

FOR OFFICE USE ONLY

FORM A
COVERSHEET
POST ELECTION SURVEY
1988 NATIONAL ELECTION STUDIES

Project 43
(495843)
Winter, 1988

DO NOT WRITE IN THIS BOX

1. Sample Label

2. Interviewer's Label

3. Your Iwer ID _____
4. Your Iw No. _____
5. Date of Iw _____
6. Length of Iw _____ (Minutes)
7. Length of Edjt _____ (Minutes)
8. Persuasion letter requested?
5. NO 1. YES ---> Date Requested _____
9. Total Calls (Call # of Final Call) _____
10. Date of Final Call _____
11. Final Call Result Code _____

12. R found living at address listed on Sample Label above?

1. YES

5. NO --->

12a. New address:

(Street Address) _____

(City) _____ (State) _____ (Zip) _____

12b. CHECK ONE:

☐

1. R'S NEW ADDRESS WITHIN RANGE--ATTEMPT THE INTERVIEW AT NEW ADDRESS AFTER CALLING R'S LOCAL ELECTION OFFICE TO DETERMINE THE CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT IN WHICH R NOW LIVES.

☐

2. R'S NEW ADDRESS OUT OF RANGE; CALL HEATHER HEWETT (313/764-8356, Field Office), FOR INSTRUCTIONS.

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

14. CALL RECORD

(a) CALL #	(b) DATE	(c) DAY OF WEEK	(d) TIME AM/PM	(e) IWER ID	(f) RESULT CODE	(g) COMPLETE DESCRIPTION OF CONTACT AND/OR ATTEMPTS TO CONTACT

CALL RECORD CONTINUED ON P.4

RECONTACT INFORMATION

R1. These are all the questions I have. Once again, let me thank you for agreeing to participate in our study. The thoughts and ideas you have contributed will help us understand better how people's opinions and attitudes develop and how they are expressed in our political system. Our Ann Arbor office may also be calling or writing you to verify this interview. For this reason, I would like to verify that we have your correct name and telephone number.

R2. Is your full name (READ FULL NAME ON R1 ON PRE-ELECTION COVERSHEET)?

1. YES

5. NO

----> R2a. What is your full name?

(PRINT CORRECT FULL NAME)

R3. Is your last name spelled (SPELL NAME AT R2a ABOVE OR R1 ON PRE-ELECTION COVERSHEET)?

1. YES

5. NO

----> R3a. How is your last name spelled?

(PRINT CORRECT SPELLING)

R4. And, what is your telephone number?

--	--	--	--

AREA CODE

--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

TELEPHONE NUMBER

R HAS NO PHONE

PHONE NUMBER REFUSED

GO TO R6

R5. Is your phone number listed in the current telephone directory?

1. YES, LISTED

5. NO, NOT LISTED

8. NOT SURE, DON'T KNOW

GO TO R6

R5a. Is your phone listed in your name?

1. YES

5. NO

GO TO R6

----> R5b. In whose name is the phone listed?

(PRINT NAME)

R6. INTERVIEWER: Is there a reason (e.g., hearing problem, illness) that we should not interview this R by telephone?

1. YES

5. NO

----> GO TO R7

R6a. What is the reason?

R7. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT

☐

1. R CONTACTED ----> NEXT PAGE, NR1

☐

5. NO CONTACT WITH R ----> NEXT PAGE, NR5

NR1. Did R refuse initially?

☐ 1. YES

☐ 5. NO, R WILLING

-->NR1a. Did R break any appointments?

☐ 0. NONE

☐ 1. ONE

☐ 2. TWO OR MORE

NR2. If there was any resistance from the respondent what were the reasons given? (CHECK ALL THAT APPLY.)

☐ 00. NO RESISTANCE AT ALL

☐ 01. NOT INTERESTED; DOESN'T VOTE

☐ 02. SURVEYS WASTE OF TIME; PREVIOUS BAD EXPERIENCE

☐ 03. VERY ILL

☐ 04. "TOO BUSY"

☐ 05. STRESSFUL FAMILY SITUATION

GO TO NR4

☐ 06. CONFIDENTIALITY

☐ 07. FIRST IV TOO LONG

☐ 08. DIDN'T LIKE FIRST IV

☐ 09. DIDN'T LIKE FIRST IWER

☐ 99. NO REASON GIVEN

☐ 97. OTHER, SPECIFY:

NR3. Was the Respondent: (CHECK ALL THAT APPLY.)

☐ 1. SUSPICIOUS

☐ 2. HOSTILE

☐ 3. RUDE

☐ 4. THREATENING

☐ 5. (IF NON-INTERVIEW) POLITE BUT FIRM

☐ 7. OTHER, SPECIFY:

NR4. Describe any positive or negative comments that R made about the first interview:

NR5. ☐ NO INTERVIEW OBTAINED

☐ INTERVIEW OBTAINED ---> NEXT PAGE, NR7

NR6. Reason for Non-Interview:

☐ 51. REF-R refusal by the respondent

☐ 52. REF-O refusal by someone other than the respondent

☐ 53. REF-U refusal by someone--don't know whether person refusing was the respondent

☐ 61. NOC-RD no contact with respondent, but respondent's address is known and within range

☐ 63. NIP non-interview due to permanent condition ---> define condition at NR6a below

NR6a. Type of permanent condition:

☐ 1. R DECEASED

☐ 2. MENTAL OR PHYSICAL CONDITION (DESCRIBE IN NR7)

☐ 3. R MOVED OUT-OF-RANGE--ADDRESS KNOWN BUT UNABLE TO FOLLOW (This is a Field Office decision--do not check this box without F.O. authorization.) Item 12a-12b on P.1 of CS should be complete.

☐ 4. R'S NEW ADDRESS UNKNOWN (Describe efforts to locate R in NR7; check with Field Office before sending this in.)

☐ 7. OTHER PERMANENT CONDITION (Describe in NR7)

[illegible][illegible]

FOR OFFICE USE ONLY

1988 NATIONAL ELECTION STUDIES

P. 43
(495843)

POST ELECTION

1. INTERVIEWER'S LABEL	(DO NOT WRITE IN SPACE ABOVE)

3. Form Type: ☐ A ☐ B 13. Congressional District
(from coversheet Sample Label):
4. Your Interview Number: _____
5. Date of Interview: _____
6. TOTAL LENGTH OF INTERVIEW _____ (Minutes)
7. Time at beginning of pre-editing: _____
8. Time at end of pre-editing: _____
8. TOTAL TIME TO PRE-EDIT: _____
10. Time at beginning of post-interview editing: _____
11. Time at end of post-interview editing: _____
12. TOTAL TIME TO POST-INTERVIEW EDIT: _____ (Minutes)

THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT MUST BE READ TO ALL RESPONDENTS:

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

REVIEWED BY: ☐ SUPERVISOR ☐ FIELD OFFICE

POST-ELECTION STUDY

1

A0. EXACT TIME NOW: _____

SECTION A

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

A2. Do you happen to remember the names of the candidates for congress--that is, for the House of Representatives in Washington--who ran in this district this November?

1. YES

5. NO

-->NEXT PAGE, A3

A2a. Who were they?

(PROBE: Any others?)

A2b. (ASK FOR EACH NAME IN A2a)

What was (NAME's) party?

1. _____

CAND#

--	--

1.

1. DEM

5. REP

8. DK

7. OTHER PARTY; SPECIFY:

2. _____

CAND#

--	--

NO MENTION

2.

1. DEM

5. REP

8. DK

7. OTHER PARTY; SPECIFY:

3. _____

CAND#

--	--

NO MENTION

3.

1. DEM

5. REP

8. DK

7. OTHER PARTY; SPECIFY:

A3. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT

<input type="checkbox"/>	1. U.S. SENATE RACE IN STATE (CANDIDATE LIST INCLUDES AT LEAST ONE NAME FROM #11-#16)
<input type="checkbox"/>	2. ALL OTHERS-->NEXT PAGE, SECTION B

A4. And how about the candidates who ran in this state for the United States Senate in Washington? Do you happen to remember what the candidates' names were?

1. YES 5. NO -->NEXT PAGE, SECTION B

A4a. Who were they?
(PROBE: Any others?)

A4b. (ASK FOR EACH NAME IN A2a)
What was (NAME's) party?

1. _____
CAND#

1. ☐ 1. DEM ☐ 5. REP ☐ 8. DK

7. OTHER PARTY; SPECIFY:

2. _____
CAND#
 NO MENTION

2. ☐ 1. DEM ☐ 5. REP ☐ 8. DK

7. OTHER PARTY; SPECIFY:

3. _____
CAND#
 NO MENTION

3. ☐ 1. DEM ☐ 5. REP ☐ 8. DK

7. OTHER PARTY; SPECIFY:

SECTION B

- B1. (R.B., P.1) Please turn to page one of this 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 that 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.

Our first person is George Bush. How would you rate him using the feeling thermometer?

PROBE FOR "I DON'T KNOW" RESPONSE: When you say "don't know" do you mean that you don't know who the person is or do you have something else in mind?	RATING (RECORD ACTUAL NUMBER)	DK PROBE USED? (X=YES)	R DOESN'T RECOGNIZE NAME 997.	DK WHERE TO RATE; CAN'T JUDGE 998.
a. GEORGE BUSH a.				
b. Michael Dukakis b.				
c. Jesse Jackson c.				
d. Jimmy Carter d.				
e. _____ (NAME # 11, 13 or 15) e.				
f. _____ (NAME # 12, 14, or 16) f.				
g. _____ (NAME # 19) g.				
h. _____ (NAME # 18) h.				
j. _____ (NAME # 17) j.				
k. _____ (NAME # 31, 33, or 35) k.				

PROBE FOR "I DON'T KNOW" RESPONSE: When you say "don't know" do you mean that you don't know who the person is, or do you have something else in mind?	RATING (RECORD ACTUAL NUMBER)	DK PROBE USED (X-YES)	R DOESN'T RECOGNIZE NAME 997.	DK WHERE TO RATE; CAN'T JUDGE 998.
m. _____ (NAME # 32, 34, or 36) m.				
n. _____ (NAME # 37 or 39) n.				

B2. (RB, STILL ON P. 1) And still using the feeling thermometer, how would you rate the following groups:

	RATING (RECORD ACTUAL NUMBER)	DK WHERE TO RATE; CAN'T JUDGE 998.
a. Labor unions	a.	
b. Feminists	b.	
c. Civil rights leaders	c.	
d. People on welfare	d.	
e. Women	e.	
f. Conservatives	f.	
g. Poor people	g.	
h. Catholics	h.	
j. Big Business	j.	
k. Blacks	k.	
m. Evangelical groups active in politics	m.	
n. The federal government in Washington	n.	
p. Liberals	p.	
q. Hispanics	q.	
r. The military	r.	
s. The elderly	s.	

RATING
(RECORD
ACTUAL
NUMBER)

DK WHERE TO
RATE; CAN'T
JUDGE
998.

- t. People seeking to protect the environment
- u. U.S. Supreme Court
- v. Illegal aliens
- w. Palestinians
- x. Opponents of abortion
- y. Whites
- z. Jews
- aa. Gay men and lesbians, i.e., homosexuals
- bb. Congress
- cc. Christian Fundamentalists

t.		
u.		
v.		
w.		
x.		
y.		
z.		
aa.		
bb.		
cc.		

- B3. In 1984 Ronald Reagan ran on the Republican ticket against Walter Mondale for the Democrats. Do you remember for sure whether or not you voted in that election?

1. YES, DID VOTE

5. NO, DIDN'T VOTE

8. DON'T KNOW

NEXT PAGE, SECTION C

B3a. Which one did you vote for?

1. REAGAN

2. MONDALE

5. OTHER

8. DON'T KNOW

--	--	--	--

OFFICE USE

PRE-ELECTION
CASE ID (from
Sample Label)

--	--	--	--

INTERVIEWER ID: _____ INTERVIEW NUMBER: _____

- B4. People use different words or phrases to describe political candidates. Please tell me how well the phrase I will read describes each candidate for President.

First, think about George Bush. In your opinion, does the phrase "tough on crime and criminals" describe 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	5. DON'T KNOW
----------------------	------------------	--------------------	-----------------------	------------------

DO NOT PROBE

- B5. Does the phrase "cares about the environment" describe 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	5. DON'T KNOW
----------------------	------------------	--------------------	-----------------------	------------------

DO NOT PROBE

- B6. Now think about Michael Dukakis. In your opinion, does the phrase "tough on crime and criminals" describe Michael Dukakis 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	5. DON'T KNOW
----------------------	------------------	--------------------	-----------------------	------------------

DO NOT PROBE

- B7. Does the phrase "cares about the environment" describe Michael Dukakis 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	5. DON'T KNOW
----------------------	------------------	--------------------	-----------------------	------------------

DO NOT PROBE

NEXT PAGE, C1

SECTION C

Next I would like to ask some questions about the candidate(s) who ran in this district for the U.S. House of Representatives.

C1. Was there anything in particular that you liked about

_____, the Democratic candidate for the
(NAME # 31, 33, or 35)
U.S. House of Representatives?

1. YES	5. NO	8. DON'T KNOW	7. R VOLUNTEERS: "I DON'T KNOW ANYTHING ABOUT THIS PERSON"
--------	-------	---------------	--

GO TO C2

NEXT PAGE, C3

C1a. [IF NECESSARY: What was that?] (PROBE: Anything else you liked about this candidate? UNTIL R SAYS "NO.")

C2. Was there anything in particular that you didn't like about

_____?
(NAME # 31, 33, or 35)

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

NEXT PAGE, C3

C2a. [IF NECESSARY: What was that?] (PROBE: Anything else you didn't like about this candidate? UNTIL R SAYS "NO.")

C3. Was there anything in particular that you liked about

_____, the Republican candidate for the U.S. House
(NAME # 32, 34, or 36)
of Representatives?

1. YES	5. NO	8. DON'T KNOW	7. R VOLUNTEERS: "I DON'T KNOW ANYTHING ABOUT THIS PERSON"
--------	-------	---------------	---

GO TO C4

NEXT PAGE, C5

C3a. [IF NECESSARY: What was that?] (PROBE: Anything else you liked about this
candidate? UNTIL R SAYS "NO.")

C4. Was there anything in particular that you didn't like about

_____?
(NAME # 32, 34, or 36)

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

NEXT PAGE, C5

C4a. [IF NECESSARY: What was that?] (PROBE: Anything else you didn't like
about this candidate? UNTIL R SAYS "NO.")

- C5. In the campaign in this district for the U.S. House of Representatives, what would you say was the single most important issue to you?

998. DON'T KNOW

000. NONE

NEXT PAGE, C9

C6. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT

- ☐ 1. R HAS NOT MENTIONED ANY ISSUES-->NEXT PAGE, C9
- ☐ 2. R HAS MENTIONED ONLY ONE ISSUE->GO TO C8
- ☐ 3. ALL OTHERS

- C7. Of those you've mentioned, what would you say is the single most important issue?

C8. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT

- ☐ 1. DISTRICT IN WHICH TWO HOUSE CANDIDATES RAN (CANDIDATE LIST INCLUDES ONE NAME #31, 33 OR 35 AND ONE NAME #32, 34 OR 36)
- ☐ 2. DISTRICT IN WHICH ONLY ONE HOUSE CANDIDATE RAN (CANDIDATE LIST INCLUDES EITHER NAME #31, 33 OR 35 OR NAME #32, 34, OR 36, BUT NOT BOTH) ----->NEXT PAGE, C11

- C8a. Did you tend to prefer one of the House of Representatives candidates because of this issue?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW

NEXT PAGE, C10

- C8b. Which candidate did you prefer?

CAND #

--	--

NEXT PAGE, C10

C9. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT

☐
☐

1. DISTRICT IN WHICH TWO HOUSE CANDIDATES RAN (CANDIDATE LIST INCLUDES ONE NAME #31, 33 OR 35 AND ONE NAME #32,34 OR 36)

2. DISTRICT IN WHICH ONLY ONE HOUSE CANDIDATE RAN (CANDIDATE LIST INCLUDES EITHER NAME #31, 33 OR 35 OR NAME #32, 34, OR 36, BUT NOT BOTH) ----->GO TO C11

C10. Do you happen to know if either of these candidates,
 _____ or _____, was already in
 (NAME #31, 33 or 35) (NAME #32, 34 or 36)
 the U.S. House of Representatives before the election?

1. YES, ONE CANDIDATE WAS

2. NEITHER CANDIDATE WAS

5. DON'T KNOW

NEXT PAGE, C12

C10a. Which candidate was that?

CAND #

NEXT PAGE, C12

IF ONLY ONE HOUSE CANDIDATE RAN IN THE DISTRICT:

C11. Do you happen to know if _____
 (NAME #31,32,33,34,35, or 36)
 was already in the U.S. House of Representatives before
 the election?

1. YES, CANDIDATE WAS

3. NO, CANDIDATE WAS NOT

5. DON'T KNOW

CAND #

NEXT PAGE, C12

(C11a)

C12. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT

<input type="checkbox"/>	1. DISTRICT IN WHICH A HOUSE INCUMBENT RAN (CANDIDATE LIST INCLUDES NAME # 33 OR NAME # 34)
<input type="checkbox"/>	2. DISTRICT IN WHICH NO HOUSE INCUMBENT RAN (CANDIDATE LIST INCLUDES NAME # 31 AND NAME #32)->TURN TO P. 12, C18

C13. (RB, P. 2) There are many ways in which U.S. Representatives can have contact with the people from their districts. On this page are some of

these ways. Think of _____ who has been a U.S.

(NAME # 33 or 34)

Representative in Washington. Have you come into contact with or learned anything about (him/her) through any of these ways?

☐ 1. YES

☐ 5. NO; NO CONTACT AT ALL -->GO TO C14

C13a. Which ones? (MARK ALL MENTIONS)

☐

a. MET HIM/HER PERSONALLY

☐

b. ATTENDED A MEETING OR GATHERING WHERE HE/SHE SPOKE

☐

c. TALKED TO A MEMBER OF HIS/HER STAFF OR SOMEONE IN HIS/HER OFFICE

☐

d. RECEIVED SOMETHING IN THE MAIL FROM HIM/HER

☐

e. READ ABOUT HIM/HER IN A NEWSPAPER OR MAGAZINE

☐

f. HEARD HIM/HER ON THE RADIO

☐

g. SAW HIM/HER ON TV

☐

h. OTHER CONTACT NOT INCLUDED IN A-G ABOVE

(PLEASE SPECIFY: _____)

C14. Do you know anyone, any of your family, friends, or people at work, who have had some contact with _____?

(NAME # 33 or 34)

☐ 1. YES

☐ 5. NO

☐ 8. DON'T KNOW

C15. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT

<input type="checkbox"/>	1. DISTRICT IN WHICH A HOUSE INCUMBENT HAD CANDIDATE OPPOSITION (CANDIDATE LIST INCLUDES NAME # 35 <u>OR</u> NAME # 36)
<input type="checkbox"/>	2. DISTRICT IN WHICH HOUSE INCUMBENT RAN UNOPPOSED (HOUSE CANDIDATE LIST HAS <u>ONLY</u> NAME #33 <u>OR</u> NAME #34)-->TURN TO P. 14A, SECTION D

C16. (RB, STILL ON P. 2) How about _____ who also ran for
(NAME # 35 or 36)
the House of Representatives from this district in the last election. Have
you come into contact with or learned anything about (him/her) through any
of these ways?

1. YES 5. NO; NO CONTACT AT ALL -->GO TO C17

C16a. Which ones? (MARK ALL MENTIONS)

- ☐ a. MET HIM/HER PERSONALLY
- ☐ b. ATTENDED A MEETING OR GATHERING WHERE HE/SHE SPOKE
- ☐ c. TALKED TO A MEMBER OF HIS/HER STAFF OR
SOMEONE IN HIS/HER OFFICE
- ☐ d. RECEIVED SOMETHING IN THE MAIL FROM HIM/HER
- ☐ e. READ ABOUT HIM/HER IN A NEWSPAPER OR MAGAZINE
- ☐ f. HEARD HIM/HER ON THE RADIO
- ☐ g. SAW HIM/HER ON TV
- ☐ h. OTHER CONTACT NOT INCLUDED IN A-G ABOVE
(PLEASE SPECIFY: _____)

C17. Do you know anyone, any of your family, friends, or people at work, who
have had some contact with _____?
(NAME # 35 or 36)

1. YES 5. NO 6. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 14A, SECTION D

DISTRICT IN WHICH NO HOUSE INCUMBENT RAN
--

C18. (RB, P. 2) There are many ways in which congressional candidates can have contact with the people from their district. On this page are

some of these ways. Think about _____

(NAME # 31)

who ran for the U.S. House of Representatives from this district in the last election. Have you come into contact with or learned anything about (him/her) through any of these ways?

☐ 1. YES

☐ 5. NO; NO CONTACT AT ALL -->GO TO C19

C18a. Which ones? (MARK ALL MENTIONS)

☐

a. MET HIM/HER PERSONALLY

☐

b. ATTENDED A MEETING OR GATHERING WHERE HE/SHE SPOKE

☐

c. TALKED TO A MEMBER OF HIS/HER STAFF OR
SOMEONE IN HIS/HER OFFICE

☐

d. RECEIVED SOMETHING IN THE MAIL FROM HIM/HER

☐

e. READ ABOUT HIM/HER IN A NEWSPAPER OR MAGAZINE

☐

f. HEARD HIM/HER ON THE RADIO

☐

g. SAW HIM/HER ON TV

☐

h. OTHER CONTACT NOT INCLUDED IN A-G ABOVE

(PLEASE SPECIFY: _____)

C19. Do you know anyone, any of your family, friends, or people at work, who have had some contact with _____?

(NAME # 31)

☐ 1. YES

☐ 5. NO

☐ 8. DON'T KNOW

C20. (RB, STILL ON P. 2) How about _____ who (also) ran for
(NAME # 32)
the U.S. House of Representatives from this district in the last election.
Have you come into contact with or learned anything about (him/her) through
any of these ways?

☐ 1. YES

☐ 5. NO; NO CONTACT AT ALL -->GO TO C21

C20a. Which ones? (MARK ALL MENTIONS)

☐

a. MET HIM/HER PERSONALLY

☐

b. ATTENDED A MEETING OR GATHERING WHERE HE/SHE SPOKE

☐

c. TALKED TO A MEMBER OF HIS/HER STAFF OR
SOMEONE IN HIS/HER OFFICE

☐

d. RECEIVED SOMETHING IN THE MAIL FROM HIM/HER

☐

e. READ ABOUT HIM/HER IN A NEWSPAPER OR MAGAZINE

☐

f. HEARD HIM/HER ON THE RADIO

☐

g. SAW HIM/HER ON TV

☐

h. OTHER CONTACT NOT INCLUDED IN A-G ABOVE

(PLEASE SPECIFY: _____)

C21. Do you know anyone, any of your family, friends, or people at work, who
have had some contact with _____?

(NAME # 32)

☐ 1. YES

☐ 5. NO

☐ 8. DON'T KNOW

SECTION D

D1. 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 elections this November?

1. YES, DID VOTE	5. NO, DID NOT VOTE	8. DON'T KNOW
------------------	---------------------	---------------

D1a. Were you registered to vote in this election?

1. YES	5. NO	8. DON'T KNOW	6. R VOLUNTEERS: VOTERS NOT REQUIRED TO REGISTER
--------	-------	---------------	--

TURN TO P. 19, D13

D2. Which address appears on your voter registration form--your current home address or a different one?

1. CURRENT HOME ADDRESS	5. DIFFERENT	8. DON'T KNOW
-------------------------	--------------	---------------

NEXT PAGE, D3

D2a. Are you registered to vote in this state?

1. YES	5. NO	--->D2b. In what state are you registered?
--------	-------	--

STATE

NEXT PAGE D3

CASE ID #

--	--	--	--

D3. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT

<input type="checkbox"/>	1. R VOTED
<input type="checkbox"/>	5. ALL OTHERS ---> GO TO D4 (THOSE REGISTERED BUT DID NOT VOTE)

R VOTED

D3a. Did you vote by absentee ballot?	
<input type="checkbox"/> 1. YES	<input type="checkbox"/> 5. NO
TURN TO P. 15, D5	
D3b. We're interested in how far people have to go to vote. Where did you go to vote in the November election? (IWER: PROBE FOR NAME OF PLACE OR SPECIFIC LOCATION; E.G., <u>LINCOLN SCHOOL, 87TH STREET FIRE STATION.</u>)	
<hr/>	
<hr/>	
TURN TO P. 15, D5	

REGISTERED BUT DID NOT VOTE

D4. We're interested in how far people have to go to vote. When you have voted, where did you go to vote? (IWER: PROBE FOR NAME OF PLACE OR SPECIFIC LOCATION; e.g., <u>LINCOLN SCHOOL, 87TH STREET FIRE STATION.</u>)	
<input type="checkbox"/> 00. ABSENTEE BALLOT	<hr/>
<input type="checkbox"/> 98. HAVE NEVER VOTED	<hr/>
<hr/>	
TURN TO P. 19, D13	

15A

THIS IS A BLANK PAGE

D5. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT

(SEE D2a, STATE OF REGISTRATION)

<input type="checkbox"/>	1. R REGISTERED TO VOTE IN <u>STATE OF INTERVIEW</u>
<input type="checkbox"/>	2. REGISTERED TO VOTE <u>OUTSIDE STATE OF INTERVIEW</u> -->TURN TO P. 17, D10
<input type="checkbox"/>	3. R REFUSED TO GIVE ADDRESS WHERE REGISTERED

↓ ↓

D6. How about the election for President? Did you vote for a candidate for President?

☐ 1. YES☐ 5. NO☐ 8. DON'T KNOW

NEXT PAGE, D7

D6a. Who did you vote for?

☐ 1. BUSH☐ 2. DUKAKIS☐ 7. OTHER, SPECIFY:

D6b. Would you say that your preference for this candidate was strong or not strong?

☐ 1. STRONG☐ 5. NOT STRONG☐ 8. DON'T KNOW

D6c. How long before the election did you decide that you were going to vote the way you did?

- D7. (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	7. R VOLUNTEERS: VOTED FOR CANDIDATE WHOSE NAME IS NOT ON BALLOT CARD	5. NO	8. DON'T KNOW
--------	---	-------	---------------

GO TO D8

D7a. Who did you vote for?

CAND #

--	--

- D7b. Would you say that your preference for this candidate was strong or not strong?

1. STRONG	5. NOT STRONG	8. DON'T KNOW
-----------	---------------	---------------

D8. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT

	1. U.S. SENATE RACE IN THIS STATE (CANDIDATE LIST INCLUDES AT LEAST ONE NAME FROM #11-#16)
	2. NO U.S. SENATE RACE (NO NAME FROM #11-#16 ON CANDIDATE LIST)-->TURN TO PAGE 20, SECTION E

- D9. (BALLOT CARD) How about the election for the United States Senate? Did you vote for a candidate for the U.S. Senate?

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

TURN TO PAGE 20, SECTION E

D9a. Who did you vote for?

CAND #

--	--

TURN TO P. 20, SECTION E

FOR 1988 VOTERS REGISTERED OUTSIDE STATE OF INTERVIEW

D10. How about the election for President? Did you vote for a candidate for President?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW

GO TO D11

D10a. Who did you vote for?

1. BUSH

2. DUKAKIS

7. OTHER, SPECIFY:

D10b. Would you say that your preference for this candidate was strong or not strong?

1. STRONG

5. NOT STRONG

8. DON'T KNOW

D10c. How long before the election did you decide that you were going to vote the way you did?

D11. 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

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW

NEXT PAGE, D12

D11a. Who did you vote for?

CAND #

--	--

D11b. Would you say that your preference for this candidate was strong or not strong?

1. STRONG

5. NOT STRONG

8. DON'T KNOW

D12. Did you vote for a candidate for the U.S. Senate?

1. YES

7. R VOLUNTEERS:
NO SENATE RACE
IN STATE

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 20, SECTION E

D12a. Who did you vote for?

CAND#

--	--

TURN TO P. 20, SECTION E

FOR R'S WHO DID NOT VOTE

D13. How about the election for President? Did you prefer one of the candidates for President?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW

GO TO D14

D13a. Who did you prefer?

1. BUSH

2. DUKAKIS

7. OTHER, SPECIFY:

D13b. Would you say that your preference for this candidate was strong or not strong?

1. STRONG

5. NOT STRONG

8. DON'T KNOW

D14. (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

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW

NEXT PAGE, SECTION E

D14a. Which candidate was that?

CAND #

--	--

SECTION E

E1. Have you (or anyone in your family living here) ever contacted Representative _____ or anyone in (his/her) office?
(NAME #30, 33 or 34)

1. YES

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW

NEXT PAGE, E2

E1a. Was it to express an opinion, seek information, or to seek help on a problem you had? (CHECK ALL THAT APPLY)

1. EXPRESS AN OPINION

2. SEEK INFORMATION

3. SEEK HELP ON A PROBLEM YOU HAD

E1b. Did you get a response from your Representative or (his/her) office?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW

NEXT PAGE, E2

E1c. How satisfied were you with the response: very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, not very satisfied, or not at all satisfied?

1. VERY
SATISFIED

2. SOMEWHAT
SATISFIED

4. NOT VERY
SATISFIED

5. NOT AT ALL
SATISFIED

8. DON'T KNOW

E2. Do you know anyone else who has contacted Representative
 _____ or anyone in (his/her) office?
 (NAME #30, 33 or 34)

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

GO TO E3

E2a. Did this (person/group) get a response?

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

GO TO E3

E2b. How satisfied was this (person/group) with the response:
very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, not very satisfied,
or not at all satisfied?

1. VERY SATISFIED	2. SOMEWHAT SATISFIED	4. NOT VERY SATISFIED	5. NOT AT ALL SATISFIED
8. DON'T KNOW			

E3. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the way Representative
 _____ has been handling (his/her) job?
 (NAME # 30, 33 or 34)

1. APPROVE	5. DISAPPROVE	8. DON'T KNOW
------------	---------------	---------------

GO TO E4

<p>E3a. Do you approve <u>strongly</u> or <u>not strongly</u>?</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td>1. STRONGLY</td> <td>2. NOT STRONGLY</td> </tr> </table>	1. STRONGLY	2. NOT STRONGLY	<p>E3b. Do you disapprove <u>strongly</u> or <u>not strongly</u>?</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td>5. STRONGLY</td> <td>4. NOT STRONGLY</td> </tr> </table>	5. STRONGLY	4. NOT STRONGLY
1. STRONGLY	2. NOT STRONGLY				
5. STRONGLY	4. NOT STRONGLY				

E4. If you had (another/a) problem that Representative
 _____ could do something about, do you think
 (NAME # 30, 33 or 34)
 (he/she) would be very helpful, somewhat helpful, or not very helpful to
 you?

1. VERY HELPFUL	2. SOMEWHAT HELPFUL	3. NOT VERY HELPFUL	7. DEPENDS	8. DON'T KNOW
-----------------	---------------------	---------------------	------------	---------------

E5. Do you happen to remember anything special that Representative

_____ has done for the people in (his/her) district
(NAME # 30, 33 or 34)
while (he/she) has been in Congress?

1. YES

5. NO

E6. How good a job would you say U.S. Representative

_____ does of keeping in touch with
(NAME # 30, 33 or 34)
the people in your district--does (he/she) do a very good job, fairly good,
fairly poor, or a poor job of keeping in touch with the people in this
district?

1. VERY GOOD

2. FAIRLY GOOD

3. FAIRLY POOR

4. POOR

8. DK

E7. Now we would like your opinion about the way

(NAME # 30, 33 or 34)

has voted on bills that have come up in the U.S. House of Representatives in
Washington. Would you say that you have generally agreed with the way
(he/she) has voted on bills, agreed and disagreed about equally, generally
disagreed, or haven't you paid much attention to this?

1. AGREED

3. AGREED AND DISAGREED
ABOUT EQUALLY

5. DISAGREED

DO NOT PROBE
8. HAVEN'T PAID
MUCH ATTENTION

E8. Was there any bill in particular that you remember how (he/she) voted on in
the last couple of years?

1. YES

5. NO --> NEXT PAGE, E9

E8a. Did you agree or disagree with the way (he/she) voted on that bill?

1. AGREED

5. DISAGREED

E9 Do you think there are any important differences in what the Republicans and Democrats stand for?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW



GO TO E10

E9a. What are those differences? (PROBE: Any others? UNTIL R SAYS "NO")

E10. Would you say that one of the parties is more conservative than the other at the national level?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW



NEXT PAGE, SECTION F

E10a. Which party is more conservative?

1. DEMOCRATS

5. REPUBLICANS

8. DON'T KNOW

SECTION F

- F1. 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

5. DON'T KNOW

- F2. What do you think are the most important problems facing this country?
(PROBE: Any other important problems facing the country? UNTIL R SAYS "NO")

F3. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT

<input type="checkbox"/>	1. R HAS NOT MENTIONED ANY PROBLEMS-->TURN TO P. 26, SECTION G
<input type="checkbox"/>	2. R HAS MENTIONED <u>ONLY ONE</u> PROBLEM->NEXT PAGE, F5
<input type="checkbox"/>	3. ALL OTHERS

- F4. Of those you've mentioned, what would you say is the single most important problem the country faces?

- F5. How good a job is the government in Washington doing in dealing with this problem, a good job, only fair, or a poor job?

1. GOOD JOB

3. ONLY FAIR

5. POOR JOB

8. DON'T KNOW

- F6. Which political party do you think would be most likely to get the government to do a better job in dealing with this problem--the Republicans, the Democrats, or wouldn't there be much difference between them?

1. REPUBLICANS

5. DEMOCRATS

3. NOT MUCH DIFFERENCE

8. DON'T KNOW

SECTION C

- G1. 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

8. DON'T KNOW

GO TO G2

- G1a. Which party was that?

5. DEMOCRATIC

1. REPUBLICAN

3. BOTH

8. DON'T KNOW

7. OTHER, SPECIFY: _____

- G2. 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. DON'T KNOW

NEXT PAGE, G3

- G2a. Which candidate(s) did (he/she/they) ask you to support?

CAND #

--	--

CAND #

--	--

98. DON'T KNOW

- G3. 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

- G4. 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

- G5. Did you go to any political meetings, rallies, speeches, dinners, or things like that in support of a particular candidate?

1. YES

5. NO

- G6. Did you do any (other) work for one of the parties or candidates?

1. YES

5. NO

- G7. Did you use the one-dollar check-off option on your federal income tax return to make a political contribution this year?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW

- G8. 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

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW

NEXT PAGE, G9

- G8a. Which party did that candidate belong to?

5. DEMOCRATIC

1. REPUBLICAN

3. BOTH

8. DON'T KNOW

7. OTHER, SPECIFY: _____

G9. Did you give money to a political party during this election year?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW

GO TO G10

G9a. To which party did you give money?

5. DEMOCRATIC

1. REPUBLICAN

3. BOTH

8. DON'T KNOW

7. OTHER, SPECIFY: _____

G10. Did you give any money to any other group that supported or opposed candidates?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW

G11. During the campaign this year, did anyone talk to you about registering to vote or getting out to vote?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW

G12. During the past year did you receive any requests through the mail asking you to contribute money to a candidate, a party or an issue group?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW

NEXT PAGE, G13

G12a. Did you get quite a few or not very many requests through the mail asking you to contribute money to a candidate, a party or issue group?

1. QUITE A FEW

5. NOT VERY MANY

8. DON'T KNOW

G12b. Did you contribute any money because of the mail you received?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW

G13. In the past year, did you receive any telephone calls asking you to contribute money to a candidate, a party, or an issue group?

1. YES

5. NO

--> GO TO G14 <--

8. DON'T KNOW



G13a. Did you get quite a few (of these calls) or not very many?

1. QUITE A FEW

5. NOT VERY MANY

8. DON'T KNOW

G13b. Did you contribute any money because of (this/these) telephone call(s)?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW

G14. During the past year, have you been contacted directly, in person, and asked to contribute money to a candidate, a party, or an issue group?

1. YES

5. NO

-->NEXT PAGE,<--
SECTION H

8. DON'T KNOW



G14a. Did you get quite a few or not very many (contacts)?

1. QUITE A FEW

5. NOT VERY MANY

8. DON'T KNOW

G14b. Did you contribute any money because of (this/these) personal contact(s)?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW

SECTION H

- H1. Some say that the civil rights people have been trying to push too fast. Others feel they haven't pushed fast enough. How about you: Do you think that civil rights leaders are trying to push too fast, are going too slowly, or are they moving at about the right speed?

1. TOO FAST

5. TOO SLOWLY

3. ABOUT RIGHT

- H2. In the past few years we have heard a lot about improving the position of black people in this country. How much real change do you think there has been in the position of black people in the past few years; a lot, some, or not much at all?

1. A LOT

3. SOME

5. NOT MUCH AT ALL

8. DON'T KNOW

- H3. 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

→NEXT PAGE, H4

- H3a. 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 POWERFUL5. GOVERNMENT
NOT GETTING
TOO STRONG7. OTHER; DEPENDS,
SPECIFY:

NEXT PAGE, H4

- H3b. Do you think the government should become more powerful or should it stay the way it is?

1. BECOME
MORE POWERFUL5. STAY THE
WAY IT IS

NEXT PAGE, H4

- H3c. 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

5. REPUBLICANS

3. NO DIFFERENCE

8. DON'T KNOW

H4. Do you favor or oppose laws to protect homosexuals against job discrimination?

1. FAVOR	3. DEPENDS: (SPECIFY) _____	5. OPPOSE	8. DK
↓	GO TO H5	↓	GO TO H5

H4a. Do you favor such laws strongly or not strongly ? <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around; margin-top: 5px;"> 1. STRONGLY 2. NOT STRONGLY </div>	H4b. Do you oppose such laws strongly or not strongly ? <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around; margin-top: 5px;"> 5. STRONGLY 4. NOT STRONGLY </div>
---	--

H5. Do you favor or oppose the death penalty for persons convicted of murder?

1. FAVOR	3. DEPENDS	5. OPPOSE	8. DON'T KNOW
↓	GO TO H6	↓	GO TO H6

H5a. Do you favor the death penalty for persons convicted of murder strongly or not strongly ? <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around; margin-top: 5px;"> 1. STRONGLY 2. NOT STRONGLY </div>	H5b. Do you oppose the death penalty for persons convicted of murder strongly or not strongly ? <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around; margin-top: 5px;"> 5. STRONGLY 4. NOT STRONGLY </div>
---	--

16. Some people say that because of past discrimination, blacks should be given preference in hiring and promotion. Others say that such preference in hiring and promotion of blacks is wrong because it gives blacks advantages they haven't earned. What about your opinion--are you for or against preferential hiring and promotion of blacks?

1. FOR	5. AGAINST	8. DON'T KNOW; REFUSED
↓	↓	GO TO H7

H6a. Do you favor preference in hiring and promotion strongly or not strongly ? <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around; margin-top: 5px;"> 1. STRONGLY 2. NOT STRONGLY </div>	H6b. Do you oppose preference in hiring and promotion strongly or not strongly ? <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around; margin-top: 5px;"> 5. STRONGLY 4. NOT STRONGLY </div>
--	---

H7. How worried are you about our country getting into a conventional war at this time, one in which nuclear weapons are not used? Are you very worried, somewhat worried, or not worried at all?

1. VERY WORRIED	3. SOMEWHAT WORRIED	5. NOT WORRIED	8. DK
-----------------	---------------------	----------------	-------

H8. 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

8. DK

H9. Have you read or heard enough about South Africa to have an opinion about what U.S. policy toward that country should be?

1. YES

5. NO

--->GO TO H10

H9a. Some people think that the U.S. should increase the pressure on the South African government to change its racial laws. Others think the U.S. should not do this. What do you think -- Should the U.S. apply more pressure or not?

1. APPLY MORE PRESSURE

2. NOT APPLY MORE PRESSURE

8. DK

GO TO H10

H9b. Do you hold this opinion strongly or not strongly?

1. STRONGLY

2. NOT STRONGLY

H10. Some people feel that if black people are not getting fair treatment in jobs, the government in Washington ought to see to it that they do. Others feel that this is not the federal government's business. Have you had enough interest in this question to favor one side over the other?

1. YES

5. NO

-->NEXT PAGE, SECTION J

H10. How do you feel? Should the government in Washington see to it that black people get fair treatment in jobs or is this not the federal government's business?

1. SEE TO IT THAT BLACK
PEOPLE GET FAIR
TREATMENT IN JOBS

OR

5. NOT THE FEDERAL
GOVERNMENT'S
BUSINESS

8. DON'T
KNOW

7. OTHER; DEPENDS: _____

J1. (RB, P.3) Which of the following views comes closest to your opinion on the issue of school prayer? Just give me the number of your choice.

☐ 1. BY LAW, PRAYERS SHOULD NOT BE ALLOWED IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

☐ 2. THE LAW SHOULD ALLOW PUBLIC SCHOOLS TO SCHEDULE TIME WHEN CHILDREN CAN PRAY SILENTLY IF THEY WANT TO.

☐ 3. THE LAW SHOULD ALLOW PUBLIC SCHOOLS TO SCHEDULE TIME WHEN CHILDREN, AS A GROUP, CAN SAY A GENERAL PRAYER NOT TIED TO A PARTICULAR RELIGIOUS FAITH.

☐ 4. BY LAW, PUBLIC SCHOOLS SHOULD SCHEDULE A TIME WHEN ALL CHILDREN WOULD SAY A CHOSEN CHRISTIAN PRAYER.

☐ 7. OTHER, SPECIFY: _____

☐ 8. DON'T KNOW

GO TO J2

J1a. Do you favor that choice strongly or not strongly?

1. STRONGLY

5. NOT STRONGLY

8. DK

J2. Some people say that because of past discrimination it is sometimes necessary for colleges and universities to reserve openings for black students. Others oppose quotas because they say quotas give blacks advantages they haven't earned. What about your opinion--are you for or against quotas to admit black students?

1. FOR

5. AGAINST

8. DON'T KNOW; REFUSED

NEXT PAGE, J3

J2a. Do you favor quotas strongly or not strongly?

1. STRONGLY

2. NOT STRONGLY

J2b. Do you oppose quotas strongly or not strongly?

5. STRONGLY

4. NOT STRONGLY

- J3. I'm going to read the names of 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 BUT DO NOT PROBE DKs. IF YOU THINK R RECOGNIZES A PERSON BUT HAS NOT GIVEN YOU HIS/HER MOST RECENT JOB OR POLITICAL OFFICE YOU MAY REPEAT: Do you happen to know what job or political office he now holds?]

The first name is Ted Kennedy. Do you happen to know what job or political office he now holds?

a. TED KENNEDY _____ 8. DK

b. (Do you happen to know what job or political office) George Schultz
(holds now?)

_____ 8. DK

c. (Do you happen to know what job or political office) William Rehnquist
(pron. Renn-Kwist)(holds now?)

_____ 8. DK

d. Mikhail Gorbachev _____ 8. DK
(pron. Mick-ale Gore-ba-choff)

e. Margaret Thatcher _____ 8. DK

f. Yasser Arafat _____ 8. DK
(pron. Yah'-sir Air'-a-fat)

g. Jim Wright _____ 8. DK

- J4. 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?)

1. REPUBLICANS

5. DEMOCRATS

8. NO, DON'T KNOW

- J5. 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?)

1. REPUBLICANS

5. DEMOCRATS

8. NO, DON'T KNOW

- J6. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the way the U.S. Congress has been handling its job?

1. APPROVE

5. DISAPPROVE

8. DON'T KNOW

NEXT PAGE, SECTION K

J6a. Do you approve strongly or not strongly?

1. STRONGLY

2. NOT STRONGLY

J6b. Do you disapprove strongly or not strongly?

5. STRONGLY

4. NOT STRONGLY

K0. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT

<input type="checkbox"/>	1. FORM A (GREEN COVERSHEET)
<input type="checkbox"/>	2. FORM B (PINK COVERSHEET) ---> TURN TO P. 51, SECTION N

↓

Ronald Reagan was elected President in November 1980 and took office in January 1981. He will soon be leaving office after eight years as President. Over the past eight years, some federal programs have increased, some have decreased, and others have remained about the same.

K1. Have federal efforts to improve and protect the environment increased, decreased, or stayed about the same as they were in 1980, or haven't you paid much attention?

1. INCREASED	3. STAYED ABOUT THE SAME	5. DECREASED	8. DK	DO NOT PROBE 0. NOT MUCH ATTENTION
--------------	--------------------------	--------------	-------	---------------------------------------

↓ ↓ ↓ ↓

NEXT PAGE, K2

<p>K1a. Do you approve or disapprove of <u>increasing</u> programs to improve and protect the environment?</p> <p>1. APPROVE</p> <p>2. DISAPPROVE</p> <p>8. DON'T KNOW</p>	<p>K1b. Do you think that programs to improve and protect the environment <u>should</u> have <u>stayed about the same</u>, or been <u>increased</u>, or <u>decreased</u>?</p> <p>3. STAYED THE SAME</p> <p>1. INCREASED</p> <p>5. DECREASED</p> <p>8. DON'T KNOW</p>	<p>K1c. Do you approve or disapprove of <u>decreasing</u> programs to improve and protect the environment?</p> <p>1. APPROVE</p> <p>2. DISAPPROVE</p> <p>8. DON'T KNOW</p>
--	--	--

K2. Have social security benefits been increased, decreased, or stayed about the same as they were in 1980, or haven't you paid much attention to this?

1. INCREASED

3. STAYED ABOUT
THE SAME

5. DECREASED

8. DK

DO NOT PROBE
0. NOT MUCH
ATTENTION

NEXT PAGE, K3

K2a. Do you approve or disapprove of the increase in social security benefits?

1. APPROVE

2. DISAPPROVE

8. DON'T KNOW

K2b. Do you think that social security benefits should have stayed the same, or should they have been increased or decreased?

3. STAYED THE SAME

1. INCREASED

5. DECREASED

8. DON'T KNOW

K2c. Do you approve or disapprove of the decrease in social security benefits?

1. APPROVE

2. DISAPPROVE

8. DON'T KNOW

K3. Has government spending on defense been increased, decreased, or has it stayed about the same as it was in 1980, or haven't you paid much attention to this?

1. INCREASED	3. STAYED ABOUT THE SAME	5. DECREASED	8. DK	DO NOT PROBE 0. NOT MUCH ATTENTION
--------------	--------------------------	--------------	-------	---------------------------------------

NEXT PAGE, K4

<p>K3a. Do you approve or disapprove of the increase in government spending on defense?</p> <p>1. APPROVE</p> <p>2. DISAPPROVE</p> <p>8. DON'T KNOW</p>	<p>K3b. Do you think that government spending on defense <u>should</u> have stayed the same as it was in 1980, or should it have been <u>increased</u> or <u>decreased</u>?</p> <p>3. STAYED THE SAME</p> <p>1. INCREASED</p> <p>5. DECREASED</p> <p>8. DON'T KNOW</p>	<p>K3c. Do you approve or disapprove of the decrease in government spending for defense?</p> <p>1. APPROVE</p> <p>2. DISAPPROVE</p> <p>8. DON'T KNOW</p>
---	--	--

K4. Has federal spending on assistance to the poor been increased, decreased, or stayed about the same as it was in 1980, or haven't you paid much attention to this?

1. INCREASED

3. STAYED ABOUT
THE SAME

5. DECREASED

8. DK

DO NOT PROBE
0. NOT MUCH
ATTENTION

NEXT PAGE, K5

K4a. Do you approve or disapprove of the increased in assistance for the poor?

1. APPROVE

2. DISAPPROVE

8. DON'T KNOW

K4b. Do you think that government spending on assistance to the poor should have stayed about the same as it was in 1980, or should have been increased or decreased?

3. STAYED THE SAME

1. INCREASED

5. DECREASED

8. DON'T KNOW

K4c. Do you approve or disapprove of the decrease in assistance to the poor?

1. APPROVE

2. DISAPPROVE

8. DON'T KNOW

- K5. Compared to 1980 has federal spending on public schools been increased, decreased, or stayed about the same, or haven't you paid much attention to this?

1. INCREASED	3. STAYED ABOUT THE SAME	5. DECREASED	8. DK	DO NOT PROBE 0. NOT MUCH ATTENTION
↓	↓	↓	NEXT PAGE, SECTION L	
<p>K5a. Do you approve or disapprove of the increase in federal spending for public schools?</p> <p>1. APPROVE</p> <p>2. DISAPPROVE</p> <p>8. DON'T KNOW</p>	<p>K5b. Do you think that federal spending on public schools <u>should</u> have stayed the same as it was in 1980, or should it have been increased, or decreased?</p> <p>3. STAYED THE SAME</p> <p>1. INCREASED</p> <p>5. DECREASED</p> <p>8. DON'T KNOW</p>	<p>K5c. Do you approve or disapprove of the decrease in federal spending for public schools?</p> <p>1. APPROVE</p> <p>2. DISAPPROVE</p> <p>8. DON'T KNOW</p>		

SECTION L

L1. (RB, P. 5) Using page five for your choice of answers, I would like you to tell me how much you agree or disagree with each statement. The first is:

	1. AGREE STRONGLY	2. AGREE SOMEWHAT	3. NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE	4. DISAGREE SOMEWHAT	5. DISAGREE STRONGLY	6. DK
a. Our society should do whatever is necessary to make sure that everyone has an equal opportunity to succeed.						
b. We have gone too far in pushing equal rights in this country.						
c. This country would be better off if we worried less about how equal people are.						
d. It is not really that big a problem if some people have more of a chance in life than others.						
e. If people were treated more equally in this country we would have many fewer problems.						
f. One of the big problems in this country is that we don't give everyone an equal chance.						

- L2. (RB, P. 6) For a nation, it is not always possible to obtain everything one might wish. On page six of the booklet, several different goals are listed. If you had to choose among them, which one seems most desirable to you?

☐ 1. MAINTAINING ORDER IN THE NATION
☐ 2. GIVING THE PEOPLE MORE SAY IN IMPORTANT POLITICAL DECISIONS
☐ 3. FIGHTING RISING PRICES
☐ 4. PROTECTING FREEDOM OF SPEECH
☐ 8. DON'T KNOW ----->GO TO L3

L2a. Which one would be your second choice?

☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 8. DON'T KNOW

- L3. Do you consider religion to be an important part of your life, or not?

☐ 1. YES, IMPORTANT ☐ 5. NO, NOT IMPORTANT ☐ 8. DON'T KNOW

NEXT PAGE, L5

- L4. Would you say your religion provides some guidance in your day-to-day living, quite a bit of guidance, or a great deal of guidance in your day-to-day life?

☐ 1. SOME ☐ 2. QUITE A BIT ☐ 3. A GREAT DEAL ☐ 8. DON'T KNOW

- L5. (RB, P. 7) Here are four statements about the Bible, and I'd like you to tell me which is closest to your own view. Just give me the number of your choice.

- ☐ 1. THE BIBLE IS GOD'S WORD AND ALL IT SAYS IS TRUE
- ☐ 2. THE BIBLE WAS WRITTEN BY MEN INSPIRED BY GOD, BUT IT CONTAINS SOME HUMAN ERRORS
- ☐ 3. THE BIBLE IS A GOOD BOOK BECAUSE IT WAS WRITTEN BY WISE MEN, BUT GOD HAD NOTHING TO DO WITH IT
- ☐ 4. THE BIBLE WAS WRITTEN BY MEN WHO LIVED SO LONG AGO THAT IT IS WORTH VERY LITTLE TODAY
- ☐ 7. OTHER, SPECIFY: _____
- ☐ 8. DON'T KNOW

- L6. About how often do you pray -- several times a day, once a day, a few times a week, once a week or less, or never?

- | | | | | | |
|---------------------------|------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|----------|-------|
| 1. SEVERAL
TIMES A DAY | 2. ONCE A
DAY | 3. A FEW
TIMES A
WEEK | 4. ONCE A
WEEK OR
LESS | 5. NEVER | 8. DK |
|---------------------------|------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|----------|-------|

SECTION M

M1. (RB, P. 8) Now looking at page 8 (for your choice of answers) please tell me how much you agree or disagree with these statements. You can just give me the number of your choice. The first is:

	1. AGREE STRONGLY	2. AGREE SOMEWHAT	3. NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE	4. DISAGREE SOMEWHAT	5. DISAGREE STRONGLY	8. DK
a. If people don't care how an election comes out, they shouldn't vote in it.						
b. People like me don't have any say about what the government does.						
c. I don't think public officials care much what people like me think.						
d. Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on.						
e. I feel that I have a pretty good understanding of the important political issues facing our country.						
f. I consider myself <u>well-qualified</u> to participate in politics.						
g. I feel that I <u>could do as good a job</u> in public office as most other people.						
h. I think that I am <u>better informed</u> about politics and government than most people.						
j. The government ought to cut taxes even if it means putting off some important things that need to be done.						

- M2. People have different things in mind when they say that someone's political views are liberal or conservative. We'd like to know more about this. Let's start with liberal. What sorts of things do you have in mind when you say someone's political views are liberal?
(PROBE: Can you give me an example?) (PROBE: Anything else? UNTIL R SAYS "NO")

- M3. And what do you have in mind when you say that someone's political views are conservative? (PROBE: Can you give me an example) (PROBE: Anything else? UNTIL R SAYS "NO")

44. (RB, STILL ON P. 8) Here are several more statements. As before, you can just give me the number of your choice from the booklet. The first statement is...

	1. AGREE STRONGLY	2. AGREE SOMEWHAT	3. NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE	4. DISAGREE SOMEWHAT	5. DISAGREE STRONGLY	8. DK
a. The world is always changing and we should adjust our view of moral behavior to those changes.						
b. 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.						
c. This country would have many fewer problems if there were more emphasis on traditional family ties.						
d. The newer lifestyles are contributing to the breakdown of our society.						

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:

- M5. 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	3. MOST OF THE TIME	5. SOME OF THE TIME	7. R VOL: NONE OF THE TIME	8. DK
----------------------	---------------------	---------------------	----------------------------	-------

- M6. 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?

5. A LOT	3. SOME	1. NOT VERY MUCH	8. DON'T KNOW
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- M7. Would you say the government is pretty much run by a few big interests looking out for themselves or that it is run for the benefit of all the people?

5. FEW BIG INTERESTS	1. FOR THE BENEFIT OF ALL	8. DON'T KNOW
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- M8. 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?

5. QUITE A FEW	3. NOT MANY	1. HARDLY ANY	8. DON'T KNOW
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- M9. How much do you feel that having elections makes the government pay attention to what the people think -- a good deal, some or not much?

1. A GOOD DEAL	3. SOME	5. NOT MUCH	8. DON'T KNOW
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- M10. 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. DON'T KNOW
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M11. (RB, STILL ON P. 8). Now, looking again at page 8 for your choices, here are several more statements.

	1. AGREE STRONGLY	2. AGREE SOMEWHAT	3. NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE	4. DISAGREE SOMEWHAT	5. DISAGREE STRONGLY	8. DK
a. Irish, Italians, Jewish and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same without any special favors.						
b. Over the past few years blacks have gotten less than they deserve.						
c. 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.						
d. Generations of slavery and discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for blacks to work their way out of the lower class.						
e. Equal opportunity for blacks and whites is very important but it's not really the government's job to guarantee it.						

M12. Which do you think is the better way for us to keep peace--by having a very strong military so other countries won't attack us, or by working out our disagreements at the bargaining table?

1. STRONG MILITARY

5. WORK OUT
DISAGREEMENTS

6. BOTH

7. NEITHER

8. DK

M13. How important is it for the U.S. to have a strong military force in order to be effective in dealing with our enemies? 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

5. DON'T
KNOW

M14. (RB, P. 9) Please turn to page nine for your choice of answers.

	EXTREMELY (1)	VERY (2)	SOMEWHAT (3)	NOT VERY (4)
a. When you see the American flag flying does it make you feel <u>extremely good</u> , <u>very good</u> , <u>somewhat good</u> , or <u>not very good</u> ?				
b. How strong is your love for your country ... <u>extremely strong</u> , <u>very strong</u> , <u>somewhat strong</u> , or <u>not very strong</u> ?				
c. When you hear the national anthem, does it make you feel <u>extremely emotional</u> , <u>very emotional</u> , <u>somewhat emotional</u> , or <u>not very emotional</u> ?				
d. How proud are you to be an American ... <u>extremely proud</u> , <u>very proud</u> , <u>somewhat proud</u> , or <u>not very proud</u> ?				

H15. (RB, P. 10) Please turn to page 10 for your choice of answers. The first statement is:

	1. AGREE STRONGLY	2. AGREE SOMEWHAT	3. NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE	4. DISAGREE SOMEWHAT	5. DISAGREE STRONGLY	8. DK
a. The U.S. should maintain its position as the world's most powerful nation even if it means going to the brink of war.						
b. Any time a country goes communist, it should be considered a threat to the vital interests and security of the United States.						
c. The United States should do everything it can to prevent the spread of communism to any other part of the world.						

TURN TO P.67, SECTION R

FORM B

SECTION N

- N1. Ronald Reagan was elected President in November 1980 and took office in January 1981. He will soon be leaving office after eight years as President. Is there anything in particular you like about what he has done as President?

1. YES

5. NO -----> GO TO N2

N1a. What is that? (PROBE: Anything else you like about what he has done as President? UNTIL R SAYS "NO")

- N2. Is there anything in particular you don't like about what he has done as President?

1. YES

5. NO -----> NEXT PAGE, N3

N2a. What is that? (PROBE: Anything else you don't like about what he has done as President? UNTIL R SAYS "NO")

N3. (RB, P. 4). In your opinion does the phrase "intelligent" describe Ronald Reagan 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. DON'T KNOW DO NOT PROBE
a. INTELLIGENT					
b. (How about) Compassionate?					
c. Moral					
d. Inspiring					
e. Provides strong leadership					
f. Decent					
g. Really cares about people like you					
h. Knowledgeable					
j. Honest					

N4. 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:

	1. YES, HAVE FELT	5. NO; NEVER FELT
a. angry		
b. hopeful		
c. afraid of him		
d. proud		

N5. Would you say that compared to 1980, the level of unemployment in the country has gotten better, stayed about the same, or gotten worse?

1. GOTTEN BETTER	3. STAYED THE SAME	5. GOTTEN WORSE	8. DK
↓	GO TO N6	↓	GO TO N6

N5a. Would you say much better or somewhat better?

1. MUCH BETTER	2. SOMEWHAT BETTER
----------------	--------------------

N5b. Would you say much worse or somewhat worse?

5. MUCH WORSE	4. SOMEWHAT WORSE
---------------	-------------------

N6. Would you say that compared to 1980, inflation has gotten better, stayed about the same or gotten worse?

1. GOTTEN BETTER	3. STAYED THE SAME	5. GOTTEN WORSE	8. DK
↓	NEXT PAGE, N7	↓	NEXT PAGE, N7

N6a. Would you say much better or somewhat better?

1. MUCH BETTER	2. SOMEWHAT BETTER
----------------	--------------------

N6b. Would you say much worse or somewhat worse?

5. MUCH WORSE	4. SOMEWHAT WORSE
---------------	-------------------

- N7. Would you say that over the past eight years the economic policies of the Reagan administration have made the nation's economy better, worse, or haven't they made much difference either way?

1. BETTER	3. HAVEN'T MADE MUCH DIFFERENCE	5. WORSE	8. DON'T KNOW
↓	GO TO N8	↓	GO TO N8

N7a. Is that much better or somewhat better?

1. MUCH BETTER	2. SOMEWHAT BETTER
-------------------	-----------------------

N7b. Is that much worse or somewhat worse?

5. MUCH WORSE	4. SOMEWHAT WORSE
------------------	----------------------

- N8. Have you personally been helped or have you been hurt by the Reagan administration's economic program?

1. HELPED	3. MADE NO DIFFERENCE	5. HURT	8. DK
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- N9. Have the policies of the Reagan administration made the United States more secure or less secure from its foreign enemies than it was in 1980, or hasn't this changed very much?

1. MORE SECURE	3. HASN'T CHANGED MUCH	5. LESS SECURE	8. DK
↓	NEXT PAGE, N10	↓	NEXT PAGE, N10

N9a. Would you say that it is much more secure or somewhat more secure?

1. MUCH MORE SECURE	2. SOMEWHAT MORE SECURE
---------------------------	-------------------------------

N9b. Would you say that it is much less secure or somewhat less secure?

5. MUCH LESS SECURE	4. SOMEWHAT LESS SECURE
---------------------------	-------------------------------

N10. Would you say that compared to 1980 the federal budget deficit has gotten smaller, stayed about the same or gotten larger?

1. SMALLER

3. ABOUT THE SAME

5. LARGER

8. DK

GO TO N11

GO TO N11

N10a. Would you say that the budget deficit is much smaller or somewhat smaller?

1. MUCH SMALLER

2. SOMEWHAT SMALLER

N10b. Would you say that the budget deficit is much larger or somewhat larger?

5. MUCH LARGER

4. SOMEWHAT LARGER

N11. Are the people running the federal government now more honest or less honest than those who were running the government in 1980, or hasn't this changed much?

1. MORE HONEST

3. HASN'T CHANGED MUCH

5. LESS HONEST

8. DK

GO TO N12

GO TO N12

N11a. Would you say that they are much more honest or somewhat more honest?

1. MUCH MORE

2. SOMEWHAT MORE

N11b. Would you say that they are much less honest or somewhat less honest?

5. MUCH LESS

4. SOMEWHAT LESS

N12. Have federal efforts to protect blacks from racial discrimination increased, decreased, or stayed about the same as they were in 1980?

1. INCREASED

3. SAME

5. DECREASED

8. DK

NEXT PAGE, N13

NEXT PAGE, N13

N12a. Do you approve or disapprove of this increase?

1. APPROVE

2. DISAPPROVE

8. DK

N12b. Do you approve or disapprove of this decrease?

5. APPROVE

4. DISAPPROVE

8. DK

N13. Overall, do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan has handled his job as President?

1. APPROVE

5. DISAPPROVE

8. DON'T KNOW

NEXT PAGE,
SECTION P

N13a. Do you approve
strongly or
not strongly?

1. STRONGLY

2. NOT STRONGLY

N13b. Do you disapprove
strongly or
not strongly?

5. STRONGLY

4. NOT STRONGLY

SECTION P

P1. (RB, P. 5) Now looking at page five for your choice of answers please tell me how much you agree or disagree with these statements. The first is:

	1. AGREE STRONGLY	2. AGREE SOMEWHAT	3. NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE	4. DISAGREE SOMEWHAT	5. DISAGREE STRONGLY	6. DK
a. Our society should do whatever is necessary to make sure that everyone has an equal opportunity to succeed.						
b. If people don't care how an election comes out, they shouldn't vote in it.						
c. The world is always changing and we should adjust our view of moral behavior to these changes.						
d. Irish, Italian, Jewish and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same without any special favors.						
e. People like me don't have any say about what the government does.						

- P2. (RB, P. 6) For a nation, it is not always possible to obtain everything one might wish. On page six of the booklet, several different goals are listed. If you had to choose among them, which one seems most desirable to you?

☐ 1. MAINTAINING ORDER IN THE NATION
☐ 2. GIVING THE PEOPLE MORE SAY IN IMPORTANT POLITICAL DECISIONS
☐ 3. FIGHTING RISING PRICES
☐ 4. PROTECTING FREEDOM OF SPEECH
☐ 8. DON'T KNOW ----->GO TO P3

P2a. Which one would be your second choice?

☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 8. DON'T KNOW

P3. Do you consider religion to be an important part of your life, or not?

☐ 1. YES, IMPORTANT ☐ 5. NO, NOT IMPORTANT ☐ 8. DON'T KNOW

NEXT PAGE, P5

P4. Would you say your religion provides some guidance in your day-to-day living, quite a bit of guidance, or a great deal of guidance in your day-to-day life?

☐ 1. SOME ☐ 2. QUITE A BIT ☐ 3. A GREAT DEAL ☐ 8. DON'T KNOW

P5. (RB, P. 7) Here are four statements about the Bible, and I'd like you to tell me which is closest to your own view. Just give me the number of your choice.

- ☐ 1. THE BIBLE IS GOD'S WORD AND ALL IT SAYS IS TRUE
- ☐ 2. THE BIBLE WAS WRITTEN BY MEN INSPIRED BY GOD, BUT IT CONTAINS SOME HUMAN ERRORS
- ☐ 3. THE BIBLE IS A GOOD BOOK BECAUSE IT WAS WRITTEN BY WISE MEN, BUT GOD HAD NOTHING TO DO WITH IT
- ☐ 4. THE BIBLE WAS WRITTEN BY MEN WHO LIVED SO LONG AGO THAT IT IS WORTH VERY LITTLE TODAY
- ☐ 7. OTHER, SPECIFY: _____
- ☐ 8. DON'T KNOW

P6. About how often do you pray -- several times a day, once a day, a few times a week, once a week or less, or never?

- | | | | | | |
|---------------------------|------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|----------|-------|
| 1. SEVERAL
TIMES A DAY | 2. ONCE A
DAY | 3. A FEW
TIMES A
WEEK | 4. ONCE A
WEEK OR
LESS | 5. NEVER | 8. DK |
|---------------------------|------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|----------|-------|

SECTION Q

Q1. (RB, P. 8) Now looking at page 8 for your choice of answers please tell me how much you agree or disagree with these statements. The first is:

	1. AGREE STRONGLY	2. AGREE SOMEWHAT	3. NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE	4. DISAGREE SOMEWHAT	5. DISAGREE STRONGLY	8. DK
a. We have gone too far in pushing equal rights in this country.						
b. I don't think public officials care much about what people like me think.						
c. 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.						
d. Over the last few years, blacks have gotten less than they deserve.						
e. Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on.						
f. Equal opportunity for blacks and whites is very important but it's not really the government's job to guarantee it.						

- Q2. People have different things in mind when they say that someone's political views are liberal or conservative. We'd like to know more about this. Let's start with liberal. What sorts of things do you have in mind when you say someone's political views are liberal? (PROBE: Can you give me an example?) (PROBE: Anything else? UNTIL R SAYS NO)

- Q3. And what do you have in mind when you say that someone's political views are conservative? (PROBE: Can you give me an example) (Anything else?)

Q4. (RB, STILL ON P. 8) Now still looking at page 8 for your choice of answers please tell me how much you agree or disagree with these statements. The first is:

	1. AGREE STRONGLY	2. AGREE SOMEWHAT	3. NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE	4. DISAGREE SOMEWHAT	5. DISAGREE STRONGLY	8. DK
a. This country would be better off if we worried less about how equal people are.						
b. I feel that I have a pretty good understanding of the important political issues facing our country.						
c. This country would have many fewer problems if there were more emphasis on traditional family ties.						
d. 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.						
e. The U.S. should maintain its position as the world's most powerful nation even if it means going to the brink of war.						
f. The newer lifestyles are contributing to the breakdown of our society.						

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:

Q5. 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

3. MOST OF
THE TIME

5. SOME OF
THE TIME

7. R VOL: NONE
OF THE TIME

8. DK

Q6. 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?

5. A LOT

3. SOME

1. NOT VERY MUCH

8. DON'T KNOW

Q7. Would you say the government is pretty much run by a few big interests looking out for themselves or that it is run for the benefit of all the people?

5. FEW BIG INTERESTS

1. FOR THE BENEFIT OF ALL

8. DON'T KNOW

Q8. 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?

5. QUITE A FEW

3. NOT MANY

1. HARDLY ANY

8. DON'T KNOW

Q9. How much do you feel that having elections makes the government pay attention to what the people think -- a good deal, some or not much?

1. A GOOD DEAL

3. SOME

5. NOT MUCH

8. DON'T KNOW

Q10. 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. DON'T KNOW

Q11. (RB, STILL ON P. 8) Now again looking at page 8 for your choice of answers please tell me how much you agree or disagree with these statements. The first is:

	1. AGREE STRONGLY	2. AGREE SOMEWHAT	3. NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE	4. DISAGREE SOMEWHAT	5. DISAGREE STRONGLY	8. DK
a. It's not really that big a problem if some people have more of a chance in life than others.						
b. I consider myself well-qualified to participate in politics.						
c. Generations of slavery and discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for blacks to work their way out of the lower class.						
d. Any time a country goes Communist, it should be considered a threat to the vital interests and security of the United States.						

Q12. Which do you think is the better way for us to keep peace--by having a very strong military so other countries won't attack us, or by working out our disagreements at the bargaining table?

1. STRONG MILITARY

5. WORK OUT
DISAGREEMENTS

6. BOTH

7. NEITHER

8. DK

Q13. How important is it for the U.S. to have a strong military force in order to be effective in dealing with our enemies? 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

5. DON'T
KNOW

Q14. (RB, P. 9) Please turn to page nine for your choice of answers.

a. When you see the American flag flying does it make you feel extremely good, very good, somewhat good, or not very good?

b. How strong is your love for your country ... extremely strong, very strong, somewhat strong, or not very strong?

c. When you hear the national anthem, does it make you feel extremely emotional, very emotional, somewhat emotional, or not very emotional?

d. How proud are you to be an American ... extremely proud, very proud, somewhat proud, or not very proud?

EXTREMELY (1)	VERY (2)	SOMEWHAT (3)	NOT VERY (4)

Q15. (RB, P. 10) Here are several more statements. As before, you can just give me the number of your choice from the booklet. The first statement is...

	1. AGREE STRONGLY	2. AGREE SOMEWHAT	3. NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE	4. DISAGREE SOMEWHAT	5. DISAGREE STRONGLY	8. DK
a. If people were treated more equally in this country we would have many fewer problems.						
b. I feel that I could do as good a job in public office as most other people.						
c. The United States should do everything it can to prevent the spread of communism to any other part of the world.						
d. One of the big problems in this country is that we don't give everyone an equal chance.						
e. I think that I am better informed about politics and government than most people.						
f. The government ought to cut taxes even if it means putting off some important things that need to be done.						

SECTION R

- R1. (RB, P. 11) Here is a list of groups. Please read over the list and tell me the letter for those groups you feel particularly close to--people who are most like you in their ideas and interests and feelings about things. (MARK ALL MENTIONS)

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| — a. POOR PEOPLE | — h. BUSINESS PEOPLE |
| — b. LIBERALS | — j. YOUNG PEOPLE |
| — c. THE ELDERLY | — k. CONSERVATIVES |
| — d. BLACKS | — m. WOMEN |
| — e. LABOR UNIONS | — n. WORKING PEOPLE |
| — f. FEMINISTS | — p. WHITES |
| — g. CHRISTIAN
FUNDAMENTALISTS | — q. EVANGELICAL GROUPS ACTIVE IN
POLITICS |
| | — r. MIDDLE-CLASS PEOPLE |

R2. INTERVIEWER'S CHECKPOINT:

<input style="width: 30px; height: 30px;" type="checkbox"/> 1. R MENTIONED MORE THAN ONE GROUP IN R1 ↓	<input style="width: 30px; height: 30px;" type="checkbox"/> 2. R MENTIONED ONLY ONE GROUP IN R1 ↓	<input style="width: 30px; height: 30px;" type="checkbox"/> 3. R MEN- TIONED NO GROUPS IN R1 ↓ NEXT PAGE, R3
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<p>R2a. Look at the list again. Of the groups you just mentioned, which one do you feel closest to?</p> <p style="text-align: center;">_____ NAME OF GROUP</p> <div style="border: 1px solid black; display: inline-block; padding: 2px 10px;">98. DK</div> -->NEXT PAGE, R3	<p>R2c. Do you belong to any organizations or take part in any activities that represent the activities and viewpoints of _____</p> <p style="text-align: center;">GROUP NAMED IN R1</p> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px 10px;">1. YES</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px 10px;">5. NO</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px 10px;">8. DK</div> </div>
<p>R2b. Do you belong to any organizations or take part in any activities that represent the interests and viewpoints of _____</p> <p style="text-align: center;">GROUP NAMED IN R2a</p> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px 10px;">1. YES</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px 10px;">5. NO</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px 10px;">8. DK</div> </div>	

- R3. When you were growing up, did your father or stepfather think of himself as a Democrat, as a Republican, as an independent, or what?

1. DEMOCRAT

5. REPUBLICAN

3. INDEPENDENT

7. OTHER;
SPECIFY:

8. DON'T KNOW

- R4. When you were growing up, did your mother or stepmother think of herself as a Democrat, as a Republican, as an independent, or what?

1. DEMOCRAT

5. REPUBLICAN

3. INDEPENDENT

7. OTHER;
SPECIFY:

8. DON'T KNOW

- R5. EXACT TIME NOW: _____

THREEMAIL SKETCH