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- B1. [RB, P.2] Please look at page 2 of the booklet. I'd like to get your feelings toward some of our political leaders and others who are in the news these days. I'll read the name of a person and I'd like you to rate that person using something we call the feeling thermometer. Ratings between 50 degrees and 100 degrees mean that you feel favorable and warm toward the person. Ratings between 0 degrees and 50 degrees mean that you don't feel favorable toward the person and that you don't care too much for that person. You would rate the person at the 50 degree mark if you don't feel particularly warm or cold toward the person. If we come to a person whose name you don't recognize, you don't need to rate that person. Just tell me and we'll move on to the next one.

- a. Bill Clinton
- b. Bob Dole
- c. Ross Perot
- a1. (FILL DEM HOUSE CANDIDATE)
- b1. (FILL REP HOUSE CANDIDATE)
- c1. FILL HOUSE INCUMBENT (ASK IF OPEN RACE; NEED TO PRELOAD THIS INFO)

Still using the thermometer, how would you rate:

- d. The Supreme Court
- e. Congress
- f. The military
- g. The Federal government in Washington
- h. Blacks
- j. Whites
- k. Conservatives
- l. Liberals
- m. Labor unions
- n. Big business
- p. Poor people
- q. People on welfare
- r. Hispanics (Hispanic-Americans)
- s. Christian fundamentalists
- t. The Women's movement
- u. Older people (the elderly)
- v. Environmentalists
- w. Gay men and lesbians, homosexuals
- x. The Christian Coalition

### SECTION C

- C1. Next I would like to ask you some questions about the candidate(s) who ran in this district for the U.S. House of Representatives. Was there anything in particular that you liked about (FILL NAME), the Democratic candidate for the U.S. House of Representatives?

- 1 YES, R NAMES SOMETHING LIKED (GO TO C1a)
- 5 NO, NOTHING LIKED(GOTO C2)

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

- C2. Was there anything in particular that you didn't like about (NAME OF DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE)?

- 1 YES, R NAMES SOMETHING DISLIKED (GO TO C2a)
- 5 NO, NOTHING DISLIKED (GOTO C3)

- C2a. [IF NECESSARY: What was that?] (PROBE: Anything else that 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 of Representatives?

- 1 YES, R NAMES SOMETHING LIKED (GO TO C3a)
- 5 NO, NOTHING LIKED (GOTO C4)

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

C4. Was there anything in particular that you didn't like about (NAME OF REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE)?

1 YES, R NAMES SOMETHING DISLIKED (GO TO C4a)

5 NO, NOTHING DISLIKED (GOTO C5)

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

C5a. Do you happen to know if either of these candidates, (fill name 1) or (fill name 2), was already in the U.S. House of Representatives before the election? [IF R ANSWERS 'NO' PROBE: Do you mean 'neither' or 'don't know'?]

1 YES (DEM NAME)

3 YES (REP NAME)

5 NO, NEITHER WAS[VOL]

7 DON'T KNOW, NOT SURE[[VOL]

OR:

C5b. Do you happen to know (fill name 1) was already in the U.S. House of Representatives before the election? [IF R ANSWERS 'NO' PROBE: Do you mean 'no, he wasn't' or 'don't know'?]

1 YES

5 NO

7 DON'T KNOW, NOT SURE[VOL]

C6. 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 THE DEMOCRATS

5 THE REPUBLICANS

C7. 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 THE DEMOCRATS

5 THE REPUBLICANS

### 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?

Yes, voted (SKIP to D3)

No, didn't vote (ask D2)

DK/RF (ask D2)

D2. (IF NO, DK/RF) Were you registered to vote in this election? (IF NO, DK/RF skip to D13.)

D3. Your residence is located in \_\_\_\_\_ County.

(PRELOAD COUNTY)

Are you registered to vote in \_\_\_\_\_ County?

(PRELOAD COUNTY)

YES, registered in (PRELOAD COUNTY) (IF D1 is "YES" goto D4, else goto D13)

NO, registered in other county (goto D3a)

DK, RF (goto D13)

D3a. (IF NO to D3) In what county and state are you registered? (OPEN-ENDED)

(IF D1 is "YES" goto D4, else goto D13)

- D4. (IF YES TO D1) Did you vote on election day -- that is, November 5th 1996, or did you vote at some time before this?

ELECTION DAY (goto D7)  
SOME TIME BEFORE THIS (goto D4a)

DK/RF (goto D7)

- D4a. How long before November 5th did you vote? PROBE: A few days, a week, longer than that?)  
OPEN ENDED (goto D5)

- D5. Did you vote in person or by absentee ballot? (All responses, skip to D7)

- D7. How about the election for President? Did you vote for a candidate for President?

Yes, voted for President (goto D8)  
No, didn't vote for President (goto D11)  
DK/RF (goto D11)

- D8. (If 'yes' to D7) Who did you vote for?

Bill Clinton (goto D8)  
Bob Dole (goto D8)  
Ross Perot (goto D8)  
Other (specify) (goto D8)

DK/RF (goto D11)

- D8. Would you say that your preference for this candidate was strong or not strong?

- D9. How long before the election did you decide that you were going to vote the way you did?  
OPEN ENDED

- D10. If you could have cast more than one vote in the Presidential election this (past) November, which other candidate would you have found acceptable and have voted for?

Bill Clinton  
Bob Dole  
Ross Perot  
Other (specify)  
No other candidate (VOLUNTEERED)

DK/RF

*NOTE ONLY ACCEPT A NAME OTHER THAN THAT IN D8*

FOR VOTERS REGISTERED in COUNTY WHERE INTERVIEWED

- D11. (Show ballot) 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?

Yes, voted for House of Representatives  
No, didn't vote for House of Representatives (goto D12)

DK/RF (goto D12)

D11a. (IF YES TO D11)Who did you vote for?

Response categories will be the names of the candidates (TO BE PRELOADED)  
And OTHER (SPECIFY) [VOL]

(D12::: NOTE: the application should test for whether or not there was a senate election in this state and skip to E1 if no senate race)

D12. (SHOW BALLOT CARD) (Still looking at the list of candidates.) How about the election for the United States Senate? Did you vote for a candidate for the U.S. Senate?

Yes, voted for Senate  
No, didn't vote for Senate (goto E1a)

D12a. (IF YES TO D12)Who did you vote for?

(NAMES TO BE PRELOADED) (all responses go to E1a)  
And OTHER (SPECIFY) [VOL]

## SECTION FOR NONVOTERS:

D14. How about the election for President? Did you prefer one of the candidates for President?

- 1 YES (goto D14a)
- 5 NO (goto D15)

D14a. Who did you prefer?

- 1 CLINTON
- 3 DOLE
- 5 PEROT
- 7 OTHER (SPECIFY)

D14b. Would you say that your preference for this candidate was strong or not strong?

- 1 STRONG
- 5 NOT STRONG

(ALL CODES GO TO D15)

D15. [SHOW 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

(NO, DK/RF SKIP TO E1)

D15a. Which candidate was that?

- (Use codes for candidate list; congressional race)
- And OTHER (SPECIFY) [VOL]
- All codes go to E1

for people not registered in county where interviewed:

D11x. [DO NOT USE THE BALLOT CARD] How about the election for the House of Representatives in Washington. Did you vote for a candidate for the *U.S. House of Representatives*?

1 YES (GO TO D11xa)

5 NO (SKIP TO D12x)

D11xa. Who did you vote for? (OPEN ENDED)

D12x. [NOT USING THE BALLOT CARD] How about the election for the United States Senate? Did you vote for a candidate for the *U.S. Senate*?

1 YES (GO TO D12xa)

5 NO (SKIP TO E1)

D12xa. Who did you vote for? (OPEN ENDED; all responses goto E1)

FOR NON-VOTING R INTERVIEWED IN COUNTY OTHER THAN WHERE ELIGIBLE TO VOTE:

D15x. How about the election for the House of Representatives. Did you prefer one of the candidates for the *U.S. House of Representatives*?

1 YES (goto D15xa)

5 NO (skip to D30/E1a; also for DK/RF)

D15xa. Which candidate did you prefer? (Open-ended) (ALL: skip to D30/E1a)

FOR Rs REGISTERED IN COUNTY WHERE INTERVIEWED, AND INTERVIEW IS DONE IN KANSAS:

D12k. We had two Senate races here in Kansas. Which candidate did you vote for? (ALLOW TWO RESPONSES))

(ALL RESPONSES GOTO E1)

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## SECTION E

E1a. I am going to read a list of words and phrases people may use to describe political figures. For each, tell me whether the word or phrase describes the candidate I name.

Think about Bill Clinton. In your opinion, does the phrase "*he is moral*" describe Bill Clinton extremely well, quite well, not too well, or not well at all?

1 EXTREMELY WELL

2 QUITE WELL

3 NOT TOO WELL

4 NOT WELL AT ALL

E1b. How certain are you about this? Very certain, pretty certain, or not very certain?

1 VERY CERTAIN

3 PRETTY CERTAIN

5 NOT VERY CERTAIN

E2a. *Gets things done* (does the phrase "gets things done" describe Bill Clinton extremely well, quite well, not too well, or not well at all?)

1 EXTREMELY WELL

2 QUITE WELL

3 NOT TOO WELL

4 NOT WELL AT ALL

E2b. How certain are you about this? (Very certain, pretty certain, or not very certain?)

- 1 VERY CERTAIN
- 3 PRETTY CERTAIN
- 5 NOT VERY CERTAIN

E1c. Think about Bob Dole. In your opinion, does the phrase "*he is moral*" describe Bob Dole 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

E1d. How certain are you about this? (Very certain, pretty certain, or not very certain?)

- 1 VERY CERTAIN
- 3 PRETTY CERTAIN
- 5 NOT VERY CERTAIN

E2c. *Gets things done* (does the phrase "gets things done" describe Bob Dole 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

E2d. How certain are you about this? (Very certain, pretty certain, or not very certain?)

- 1 VERY CERTAIN
- 3 PRETTY CERTAIN
- 5 NOT VERY CERTAIN

E3a. *Gets things done* (does the phrase "gets things done" describe Ross Perot 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

E3b. How certain are you about this?(Very certain, pretty certain, or not very certain?)

- 1 VERY CERTAIN
- 3 PRETTY CERTAIN
- 5 NOT VERY CERTAIN

E4. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the way Representative (NAME # 33 or 34) has been handling (PRELOAD GENDER) his/her job?

- 1 APPROVE (goto C5a)
- 5 DISAPPROVE (goto C5b)

E4a. Do you approve strongly or not strongly? (Goto C6)



- E4b. Do you disapprove strongly or not strongly?
- E5. Do you happen to know about how many years (PRELOAD GENDER) he/she has been in the House of Representatives?
- 1 YES, R KNOWS (goto C6a)  
5 NO, DK (goto C6b)
- E5a. (IF YES) (About how many?) \_\_\_\_\_ (goto C7)
- E5b. (IF NO, DON'T KNOW) Would you say less than 12 years, about 12 years, or more than 12 years?
- E6. How good a job would you say U.S. Representative \_\_\_\_\_ does of keeping in touch with the people in your district -- does (he/she) do a very good job, fairly good, fairly poor, or a poor job of keeping in touch with the people in this district?
- E7. One of the main issues considered by Congress this year was welfare reform. Did Representative (PRELOAD NAME) vote for or against the welfare reform bill?
- 1 FOR (goto E8)  
3 AGAINST (goto E8)  
8 DK (goto E7a)
- E7a. (IF DK) What would be your best guess? (Did [he/she] vote for or against the welfare reform bill?)
- E8. How often has Representative \_\_\_\_\_ supported President Clinton's legislative proposals? More than half the time, half, less than half the time, or are you not sure?
- (IF NOT SURE/DK, RF goto F0.1 )
- E8a. (IF MORE THAN HALF) Would you say it was almost always? (Goto F0.1)
- E8b. (IF LESS THAN HALF) Would you say it was almost never?

### **SECTION F**

E9. 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

### **QUESTIONS F1 THROUGH F4 ARE TO BE HALF-SAMPLED**

- F1. What do you think are the most important problems facing this country?  
[PROBE:] Any other important problems facing the country? [UNTIL R SAYS "NO".]

F1x. CHECKPOINT:

- R HAS MENTIONED ONLY ONE PROBLEM (GOTO F3)  
R HAS MENTIONED MORE THAN ONE PROBLEM (GOTO F2)  
R HAS NOT MENTIONED ANY PROBLEMS OR DK/RF (GOTO F5)

- F2. Of those you've mentioned, what would you say is the single most important problem the country faces?
- F3. How good a job is the government in Washington doing in dealing with this problem, a good job, only fair, or a poor job?
- 1 A GOOD JOB  
3 ONLY FAIR  
5 A POOR JOB
- F4. 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 THE REPUBLICANS  
3 THE DEMOCRATS  
5 THERE WOULDN'T BE MUCH DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THEM  
7 NEITHER PARTY [VOL]
- F5a. Next, I am going to ask you to choose which of two statements I read comes closer to your own opinion. You might agree to some extent with both, but we want to know which one is closer to your views. [IF NECESSARY, PROBE "WC" ONCE EACH QUESTION.]
- One, the less government, the better; or two, there are more things that government should be doing?
- 1 THE LESS GOVERNMENT THE BETTER  
2 MORE THINGS GOVERNMENT SHOULD BE DOING
- F5b. One, we need a strong government to handle today's complex economic problems; or two, the free market can handle these problems without government being involved.  
[IF NECESSARY, PROBE "WC"]
- 1 NEED A STRONG GOV'T TO HANDLE COMPLEX ECONOMIC PROBLEMS  
2 FREE MARKET CAN HANDLE WITHOUT GOV'T INVOLVEMENT
- F5c. One, the main reason government has become bigger over the years is because it has gotten involved in things that people should do for themselves; or two, government has become bigger because the problems we face have become bigger.  
[IF NECESSARY, PROBE "WC"]
- 1 GOV'T BIGGER BECAUSE IT'S INVOLVED IN THINGS PEOPLE SHOULD HANDLE THEMSELVES  
2 GOV'T BIGGER BECAUSE PROBLEMS BIGGER
- F5d. One, it is more important to be a cooperative person who works well with others; or two, it is more important to be a self-reliant person able to take care of oneself.  
[IF NECESSARY, PROBE "WC"]
- 1 MORE IMPT. TO BE COOPERATIVE  
2 MORE IMPT. TO BE SELF-RELIANT
- F6. How many times in the last week have you watched "Jeopardy" or "Wheel of Fortune"?
- 1-20 NUMBER OF TIMES                      96 NEVER, NOT AT ALL

- F7. How many times in the last week have you watched a sports event on TV?
- 1-20 NUMBER OF TIMES                      96 NEVER, NOT AT ALL
- F8. Do you watch "E.R." every week, most weeks, only occasionally or not at all?
- 1 EVERY WEEK  
2 MOST WEEKS  
3 ONLY OCCASIONALLY  
4 NOT AT ALL
- F9. Do you watch "Frazier" every week, most weeks, only occasionally, or not at all?
- 1 EVERY WEEK  
2 MOST WEEKS  
3 ONLY OCCASIONALLY  
4 NOT AT ALL
- F10. How about "Dr. Quinn, Medicine Woman"? (Do you watch that show every week, most weeks, only occasionally, or not at all?)
- 1 EVERY WEEK  
2 MOST WEEKS  
3 ONLY OCCASIONALLY  
4 NOT AT ALL
- F11. Do you watch the show "Friends" (every week, most weeks, only occasionally, or not at all?)
- 1 EVERY WEEK  
2 MOST WEEKS  
3 ONLY OCCASIONALLY  
4 NOT AT ALL
- F12. How about "Prime Time Live"? (Do you watch this show every week, most weeks, only occasionally, or not at all?)
- 1 EVERY WEEK  
2 MOST WEEKS  
3 ONLY OCCASIONALLY  
4 NOT AT ALL
- F13. There are a number of programs on radio in which people call in to voice their opinions about politics. Do you ever listen to these political talk radio programs of this type?
- 1 YES, LISTEN (GOTO F13A)  
5 NO, DON'T LISTEN (GOTO G1)
- F13a. (IF YES) How often do you listen to those programs -- every day, most days, once or twice a week, or only occasionally?
- 1 EVERYDAY  
2 MOST DAYS  
3 ONCE OR TWICE A WEEK  
4 ONLY OCCASIONALLY
- F13b. Some people listen carefully to these talk radio programs while others just keep them on in the background while they do other things. How about you? When you turn on a political talk radio program, would you say you pay very close attention, fairly close attention, occasional attention, or very little attention?

- 1 VERY CLOSE ATTENTION
- 2 FAIRLY CLOSE ATTENTION
- 3 OCCASIONAL ATTENTION
- 4 VERY LITTLE ATTENTION

F14. Do you ever listen to the Rush Limbaugh Show?

- 1 YES, LISTEN (GOTO F14A)
- 5 NO, DON'T LISTEN (GOTO G1)

F14a (IF YES) How often do you listen to Rush Limbaugh -- every day, most days, once or twice a week, or only occasionally?

- 1 EVERYDAY
- 2 MOST DAYS
- 3 ONCE OR TWICE A WEEK
- 4 ONLY OCCASIONALLY

### **SECTION G**

G1. As you know, the political parties try to talk to as many people as they can to get them to vote for their candidate. Did anyone from one of the political parties call you up or come around and talk to you about the campaign this year?

- 1 YES (GOTO G1A)
- 5 NO (GOTO G2)

G1a. (IF YES) Which party was that?

- 1 DEMOCRATS
- 5 REPUBLICANS

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

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. 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 (GOTO G7A)  
5 NO (GOTO G8; DK/RF GOTO G8)
- G7a. (IF YES) Which party did that candidate belong to?
- 1 DEMOCRATS  
3 REPUBLICANS  
5 OTHER (SPECIFY)
- G8. Did you give money to a *political party* during this election year?
- 1 YES (GOTO G8A)  
5 NO (GOTO G9)
- G8a. To which party did you give money?
- 1 DEMOCRATS  
3 REPUBLICANS  
5 OTHER (SPECIFY)
- G9. Did you give any money to *any other group* that supported or opposed candidates?
- 1 YES  
5 NO
- G10. During the campaign this year, did anyone talk to you about *registering* to vote or *getting out* to vote?
- 1 YES, SOMEONE DID  
5 NO, NO ONE DID
- G11. Were there any groups concerned with moral or religious issues that tried to encourage you to vote in a particular way?
- 1 YES, THERE WERE GROUPS  
5 NO, NO GROUPS TRIED TO ENCOURAGE
- G12. Was information about candidates, parties, or political issues made available in your place of worship before the election?
- 1 YES  
5 NO, NO INFORMATION AVAILABLE  
7 NO, DON'T GO TO CHURCH [VOL]

G13. Did the clergy or other church leaders at your place of worship encourage you to vote for a particular candidate or party?

- 1 YES (GOTO G13A)  
5 NO (GOTO H1; DK/RF GOTO H1)

G13a. (IF YES) Which candidate?  
[ IF R SAYS CAN'T REMEMBER CANDIDATE NAME, PROBE:]  
(Which election or what office? Any others?)

(OPEN ENDED)

**D30a-D30g or S30a-S30g, depending on random assignment to early or late placement**

D30a. Now I am going to ask you what you think of the government's current activities in various areas of environmental policy. In each case, just tell me whether you think the government should put *less, the same amount, or more effort* into that area than it does now.

Do you think the government should put less, the same amount, or more effort into *improving and protecting the environment*?

- 1 LESS  
3 THE SAME AMOUNT  
5 MORE

D30b. (Do you think the government should put less, the same amount, or more effort into)  
*Reducing air pollution?*

- 1 LESS  
3 THE SAME AMOUNT  
5 MORE

D30c. (Do you think the government should put less, the same amount, or more effort into)  
*Managing natural resources that are important to our economy, such as timber and fisheries?*

- 1 LESS  
3 THE SAME AMOUNT  
5 MORE

D30d. (Do you think the government should put less, the same amount, or more effort into)  
*Cleaning up lakes and parks for recreation such as hiking and boating?*

- 1 LESS  
3 THE SAME AMOUNT  
5 MORE

D30e. (Do you think the government should put less, the same amount, or more effort into)  
*Cleaning up hazardous or toxic waste?*

- 1 LESS  
3 THE SAME AMOUNT  
5 MORE

D30f. (Do you think the government should put less, the same amount, or more effort into)  
*Reducing solid waste and garbage?*

- 1 LESS  
3 THE SAME AMOUNT

5 MORE

D30g. (Do you think the government should put less, the same amount, or more effort into)  
*Addressing global warming?*

1 LESS  
3 THE SAME AMOUNT  
5 MORE

### SECTION H

#### **NOTE TO PROGRAMMERS: QUESTION H1/H1A IS TO BE HALF SAMPLED**

H1. Do you think there are any important differences in what the Republicans and Democrats stand for?

1 YES, DIFFERENCES  
5 NO, NO DIFFERENCES (GOTO H2; DK/RF GOTO H2)

H1a. (IF YES) What are those differences? [PROBE:] Any other important differences?  
[UNTIL R SAYS "NO."]

(OPEN ENDED)

H3. Now we have a set of questions concerning various public figures. We want to see how much information about them gets out to the public from television, newspapers and the like.

[PAUSE AFTER EACH NAME. RECORD EXACTLY WHAT IS SAID BUT DO NOT PROBE DON'T KNOW.]

- a. The first name is *Al Gore*. What job or political office does he *now* hold?
- b. *William Rehnquist* [PRON: Renn-kwist] (What job or political office does he *now* hold?)
- c. *Boris Yeltsin* (What job or political office does he *now* hold?)
- d. *Newt Gingrich* (What job or political office does he *now* hold?)

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

1 FAVOR (GOTO H4A)  
5 OPPOSE (GOTO H4B)

H4a. Do you favor such laws strongly or not strongly?

1 FAVOR STRONGLY  
2 FAVOR NOT STRONGLY

(GOTO H5)

H4b. Do you oppose such laws strongly or not strongly?

5 OPPOSE STRONGLY  
4 OPPOSE NOT STRONGLY

H5. Do you think homosexuals should be allowed to serve in the United States Armed Forces or don't you think so?

1 HOMOSEXUALS SHOULD BE ALLOWED TO SERVE (GOTO H5A)  
5 HOMOSEXUALS SHOULD NOT BE ALLOWED TO SERVE (GOTO H5B)

- H5a. Do you feel strongly or not strongly that homosexuals should be allowed to serve in the United States Armed Forces?  
1 FEEL STRONGLY - SHOULD BE ALLOWED TO SERVE  
2 FEEL NOT STRONGLY - SHOULD BE ALLOWED TO SERVE  
(GOTO H6)
- H5b. Do you feel strongly or not strongly that homosexuals should not be allowed to serve in the United States Armed Forces?  
5 FEEL STRONGLY - SHOULD NOT BE ALLOWED TO SERVE  
4 FEEL NOT STRONGLY - SHOULD NOT BE ALLOWED TO SERVE
- H6. Do you favor or oppose the death penalty for persons convicted of murder?  
1 FAVOR (GOTO H6A)  
5 OPPOSE (GOTO H6B)
- H6a. Do you favor the death penalty for persons convicted of murder strongly or not strongly?  
1 FAVOR STRONGLY  
2 FAVOR NOT STRONGLY  
(GOTO H7)
- H6b. Do you oppose the death penalty for persons convicted of murder strongly or not strongly?  
5 OPPOSE STRONGLY  
4 OPPOSE NOT STRONGLY
- H6c. (RB, p.3) Looking at page 3 of the booklet, please tell me how much you agree or disagree with the following statement:  
  
Mothers should remain at home with young children and not work.
- H7. (Not looking at the booklet) Which level of government do you think should be most involved in dealing with *environmental problems* -- the national government, state governments, or local governments?  
1 NATIONAL GOVERNMENT  
3 STATE GOVERNMENTS  
5 LOCAL GOVERNMENTS
- H8. What about *welfare issues*? Which level of government do you think should be most involved in dealing with *welfare issues* -- the national government, state governments, or local governments?  
1 NATIONAL GOVERNMENT  
3 STATE GOVERNMENTS  
5 LOCAL GOVERNMENTS
- H9. What about economic development (Which level of government do you think should be most involved in dealing with *economic development* -- the national government, state governments, or local governments?)  
1 NATIONAL GOVERNMENT  
3 STATE GOVERNMENTS  
5 LOCAL GOVERNMENTS
- H11. We find that people differ in how much faith and confidence they have in various levels of government in this country. In your case, do you have more faith and confidence in national government, the government of this state,



or in the local government around here?

- 1 NATIONAL GOVERNMENT
- 3 GOVERNMENT OF THIS STATE
- 5 THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT AROUND HERE

H12. Which level of government do you have the *least* faith and confidence in: the national government, the government of this state, or the local government around here?

- 1 NATIONAL GOVERNMENT
- 3 GOVERNMENT OF THIS STATE
- 5 THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT AROUND HERE

## SECTION J

J2. Some people feel that if black people are not getting fair treatment in jobs, the government in Washington ought to see to it that they do. Others feel that this is not the federal government's business. Have you had enough interest in this question to favor one side over the other?

- 1 YES, HAVE INTEREST IN QUESTION (GOTO J2A)
- 5 NO, HAVEN'T HAD INTEREST IN QUESTION (GOTO J3)

J2a. (IF YES) How do you feel? Should the government in Washington see to it that black people get fair treatment in jobs or is this not the federal government's business?

- 1 GOVERNMENT IN WASHINGTON SHOULD SEE TO IT THAT BLACK PEOPLE GET FAIR TREATMENT IN JOBS (GOTO J2a1)
- 5 THIS IS NOT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT'S BUSINESS (GOTO J2a2)
- 7 OTHER (SPECIFY) [VOL] (GOTO J3)

J2a1. Do you feel strongly or not strongly (that the government in Washington should see to it that Black people get fair treatment in jobs)?

J2a2. Do you feel strongly or not strongly (that this is not the federal government's business)?

## J3 ASKED OF HALF-SAMPLE

J3. Some people say that because of past discrimination, blacks should be given preference in hiring and promotion. Others say that such preference in hiring and promotion of blacks is wrong because it gives blacks advantages they haven't earned. What about your opinion -- are you for or against preferential hiring and promotion of blacks?

- 1 FOR PREFERENTIAL HIRING AND PROMOTION OF BLACKS (GOTO J3A)
- 5 AGAINST PREFERENTIAL HIRING AND PROMOTION OF BLACKS (GOTO J3B)
- 7 OTHER (SPECIFY) [VOL] (GOTO J4a)

J3a. Do you favor preference in hiring and promotion strongly or not strongly?

- 1 FAVOR STRONGLY
- 2 FAVOR NOT STRONGLY

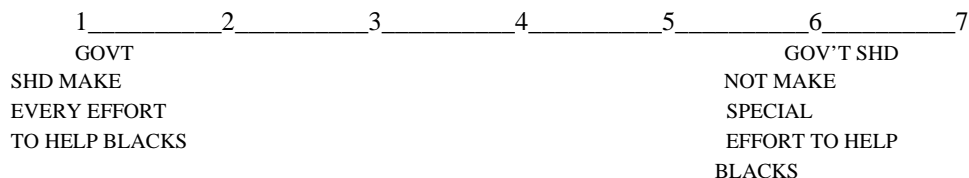
(GOTO J4a)

J3b. Do you oppose preference in hiring and promotion strongly or not strongly?

5 OPPOSE STRONGLY  
4 OPPOSE NOT STRONGLY

- J4a. [RB, P.4] Looking at page 4 of the booklet: Some people feel that the government in Washington should make every effort to improve the social and economic position of blacks. Suppose these people are at one end of a scale, at point 1. Others feel that the government should not make any special effort to help blacks because they should help themselves. Suppose these people are at the other end, at point 7. And, of course, some other people have opinions somewhere in between at points 2, 3, 4, 5, or 6.

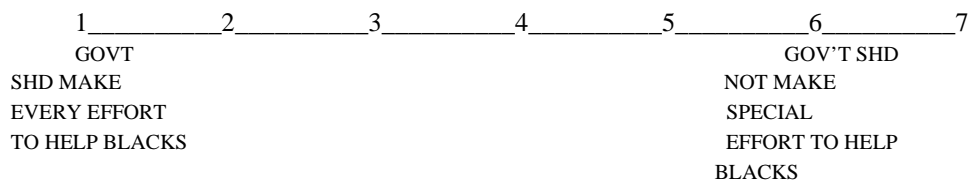
Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?



96 HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH ABOUT THIS (GOTO J4B)

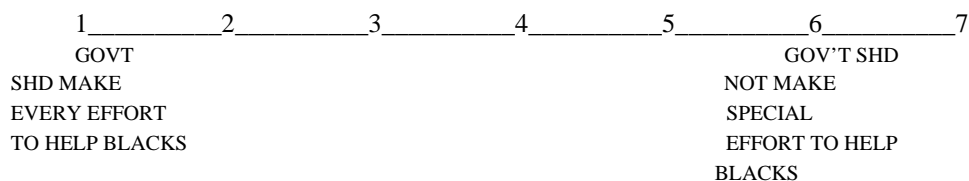
- J4b. [RB, P.4] ( Still looking on page 4) (Some people feel that the government in Washington should make every effort to improve the social and economic position of blacks. Suppose these people are at one end of a scale, at point 1. Others feel that the government should not make any special effort to help blacks because they should help themselves. Suppose these people are at the other end, at point 7. And, of course, some other people have opinions somewhere in between at points 2, 3, 4, 5, or 6.)

Where would you place Bill Clinton on this scale?



- J4c. [RB, P.4] ( Still looking on page 4)( Some people feel that the government in Washington should make every effort to improve the social and economic position of blacks. Suppose these people are at one end of a scale, at point 1. Others feel that the government should not make any special effort to help blacks because they should help themselves. Suppose these people are at the other end, at point 7. And, of course, some other people have opinions somewhere in between at points 2, 3, 4, 5, or 6.)

(Where would you place) Bob Dole?



- J4d. [RB, P.4] ( Still looking on page 4)( Some people feel that the government in Washington should make every effort to improve the social and economic position of blacks. Suppose these people are at one end of a scale, at point 1. Others feel that the government should not make any special effort to help blacks because they should help themselves. Suppose these people are at the other end, at point 7. And, of course, some other people have opinions somewhere in between at points 2, 3, 4, 5, or 6.)

(Where would you place) Ross Perot?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
GOVT					GOV'T SHD	
SHD MAKE					NOT MAKE	
EVERY EFFORT					SPECIAL	
TO HELP BLACKS					EFFORT TO HELP	
					BLACKS	

J5. [RB, P.5] Turning to page 5 of the booklet: 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.

J5a. (H3a.) Do you favor that choice strongly or not strongly?

- 1 FAVOR STRONGLY
- 5 FAVOR NOT STRONGLY

J6. How afraid are you that a member of your family, or a close friend, or you yourself might be the victim of an assault during the coming year? Would you say you are very afraid, somewhat afraid, a little bit afraid, or not afraid?

- 1 VERY AFRAID
- 2 SOMEWHAT AFRAID
- 3 A LITTLE BIT AFRAID
- 4 NOT AFRAID

J7. Do you *favor* or *oppose* a ban on the sale of all handguns, except those that are issued to law enforcement officers?

- 1 FAVOR
- 5 OPPOSE

(ASK J8 ONLY IF INTERVIEWING ON THE TELEPHONE)

J8. Do you have a gun in the house?

- 1 YES
- 5 NO

J9. Each year the government in Washington has to make decisions about taxes, spending, and the deficit. We'd like to know your opinions about what the government should do about the budget.

-

Do you favor an *increase in the federal budget deficit* in order to *increase spending* on domestic programs like Medicare, education, and highways?

- 1 YES, FAVOR
- 5 NO, DON'T FAVOR

- J10. Do you favor *cuts in spending on domestic programs* like Medicare, education and highways in order to *cut the taxes* paid by ordinary Americans?
- 1 YES, FAVOR  
5 NO, DON'T FAVOR
- J11. Do you favor *an increase in the federal budget deficit* in order to *cut the taxes* paid by ordinary Americans?
- 1 YES, FAVOR  
5 NO, DON'T FAVOR
- SECTION K**
- K1. Overall, how would you rate the air quality in our nation? Very good, fairly good, fairly bad, or very bad?
- 1 VERY GOOD  
2 FAIRLY GOOD  
3 FAIRLY BAD  
4 VERY BAD
- K2. What about in your local community? Is the air quality very good, fairly good, fairly bad, or very bad?
- 1 VERY GOOD  
2 FAIRLY GOOD  
3 FAIRLY BAD  
4 VERY BAD
- K3. Overall, how would you rate the safety of drinking water in our nation? Very good, fairly good, fairly bad, or very bad?
- 1 VERY GOOD  
2 FAIRLY GOOD  
3 FAIRLY BAD  
4 VERY BAD
- K4. What about in your local community? Is the safety of drinking water in your local community very good, fairly good, fairly bad, or very bad?
- 1 VERY GOOD  
2 FAIRLY GOOD  
3 FAIRLY BAD  
4 VERY BAD
- K5. Here are a few more questions about what the government should do about the budget. Do you favor *increases in the taxes* paid by ordinary Americans in order to *increase spending on domestic programs* like Medicare, education and highways?
- 1 YES, FAVOR  
5 NO, DON'T FAVOR
- K6. Do you favor *cuts in spending on domestic programs* like Medicare, education, and highways in order to *cut the federal budget deficit*?

- 1 YES, FAVOR
- 5 NO, DON'T FAVOR

K7. Do you favor *increases in taxes* paid by ordinary Americans in order to *cut the federal budget deficit*?

- 1 YES, FAVOR
- 5 NO, DON'T FAVOR

[original K5a-K5g moved to end for use in order experiment]

### SECTION L

L1a. [RB, P. 6] (Looking at page 6 of the booklet) I am going to read several statements. After each one, I would like you to tell me whether you agree strongly with the statement, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly. The first statement is:

Our society should do whatever is necessary to make sure that everyone has an equal opportunity to succeed.

- 1 AGREE STRONGLY
- 2 AGREE SOMEWHAT
- 3 NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE
- 4 DISAGREE SOMEWHAT
- 5 DISAGREE STRONGLY

L1b. [RB, P. 6] (Still on p. 6) We have gone too far in pushing equal rights in this country.

- 1 AGREE STRONGLY
- 2 AGREE SOMEWHAT
- 3 NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE
- 4 DISAGREE SOMEWHAT
- 5 DISAGREE STRONGLY

L1c. [RB, P. 6] (Still on p. 6) One of the big problems in this country is that we don't give everyone an equal chance.

- 1 AGREE STRONGLY
- 2 AGREE SOMEWHAT
- 3 NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE
- 4 DISAGREE SOMEWHAT
- 5 DISAGREE STRONGLY

L1d. [RB, P. 6] (Still on p. 6) This country would be better off if we worried less about how equal people are.

- 1 AGREE STRONGLY
- 2 AGREE SOMEWHAT
- 3 NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE
- 4 DISAGREE SOMEWHAT
- 5 DISAGREE STRONGLY

L1e. [RB, P. 6] It is not really that big a problem if some people have more of a chance in life than others.

- 1 AGREE STRONGLY
- 2 AGREE SOMEWHAT

- 3 NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE
- 4 DISAGREE SOMEWHAT
- 5 DISAGREE STRONGLY

L1f. [RB, P. 6] (Still on p. 6) If people were treated more equally in this country we would have many fewer problems.

- 1 AGREE STRONGLY
- 2 AGREE SOMEWHAT
- 3 NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE
- 4 DISAGREE SOMEWHAT
- 5 DISAGREE STRONGLY

L2a. [RB, P.6] Now I am going to read several statements about helping others.  
with (Still looking at p. 6 of the booklet) Please tell me how much you agree or disagree each one.

One should always find ways to help others less fortunate than oneself.

- 1 AGREE STRONGLY
- 2 AGREE SOMEWHAT
- 3 NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE
- 4 DISAGREE SOMEWHAT
- 5 DISAGREE STRONGLY

class=Section5>

L2b. A person should always be concerned about the well-being of others.

- 1 AGREE STRONGLY
- 2 AGREE SOMEWHAT
- 3 NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE
- 4 DISAGREE SOMEWHAT
- 5 DISAGREE STRONGLY

L2c. It is best not to get too involved in taking care of other people's needs.

- 1 AGREE STRONGLY
- 2 AGREE SOMEWHAT
- 3 NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE
- 4 DISAGREE SOMEWHAT
- 5 DISAGREE STRONGLY

L2d. People tend to pay more attention to the well-being of others than they should.

- 1 AGREE STRONGLY
- 2 AGREE SOMEWHAT
- 3 NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE
- 4 DISAGREE SOMEWHAT
- 5 DISAGREE STRONGLY

L3a. Not using the booklet: We're interested in how much people learn about television news personalities.  
Take Tom Brokaw. Do you happen to know which network he works for-- is it CBS, CNN or which?

- 1 ABC
- 2 NBC
- 3 CBS
- 4 CNN

- 5 DON'T WATCH/HAVE TELEVISION [VOL](SKIP TO L4)
- 7 OTHER (SPECIFY)

L3b. What about Peter Jennings? (Do you happen to know what network he works for?)

- 1 ABC
- 2 NBC
- 3 CBS
- 4 CNN

5 DON'T WATCH/HAVE TELEVISION [VOL]  
7 OTHER (SPECIFY)

L3c. What about Dan Rather? (Do you happen to know what network he works for?)

- 1 ABC
- 2 NBC
- 3 CBS
- 4 CNN

5 DON'T WATCH/HAVE TELEVISION [VOL]  
7 OTHER (SPECIFY)

L3d. What about Bernard Shaw? (Do you happen to know what network he works for?)

- 1 ABC
- 2 NBC
- 3 CBS
- 4 CNN

5 DON'T WATCH/HAVE TELEVISION [VOL]  
7 OTHER (SPECIFY)

L4. What do you think of your personal financial situation these days? Would you say that your personal financial situation is very good, good, neither good nor bad, bad, or very bad?

### **SECTION M**

M1a. [RB STILL ON P. 6) (Again looking at page 6 of the booklet) Please tell me how much you agree or disagree with these statements. The first is:

Public officials don't care much what people like me think.

- 1 AGREE STRONGLY
- 2 AGREE SOMEWHAT
- 3 NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE
- 4 DISAGREE SOMEWHAT
- 5 DISAGREE STRONGLY

M1b. People like me don't have any say about what the government does.

- 1 AGREE STRONGLY
- 2 AGREE SOMEWHAT
- 3 NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE
- 4 DISAGREE SOMEWHAT
- 5 DISAGREE STRONGLY

M1c. Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on.

- 1 AGREE STRONGLY

- 2 AGREE SOMEWHAT
- 3 NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE
- 4 DISAGREE SOMEWHAT
- 5 DISAGREE STRONGLY

M2a. [RB, P. 6] (Still on p. 6) Now I am going to read several statements. After each one, I would like you to tell me whether you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly with this statement. The first statement is...

The newer lifestyles are contributing to the breakdown of our society.

- 1 AGREE STRONGLY
- 2 AGREE SOMEWHAT
- 3 NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE
- 4 DISAGREE SOMEWHAT
- 5 DISAGREE STRONGLY

M2b. The world is always changing and we should adjust our view of moral behavior to those changes.

- 1 AGREE STRONGLY
- 2 AGREE SOMEWHAT
- 3 NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE
- 4 DISAGREE SOMEWHAT
- 5 DISAGREE STRONGLY

M2c. This country would have many fewer problems if there were more emphasis on traditional family ties.

- 1 AGREE STRONGLY
- 2 AGREE SOMEWHAT
- 3 NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE
- 4 DISAGREE SOMEWHAT
- 5 DISAGREE STRONGLY

M2d. 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.

- 1 AGREE STRONGLY
- 2 AGREE SOMEWHAT
- 3 NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE
- 4 DISAGREE SOMEWHAT
- 5 DISAGREE STRONGLY

M3. Not using the booklet: People have different ideas about the government in Washington. These ideas don't refer to Democrats or Republicans in particular, but just to the government in general. We want to see how you feel about these ideas. For example:

How much of the time do you think you can trust the government in Washington to do what is right--just about always, most of the time, or only some of the time?

- 1 JUST ABOUT ALWAYS
- 2 MOST OF THE TIME
- 3 ONLY SOME OF THE TIME
- 4 NEVER [VOL]

M4. Do you think that people in government waste a lot of the money we pay in taxes, waste some of it, or don't waste very much of it?



1 WASTE A LOT  
3 WASTE SOME  
5 DON'T WASTE VERY MUCH

- M5. Would you say the government is pretty much run by a few big interests looking out for themselves or that it is run for the benefit of all the people?

1 GOV'T RUN BY A FEW BIG INTERESTS  
5 GOV'T RUN FOR THE BENEFIT OF ALL

- M6. Do you think that quite a few of the people running the government are crooked, not very many are, or do you think hardly any of them are crooked?

1 QUITE A FEW ARE CROOKED  
3 NOT VERY MANY ARE CROOKED  
5 HARDLY ANY ARE CROOKED

- M7. 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

- M8. 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

#### **SECTION N**

- N1. Many people say they have less time these days to do volunteer work. What about you, were you able to devote any time to volunteer work in the last 12 months?

1 YES  
5 NO

- N2. Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted, or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people?

1 MOST PEOPLE CAN BE TRUSTED  
5 YOU CAN'T BE TOO CAREFUL IN DEALING WITH PEOPLE

- N3. Do you think most people would try to take advantage of you if they got the chance or would they try to be fair?

1 MOST PEOPLE WOULD TRY TO TAKE ADVANTAGE  
5 THEY WOULD TRY TO BE FAIR

- N4. Do you have any neighbors that you know and talk to regularly?

1 YES (GOTO N4a)  
5 NO (GOTO N5)

N4a. (IF YES) About how many (do you talk to regularly)? (Would that be just one, two or three, four or five, or more than five?)

- 1 JUST ONE
- 2 TWO OR THREE
- 4 FOUR OR FIVE
- 5 MORE THAN FIVE

N5. If you were selected to serve on a jury, would you be happy to do it or would you rather not serve?

- 1 HAPPY TO DO IT
- 5 RATHER NOT SERVE

N6. In the last twelve months, have you worked with others or joined an organization in your community to do something about some community problem?

- 1 YES
- 5 NO

N7. Many people are finding it more difficult to make contributions to church or charity as much as they used to. How about you, were you able to contribute any money to church or charity in the last 12 months?

- 1 YES
- 5 NO

N8. Would you say that your personal income tax burden has gone up, gone down, or stayed about the same during Clinton's time as President?

- 1 GONE UP (GOTO N8a)
- 2 GONE DOWN (GOTO N8b)
- 3 STAYED ABOUT THE SAME (GOTO N9)

N8a. Would you say it has increased a lot or a little?

- 1 INCREASED A LOT (GOTO N9)
- 5 INCREASED A LITTLE (GOTO N9)

N8b. Would you say it has decreased a lot or a little?

- 1 DECREASED A LOT
- 5 DECREASED A LITTLE

N10 IS HALF-SAMPLED

N10. Some people think that if a company has a history of discriminating against blacks when making hiring decisions, then they should be required to have an affirmative action program that gives blacks preference in hiring. What do you think? Should companies that have discriminated against blacks have to have an affirmative action program?

- 1 YES, THEY SHOULD HAVE TO HAVE AFFIRMATIVE ACTION (GOTO J1a)
- 5 NO, THEY SHOULD NOT HAVE TO HAVE AFFIRMATIVE ACTION (GOTO J1b)
- 7 OTHER (SPECIFY) [VOL](GOTO P1)

N10a. Do you feel strongly or not strongly (that they should have to have affirmative action)?

N10b. Do you feel strongly or not strongly (that they should not have to have affirmative action)?

N11. [RB, P. 13] Looking at page 13 of the booklet: We hear a lot of talk these days about liberals and conservatives. Here is a seven-point scale on which the political views that people might hold are arranged from extremely liberal to extremely conservative.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
EXTREMELY EXTREMELY LIBERAL CONSERVATIVE	LIBERAL	SLIGHTLY  LIBERAL	MODERATE;  MIDDLE		SLIGHTLY  CONSERVATIVE	CONSERV-  ATIVE

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

1-7

96 HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH ABOUT THIS

(1-3,5-7 GOTO N11a1; DK, RF, NOT THOUGHT, '4' GOTO N11aa)

N11a1. How certain are you of this? Very certain, pretty certain or not very certain? (GO TO N11b)

1 VERY CERTAIN  
3 PRETTY CERTAIN  
5 NOT VERY CERTAIN

(ALL GOTO N11b)

N11aa. (IF N11A ANSWER IS 4 OR NOT THOUGHT MUCH OR DK/RF) If you had to choose, would you consider yourself a liberal or a conservative? (IF 1,3,5,7 HERE, GO TO N11a1; IF DK/RF, GOTO T1.)

1 LIBERAL  
3 MODERATE; MIDDLE OF THE ROAD [VOL]  
5 CONSERVATIVE

7 REFUSE TO CHOOSE [VOL]

N11b. [RB, P. 13] (Still on p. 13) Where would you place Bill Clinton on this scale?  
(IF DK/RF, GO TO N11c.)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
EXTREMELY EXTREMELY LIBERAL CONSERVATIVE	LIBERAL	SLIGHTLY  LIBERAL	MODERATE;  MIDDLE		SLIGHTLY  CONSERVATIVE	CONSERV-  ATIVE

1-7 (DK/RF GOTO N11c)

N11b1. How certain are you of Bill Clinton's position on this scale? Very certain, pretty certain or not very certain?

1 VERY CERTAIN  
3 PRETTY CERTAIN  
5 NOT VERY CERTAIN

N11c. [RB, P. 13] (Still on p. 13) (Where would you place) Bob Dole (on this scale)? (IF DK/RF, GO TO N11d.)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
EXTREMELY	LIBERAL	SLIGHTLY	MODERATE;	SLIGHTLY	CONSERV-	
EXTREMELY						
LIBERAL		LIBERAL	MIDDLE	CONSERVATIVE	ATIVE	
CONSERVATIVE						

1-7 (DK/RF GOTO N11d)

N11c1. How certain are you (of Bob Dole's position on this scale? Very certain, pretty certain or not very certain?)

1 VERY CERTAIN  
3 PRETTY CERTAIN  
5 NOT VERY CERTAIN

N11e. [RB, P. 13] (Still on p. 13) NAME of Democratic candidate for Congress (#31,33,35)? (IF DK/RF, GO TO N11f.)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
EXTREMELY	LIBERAL	SLIGHTLY	MODERATE;	SLIGHTLY	CONSERV-	
EXTREMELY						
LIBERAL		LIBERAL	MIDDLE	CONSERVATIVE	ATIVE	
CONSERVATIVE						

1-7

N11e1. How certain are you of (NAME #31,33,35) position on this scale? (Very certain, pretty certain or not very certain?)

1 VERY CERTAIN  
3 PRETTY CERTAIN  
5 NOT VERY CERTAIN

N11f. [RB, P. 13] (Still on p. 13) NAME of Republican candidate for Congress (#32,34,36)? (IF DK/RF, GO TO N11g.)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
EXTREMELY	LIBERAL	SLIGHTLY	MODERATE;	SLIGHTLY	CONSERV-	
EXTREMELY						
LIBERAL		LIBERAL	MIDDLE	CONSERVATIVE	ATIVE	
CONSERVATIVE						

1-7

N11f1. How certain are you of (NAME #32,34,36) position on this scale? (Very certain, pretty certain or not very certain?)

1 VERY CERTAIN  
3 PRETTY CERTAIN  
5 NOT VERY CERTAIN

N12. Do you feel you are asked to pay much more than you should in federal income taxes, somewhat more than you should, about the right amount, or less than you should?

- 1 MUCH MORE
- 2 SOMEWHAT MORE
- 3 ABOUT RIGHT
- 4 LESS THAN SHOULD
- 7 DON'T PAY AT ALL [VOL]

N13. Some political leaders think federal income taxes should be cut by 15% over the next three years. Other political leaders think this would be a bad policy for the government to follow. Do you have an opinion on this matter, or haven't you thought much about this?

- 1 YES, HAVE AN OPINION
- 5 NO, NO OPINION (GOTO P1)
- 8 HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH ABOUT THIS (DK/RF GOTO P1)

N14. [RB, P. 14] Looking on page 14 of the booklet, which of these statements best describes what you would like to see happen over the next three years? Over the next three years, federal income taxes: should not be cut, should be cut by 10%, should be cut by 15%, should be cut by 20%, should be cut by more than 20%.

- 1 SHOULD NOT BE CUT
- 2 SHOULD BE CUT BY 10%
- 3 SHOULD BE CUT BY 15%
- 4 SHOULD BE CUT BY 20%
- 5 SHOULD BE CUT BY 30%
- 6 SHOULD BE CUT BY MORE THAN 30%

N14a. [RB, P. 14] Still looking at the booklet, what do you think is [FILL RANDOMIZED PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE]'s position? (On a tax cut?)

- 1 SHOULD NOT BE CUT
- 2 SHOULD BE CUT BY 10%
- 3 SHOULD BE CUT BY 15%
- 4 SHOULD BE CUT BY 20%
- 5 SHOULD BE CUT BY 30%
- 6 SHOULD BE CUT BY MORE THAN 30%

N14b. [RB, P. 14] (Still looking at the booklet, what do you think is) [FILL RANDOMIZED PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE]('s position?) (On a tax cut?)

- 1 SHOULD NOT BE CUT
- 2 SHOULD BE CUT BY 10%
- 3 SHOULD BE CUT BY 15%
- 4 SHOULD BE CUT BY 20%
- 5 SHOULD BE CUT BY 30%
- 6 SHOULD BE CUT BY MORE THAN 30%

N14c. [RB, P. 14] (Still looking at the booklet, what do you think is) [FILL RANDOMIZED PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE]('s position?) (On a tax cut?)

- 1 SHOULD NOT BE CUT
- 2 SHOULD BE CUT BY 10%
- 3 SHOULD BE CUT BY 15%
- 4 SHOULD BE CUT BY 20%
- 5 SHOULD BE CUT BY 30%
- 6 SHOULD BE CUT BY MORE THAN 30%

N15. There has been a great deal of talk about the probable effects of a 15% reduction of federal income taxes over the next three years. Have you read or heard anything about this?

1 YES

5 NO (NO, DK/RF SKIP TO T1)

N16a. I am going to read a few of these ideas, and I would like you to tell me whether you think they would or would not happen. If federal income taxes were reduced by 15%, *inflation would get worse*. Do you think this would or would not happen?

1 WOULD HAPPEN

5 WOULD NOT HAPPEN

N16b. *More people would be employed*. (Do you think this would or would not happen?) (If federal income taxes were reduced by 15%?)

1 WOULD HAPPEN

5 WOULD NOT HAPPEN

N16c. *Most of the savings would go to business and not to the ordinary taxpayer like me*. (Do you think this would or would not happen?) (If federal income taxes were reduced by 15%?)

1 WOULD HAPPEN

5 WOULD NOT HAPPEN

N16d. *Government programs and services would be cut back to get along on less money*. (Do you think this would or would not happen?) (If federal income taxes were reduced by 15%?)

1 WOULD HAPPEN

5 WOULD NOT HAPPEN

N16e. *Government deficit spending would go up*. (Do you think this would or would not happen?) (If federal income taxes were reduced by 15%?)

1 WOULD HAPPEN

5 WOULD NOT HAPPEN

N16f. *The government would receive about the same amount of tax money as now because the economy would be stronger*. (Do you think this would or would not happen?) (If federal income taxes were reduced by 15%?)

1 WOULD HAPPEN

5 WOULD NOT HAPPEN

## **SECTION P**

P1. [RB, P. 7] Looking at page 7 of the booklet, 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*.

- A. Poor people
- B. Asian Americans
- C. Liberals
- D. The elderly
- E. Blacks
- F. Labor unions
- G. Feminists
- H. Southerners

- J. Business people
- K. Young people
- M. Conservatives
- N. Hispanic-Americans
- P. Women
- Q. Working-class people
- R. Whites
- S. Middle-class people
- T. Men

P2a. [RB, P.8] (Turning to page 8 of the booklet) Now I have some questions about different groups in our society. I'm going to show you a seven-point scale on which the characteristics of the people in a group can be rated. In the first statement a score of 1 means that you think almost all of the people in that group tend to be "hard-working." A score of 7 means that you think most people in the group are "lazy." A score of 4 means that you think that most people in the group are not closer to one end or the other, and of course, you may choose any number in between.

1 \_\_\_\_\_ 2 \_\_\_\_\_ 3 \_\_\_\_\_ 4 \_\_\_\_\_ 5 \_\_\_\_\_ 6 \_\_\_\_\_ 7  
 Hardworking Lazy

Where would you rate *whites in general* on this scale (hard-working)?

P2b. [RB, P. 8] (Still on page 8 of the booklet)  
 (A score of 1 means that you think almost all of the people in that group tend to be "hard-working."  
 A score of 7 means that you think most people in the group are "lazy." A score of 4 means that you think that most people in the group are not closer to one end or the other, and of course, you may choose any number in between.)

1 \_\_\_\_\_ 2 \_\_\_\_\_ 3 \_\_\_\_\_ 4 \_\_\_\_\_ 5 \_\_\_\_\_ 6 \_\_\_\_\_ 7  
 Hardworking Lazy

(Where would you rate) *Blacks*?

P2c. [RB, P. 8] (Still on page 8 of the booklet)  
 (A score of 1 means that you think almost all of the people in that group tend to be "hard-working." A score of 7 means that you think most people in the group are "lazy." A score of 4 means that you think that most people in the group are not closer to one end or the other, and of course, you may choose any number in between.)

1 \_\_\_\_\_ 2 \_\_\_\_\_ 3 \_\_\_\_\_ 4 \_\_\_\_\_ 5 \_\_\_\_\_ 6 \_\_\_\_\_ 7  
 Hardworking Lazy

(Where would you rate) *Hispanic-Americans*?

P3a. The next set asks if people in each group tend to be "intelligent" or "unintelligent".

1 \_\_\_\_\_ 2 \_\_\_\_\_ 3 \_\_\_\_\_ 4 \_\_\_\_\_ 5 \_\_\_\_\_ 6 \_\_\_\_\_ 7  
 Intelligent Unintelligent

[RB, P. 9] Turning to page 9 of the booklet: (Where would you rate) whites (in general on this scale)?

P3b.

1\_\_\_\_\_2\_\_\_\_\_3\_\_\_\_\_4\_\_\_\_\_5\_\_\_\_\_6\_\_\_\_\_7  
 Intelligent Unintelligent

[RB, p. 9] (Still on page 9) Blacks?

P3c.

1\_\_\_\_\_2\_\_\_\_\_3\_\_\_\_\_4\_\_\_\_\_5\_\_\_\_\_6\_\_\_\_\_7  
 Intelligent Unintelligent

[RB, p. 9] (Still on page 9) Hispanic-Americans?

P4a.

[RB, P. 10] Turning to page 10 of the booklet:  
 Do people in these groups tend to be “trustworthy” or do they tend to be “not trustworthy”?

1\_\_\_\_\_2\_\_\_\_\_3\_\_\_\_\_4\_\_\_\_\_5\_\_\_\_\_6\_\_\_\_\_7  
 Trustworthy Untrustworthy

(Where would you rate) whites (in general on this scale)?

P4b.

1\_\_\_\_\_2\_\_\_\_\_3\_\_\_\_\_4\_\_\_\_\_5\_\_\_\_\_6\_\_\_\_\_7  
 Trustworthy Untrustworthy

[RB, P. 10] (Still on p. 10) Blacks?

P4c.

1\_\_\_\_\_2\_\_\_\_\_3\_\_\_\_\_4\_\_\_\_\_5\_\_\_\_\_6\_\_\_\_\_7  
 Trustworthy Untrustworthy

[RB, P. 10] (Still on p. 10) Hispanic-Americans?

P5.

Turning to page xx in the booklet:  
 Some people think that the government in Washington ought to reduce the income differences between the rich and the poor. Suppose these people are at one end of a scale at point 1. Other people think that the government should not concern itself with reducing this income difference between the rich and the poor. Suppose these people are at the other end of a scale at point 7. And of course some other people have opinions at points 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6. Where would you place yourself on this scale or haven't you thought much about this?

1\_\_\_\_\_2\_\_\_\_\_3\_\_\_\_\_4\_\_\_\_\_5\_\_\_\_\_6\_\_\_\_\_7

reducing

Gov't ought  
to reduce income

differences between rich and poor

Gov't shouldn't  
concern itself with

income differences between  
rich and poor

### SECTION Q

Q1.

(Not using the booklet) Some people have proposed that a woman on welfare who has another child *not* be given an increase in her welfare check. Do you favor or oppose this change in welfare policy?

1 FAVOR (GOTO Q1a)  
 5 OPPOSE (GOTO Q1b)



- Q1a. Do you favor this change strongly or not strongly?
- 1 FAVOR STRONGLY  
5 FAVOR NOT STRONGLY
- (BOTH GOTO Q2)
- Q1b. Do you oppose this change strongly or not strongly?
- 1 OPPOSE STRONGLY  
5 OPPOSE NOT STRONGLY
- Q2. Another proposal is to put a two year limit on how long someone can receive welfare benefits. Do you favor or oppose this two year limit?
- 1 FAVOR (GOTO Q2a)  
5 OPPOSE (GOTO Q2b)
- Q2a. Do you favor the two year limit strongly or not strongly?
- 1 FAVOR STRONGLY  
5 FAVOR NOT STRONGLY
- (BOTH GOTO Q3)
- Q2b. Do you oppose the two year limit strongly or not strongly?
- 1 OPPOSE STRONGLY  
5 OPPOSE NOT STRONGLY
- Q3. Do you think the number of immigrants from foreign countries who are permitted to come to the United States to live should be increased a little, increased a lot, decreased a little, decreased a lot, or left the same as it is now?
- 1 INCREASED A LITTLE  
2 INCREASED A LOT  
3 DECREASED A LITTLE  
4 DECREASED A LOT  
5 LEFT THE SAME AS IT IS NOW
- Q4. Do you think that immigrants who come to the U.S. should be eligible as soon as they come here for government services such as Medicaid, Food Stamps, Welfare, or should they have to be here a year or more?
- 1 ELIGIBLE AS SOON AS THEY COME HERE  
5 HAVE TO WAIT A YEAR
- Q5. Some people have suggested placing new limits on foreign imports in order to protect American jobs. Others say that such limits would raise consumer prices and hurt American exports. Do you favor or oppose placing new limits on imports, or haven't you thought much about this?
- 1 FAVOR  
5 OPPOSE
- 96 HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH ABOUT THIS
- Q6. Which of the network news programs do you watch most often -- "World News Tonight" on ABC, "

NBC Nightly News,” “The CBS Evening News,” or some other network news program?

- 1 ABC WORLD NEWS TONIGHT
- 3 THE NBC NIGHTLY NEWS
- 5 THE CBS EVENING NEWS

6 WATCH NO NETWORK NEWS PROGRAM [VOL]

7 OTHER (SPECIFY)

**Q7.** Did you watch the first televised presidential debate held on October 6, 1996 between Bill Clinton and Bob Dole?

- 1 YES, WATCHED (GOTO Q7a)
- 5 NO, DIDN'T WATCH (GOTO Q8)

**Q7a.** (IF YES to Q7) Did you watch the entire debate or just part of it?

- 1 WATCHED ENTIRE DEBATE
- 5 JUST PART OF IT

**Q8.** Did you watch the second televised presidential debate held on October 16, 1996 between Bill Clinton and Bob Dole?

- 1 YES, WATCHED (GOTO Q8a)
- 5 NO, DIDN'T WATCH (GOTO Q9)

**Q8a.** (IF YES TO Q8) Did you watch the entire debate or just part of it?

- 1 WATCHED ENTIRE DEBATE
- 5 JUST PART OF IT

**Q9.** Did you read about the campaign in any magazines?

- 1 YES (GOTO Q9a)
- 5 NO (GOTO Q10; DK/RF GOTO Q10)

**Q9a.** (IF YES) [RB, P. 11] Looking at p. 11 in the booklet: How much attention did you pay to magazine articles about the campaign for President -- a great deal, quite a bit, some, very little, or none?

- 1 A GREAT DEAL
- 2 QUITE A BIT
- 3 SOME
- 4 VERY LITTLE
- 5 NONE

**Q10.** Did you listen to any speeches or discussions about the campaign on the radio?

- 1 YES (GOTO Q10a)
- 5 NO (GOTO Q11; DK/RF GOTO Q11)

**Q10a.** (IF YES) Would you say you listened to a good many, several, or just one or two?

- 1 A GOOD MANY
- 3 SEVERAL
- 5 JUST ONE OR TWO

Q11. [RB, P. 11] Looking again at p. 11 in the booklet: In general, how much attention did you pay to news about the campaign for President -- a great deal, quite a bit, some, very little, or none?

- 1 A GREAT DEAL
- 2 QUITE A BIT
- 3 SOME
- 4 VERY LITTLE
- 5 NONE

Q12. [RB, P. 11] (Still on p. 11 in the booklet) In general, how much attention did you pay to news about the campaigns for election to Congress -- that is, the House of Representatives in Washington -- a great deal, quite a bit, some, very little, or none?

- 1 A GREAT DEAL
- 2 QUITE A BIT
- 3 SOME
- 4 VERY LITTLE
- 5 NONE

Q13. How much of the time do you think you can trust the media to report the news fairly? Just about always, most of the time, only some of the time, or almost never?

- 1 JUST ABOUT ALWAYS
- 2 MOST OF THE TIME
- 3 ONLY SOME OF THE TIME
- 4 ALMOST NEVER

5 NONE OF THE TIME [VOL]

Q14. [RB, P. 12] Looking at page 12 of the booklet: Here is a question about political parties. Which one of the opinions on this page best agrees with your view? You can just tell me the number of the opinion you choose.

- 1. ...A CONTINUATION OF THE TWO PARTY SYSTEM OF DEMOCRATS AND REPUBLICANS?
- 2. ...ELECTIONS IN WHICH CANDIDATES RUN AS INDIVIDUALS WITHOUT PARTY LABELS?
- 3. ...THE GROWTH OF ONE OR MORE PARTIES THAT COULD EFFECTIVELY CHALLENGE THE DEMOCRATS AND REPUBLICANS?

## SECTION R

R1. In terms of general attitudes and beliefs, how similar would you say other people are to you--very similar, somewhat similar, not very similar, or not at all similar?

- 1 VERY SIMILAR
- 2 SOMEWHAT SIMILAR
- 3 NOT VERY SIMILAR
- 4 NOT AT ALL SIMILAR

R2. Are you a smoker?

- 1 YES
- 5 NO (goto R2a)

(all others go to R3a)

R2a. Have you ever smoked?

1 YES  
5 NO

R3. There are many types of organizations, groups, and charities that people might be involved with. We're interested in what kinds of groups you might be involved with. I'm going to read you a list of different types of organizations. For each type, could you tell me the name or names of organizations you are involved with?

R3a. Our first type of group is *labor unions*. (Are you involved with any labor unions?)

1 YES, INVOLVED WITH THIS TYPE OF GROUP  
5 NO, NOT INVOLVED WITH THIS TYPE OF GROUP

(1=ASK FOLLOW UP; 5, DK/RF=ASK NEXT GROUP)

R3a1. Which ones? [PROBE "Any others?" UNTIL R SAYS NO OR 4 GROUPS ARE NAMED]  
GROUP 1 (GROUPS AUXILIARY FILE ONLY)  
GROUP 2 (GROUPS AUXILIARY FILE ONLY)  
GROUP 3 (GROUPS AUXILIARY FILE ONLY)  
GROUP 4 (GROUPS AUXILIARY FILE ONLY)

R3b. How about *other organizations associated with your work* such as a business or professional association, or a farm organization?

1 YES, INVOLVED WITH THIS TYPE OF GROUP  
5 NO, NOT INVOLVED WITH THIS TYPE OF GROUP

R3b1. Which ones? [PROBE "Any others?" UNTIL R SAYS NO OR 4 GROUPS ARE NAMED]

GROUP 1 (GROUPS AUXILIARY FILE ONLY)  
GROUP 2 (GROUPS AUXILIARY FILE ONLY)  
GROUP 3 (GROUPS AUXILIARY FILE ONLY)  
GROUP 4 (GROUPS AUXILIARY FILE ONLY)

R3c. *Veterans organizations* such as the American Legion or the Veterans of Foreign Wars?

1 YES, INVOLVED WITH THIS TYPE OF GROUP  
5 NO, NOT INVOLVED WITH THIS TYPE OF GROUP

(1=ASK FOLLOW UP; 5, DK/RF=ASK NEXT GROUP)

R3c1. Which ones? [PROBE "Any others?" UNTIL R SAYS NO OR 4 GROUPS ARE NAMED]]

GROUP 1 (GROUPS AUXILIARY FILE ONLY)  
GROUP 2 (GROUPS AUXILIARY FILE ONLY)  
GROUP 3 (GROUPS AUXILIARY FILE ONLY)  
GROUP 4 (GROUPS AUXILIARY FILE ONLY)

R3d. Are you a member of a *local church, parish, or synagogue*?

1 YES, INVOLVED WITH THIS TYPE OF GROUP  
5 NO, NOT INVOLVED WITH THIS TYPE OF GROUP

(1=ASK FOLLOW UP; 5, DK/RF=ASK NEXT GROUP)

R3d1. Which ones? [PROBE "Any others?" UNTIL R SAYS NO OR 4 GROUPS ARE NAMED]

GROUP 1 (GROUPS AUXILIARY FILE ONLY)  
GROUP 2 (GROUPS AUXILIARY FILE ONLY)  
GROUP 3 (GROUPS AUXILIARY FILE ONLY)

## GROUP 4 (GROUPS AUXILIARY FILE ONLY)

R3e. [ASK EVEN IF NO TO R3d:] How about *other organizations affiliated with your religion besides that*, such as the Knights of Columbus or B'nai B'rith, or a bible study group?

1 YES, INVOLVED WITH THIS TYPE OF GROUP  
5 NO, NOT INVOLVED WITH THIS TYPE OF GROUP

(1=ASK FOLLOW UP; 5, DK/RF=ASK NEXT GROUP)

R3e1. Which ones? [PROBE "Any others?" UNTIL R SAYS NO OR 4 GROUPS ARE NAMED]

GROUP 1 (GROUPS AUXILIARY FILE ONLY)  
GROUP 2 (GROUPS AUXILIARY FILE ONLY)  
GROUP 3 (GROUPS AUXILIARY FILE ONLY)  
GROUP 4 (GROUPS AUXILIARY FILE ONLY)

R3f. *Organizations for the elderly or senior citizens?*

1 YES, INVOLVED WITH THIS TYPE OF GROUP  
5 NO, NOT INVOLVED WITH THIS TYPE OF GROUP

(1=ASK FOLLOW UP; 5, DK/RF=ASK NEXT GROUP)

R3f1. Which ones? [PROBE "Any others?" UNTIL R SAYS NO OR 4 GROUPS ARE NAMED]]

GROUP 1 (GROUPS AUXILIARY FILE ONLY)  
GROUP 2 (GROUPS AUXILIARY FILE ONLY)  
GROUP 3 (GROUPS AUXILIARY FILE ONLY)  
GROUP 4 (GROUPS AUXILIARY FILE ONLY)

R3g. *Organizations representing your own particular nationality or ethnic group* such as the Polish-American Congress, the Mexican American Legal Defense or the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People?

1 YES, INVOLVED WITH THIS TYPE OF GROUP  
5 NO, NOT INVOLVED WITH THIS TYPE OF GROUP

(1=ASK FOLLOW UP; 5, DK/RF=ASK NEXT GROUP)

R3g1. Which ones? [PROBE "Any others?" UNTIL R SAYS NO OR 4 GROUPS ARE NAMED]

GROUP 1 (GROUPS AUXILIARY FILE ONLY)  
GROUP 2 (GROUPS AUXILIARY FILE ONLY)  
GROUP 3 (GROUPS AUXILIARY FILE ONLY)  
GROUP 4 (GROUPS AUXILIARY FILE ONLY)

R3h. *Organizations mainly interested in issues promoting the rights or welfare of women*--an organization such as the National Organization of Women, or the Eagle Forum, or the American Association of University Women?

1 YES, INVOLVED WITH THIS TYPE OF GROUP  
5 NO, NOT INVOLVED WITH THIS TYPE OF GROUP

(1=ASK FOLLOW UP; 5, DK/RF=ASK NEXT GROUP)

R3h1. Which ones? [PROBE "Any others?" UNTIL R SAYS NO OR 4 GROUPS ARE NAMED]

GROUP 1 (GROUPS AUXILIARY FILE ONLY)  
GROUP 2 (GROUPS AUXILIARY FILE ONLY)  
GROUP 3 (GROUPS AUXILIARY FILE ONLY)  
GROUP 4 (GROUPS AUXILIARY FILE ONLY)

R3i. *Organizations active on any particular political issues* such as the environment or abortion (on either side), or gun control (on either side) or consumer's rights, or the rights of taxpayers, or any other issue?

1 YES, INVOLVED WITH THIS TYPE OF GROUP

5 NO, NOT INVOLVED WITH THIS TYPE OF GROUP

(1=ASK FOLLOW UP; 5, DK/RF=ASK NEXT GROUP)

R3i1. Which ones? [PROBE "Any others?" UNTIL R SAYS NO OR 4 GROUPS ARE NAMED]

GROUP 1 (GROUPS AUXILIARY FILE ONLY)

GROUP 2 (GROUPS AUXILIARY FILE ONLY)

GROUP 3 (GROUPS AUXILIARY FILE ONLY)

GROUP 4 (GROUPS AUXILIARY FILE ONLY)

R3j. *Nonpartisan or civic organizations interested in the political life of the community or nation--such as the League of Women Voters or a better government association?*

1 YES, INVOLVED WITH THIS TYPE OF GROUP

5 NO, NOT INVOLVED WITH THIS TYPE OF GROUP

(1=ASK FOLLOW UP; 5, DK/RF=ASK NEXT GROUP)

R3j1. Which ones? [PROBE "Any others?" UNTIL R SAYS NO OR 4 GROUPS ARE NAMED]

GROUP 1 (GROUPS AUXILIARY FILE ONLY)

GROUP 2 (GROUPS AUXILIARY FILE ONLY)

GROUP 3 (GROUPS AUXILIARY FILE ONLY)

GROUP 4 (GROUPS AUXILIARY FILE ONLY)

R3k. *Organizations that support general liberal or conservative causes* such as Americans for Democratic Action or the Conservative Caucus?

1 YES, INVOLVED WITH THIS TYPE OF GROUP

5 NO, NOT INVOLVED WITH THIS TYPE OF GROUP

(1=ASK FOLLOW UP; 5, DK/RF=ASK NEXT GROUP)

R3k1. Which ones? [PROBE "Any others?" UNTIL R SAYS NO OR 4 GROUPS ARE NAMED]

GROUP 1 (GROUPS AUXILIARY FILE ONLY)

GROUP 2 (GROUPS AUXILIARY FILE ONLY)

GROUP 3 (GROUPS AUXILIARY FILE ONLY)

GROUP 4 (GROUPS AUXILIARY FILE ONLY)

R3l. *Organizations active in supporting candidates for elections* such as a political party organization?

1 YES, INVOLVED WITH THIS TYPE OF GROUP

5 NO, NOT INVOLVED WITH THIS TYPE OF GROUP

(1=ASK FOLLOW UP; 5, DK/RF=ASK NEXT GROUP)

R3l1. Which ones? [PROBE "Any others?" UNTIL R SAYS NO OR 4 GROUPS ARE NAMED]

GROUP 1 (GROUPS AUXILIARY FILE ONLY)

GROUP 2 (GROUPS AUXILIARY FILE ONLY)

GROUP 3 (GROUPS AUXILIARY FILE ONLY)

GROUP 4 (GROUPS AUXILIARY FILE ONLY)

R3m. *Groups in which children might participate*, such as Girl Scouts, 4-H, youth sports leagues such as soccer or Little

League?

1 YES, INVOLVED WITH THIS TYPE OF GROUP  
5 NO, NOT INVOLVED WITH THIS TYPE OF GROUP

(1=ASK FOLLOW UP; 5, DK/RF=ASK NEXT GROUP)

R3m1. Which ones? [PROBE "Any others?" UNTIL R SAYS NO OR 4 GROUPS ARE NAMED]

GROUP 1 (GROUPS AUXILIARY FILE ONLY)  
GROUP 2 (GROUPS AUXILIARY FILE ONLY)  
GROUP 3 (GROUPS AUXILIARY FILE ONLY)  
GROUP 4 (GROUPS AUXILIARY FILE ONLY)

R3n. *Literary, art, discussion or study groups?*

1 YES, INVOLVED WITH THIS TYPE OF GROUP  
5 NO, NOT INVOLVED WITH THIS TYPE OF GROUP

(1=ASK FOLLOW UP; 5, DK/RF=ASK NEXT GROUP TYPE)

R3n1. Which ones? [PROBE "Any others?" UNTIL R SAYS NO OR 4 GROUPS ARE NAMED]

GROUP 1 (GROUPS AUXILIARY FILE ONLY)  
GROUP 2 (GROUPS AUXILIARY FILE ONLY)  
GROUP 3 (GROUPS AUXILIARY FILE ONLY)  
GROUP 4 (GROUPS AUXILIARY FILE ONLY)

R3p. *Hobby clubs, sports or country clubs, bowling leagues, or other groups for leisure time activities?*

1 YES, INVOLVED WITH THIS TYPE OF GROUP  
5 NO, NOT INVOLVED WITH THIS TYPE OF GROUP

(1=ASK FOLLOW UP; 5, DK/RF=ASK NEXT GROUP)

R3p1. Which ones? [PROBE "Any others?" UNTIL R SAYS NO OR 4 GROUPS ARE NAMED]

GROUP 1 (GROUPS AUXILIARY FILE ONLY)  
GROUP 2 (GROUPS AUXILIARY FILE ONLY)  
GROUP 3 (GROUPS AUXILIARY FILE ONLY)  
GROUP 4 (GROUPS AUXILIARY FILE ONLY)

R3q. *Associations related to where you live--neighborhood or community associations, homeowners' or condominium associations, or block clubs?*

1 YES, INVOLVED WITH THIS TYPE OF GROUP  
5 NO, NOT INVOLVED WITH THIS TYPE OF GROUP

(1=ASK FOLLOW UP; 5, DK/RF=ASK NEXT GROUP)

R3q1. Which ones? [PROBE "Any others?" UNTIL R SAYS NO OR 4 GROUPS ARE NAMED]

GROUP 1 (GROUPS AUXILIARY FILE ONLY)  
GROUP 2 (GROUPS AUXILIARY FILE ONLY)  
GROUP 3 (GROUPS AUXILIARY FILE ONLY)  
GROUP 4 (GROUPS AUXILIARY FILE ONLY)

R3r. *Service clubs or fraternal organizations such as the Lions or Kiwanis or a local women's club or a college fraternity or sorority?*

1 YES, INVOLVED WITH THIS TYPE OF GROUP  
 5 NO, NOT INVOLVED WITH THIS TYPE OF GROUP

(1=ASK FOLLOW UP; 5, DK/RF=ASK NEXT GROUP)

R3r1. Which ones? [PROBE “Any others?” UNTIL R SAYS NO OR 4 GROUPS ARE NAMED]

GROUP 1 (GROUPS AUXILIARY FILE ONLY)  
 GROUP 2 (GROUPS AUXILIARY FILE ONLY)  
 GROUP 3 (GROUPS AUXILIARY FILE ONLY)  
 GROUP 4 (GROUPS AUXILIARY FILE ONLY)

R3s. *Organizations that provide services in such fields as health or service to the needy--for instance, a hospital, a cancer or heart drive, or a group like the Salvation Army that works for the poor?*

1 YES, INVOLVED WITH THIS TYPE OF GROUP  
 5 NO, NOT INVOLVED WITH THIS TYPE OF GROUP

(1=ASK FOLLOW UP; 5, DK/RF=ASK NEXT GROUP TYPE)

R3s1. Which ones? [PROBE “Any others?” UNTIL R SAYS NO OR 4 GROUPS ARE NAMED]

GROUP 1 (GROUPS AUXILIARY FILE ONLY)  
 GROUP 2 (GROUPS AUXILIARY FILE ONLY)  
 GROUP 3 (GROUPS AUXILIARY FILE ONLY)  
 GROUP 4 (GROUPS AUXILIARY FILE ONLY)

R3t. *Educational institutions--local schools, your own school or college, organizations associated with education such as school alumni associations or school service organizations like the PTA?*

1 YES, INVOLVED WITH THIS TYPE OF GROUP  
 5 NO, NOT INVOLVED WITH THIS TYPE OF GROUP

(1=ASK FOLLOW UP; 5, DK/RF=ASK NEXT GROUP TYPE)

R3t1. Which ones? [PROBE “Any others?” UNTIL R SAYS NO OR 4 GROUPS ARE NAMED]

GROUP 1 (GROUPS AUXILIARY FILE ONLY)  
 GROUP 2 (GROUPS AUXILIARY FILE ONLY)  
 GROUP 3 (GROUPS AUXILIARY FILE ONLY)  
 GROUP 4 (GROUPS AUXILIARY FILE ONLY)

R3u. *Organizations that are active in providing cultural services to the public--for example, museums, symphonies, or public radio or television?*

1 YES, INVOLVED WITH THIS TYPE OF GROUP  
 5 NO, NOT INVOLVED WITH THIS TYPE OF GROUP

(1=ASK FOLLOW UP; 5, DK/RF=ASK NEXT GROUP)

R3u1. Which ones? [PROBE “Any others?” UNTIL R SAYS NO OR 4 GROUPS ARE NAMED]

GROUP 1 (GROUPS AUXILIARY FILE ONLY)  
 GROUP 2 (GROUPS AUXILIARY FILE ONLY)  
 GROUP 3 (GROUPS AUXILIARY FILE ONLY)  
 GROUP 4 (GROUPS AUXILIARY FILE ONLY)

R3v. *Support or self-help groups, such as AA, gamblers' anonymous?*

1 YES, INVOLVED WITH THIS TYPE OF GROUP



5 NO, NOT INVOLVED WITH THIS TYPE OF GROUP

(1=ASK FOLLOW UP; 5, DK/RF=ASK NEXT GROUP TYPE)

R3v1. Which ones? [PROBE "Any others?" UNTIL R SAYS NO OR 4 GROUPS ARE NAMED]

GROUP 1 (GROUPS AUXILIARY FILE ONLY)

GROUP 2 (GROUPS AUXILIARY FILE ONLY)

GROUP 3 (GROUPS AUXILIARY FILE ONLY)

GROUP 4 (GROUPS AUXILIARY FILE ONLY)

R3w. Any other organizations?

1 YES, INVOLVED WITH THIS TYPE OF GROUP

5 NO, NOT INVOLVED WITH THIS TYPE OF GROUP

(1=ASK FOLLOW UP; 5, DK/RF=ASK NEXT GROUP TYPE)

R3w1. Which ones? [PROBE "Any others?" UNTIL R SAYS NO OR 4 GROUPS ARE NAMED]

GROUP 1 (GROUPS AUXILIARY FILE ONLY)

GROUP 2 (GROUPS AUXILIARY FILE ONLY)

GROUP 3 (GROUPS AUXILIARY FILE ONLY)

GROUP 4 (GROUPS AUXILIARY FILE ONLY)

(REPEAT R3 TO R6 FOR ALL GROUPS NAMED IN R2a1-R2w1)

R4. How about the (DISPLAY TEXT OF ANSWER TO R2?1 FOR EACH GROUP NAMED)?  
Are you a member of this group?

1 YES

5 NO

R5. In the last 12 months have you paid dues or given any money to this group?

1 YES (GOTO R4a)

5 NO (SKIP TO R5a; DK/RF SKIP TO R5a)

R4a. Which is that? (Dues, contributions, or both?)

1 DUES

3 CONTRIBUTIONS

5 BOTH

7 OTHER (SPECIFY) [VOL]

R6. In the last 12 months have you taken part in any activities sponsored by this group or attended a meeting of this group?

1 YES (GOTO R5a)

5 NO (SKIP TO R6; DK/RF SKIP TO R6)

R5a. Which is that? (Attended a meeting, taken part in an activity, or both?)

1 ATTENDED A MEETING

3 TAKEN PART IN ACTIVITY/IES

5 BOTH MEETING AND ACTIVITY/IES

R7. How often does this group discuss politics -- often, sometimes, rarely or never?

- 1 OFTEN
- 2 SOMETIMES
- 3 RARELY
- 4 NEVER

SECTION S

**D30a-D30g or S30a-S30g, depending on random assignment to early or late placement**

S30a. Now I am going to ask you what you think of the government's current activities in various areas of environmental policy. In each case, just tell me whether you think the government should put *less, the same amount, or more effort* into that area than it does now.

Do you think the government should put less, the same amount, or more effort into *improving and protecting the environment*?

- 1 LESS
- 3 THE SAME AMOUNT
- 5 MORE

S30b. (Do you think the government should put less, the same amount, or more effort into)  
*Reducing air pollution?*

- 1 LESS
- 3 THE SAME AMOUNT
- 5 MORE

S30c. (Do you think the government should put less, the same amount, or more effort into)  
*Managing natural resources that are important to our economy, such as timber and fisheries?*

- 1 LESS
- 3 THE SAME AMOUNT
- 5 MORE

S30d. (Do you think the government should put less, the same amount, or more effort into)  
*Cleaning up lakes and parks for recreation such as hiking and boating?*

- 1 LESS
- 3 THE SAME AMOUNT
- 5 MORE

S30e. (Do you think the government should put less, the same amount, or more effort into)  
*Cleaning up hazardous or toxic waste?*

- 1 LESS
- 3 THE SAME AMOUNT
- 5 MORE

S30f. (Do you think the government should put less, the same amount, or more effort into)  
*Reducing solid waste and garbage?*

- 1 LESS
- 3 THE SAME AMOUNT
- 5 MORE

S30g. (Do you think the government should put less, the same amount, or more effort into)  
*Addressing global warming?*

1 LESS  
3 THE SAME AMOUNT  
5 MORE

### SECTION T

T1. On the whole, are you satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied, or not at all satisfied with the way democracy works in the United States?

1 SATISFIED  
2 FAIRLY SATISFIED  
3 NOT VERY SATISFIED  
4 NOT AT ALL SATISFIED

T2. [RB, P.15] Looking at page 15 in the booklet: In some countries, people believe their elections are conducted fairly. In other countries, people believe that their elections are conducted unfairly. Thinking of the last election in the United States, where would you place it on this scale of one to five where 1 means that the last election was conducted fairly and 5 means that the last election was conducted unfairly?

1 _____	2 _____	3 _____	4 _____	5 _____
LAST				LAST
ELECTION				ELECTION
CONDUCTED				CONDUCTED
FAIRLY				UNFAIRLY

T3. (Not using the booklet) Do you usually think of yourself as close to any particular political party?

1 YES (GOTO T3a)  
5 NO (GOTO T3c)

T3a. (IF YES) Which *party* is that? (PROGRAMMER ALLOW FOR MULTIPLE RESPONSES)

1 DEMOCRATIC PARTY  
3 REPUBLICAN PARTY  
5 OTHER PARTY (SPECIFY)

(PROGRAMMER, ONE PARTY MENTIONED, GOTO T3e, MORE THAN ONE PARTY, GOTO T3c)

T3c. (IF NO) Do you feel yourself a little closer to one of the political parties than the others?

1 YES (GOTO T3d)  
5 NO (GOTO T4)

T3d. Which party is that?

1 DEMOCRATIC PARTY  
3 REPUBLICAN PARTY  
5 OTHER PARTY (SPECIFY)

T3e. Do you feel very close to this party, somewhat close, or not very close?

1 VERY CLOSE  
3 SOMEWHAT CLOSE  
5 NOT VERY CLOSE

- T4. [RB, P.16] Looking at page 16 in the booklet: Some people say that political parties in the United States care what ordinary people think. Others say that political parties in the United States don't care what ordinary people think. Using the scale in the booklet, where 1 means that political parties care about what ordinary people think, and 5 means that they don't care what ordinary people think), where would you place yourself?
- 1-5
- T5. [RB, P.17] Looking at page 17 in the booklet: Some people say that political parties are necessary to make our political system work in the United States. Others think that political parties are not needed in the United States. Using the scale in the booklet, (where 1 means that political parties are necessary to make our political system work, and 5 means that political parties are not needed in the United States), where would you place yourself?
- 1-5
- T7a. [RB, P.18] Looking at page 18 in the booklet: I'd like to know what you think about each of our political parties. After I read the name of a political party, please rate it on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means you *strongly dislike* that party and 10 means that you *strongly like* that party. If I come to a party you haven't hear of or you feel you do not know enough about, just say so.
- T7a. The first party is the *Democratic party*.
- 0-10
- T7b. [RB, P.18] (Still looking at page 18 in the booklet:) *the Republican Party*
- 0-10
- T7c. [RB, P.18] (Still looking at page 18 in the booklet:) *3rd party possibly to be added*
- 0-10
- T8a. [RB, P.18] (Still looking at page 18 in the booklet:) And now, using the same scale, I'd like to ask you how much you like or dislike some political leaders. Again, if I come to a leader you haven't heard of or you feel you do not know enough about, just say so. The first political leader is Bill Clinton
- Bill Clinton
- 1-10
- T8b. [RB, P.18] (Still looking at page 18 in the booklet:) Bob Dole
- 1-10
- T8c. [RB, P.18] (Still looking at page 18 in the booklet:) Ross Perot
- 1-10
- T9. What do you think about the state of the economy these days in the United States.? Would you say that the state of the economy is very good, good, neither good nor bad, bad, or very bad?
- 1 VERY GOOD  
2 GOOD  
3 NEITHER GOOD NOR BAD  
4 BAD  
5 VERY BAD

T10. Would you say that over the past twelve months, the state of the economy in the United States has gotten better, stayed about the same, or gotten worse?

1 GOTTEN BETTER (GOTO T10a)

3 STAYED ABOUT THE SAME (GOTO T11; ALSO DK/RF GOTO T11)

5 GOTTEN WORSE (GOTO T10b)

T10a. Would you say much better or somewhat better?

1 MUCH BETTER

5 SOMEWHAT BETTER

(ALL RESPONSES GOTO T11)

T10b. Would you say much worse or somewhat worse?

1 MUCH WORSE

5 SOMEWHAT WORSE

T11. [RB, P.19] Looking at page 19 of the booklet, Some people say that members of Congress know what ordinary people think. Others say that members of Congress don't know much about what ordinary people think. Using the scale in the booklet, (where 1 means that the members of Congress know what ordinary people think, and 5 means that the members of don't know much about what ordinary people think), where would you place yourself?

T12. During the past twelve months, have you had any contact with a member of Congress in any way?

1 YES

5 NO

T13. [RB, P.20] Looking at page 20 of the booklet, Some people say it makes a difference who is in power. Others say that it doesn't make a difference who is in power. Using the scale in the booklet, (where 1 means that it makes a difference who is in power and 5 means that it doesn't make a difference who is in power), where would you place yourself?

1-5

T14. [RB, P.21] Looking at page 21 of the booklet, Some people say that no matter who people vote for, it won't make any difference to what happens. Others say that who people vote for can make a difference to what happens. Using the scale on this card, (where 1 means that voting won't make a difference to what happens and 5 means that voting can make a difference), where would you place yourself?

1-5

T15. [RB, P.22] Looking at page 22 of the booklet, When people are asked to express an opinion, do you believe most people in the United States usually say what they think about politics or do you believe most people usually hide what they really think about politics? Using the scale in the booklet, (where 1 means that most people in the United States usually say what they think about politics, and 5 means that most people usually hide what they really think), where would you place yourself?

1-5

T16. [RB, P.23] Looking at page 23 of the booklet, In politics people sometimes talk of left and right. Where would you place yourself on a scale from 0 to 10 where 0 means the left and 10 means the right?

0-10