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. How about you -- did you vote in the 1986 elections for United States Congress last November?

1. YES

5. NO

A9. I am going to read a list of words and phrases people may use to describe political figures. Think about Ronald Reagan. The first phrase is "intelligent". In your opinion does the phrase "intelligent" describe Reagan extremely well, quite well, not too well, or not well at all?

	EXTREMELY WELL (1)	QUITE WELL (2)	NOT TOO WELL (3)	NOT WELL AT ALL (4)	DON'T KNOW (5)
A9a. INTELLIGENT?					
A9b. Compassionate?					
A9c. Moral?					
A9d. Inspiring?					
A9e. Provides strong leadership?					
A9f. Decent?					
A9g. Really cares about people like you?					
A9h. Knowledgeable?					

A10. Again, I am going to read several statements. Please tell me whether you strongly agree, somewhat agree, neither agree nor disagree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree with each statement. The first statement is ...

	STRONGLY AGREE (1)	SOMEWHAT AGREE (2)	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE (3)	SOMEWHAT DISAGREE (4)	STRONGLY DISAGREE (5)
A10a. The newer lifestyles are contributing to the breakdown of our society.					
A10b. The world is always changing and we should adjust our view of moral behavior to those changes.					
A10c. There is too much sexual freedom and loose living today.					
A10d. We should be more tolerant of people who chose to live according to their own moral standards, even if they are very different from our own.					
A10e. Changes in lifestyles, such as divorce and men and women living together without being married are signs of increasing moral decay.					
A10f. Society should be more accepting of people whose appearance or values are very different from most.					



A11. Here is a list of some activities that occupy members of the U.S. House of Representatives as part of their job. We want to know how important you think these activities should be.

	VERY IMPORTANT (1)	SOMEWHAT IMPORTANT (2)	NOT VERY IMPORTANT (3)	NOT AT ALL IMPORTANT (4)	DON'T KNOW (5)
A11a. Helping people in their district with problems they may have in dealing with the government?					
A11b. Making sure their district gets its fair share of government money and projects?					
A11c. Working in Congress on bill concerning national issues?					
A11d. Working in Congress on bills important mainly to their district?					
A11e. Taking a leading role in Congress?					

A12. What percentage of Americans would you say are living below the poverty line today?

\_\_\_\_\_ %

A13. Generally speaking, do you think the federal government is spending too much money, not enough money, or just about the right amount of money on assistance to the poor?

1. TOO MUCH

2. NOT ENOUGH

3. ABOUT RIGHT

4. DON'T KNOW

A14. Who do you think should have the greatest responsibility for helping the poor: the government, the poor themselves, or voluntary groups such as churches and charities?

1. GOVERNMENT

2. POOR THEMSELVES

3. VOLUNTARY  
GROUPS

4. BOTH GOVERNMENT AND  
POOR THEMSELVES

5. BOTH GOVERNMENT AND  
VOLUNTARY GROUPS

6. BOTH POOR AND  
VOLUNTARY GROUPS

7. COMBINATION  
OF ALL THREE

8. DON'T  
KNOW

A15. Which of these two statements is closest to your own position: Government is responsible for the well-being of its citizens and has an obligation to take care of them; OR people are responsible for their own well-being and have an obligation to take care of themselves?

1. GOVERNMENT IS  
RESPONSIBLE

2. INDIVIDUAL IS  
RESPONSIBLE

6. (IF VOLUN-  
TEERED):  
NEITHER

7. (IF VOLUN-  
TEERED):  
BOTH

8. DON'T  
KNOW

GO TO A16

A15a. Do you feel strongly about this or not strongly?

5. STRONGLY

4. NOT STRONGLY

8. DON'T KNOW

A16. People sometimes feel sympathetic towards various groups in society. How sympathetic do you feel towards poor people? Would you say you feel extremely sympathetic, very sympathetic, somewhat sympathetic, or not at all sympathetic?

1. EXTREMELY  
SYMPATHETIC

2. VERY  
SYMPATHETIC

3. SOMEWHAT  
SYMPATHETIC

4. NOT AT ALL  
SYMPATHETIC

8. DON'T  
KNOW

A17. Regardless of how you personally feel about the two parties, I'd like you to tell me which one, the Republican party or the Democratic party, would do a better job of handling the problem of assisting the poor?

1. DEMOCRATIC  
PARTY

5. REPUBLICAN  
PARTY

3. (IF VOLUNTEERED):  
NEITHER

6. (IF VOLUNTEERED): BOTH

8. DON'T KNOW

A18. Looking ahead, do you think the problem of managing the economy would be handled better in the next four years by the Republicans, by the Democrats, or about the same by both?

1. BETTER BY THE  
REPUBLICANS

5. BETTER BY THE  
DEMOCRATS

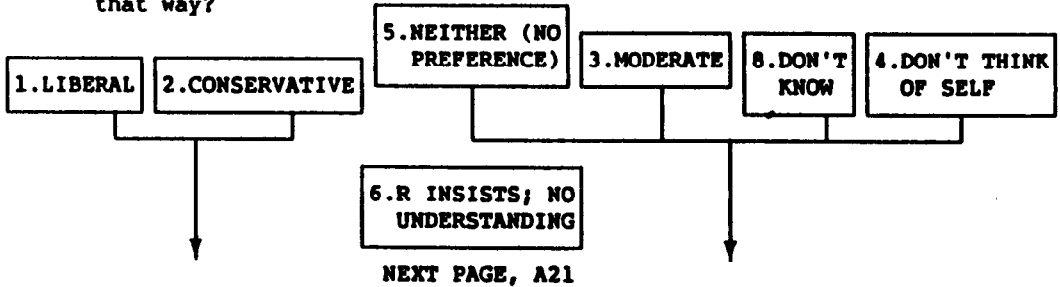
3. SAME BY BOTH

8. DON'T  
KNOW

A19. Now we would like to know something about the feelings you have toward Ronald Reagan. Has Reagan -- because of the kind of person he is, or because of something he has done -- ever made you feel...

	YES; HAVE FELT (1)	NO; NEVER FELT (5)
A19a. Angry?		
A19b. Hopeful?		
A19c. Afraid of him?		
A19d. Proud?		

A20. When it comes to politics, do you usually think of yourself as a liberal, a conservative, a moderate, or don't you think of yourself that way?



A20a. Would you call yourself a strong liberal/conservative or a not very strong liberal/conservative?

1. STRONG  
LIBERAL

5. NOT VERY STRONG  
LIBERAL

3. STRONG  
CONSERVATIVE

4. NOT VERY STRONG  
CONSERVATIVE

A20b. Do you think of yourself as more like a liberal or more like a conservative?

5. LIBERAL

6. CONSERVATIVE

A21. Some people think the government should provide fewer services, even in areas such as health and education in order to reduce spending. Other people feel it is important for the government to provide many more services even if it means an increase in spending. Which is closer to the way you feel or haven't you thought much about this?

1. FEWER SERVICES;  
REDUCE SPENDING

3. DEPENDS/THE  
RIGHT AMOUNT  
NOW

5. MORE SERVICES;  
INCREASE  
SPENDING

7. HAVEN'T  
THOUGHT  
ABOUT IT

GO TO A22a

A21b. Still thinking about the question you just answered, I'd like you do tell me what ideas came to mind as you were answering this question. Exactly what things went through your mind? [DO NOT PROBE]

0. NOTHING

INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

PLEASE RECORD ANSWER TO A21 BELOW AND FOLLOW THE APPROPRIATE SKIP

☐

1. FEWER SERVICES; REDUCED SPENDING

☐

2. DEPENDS/THE RIGHT AMOUNT NOW ---> NEXT PAGE, A21e

☐

5. MORE SERVICES; INCREASE SPENDING ---> NEXT PAGE, A21g

☐

7. HAVEN'T THOUGHT ABOUT IT ---> P. 12, A22

A21c. Are there any (other) reasons that you favor reducing government services?

5. NO

1. YES

—> (What are they?) (Any others?)

GO TO A21d

A21d. Do you see any problems with reducing government services?

5. NO

1. YES

—> (What are they?) (Any others?)

PAGE 12, A22

ANSWER TO A21 = PROVIDING MORE GOVERNMENT SERVICES

A21e. Are there any (other) reasons that you favor providing more government services?

5. NO

1. YES → (What are they?) (Any others?)

GO TO A21f

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A21f. Do you see any problems with providing more government services?

5. NO

1. YES → (What are they?) (Any others?)

NEXT PAGE, A22

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NEXT PAGE, A22

ANSWER TO A21 = DEPENDS

A21g. Are there any reasons that you favor reducing government services?

5. NO

1. YES → (What are they?) (Any others?)

GO TO A21h

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A21h. Do you see any problems with reducing government services?

5. NO

1. YES → (What are they?) (Any others?)

NEXT PAGE, A21i

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A21i. Are there any reasons that you favor providing more government services?

☐ 5. NO

☐ 1. YES → (What are they?) (Any others?)

GO TO A21j

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A21j. Do you see any problems with providing more government services?

☐ 5. NO

☐ 1. YES → (What are they?) (Any others?)

GO TO A22

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A22a. Now I am going to read two statements. Please tell me which comes closest to your own view.

Premarital sex is immoral,

OR

There is nothing necessarily immoral about premarital sex.

☐ 1. IMMORAL

☐ 2. NOT  
IMMORAL

☐ 3. DEPENDS

☐ 4. DON'T KNOW;  
CAN'T CHOOSE

A22c. Please consider these two statements:

Having children without being married is immoral,

OR

There is nothing necessarily immoral about having children without being married.

☐ 1. IMMORAL

☐ 2. NOT  
IMMORAL

☐ 3. DEPENDS

☐ 4. DON'T KNOW;  
CAN'T CHOOSE

A22c. (The next two statements are:)

Homosexuality is immoral,

OR

There is nothing necessarily immoral about homosexuality.

1. IMMORAL

2. NOT  
IMMORAL

3. DEPENDS

4. DON'T KNOW;  
CAN'T CHOOSE

A22d. And which of these comes closest to the way you feel?

On the question of whether homosexuality is immoral, I have my own view but I'm not sure if it is the one true answer,

OR

(On the question of whether homosexuality is immoral,) I feel there is a basic truth to the position I have taken.

1. NOT  
SURE

2. BASIC  
TRUTH

3. DEPENDS

4. DON'T KNOW;  
CAN'T CHOOSE

A22e. (Next:)

Divorce is immoral,

OR

There is nothing necessarily immoral about divorce.

1. IMMORAL

2. NOT  
IMMORAL

3. DEPENDS

4. DON'T KNOW;  
CAN'T CHOOSE

A22f. And which of these comes closest to the way you feel?

On the question of whether divorce is immoral, I have my own view but I'm not sure if it is the one true answer,

OR

(On the question of whether divorce is immoral,) I feel there is a basic truth to the position I have taken.

1. NOT  
SURE

2. BASIC  
TRUTH

3. DEPENDS

4. DON'T KNOW;  
CAN'T CHOOSE

A22g. (The next two statements are:)

Abortion is immoral,

OR

There is nothing necessarily immoral about abortion.

1. IMMORAL

2. NOT  
IMMORAL

3. DEPENDS

8. DON'T KNOW;  
CAN'T CHOOSE

A22h. And which of these comes closest to the way you feel?

On the question of whether abortion is immoral, I have my own view but I'm not sure if it is one true answer,

OR

(On the question of whether abortion is immoral,) I feel there is a basic truth to the position I have taken.

1. NOT  
SURE

2. BASIC  
TRUTH

3. DEPENDS

8. DON'T KNOW;  
CAN'T CHOOSE

A35. How important is it for the U.S. to have a strong military force in order to get our way with our adversaries? Is it extremely important, very important, somewhat important, or not at all important?

1. EXTREMELY  
IMPORTANT

2. VERY  
IMPORTANT

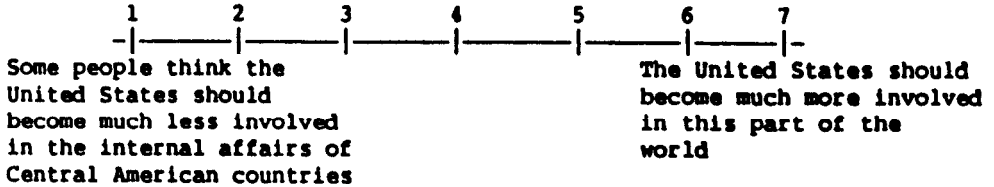
3. SOMEWHAT  
IMPORTANT

4. NOT AT ALL  
IMPORTANT

8. DON'T  
KNOW



- A36. For the next question, I'd like you to think of a scale ranging from 1 to 7. Some people think the United States should become much less involved in the internal affairs of Central American countries. Suppose these people are at one end of the scale at point 1. Others believe that the U.S. government should become much more involved in this part of the world. 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. Where would you place yourself on this scale or haven't you thought much about this?



ENTER NUMBER (1-7): \_\_\_\_\_

8. DON'T KNOW

0. HAVEN'T THOUGHT

- A36a. Where would you place the Democratic party on this scale?

ENTER NUMBER (1-7): \_\_\_\_\_

8. DON'T KNOW

0. HAVEN'T THOUGHT

(Where would you place) the Republican party?

ENTER NUMBER (1-7): \_\_\_\_\_

8. DON'T KNOW

0. HAVEN'T THOUGHT

(Where would you place) Ronald Reagan?

ENTER NUMBER (1-7): \_\_\_\_\_

8. DON'T KNOW

0. HAVEN'T THOUGHT

- A42. If you had a say in making up the federal budget this year, would you like to see spending for aid to the Contras in Nicaragua increased, decreased, or kept about the same?

1. INCREASED

3. KEPT ABOUT  
THE SAME

5. DECREASED

7. (IF VOLUNTEERED)  
CUT OFF

8. DON'T  
KNOW

- A43. Looking ahead, do you think the problem of keeping out of war would be handled better in the next four years by the Republicans, by the Democrats, or about the same by both?

1. BETTER BY  
REPUBLICANS

3. SAME BY  
BOTH

5. BETTER BY  
DEMOCRATS

8. DON'T  
KNOW

A44. Some people feel the government in Washington should see to it that every person has a job and a good standard of living. Others think the government should just let each person get ahead on their own. Which is closer to the way you feel or haven't you thought much about it?

1. GOVERNMENT  
EFFORTS

5. GET AHEAD  
ALONE

3. (IF VOLUNTEERED)  
DEPENDS

8. HAVEN'T THOUGHT  
MUCH

PAGE 19, A45

A44b. Still thinking about the question you just answered, I'd like you do tell me what ideas came to mind as you were answering this question. Exactly what things went through your mind?  
[DO NOT PROBE]

0. NOTHING

INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

PLEASE RECORD ANSWER TO A44 BELOW AND FOLLOW THE APPROPRIATE SKIP

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1. GOVERNMENT EFFORTS

☐

5. GET AHEAD ALONE ----> NEXT PAGE, A44e

☐

3. (IF VOLUNTEERED) DEPENDS ----> PAGE 17, A44g

☐

7. HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH ----> PAGE 19, A45

A44c. Are there any (other) reasons that you favor government efforts to make certain that every person has a job and a good standard of living?

5. NO

1. YES

→ (What are they?) (Any others?)

GO TO, A44d

A44d. Do you see any problems with government efforts to make certain that every person has a job and a good standard of living?

5. NO

1. YES

→ (What are they?) (Any others?)

PAGE 19, A45

ANSWER TO A44 = GET AHEAD ALONE

A44e. Are there any (other) reasons that you think the government should just let each person get ahead on their own?

5. NO

1. YES → (What are they?) (Any others?)

GO TO A44f

A44f. Do you see any problems with the government letting each person get ahead on their own?

5. NO

1. YES → (What are they?) (Any others?)

PAGE 19, A45

PAGE 19, A45

ANSWER TO A44 = DEPENDS

A44g. Are there any other reasons that you favor government efforts to make certain that every person has a job and a good standard of living?

5. NO

1. YES → (What are they?) (Any others?)

GO TO A44h

A44h. Do you see any problems with government efforts to make certain that every person has a job and a good standard of living?

5. NO

1. YES → (What are they?) (Any others?)

NEXT PAGE, A44i

A44i. Are there any reasons that you think the government should just let each person get ahead on their own?

☐ 5. NO☐ 1. YES

→ (What are they?) (Any others?)

GO TO A44j

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A44j. Do you see any problems with the government letting each person get ahead on their own?

☐ 5. NO☐ 1. YES

→ (What are they?) (Any others?)

PAGE 19, A45

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PAGE 19, A45

A45. Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or what?

1. REPUBLICAN	2. INDEPENDENT	3. NO PREFERENCE	4. OTHER PARTY	5. DEMOCRAT
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GO TO A45c

INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

DID R MENTION OR INDICATE THAT THEY WERE ASKED THIS QUESTION EARLIER IN THE INTERVIEW?

- ☐ 1. YES, MENTIONED
- ☐ 2. YES, INDICATED (TONE OF VOICE, ETC.)
- ☐ 5. NO, NO INDICATION OR MENTION

A45a. Would you call yourself a strong Republican or a not very strong Republican?

1. STRONG	5. NOT VERY STRONG
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A45b. Would you call yourself a strong Democrat or a not very strong Democrat?

1. STRONG	5. NOT VERY STRONG
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A45c. Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party or to the Democratic Party?

1. CLOSER TO REPUBLICAN	3. (IF VOLUNTEERED:) NEITHER	5. CLOSER TO DEMOCRAT
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A46a. The federal budget deficit last year was about \$170 billion. What do you think should be done to bring the budget into balance?

Cut military spending; OR

Cut spending on domestic programs such as environmental control, anti-drug smuggling, and Medicare OR

Increase taxes?

1. CUT MILITARY SPENDING	2. CUT SPENDING ON DOMESTIC PROGRAMS	3. INCREASE TAXES	4. (IF VOLUNTEERED): NOT SURE/OTHER
5. ALL THREE	6. CUT SPENDING; BOTH MILITARY AND DOMESTIC	7. CUT DOMESTIC SPENDING AND INCREASE TAXES	8. CUT MILITARY SPENDING AND INCREASE TAXES

A46b. Do you approve or disapprove of the way President Reagan has handled the federal deficit problem?

1. APPROVE

5. DISAPPROVE

A46c. Last year the United States sent the Contra rebels \$100 million to help them in their fight to overthrow the Sandanista government in Nicaragua. Do you favor sending this foreign aid to the Contras or not?

1. FAVOR

5. DO NOT FAVOR

A46d. Do you approve or disapprove of the way President Reagan has handled the question of military aid to the Contra rebels in Nicaragua?

1. APPROVE

5. DISAPPROVE

A47. Some people feel that the government in Washington should make every effort to improve the social and economic position of blacks. Others feel that the government should not make any special effort to help blacks because they should help themselves. Which comes closer to the way you feel or haven't you thought much about this?

1. GOVERNMENT

3. (IF VOLUNTEERED):  
DEPENDS

5. HELP  
THEMSELVES

7. HAVEN'T  
THOUGHT MUCH

PAGE 23, A48

A47b. Still thinking about the question you just answered, I'd like you do tell me what ideas came to mind as you were answering this question. Exactly what went through your mind? [DO NOT PROBE]

0. NOTHING

INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

PLEASE RECORD ANSWER TO A47 BELOW AND FOLLOW THE APPROPRIATE SKIP

☐

1. GOVERNMENT

☐

3. (IF VOLUNTEERED) DEPENDS ---> NEXT PAGE, A47e

☐

5. HELP THEMSELVES ---> PAGE 22, A47g

☐

7. HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH ---> PAGE 23, A48

A47c. Are there any (other) reasons that you favor government efforts to improve the social and economic position of blacks?

5. NO

1. YES

→ (What are they?) (Any others?)

GO TO A47d

A47d. Do you see any problems with government efforts to improve the social and economic position of blacks?

5. NO

1. YES

→ (What are they?) (Any others?)

PAGE 23, A48

PAGE 23, A48

ANSWER TO A47 = BLACKS SHOULD HELP THEMSELVES

A47e. Are there any (other) reasons that you favor letting blacks help themselves?

5. NO

1. YES → (What are they?) (Any others?)

GO TO A47f

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A47f. Do you see any problems with letting blacks help themselves?

5. NO

1. YES → (What are they?) (Any others?)

PAGE 23, A48

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PAGE 23, A48

ANSWER TO A47 = DEPENDS

A47g. Are there any other reasons that you favor government efforts to improve the social and economic position of blacks?

5. NO

1. YES → (What are they?) (Any others?)

GO TO A47h

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A47h. Do you see any problems with government efforts to improve the social and economic position of blacks?

5. NO

1. YES → (What are they?) (Any others?)

NEXT PAGE, A47i

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A47i. Are there any reasons that you favor letting blacks help themselves?

☐ 5. NO

☐ 1. YES

→ (What are they?) (Any others?)

GO TO A47j

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A47j. Do you see any problems letting blacks help themselves?

☐ 5. NO

☐ 1. YES

→ (What are they?) (Any others?)

GO TO A48

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GO TO A48

A48. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling his job as president?

☐ 1. APPROVE

☐ 5. DISAPPROVE

INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

DID R MENTION OR INDICATE THAT THEY WERE ASKED THIS QUESTION EARLIER IN THE INTERVIEW?

☐

1. YES, MENTIONED

☐

2. YES, INDICATED (TONE OF VOICE, ETC.)

☐

5. NO, NO INDICATION OR MENTION

A48a. Do you approve strongly or not strongly?

☐ 1. STRONGLY APPROVE

☐ 2. NOT STRONGLY APPROVE

A48a. Do you disapprove strongly or not strongly?

☐ 5. STRONGLY DISAPPROVE

☐ 4. NOT STRONGLY DISAPPROVE

A48b. Still thinking about the question you just answered, I'd like you do tell me what ideas came to mind as you were answering this question. Exactly what things went through your mind? [DO NOT PROBE]

☐ 0. NOTHING

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INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

PLEASE RECORD ANSWER TO A48 BELOW AND FOLLOW THE APPROPRIATE SKIP

☐ 1. APPROVE

☐ 5. DISAPPROVE ----> NEXT PAGE, A48e

☐ 8. DON'T KNOW/REFUSED ----> PAGE 26, A49

A48c. Are there any (other) reasons that you approve of the way Reagan is handling his job as President?

☐ 5. NO

☐ 1. YES ----> (What are they?) (Any others?)

GO TO A48d

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A48d. Can you think of any reasons that would lead you to disapprove of the way Reagan is handling his job as President?

☐ 5. NO

☐ 1. YES ----> (What are they?) (Any others?)

PAGE 26, A49

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PAGE 26, A49

ANSWER TO A48_ = DISAPPROVE
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A48e. Are there any (other) reasons that you disapprove of the way Reagan is handling his job as President?

☐ 5. NO

☐ 1. YES → (What are they?) (Any others?)

GO TO A48f

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A48f. Can you think of any reasons that would lead you to approve of the way Reagan is handling his job as President?

☐ 5. NO

☐ 1. YES → (What are they?) (Any others?)

PAGE 26, A49

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PAGE 26, A49

A49. Here is a list of some activities that occupy members of the U.S. Senate as part of their job. We want to know how important you think these activities should be.

	VERY IMPORTANT (1)	SOMEWHAT IMPORTANT (2)	NOT VERY IMPORTANT (3)	NOT AT ALL IMPORTANT (4)	DON'T KNOW (5)
A49a. Helping people in their state with problems they may have in dealing with the government?					
A49b. Making sure their state gets its fair share of government money and projects?					
A49c. Working in Congress on bill concerning national issues?					
A49d. Working in Congress on bills important mainly to their state?					
A49e. Taking a leading role in Congress?					

These are all the questions I have. Thank you very much for your time and your help with our research.

EXACT TIME NOW: \_\_\_\_\_

**NES 1987**

**WAVE 1**

**FORM B**

EXACT TIME NOW: \_\_\_\_\_

A1. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling his job as president?

1. APPROVE



A1a. Do you approve strongly or not strongly?

1. STRONGLY APPROVE

2. NOT STRONGLY APPROVE

5. DISAPPROVE



A1a. Do you disapprove strongly or not strongly?

4. NOT STRONGLY DISAPPROVE

5. STRONGLY DISAPPROVE

8. DON'T KNOW

GO TO A2

A2. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling the economy?

1. APPROVE



A2a. Do you approve strongly or not strongly?

1. STRONGLY APPROVE

2. NOT STRONGLY APPROVE

5. DISAPPROVE



A2a. Do you disapprove strongly or not strongly?

4. NOT STRONGLY DISAPPROVE

5. STRONGLY DISAPPROVE

8. DON'T KNOW

A3. I am going to read several statements. After each one, please tell me whether you strongly agree, somewhat agree, neither agree nor disagree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree.

	STRONGLY AGREE (1)	SOMEWHAT AGREE (2)	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE (3)	SOMEWHAT DISAGREE (4)	STRONGLY DISAGREE (5)
A3a. Generally, the more influence America has on other nations, the better off they are.					
A3b. Other countries should try to make their governments as much like ours as possible.					
A3c. The important thing for the U.S. foreign aid program should be to make sure that the U.S. gains a political advantage in world affairs.					
A3d. In view of America's moral and material superiority, it is only right that we should have the biggest say in deciding United Nations policies.					

A4. (I am going to read several statements. After each one, please tell me whether you strongly agree, somewhat agree, neither agree nor disagree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree.)

	STRONGLY AGREE (1)	SOMEWHAT AGREE (2)	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE (3)	SOMEWHAT DISAGREE (4)	STRONGLY DISAGREE (5)
A4a. Personal income should not be determined just by one's worth. Rather, everyone should get what they need to provide a decent life for their family.					
A4b. It is good for society as a whole when <u>a few people do much better in life</u> than most people.					
A4c. All in all, I think economic differences in this country are justified.					
A4d. It would be better for everyone if the distribution of wealth in this country were more equal.					

A5. Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican, an independent, or don't you think of yourself that way?

1. REPUBLICAN      2. INDEPENDENT      3. NO PREFERENCE      4. OTHER PARTY      5. DEMOCRAT

GO TO A5c

A5a. Would you call yourself a strong Republican or a not very strong Republican?

1. STRONG

5. NOT VERY  
STRONG

A5b. Would you call yourself a strong Democrat or a not very strong Democrat?

1. STRONG

5. NOT VERY  
STRONG

A5c. Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party or to the Democratic Party?

5. CLOSER TO  
REPUBLICAN

3. (IF VOLUNTEERED:)  
NEITHER

6. CLOSER TO  
DEMOCRAT



A6. 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. How about you --

Thinking back over the last four national elections, that is the Presidential elections of 1980 and 1984, and the Congressional elections of 1982 and 1986, did you vote in any of these elections?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW

Did you vote in the 1986 elections for United States Congress last November?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW

A7. I am going to read a list of words and phrases people may use to describe political figures. Think about Ronald Reagan. The first phrase is "intelligent". In your opinion does the phrase "intelligent" describe Reagan extremely well, quite well, not too well, or not well at all?

	EXTREMELY WELL (1)	QUITE WELL (2)	NOT TOO WELL (3)	NOT WELL AT ALL (4)	DON'T KNOW (8)
A7a. INTELLIGENT?					
A7b. Compassionate?					
A7c. Moral?					
A7d. Inspiring?					
A7e. Provides strong leadership?					
A7f. Decent?					
A7g. Really cares about people like you?					
A7h. Knowledgeable?					

- A8. I am going to read several statements. Please tell me whether you strongly agree, somewhat agree, neither agree nor disagree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree with each statement. The first statement is ...

	STRONGLY AGREE (1)	SOMEWHAT AGREE (2)	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE (3)	SOMEWHAT DISAGREE (4)	STRONGLY DISAGREE (5)
A8a. The newer lifestyles are contributing to the breakdown of our society.					
A8b. The world is always changing and we should adjust our view of moral behavior to those changes.					
A8c. There is too much sexual freedom and loose living today.					
A8d. We should be more tolerant of people who chose to live according to their own moral standards, even if they are very different from our own.					
A8e. Changes in lifestyles, such as divorce and men and women living together without being married are signs of increasing moral decay.					
A8f. Society should be more accepting of people whose appearance or values are very different from most.					

- A9. Here is a list of some activities that occupy members of the U.S. House of Representatives as part of their job. We want to know how important you think these activities should be.

	VERY IMPORTANT (1)	SOMEWHAT IMPORTANT (2)	NOT VERY IMPORTANT (3)	NOT AT ALL IMPORTANT (4)	DON'T KNOW (8)
A9a. Helping people in their district with problems they may have in dealing with the government?					
A9b. Making sure their district gets its fair share of government money and projects?					
A9c. Working in Congress on bill concerning national issues?					
A9d. Working in Congress on bills important mainly to their district?					
A9e. Taking a leading role in Congress?					

- A10. What percentage of Americans would you say are receiving welfare payments?

\_\_\_\_\_ %

- A11. Generally speaking, do you think the federal government is spending too much money, not enough money, or just about the right amount of money on welfare programs?

1. TOO MUCH

2. NOT ENOUGH

3. ABOUT RIGHT

8. DON'T KNOW

- A12. Who do you think should have the greatest responsibility for helping the poor: the government, the poor themselves, or voluntary groups such as churches and charities?

1. GOVERNMENT

2. POOR THEMSELVES

3. VOLUNTARY  
GROUPS

4. BOTH GOVERNMENT AND  
POOR THEMSELVES

5. BOTH GOVERNMENT AND  
VOLUNTARY GROUPS

6. BOTH POOR AND  
VOLUNTARY GROUPS

7. COMBINATION  
OF ALL THREE

8. DON'T  
KNOW

A13. Which of these two statements is closest to your own position: Government is responsible for the well-being of its citizens and has an obligation to take care of them; OR people are responsible for their own well-being and have an obligation to take care of themselves?

1. GOVERNMENT IS RESPONSIBLE	2. INDIVIDUAL IS RESPONSIBLE	6. (IF VOLUNTEERED): NEITHER	7. (IF VOLUNTEERED): BOTH	8. DON'T KNOW
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GO TO A14

A13a. Do you feel strongly about this or not strongly?

5. STRONGLY	4. NOT STRONGLY	8. DON'T KNOW
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A14. People sometimes feel sympathetic towards various groups in society. How sympathetic do you feel towards welfare recipients? Would you say you feel extremely sympathetic, very sympathetic, somewhat sympathetic, or not at all sympathetic?

1. EXTREMELY SYMPATHETIC	2. VERY SYMPATHETIC	3. SOMEWHAT SYMPATHETIC	4. NOT AT ALL SYMPATHETIC	8. DON'T KNOW
--------------------------	---------------------	-------------------------	---------------------------	---------------

A15. Regardless of how you personally feel about the two parties, I'd like you to tell me which one, the Republican party or the Democratic party, would do a better job of handling the problem of managing welfare programs?

1. DEMOCRATIC PARTY	5. REPUBLICAN PARTY	3. (IF VOLUNTEERED): NEITHER
6. (IF VOLUNTEERED): BOTH	8. DON'T KNOW	

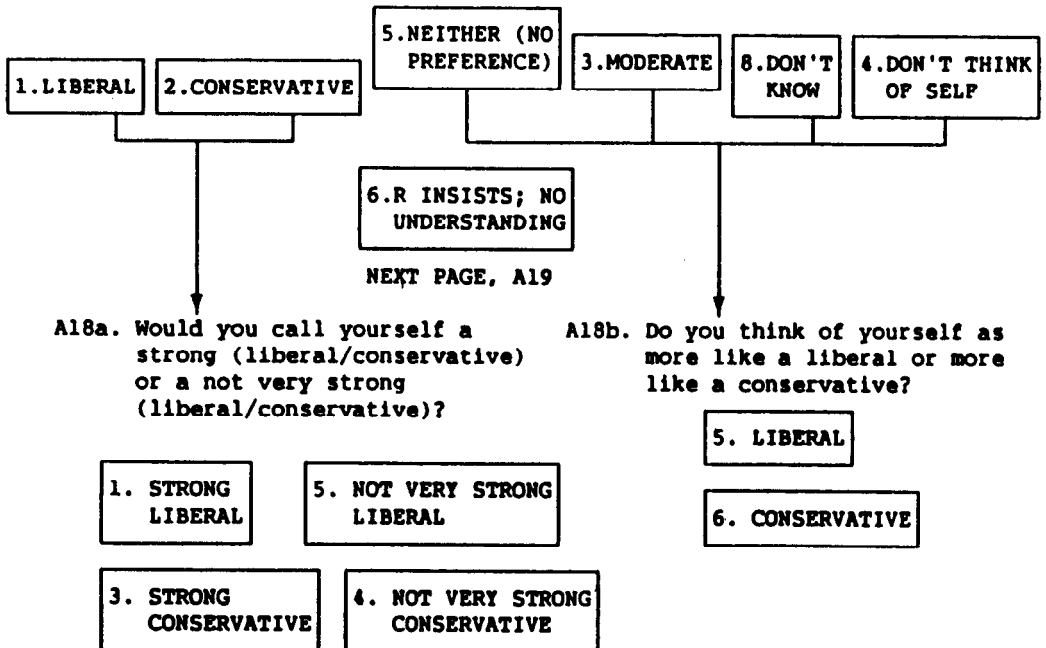
A16. Looking ahead, do you think the problem of managing the economy would be handled better in the next four years by the Republicans, by the Democrats, or about the same by both?

1. BETTER BY THE REPUBLICANS	5. BETTER BY THE DEMOCRATS	3. SAME BY BOTH	8. DON'T KNOW
------------------------------	----------------------------	-----------------	---------------

A17. Now we would like to know something about the feelings you have toward Ronald Reagan. Has Reagan -- because of the kind of person he is, or because of something he has done -- ever made you feel...

	YES; HAVE FELT (1)	NO; NEVER FELT (5)
A17a. Angry?		
A17b. Hopeful?		
A17c. Afraid of him?		
A17d. Proud?		

A18. When it comes to politics, do you usually think of yourself as a liberal, a conservative, a moderate, or don't you think of yourself that way?



A19. Some people think the government should provide fewer services, even in areas such as health and education in order to reduce spending. Other people feel it is important for the government to provide many more services, even if it means an increase in spending.

A19a. Before telling me how you feel about this, could you tell me what kinds of things come to mind when you think about fewer government services? (Any others?)

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A19b. Now, what kinds of things come to mind when you think about increases in government spending? (Any others?)

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A19c. Now I'd like to restate the question.

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

1. FEWER SERVICES;  
REDUCE SPENDING

3. IF VOLUNTEERED:  
DEPENDS

5. MORE SERVICES;  
INCREASE  
SPENDING

A20a. Now I am going to read two statements. Please tell me which comes closest to your own view.

Premarital sex is immoral,

OR

There is nothing necessarily immoral about premarital sex.

1. IMMORAL

2. NOT  
IMMORAL

3. DEPENDS

4. DON'T KNOW;  
CAN'T CHOOSE

A20c. Please consider these two statements:

Having children without being married is immoral,

OR

There is nothing necessarily immoral about having children without being married.

1. IMMORAL

2. NOT  
IMMORAL

3. DEPENDS

4. DON'T KNOW;  
CAN'T CHOOSE

A20c. (The next two statements are:)

Homosexuality is immoral,

OR

There is nothing necessarily immoral about homosexuality.

1. IMMORAL

2. NOT  
IMMORAL

3. DEPENDS

4. DON'T KNOW;  
CAN'T CHOOSE

A20d. And which of these comes closest to the way you feel?

On the question of whether homosexuality is immoral, I have my own view but I'm not sure if it is the one true answer,

OR

(On the question of whether homosexuality is immoral,) I feel there is a basic truth to the position I have taken.

1. NOT  
SURE

2. BASIC  
TRUTH

3. DEPENDS

4. DON'T KNOW;  
CAN'T CHOOSE

A20e. (Next:)

Divorce is immoral,

OR

There is nothing necessarily immoral about divorce.

1. IMMORAL

2. NOT  
IMMORAL

3. DEPENDS

4. DON'T KNOW;  
CAN'T CHOOSE

A20f. And which of these comes closest to the way you feel?

On the question of whether divorce is immoral, I have my own view but I'm not sure if it is the one true answer,

OR

(On the question of whether divorce is immoral,) I feel there is a basic truth to the position I have taken.

- |                |                   |            |                                |
|----------------|-------------------|------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. NOT<br>SURE | 2. BASIC<br>TRUTH | 3. DEPENDS | 4. DON'T KNOW;<br>CAN'T CHOOSE |
|----------------|-------------------|------------|--------------------------------|

A20g. (The next two statements are:)

Abortion is immoral,

OR

There is nothing necessarily immoral about abortion.

- |            |                   |            |                                |
|------------|-------------------|------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. IMMORAL | 2. NOT<br>IMMORAL | 3. DEPENDS | 4. DON'T KNOW;<br>CAN'T CHOOSE |
|------------|-------------------|------------|--------------------------------|

A20h. And which of these comes closest to the way you feel?

On the question of whether abortion is immoral, I have my own view but I'm not sure if it is one true answer,

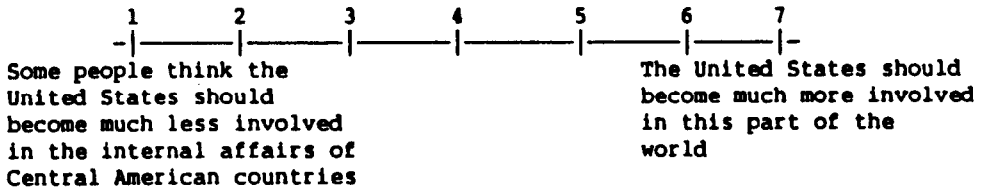
OR

(On the question of whether abortion is immoral,) I feel there is a basic truth to the position I have taken.

- |                |                   |            |                                |
|----------------|-------------------|------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. NOT<br>SURE | 2. BASIC<br>TRUTH | 3. DEPENDS | 4. DON'T KNOW;<br>CAN'T CHOOSE |
|----------------|-------------------|------------|--------------------------------|



- A21. For the next question, I'd like you to think of a scale ranging from 1 to 7. Some people think the United States should become much less involved in the internal affairs of Central American countries. Suppose these people are at one end of the scale at point 1. Others believe that the U.S. government should become much more involved in this part of the world. 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. Where would you place yourself on this scale or haven't you thought much about this?



ENTER NUMBER (1-7): \_\_\_\_\_

8. DON'T KNOW

0. HAVEN'T THOUGHT

- A21a. Where would you place the Democratic party on this scale?

ENTER NUMBER (1-7): \_\_\_\_\_

8. DON'T KNOW

0. HAVEN'T THOUGHT

(Where would you place) the Republican party?

ENTER NUMBER (1-7): \_\_\_\_\_

8. DON'T KNOW

0. HAVEN'T THOUGHT

(Where would you place) Ronald Reagan?

ENTER NUMBER (1-7): \_\_\_\_\_

8. DON'T KNOW

0. HAVEN'T THOUGHT

- A22. If you had a say in making up the federal budget this year, would you like to see spending for aid to the Contras in Nicaragua increased, decreased, or kept about the same?

1. INCREASED

3. KEPT ABOUT  
THE SAME

5. DECREASED

7. (IF VOLUNTEERED)  
CUT OFF

8. DON'T  
KNOW

- A23. Looking ahead, do you think the problem of keeping out of war would be handled better in the next four years by the Republicans, by the Democrats, or about the same by both?

1. BETTER BY  
REPUBLICANS

3. SAME BY  
BOTH

5. BETTER BY  
DEMOCRATS

8. DON'T  
KNOW

A24. I'd like to get your feelings toward some of our political leaders who are in the news these days. I will use something we call the feeling thermometer and here is how it works: I'll read the name of a person and I'd like you to rate that person using the thermometer. Ratings between 50 and 100 degrees mean that you feel favorable and warm toward that person. Ratings between 0 degrees and 50 degrees mean that you don't feel favorable toward the person and you don't care too much for that person. If you recognize a name, but don't feel particularly warm or cold toward the person, you would rate them at the 50 degree mark. If we come to a person whose name you don't recognize, you don't need to rate that person. Just tell me and we'll move on to the next one.

A24a. Our first person is Ronald Reagan. How would you rate him using this thermometer? (PROBE "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?)

DEGREE

\_\_\_\_\_

A24b. Robert Dole? (How would you rate him using this thermometer?)

\_\_\_\_\_

A24c. George Bush?

\_\_\_\_\_

A24d. Jack Kemp?

\_\_\_\_\_

A24e. Gary Hart?

\_\_\_\_\_

A25. (Ratings between 50 and 100 degrees mean that you feel favorable and warm toward the group. Ratings between 0 and 50 degrees mean that you don't feel favorable toward the group and that you don't care too much for that group. If you recognize the name, but you don't feel particularly warm or cold toward the group, you would rate it at the 50 degree mark.)

And still using the thermometer, how would you rate the following groups?

DEGREE

A25a. Our first group is liberals. (How would you rate it using this thermometer?)

\_\_\_\_\_

A25b. Poor people?

\_\_\_\_\_

A25c. Conservatives?

\_\_\_\_\_

A25d. Feminists?

\_\_\_\_\_

A25e. Republicans?

\_\_\_\_\_

A25f. Moral Majority?

\_\_\_\_\_

A25g. Democrats?

\_\_\_\_\_

A25h. Blacks?

\_\_\_\_\_

A25i. Christian Fundamentalists?

\_\_\_\_\_

A25j. People on Welfare?

\_\_\_\_\_

A26. Some people feel the government in Washington should see to it that every person has a job and a good standard of living. Others think that the government should just let each person get ahead on their own.

A26a. Before telling me how you feel about this, could you tell me what kinds of things come to mind when you think about government making sure that every person has a good standard of living? (Any others?)

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A26b. Now, what comes to mind when you are thinking about letting each person get ahead on their own? (Any others?)

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A26d. Now I'd like to restate the question.

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

1. GOVERNMENT

3. (IF VOLUNTEERED:) DEPENDS

5. PERSON

A27. Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an independent, or what?

1. REPUBLICAN

2. INDEPENDENT

3. NO PREFERENCE

4. OTHER  
PARTY

5. DEMOCRAT

GO TO A27c

INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

DID R MENTION OR INDICATE THAT THEY WERE ASKED THIS QUESTION  
EARLIER IN THE INTERVIEW?

☐

1. YES, MENTIONED

☐

2. YES, INDICATED (TONE OF VOICE, ETC.)

☐

5. NO, NO INDICATION OR MENTION

A27a. Would you call yourself a  
strong Republican or a not  
very strong Republican?

1. STRONG

5. NOT VERY STRONG

A27b. Would you call yourself a  
strong Democrat or a not  
very strong Democrat?

1. STRONG

5. NOT VERY STRONG

A27c. Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party or to the  
Democratic Party?

1. CLOSER TO  
REPUBLICAN

3. (IF VOLUNTEERED:)  
NEITHER

5. CLOSER TO  
DEMOCRATIC

A28a. Do you approve or disapprove of the way President Reagan has tried to  
cut taxes and reform the tax code?

1. APPROVE

5. DISAPPROVE

8. DON'T KNOW

A28b. Do you approve or disapprove of the way President Reagan has handled the  
problem of inflation in the last few years?

1. APPROVE

5. DISAPPROVE

8. DON'T KNOW

A29. Some people feel the government in Washington should make every effort to improve the social and economic position of blacks. Others feel the government should not make any special effort to help blacks because they should help themselves.

A29a. Before telling me how you feel about this, could you tell me what kinds of things come to mind when you think about "the social and economic position of blacks"? (Any others?)

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A29b. What comes to mind when you think about "efforts to improve the social and economic position of blacks"? (Any others?)

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A29c. And when you hear the phrase "blacks should help themselves?" (Any others?)

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A29d. Now I'd like to restate the question.

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

1. GOVERNMENT

5. HELP THEMSELVES

A30. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling his job as President?

1. APPROVE

5. DISAPPROVE

INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

DID R MENTION OR INDICATE THAT THEY WERE ASKED THIS QUESTION EARLIER IN THE INTERVIEW?

- ☐ 1. YES, MENTIONED
- ☐ 2. YES, INDICATED (TONE OF VOICE, ETC.)
- ☐ 5. NO, NO INDICATION OR MENTION

A30a. Do you approve strongly or not strongly?

1. STRONGLY APPROVE

2. NOT STRONGLY APPROVE

A30a. Do you disapprove strongly or not strongly?

5. STRONGLY DISAPPROVE

4. NOT STRONGLY DISAPPROVE

A30b. Still thinking about the question you just answered, I'd like you do tell me what ideas came to mind as you were answering this question. Exactly what things went through your mind? [DO NOT PROBE]

0. NOTHING

INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

PLEASE RECORD ANSWER TO A30 BELOW AND FOLLOW THE APPROPRIATE SKIP

- ☐ 1. APPROVE
- ☐ 5. DISAPPROVE ---> NEXT PAGE, A30e
- ☐ 8. DON'T KNOW/REFUSED ---> PAGE 18, END OF INTERVIEW

A30c. Are there any (other) reasons that you approve of the way Reagan is handling his job as President?

5. NO

1. YES --> (What are they?) (Any others?)

NEXT PAGE, A30d

A30d. Can you think of any reasons that would lead you to disapprove of the way Reagan is handling his job as President?

5. NO

1. YES → (What are they?) (Any others?)

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ANSWER TO A30 = DISAPPROVE

A30e. Are there any (other) reasons that you disapprove of the way Reagan is handling his job as President?

5. NO

1. YES → (What are they?) (Any others?)

GO TO A30f

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A30f. Can you think of any reasons that would lead you to approve of the way Reagan is handling his job as President?

5. NO

1. YES → (What are they?) (Any others?)

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These are all the questions I have. Thank you very much for your time and your help with our research.

EXACT TIME NOW: \_\_\_\_\_

FOR OFFICE USE ONLY

1987 NES CATI PILOT - RESPONSE BOOKLET

WAVE 1

INTERVIEWER ID:

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CATI CASE ID:

--	--	--	--	--

FORM OF QUESTIONNAIRE:

A
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B
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☐

CHECK THIS BOX IF THIS SERIES WAS SKIPPED BECAUSE  
A21="HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH ABOUT THIS"

A21. SOME PEOPLE THINK THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD PROVIDE FEWER SERVICES, EVEN IN AREAS SUCH AS HEALTH AND EDUCATION, IN ORDER TO REDUCE SPENDING. OTHER PEOPLE FEEL IT IS IMPORTANT FOR THE GOVERNMENT TO PROVIDE MANY MORE SERVICES EVEN IF IT MEANS AN INCREASE IN SPENDING.

A21b. Still thinking about the question you just answered, I'd like you to tell me what ideas came to mind as you were answering that question. Exactly what things went through your mind? [DO NOT PROBE]

0. NOTHING

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INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

PLEASE RECORD ANSWER TO A21 BELOW AND FOLLOW THE APPROPRIATE SKIP

1. REDUCING GOV'T  
SERVICES

5. MORE GOV'T  
SERVICES

3. DEPENDS

8. DK

→ RETURN TO  
CATI IW

NEXT PAGE, A21e

TURN TO P 3,  
A21g

A21c. Are there any (other) reasons that you favor reducing government services?

5. NO

1. YES

→ (What are they?) (Any others?)

NEXT PAGE,  
A21d

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A21d. Do you see any problems with reducing government services?

5. NO

1. YES

—————> (What are they?) (Any others?)

RETURN TO  
CATI IW

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RETURN TO CATI INTERVIEW

ANSWER TO A21 = PROVIDING MORE GOVERNMENT SERVICES

A21e. Are there any (other) reasons that you favor providing more government services?

5. NO

1. YES

—————> (What are they?) (Any others?)

GO TO A21f

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A21f. Do you see any problems with providing more government services?

5. NO

1. YES

—————> (What are they?) (Any others?)

RETURN TO  
CATI IW

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RETURN TO CATI INTERVIEW

ANSWER TO A21 = DEPENDS

A21g. Are there any reasons that you favor reducing government services?

5. NO

1. YES

→ (What are they?) (Any others?)

GO TO A21h

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A21h. Do you see any problems with reducing government services?

5. NO

1. YES

→ (What are they?) (Any others?)

GO TO A21i

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A21i. Are there any reasons that you favor providing more government services?

5. NO

1. YES

→ (What are they?) (Any others?)

NEXT PAGE,  
A21j

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A21j. Do you see any problems with providing more government services?

5. NO

1. YES

————> (What are they?) (Any others?)

RETURN TO  
CATI IW

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RETURN TO CATI INTERVIEW

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CHECK THIS BOX IF THIS SERIES WAS SKIPPED BECAUSE  
A44="HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH ABOUT THIS"

A44. SOME PEOPLE FEEL THE GOVERNMENT IN WASHINGTON SHOULD SEE TO IT THAT EVERY PERSON HAS A JOB AND A GOOD STANDARD OF LIVING. OTHERS THINK THAT THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD JUST LET EACH PERSON GET AHEAD ON THEIR OWN.

A44b. Still thinking about the question you just answered, I'd like you to tell me what ideas came to mind as you were answering that question. Exactly what things went through your mind? [DO NOT PROBE]

0. NOTHING

INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

PLEASE RECORD ANSWER TO A44 BELOW AND FOLLOW THE APPROPRIATE SKIP

1. GOVERNMENT  
EFFORTS

5. GET AHEAD  
ALONE

3. DEPENDS

8. DK

→ RETURN TO  
CATI 1W

TURN TO P 7,  
A44g

NEXT PAGE, A44e

A44c. Are there any (other) reasons that you favor government efforts to make certain that every person has a job and a good standard of living?

5. NO

1. YES

→ (What are they?) (Any others?)

NEXT PAGE,  
A44d

A44d. Do you see any problems with government efforts to make certain that every person has a job and a good standard of living?

5. NO

1. YES

→ (What are they?) (Any others?)

RETURN TO  
CATI IW

RETURN TO CATI INTERVIEW

ANSWER TO A44 = GET AHEAD ALONE

A44e. Are there any (other) reasons that you think the government should just let each person get ahead on their own?

5. NO

1. YES

→ (What are they?) (Any others?)

GO TO A44f

A44f. Do you see any problems with the government letting each person get ahead on their own?

5. NO

1. YES

→ (What are they?) (Any others?)

RETURN TO  
CATI IW

RETURN TO CATI INTERVIEW

ANSWER TO A44 = DEPENDS

A44g. Are there any reasons that you favor government efforts to make certain that every person has a job and a good standard of living?

5. NO

1. YES

—> (What are they?) (Any others?)

GO TO A44h

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A44h. Do you see any problems with government efforts to make certain that every person has a job and a good standard of living?

5. NO

1. YES

—> (What are they?) (Any others?)

GO TO A44i

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A44i. Are there any reasons that you think the government should just let each person get ahead on their own?

5. NO

1. YES

—> (What are they?) (Any others?)

NEXT PAGE,  
A44j

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A44j. Do you see any problems with the government letting each person get ahead on their own?

5. NO

1. YES

————> (What are they?) (Any others?)

RETURN TO  
CATI IW

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RETURN TO CATI INTERVIEW



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CHECK THIS BOX IF THIS SERIES WAS SKIPPED BECAUSE  
A47="HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH ABOUT THIS"

A47. SOME PEOPLE FEEL THAT THE GOVERNMENT IN WASHINGTON SHOULD MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO IMPROVE THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC POSITION OF BLACKS. OTHERS FEEL THAT THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD NOT MAKE ANY SPECIAL EFFORT TO HELP BLACKS BECAUSE THEY SHOULD HELP THEMSELVES.

A47b. Still thinking about the question you just answered, I'd like you to tell me what ideas came to mind as you were answering that question. Exactly what things went through your mind? [DO NOT PROBE]

0. NOTHING

INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

PLEASE RECORD ANSWER TO A47 BELOW AND FOLLOW THE APPROPRIATE SKIP

1. GOVERNMENT  
EFFORTS

5. BLACKS  
HELP SELF

3. DEPENDS

8. DK

→ RETURN TO  
CATI IW

NEXT PAGE, A47e

TURN TO P 11,  
A47g

A47c. Are there any (other) reasons that you favor government efforts to improve the social and economic position of blacks?

5. NO

1. YES

→ (What are they?) (Any others?)

NEXT PAGE,  
A47d

A47d. Do you see any problems with government efforts to improve the social and economic position of blacks?

5. NO

1. YES

—> (What are they?) (Any others?)

RETURN TO  
CATI IW

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RETURN TO CATI INTERVIEW

ANSWER TO A47 = BLACKS SHOULD HELP THEMSELVES

A47e. Are there any (other) reasons that you favor letting blacks help themselves?

5. NO

1. YES

—> (What are they?) (Any others?)

GO TO A47f

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A47f. Do you see any problems with letting blacks help themselves?

5. NO

1. YES

—> (What are they?) (Any others?)

RETURN TO  
CATI IW

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RETURN TO CATI INTERVIEW

ANSWER TO A47 = DEPENDS

A47g. Are there any reasons that you favor government efforts to improve the social and economic position of blacks?

5. NO

1. YES

→ (What are they?) (Any others?)

GO TO A47h

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A47h. Do you see any problems with government efforts to improve the social and economic position of blacks?

5. NO

1. YES

→ (What are they?) (Any others?)

GO TO A47i

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A47i. Are there any reasons that you favor letting blacks help themselves?

5. NO

1. YES

→ (What are they?) (Any others?)

NEXT PAGE,  
A47j

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A47j. Do you see any problems with letting blacks help themselves?

5. NO

1. YES

————> (What are they?) (Any others?)

RETURN TO  
CATI IW

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RETURN TO CATI INTERVIEW

A48. DO YOU APPROVE OR DISAPPROVE OF THE WAY RONALD REAGAN IS HANDLING HIS JOB AS PRESIDENT?

A48b. Still thinking about the question you just answered, I'd like you to tell me what ideas came to mind as you were answering that question. Exactly what things went through your mind? [DO NOT PROBE]

0. NOTHING

V  
INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

PLEASE RECORD ANSWER TO A48 BELOW AND FOLLOW THE APPROPRIATE SKIP

1. APPROVE

5. DISAPPROVE

8. DON'T KNOW/  
REFUSED

—>RETURN TO  
CATI IW

NEXT PAGE, A48e

V

A48c. Are there any (other) reasons that you approve of the way Reagan is handling his job as President?

5. NO

1. YES

—>(What are they?) (Any others?)

NEXT PAGE,  
A48d

A48d. Can you think of any reasons that would lead you to disapprove of the way Reagan is handling his job as President?

5. NO

1. YES

—> (What are they?) (Any others?)

RETURN TO  
CATI IW

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RETURN TO CATI INTERVIEW

ANSWER TO A48 = DISAPPROVE

A48e. Are there any (other) reasons that you disapprove of the way Reagan is handling his job as President?

5. NO

1. YES

—> (What are they?) (Any others?)

GO TO A48f

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A48f. Can you think of any reasons that would lead you to approve of the way Reagan is handling his job as President?

5. NO

1. YES

—> (What are they?) (Any others?)

RETURN TO  
CATI IW

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RETURN TO CATI INTERVIEW

## FORM B

A51. Some people think the government should provide fewer services, even in areas such as health and education in order to reduce spending. Other people feel it is important for the government to provide many more services, even if it means an increase in spending. We' like to know how you feel about this, but...

A51a. Before telling me how you feel about this, could you tell me what kinds of things come to mind when you think about fewer government services? (Any others?)

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A51b. Now, what kinds of things come to mind when you think about increases in government spending? (Any others?)

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RETURN TO CATI INTERVIEW

A52. Some people feel the government in Washington should see to it that every person has a job and a good standard of living. Others think that the government should just let each person get ahead on their own. We'd like to know how you feel about this, but...

A52a. Before telling me how you feel about this, could you tell me what kinds of things come to mind when you think about government making sure that every person has a good standard of living?  
(Any others?)

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A52b. Now, what comes to mind when you are thinking about letting each person get ahead on their own? (Any others?)

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RETURN TO CATI INTERVIEW



A55. Some people feel the government in Washington should make every effort to improve the social and economic position of blacks. Others feel the government should not make any special effort to help blacks because they should help themselves. We'd like to know how you feel about this, but...

A55a. Before telling me how you feel about this, could you tell me what kinds of things come to mind when you think about "the social and economic position of blacks"? (Any others?)

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A55b. What comes to mind when you think about "efforts to improve the social and economic position of blacks"? (Any others?)

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A55c. And (what comes to mind) when you hear the phrase "blacks should help themselves"? (Any others?)

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RETURN TO CATI INTERVIEW