

96NES Pre-election Questionnaire

Production version

SECTION A

SECTION A NOTES: The candidates in A4-A9a will appear in random order.

- A1.** Some people don't pay much attention to political campaigns. How about you? Would you say that you have been very much interested, somewhat interested or not much interested in the political campaigns so far this year?
- A2.** Generally speaking, would you say that you personally care a good deal who wins the presidential election this fall, or that you don't care very much who wins?
- A3.** In 1992 George Bush ran on the Republican ticket against Bill Clinton for the Democrats, and Ross Perot as an independent candidate. Do you remember for sure whether or not you voted in that election?
- A3a.** (IF YES) Which one did you vote for?
- A4.** Now I'd like to ask you about the good and bad points of the major candidates for President. Is there anything in particular about Mr. Clinton that might make you want to vote for him?
- A4a.** (What is that?) (PROBE: Anything else? Until R says "NO.")
- A5.** Is there anything in particular about Mr. Clinton that might make you want to vote against him?
- A5a.** (What is that?) (PROBE: Anything else? Until R says "NO.")
- A6.** Is there anything in particular about Mr. Dole that might make you want to vote for him?
- A6a.** (What is that?) (PROBE: Anything else? Until R says "NO.")
- A7.** Is there anything in particular about Mr. Dole that might make you want to vote against him?
- A7a.** (What is that?) (PROBE: Anything else? Until R says "NO.")
- A8.** Is there anything in particular about Mr. Perot that might make you want to vote for him?
- A8a.** (What is that?) (PROBE: Anything else? Until R says "NO.")
- A9.** Is there anything in particular about Mr. Perot that might make you want to vote against him?
- A9a.** (What is that?) (PROBE: Anything else? Until R says "NO.")
- A10.** Do you have either cable or satellite television?
- A11.** How many days in the past week did you watch the national network news on TV?
- A11a.** (IF ANY DAYS) (RB, page 1) How much attention did you pay to news on national news shows about the campaign for President -- a great deal, quite a bit, some, very little, or none?
- A12.** How many days in the past week did you watch the local TV news, for example, "Eyewitness News" or "Action News"?
- A12a.** (IF ANY DAYS) (RB, page 1) How much attention did you pay to news on local news shows about the campaign for President -- a great deal, quite a bit, some, very little, or none?
- A13.** How many days in the past week did you read a daily newspaper?
- A13a.** (IF ANY DAYS) Did you read about the campaign in any newspaper?
- A13b.** (RB, page 1) How much attention did you pay to newspaper articles about the campaign for President -- a great deal, quite a bit, some, very little, or none?

- A14.** Do you recall seeing any ads for political candidates on television this fall?
- A14a.** (IF YES) I'd like you to think for a moment about the one ad you remember best. Do you happen to recall which candidate sponsored that ad?
- A14b.** (IF YES TO A14) Do you remember anything the ad said or showed?

SECTION B

- B1.** As you know, representatives to Congress in Washington are being chosen in this election from congressional districts all around the country. How much would you say that you personally care about the way the election to the U.S. House of Representatives comes out: do you care very much, pretty much, not very much or not at all?
- B2.** Do you happen to remember the names of the candidates for Congress -- that is, for the House of Representatives in Washington -- who are running in the November election from this district?
- B2a.** Who are they? (PROBE: Any others?)
- B2b.** (ASK FOR EACH NAME GIVEN) What is [NAME'S] party?
- B3.** Do you approve or disapprove of the way the U.S. Congress has been handling its job?
- B3a.** Do you approve strongly or not strongly?
- B3b.** Do you disapprove strongly or not strongly?

SECTION D

SECTION D NOTES: After the Presidential candidates, the names are presented in random order. Although names are in ALLCAPS, they should be read to R. The groups in questions D2a-D2b will appear in random order. D2c will always come last in the sequence.

- D1.** (RB, page 2) I'd like to get your feelings toward some of our political leaders and other people who are in the news these days. I'll read the name of a person and I'd like you to rate that person using something we call the feeling thermometer. Ratings between 50 degrees and 100 degrees mean that you feel favorable and warm toward the person. Ratings between 0 degrees and 50 degrees mean that you don't feel favorable toward the person and that you don't care too much for

class=Section2>

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.

PROBE FOR DON'T KNOW RESPONSE: When you say "don't know" do you mean that you don't know who the person is or do you have something else in mind?

- D1a.** Bill Clinton
- D1b.** Bob Dole
- D1c.** Ross Perot
- D1d.** Al Gore
- D1e.** Jack Kemp
- D1f.** Pat Choate/James S. Campbell
- D1g.** Democrat candidate for House(NAME #31,#33,#35)
- D1h.** Republican candidate for House (NAME #32,#34,#36)
- D1j.** Retiring House incumbent, if open-seat race(NAME #30)
- D1k.** Hillary Clinton
- D1m.** Pat Buchanan
- D1n.** Jesse Jackson
- D1p.** Newt Gingrich
- D1q.** Colin Powell
- D1r.** Steve Forbes
- D1s.** Phil Gramm
- D1t.** Louis Farrakhan

D1u. Lamar Alexander
D1v. Elizabeth Dole
D1w. Pat Robertson

D2. Still using the thermometer, how would you rate:

D2a. the Democratic Party
D2b. the Republican Party
D2c. Political parties in general

SECTION E

SECTION E NOTES: The E2-E5 series of specific approve/disapprove items is randomized. The candidate names in question stem E6 will appear in random order for each respondent. This order will not, however, change for each item in the set E6a-E6f. The issues in E6a-E6f will appear in random order. The candidate names in questions E7 and E8 will appear in random order.

- E1.** Do you approve or disapprove of the way Bill Clinton is handling his job as president?
E1a. Do you approve strongly or not strongly?
E1b. Do you disapprove strongly or not strongly?
- E2.** Do you approve or disapprove of the way Bill Clinton is handling the economy?
E2a. (IF APPROVE TO E2) (Do you approve strongly or not strongly?)
E2b. (IF DISAPPROVE TO E2) (Do you disapprove strongly or not strongly?)
- E3.** Do you approve or disapprove of the way Bill Clinton is handling our relations with foreign countries?
E3a. APPROVE TO E3: (Do you approve strongly or not strongly?)
E3b. DISAPPROVE TO E3: (Do you disapprove strongly or not strongly?)
- E4.** Do you approve or disapprove of the way Bill Clinton is handling the environment?
E4a. APPROVE TO E4: you approve strongly or not strongly?
E4b. DISAPPROVE TO E4: (Do you disapprove strongly or not strongly?)
- E5.** Do you approve or disapprove of the way Bill Clinton is handling health care?
E5a. APPROVE TO E5: (Do you approve strongly or not strongly?)
E5b. DISAPPROVE TO E5: (Do you disapprove strongly or not strongly?)
- E6.** (RB, page 3) Which presidential candidate do you think would do a better job at ... [Bill Clinton, Bob Dole, Ross Perot], or wouldn't there be any difference among them?
- E6a.** ...protecting the environment
E6b. ...reducing the budget deficit
E6c. ...improving public education
E6d. ...reducing the power of special interests in political campaigns
E6e. ADDITIONAL ISSUE TO BE ADDED
- E7.** (RB, page 3) Which presidential candidate is more likely to raise taxes, Bill Clinton, Bob Dole, Ross Perot, or wouldn't there be any difference among them?
- E8.** (RB, page 3) Which presidential candidate is more likely to cut Social Security benefits, Bill Clinton, Bob Dole, Ross Perot, or wouldn't there be any difference among them?
- E9.** Who do you think is more to blame for the federal budget deficit, the Clinton administration or the Republican Congress?

SECTION F

SECTION F NOTES: F1–F4a are to be half-sampled: only about half the respondents will be asked these questions. The parties in questions F1/F1a and F3/F3a will appear in random order. F2/F2a will ask about the party mentioned in F1/F1a, and F4/F4a will ask about the party mentioned in F3/F3a.

- F1.** I'd like to ask you what you think are the good and bad points about the two national parties. Is there anything in particular that you like about the Democratic party?
F1a. (IF NECESSARY: What is that?) (PROBE: "Anything else you like about the Democratic party?" UNTIL R SAYS "NO.")
- F2.** Is there anything in particular that you don't like about the Democratic party?
F2a. (IF NECESSARY: What is that?) (PROBE: "Anything else you don't like about the Democratic party?" UNTIL R SAYS "NO.")
- F3.** Is there anything in particular that you like about the Republican party?
F3a. (IF NECESSARY: What is that?) (PROBE: "Anything else you like about the Republican party?" UNTIL R SAYS "NO.")
- F4.** Is there anything in particular that you don't like about the Republican party?
F4a. (IF NECESSARY: What is that?) (PROBE: "Anything else you don't like about the Republican party?" UNTIL R SAYS "NO.")
- F5.** We are interested in how people are getting along financially these days. Would you say that you (and your family living here) are better off or worse off financially than you were a year ago?
F5a. (IF BETTER) Is that much better off or somewhat better off?
F5b. (IF WORSE) Is that much worse off or somewhat worse off?
- F6.** Now looking ahead, do you think that a year from now you (and your family living here) will be better off financially, worse off, or just about the same as now?
F6a. IF BETTER: (Is that much better off or somewhat better off?)
F6b. IF WORSE: (Is that much worse off or somewhat worse off?)

SECTION G

SECTION G NOTES: The candidate names in questions G2-G3 will appear in random order. G2a-G2d to the candidate mentioned in G2, and G3a-G3d to the candidate mentioned in G3. Each list of affects will appear in random order (the follow-ons will stay with the corresponding affect).
 The candidate names in questions G5/G5a-G7/G7a will appear in random order. The candidate names in questions G8-G9 will appear in random order. The parties in questions G10-G11 will appear in random order.

- G1.** Now we would like to know something about the feelings you have toward the candidates for President. I am going to name a candidate, and I want you to tell me whether something about that person, or something he has done, has made you have certain feelings like anger or pride.
- Has Bill Clinton -- because of the kind of person he is, or because of something he has done -- ever made you feel:
- G1a.** Angry
 (IF EVER FELT) How often would you say you've felt angry -- very often, fairly often, occasionally, or rarely?
- G1b.** Hopeful
 (IF EVER FELT) (How often would you say you've felt hopeful) --

- very often, fairly often, occasionally, or rarely?
- G1c.** Afraid (IF EVER FELT) (How often) afraid?
- G1d.** Proud (IF EVER FELT) (How often) proud?

G2. Think about Bob Dole. Has Bob Dole (-- because of the kind of person he is, or because of something he has done --) ever made you feel:

- G2a.** Angry (IF EVER FELT) How often would you say you've felt angry -- very often, fairly often, occasionally, or rarely?
- G2b.** Hopeful (IF EVER FELT) (How often would you say you've felt hopeful) -- very often, fairly often, occasionally, or rarely?
- G2c.** Afraid (IF EVER FELT) (How often) afraid?
- G2d.** Proud (IF EVER FELT) (How often) proud?

G3. Think about Ross Perot. Has Ross Perot (-- because of the kind of person he is, or because of something he has done --) ever made you feel:

- G3a.** Angry (IF EVER FELT) How often would you say you've felt angry -- very often, fairly often, occasionally, or rarely?
- G3b.** Hopeful (IF EVER FELT) (How often would you say you've felt hopeful) -- very often, fairly often, occasionally, or rarely?
- G3c.** Afraid (IF EVER FELT) (How often) afraid?
- G3d.** Proud (IF EVER FELT) (How often) proud?

G4. (RB, page 4) 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.

- G4a.** Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?
- G4a1.** How certain are you of this?
- G4aa.** (IF NOT THOUGHT MUCH) If you had to choose, would you consider yourself a liberal or a conservative? (IF R CHOOSES, ASK G4a1)

G5. (UNLESS DK TO BOTH G4a AND G4aa) Where would you place Bill Clinton on this scale?

G5a. How certain are you of Bill Clinton's position on this scale? Very certain, pretty certain or not very certain?

G6. (UNLESS DK TO BOTH G4a AND G4aa) (Where would you place) Bob Dole (on this scale)?

G6a. How certain are you of Bob Dole's position on this scale? (Very certain, pretty certain or not very certain?)

G7. (UNLESS DK TO BOTH G4a AND G4aa) Ross Perot?

G7a. How certain are you of Ross Perot's position on this scale? (Very certain, pretty certain or not very certain?)

G8. (UNLESS DK TO BOTH G4a AND G4aa) Democratic candidate for Congress (NAME #31,33,35)

G8a. How certain are you of (NAME #31,33,35) position on this scale? (Very certain, pretty certain or not very certain?)

- G9.** (UNLESS DK TO BOTH G4a AND G4aa) Republican candidate for Congress (NAME #32,34,36)
G9a. How certain are you of (NAME #32,34,36) position on this scale? (Very certain, pretty certain or not very certain)
- G10.** (UNLESS DK TO BOTH G4a AND G4aa) Democratic party?
- G11.** (UNLESS DK TO BOTH G4a AND G4aa) Republican party?
- G12.** Who do you think will be elected President in November?
G12a. (IF NAME GIVEN) Do you think the Presidential race will be close or will [NAME GIVEN IN N3] win by quite a bit?
G12b. (IF DON'T KNOW) Do you think the Presidential race will be close or will one candidate win by quite a bit?
G12c. What about here in (FILL STATE NAME)? Which candidate for President do you think will carry this state? [IF NECESSARY: Which candidate will win in this state?] (If answer is candidate name, go to G12d but if DK, skip to G12e. If RF, skip to H1)
G12d. Do you think the Presidential race will be close here in (FILL NAME OF STATE) or will (FILL NAME CHOSEN IN G12c) win by quite a bit? (All answers skip to H1)
G12e. Do you think the Presidential race will be close here in (FILL NAME OF STATE) or will one candidate win by quite a bit? (All answers go to H1)

SECTION H

SECTION H NOTES: **H4a-H8 are half sampled: only about half of Rs will be asked these questions. The parties in question stem H4 will appear in random order for each respondent. This order will not, however, change for each item in the set H4a-H4h. The issues in H4a-H4h will appear in random order. The parties in question H5, H6, H7, and H8 will appear in random order.**

- H1.** Now thinking about the economy in the country as a whole, would you say that over the past year the nation's economy has gotten better, stayed about the same, or gotten worse?
H1a. (Would you say much better or somewhat better?)
H1b. (Would you say much worse or somewhat worse?)
- H2.** What about the next 12 months? Do you expect the economy to get better, get worse or stay about the same?
H2a. (Would you say much better or somewhat better?)
H2b. (Would you say much worse or somewhat worse?)
- H3.** Do you think that twenty years from now, the standard of living for the people who are just children now will be better, about the same, or worse than it is today?
- H3.1** Over the past year would you say that the economic policies of the federal government have made the nation's economy better, worse, or haven't they made much difference either way?
H3.1a. IF BETTER: (Would you say much better or somewhat better?)
H3.1b. IF WORSE: (Would you say much worse or somewhat worse?)
- H3.2.** Would you say that the size of the yearly budget deficit increased, decreased, or stayed about the same during Clinton's time as President?
H3.2a. IF INCREASED: Would you say it has increased a lot or a little?
H3.2b. IF DECREASED: Would you say it has decreased a lot or a little?
- H3.3** Would you say that the federal income tax paid by the average working person has increased, decreased, or stayed about the same during Clinton's time as President?
H3.3a. IF INCREASED: Would you say it has increased a lot or a little?
H3.3b. IF DECREASED: Would you say it has decreased a lot or a little?

H4.

- H4a.** Which party do you think would do a better job of handling the nation's economy ..., the Democrats, the Republicans, or wouldn't there be much difference between them? ("No difference" and "Neither party" are volunteered, do not probe, responses)
- H4b.** Handling foreign affairs?
- H4c.** Making health care more affordable?
- H4d.** Reforming the welfare system
- H4e.** Problem of poverty
- H4f.** Budget deficit
- H4g.** Handling the problem of pollution and the environment
- H4h.** Dealing with the crime problem

H5.

Which party is more likely to cut social security benefits; the Democrats, the Republicans, or wouldn't there be much difference between them?

H6.

Which party is more likely to improve race relations, the Democrats, the Republicans, or wouldn't there be much difference between them?

H7.

Which party is more likely to raise taxes, the Democrats, the Republicans, or wouldn't there be much difference between them?

H8.

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

H9.

During the past year, would you say that the United States' position in the world has grown weaker, stayed about the same, or has it grown stronger?

H10.

Do you agree or disagree with this statement: This country would be better off if we just stayed home and did not concern ourselves with problems in other parts of the world.

H11.

In the future, how willing should the United States be to use military force to solve international problems -- extremely willing, very willing, somewhat willing, or never willing?

H12.

A law has been proposed that would limit the members of Congress to no more than 12 consecutive years of service in that office. Do you favor or oppose such a law?

H13.

Do you happen to know if either of these candidates (DEM NAME #31, 33, 35) or (REP NAME #32, 34, 36) is currently in the House of Representatives? (IF NEEDED: which one is that?)

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SECTION K

SECTION K NOTES: The candidate names in questions K2-K4 will appear in random order. The set of questions about a particular candidate's traits will follow the question that pertains to that candidate. For each candidate, the list of traits will appear in random order (the follow-ons will stay with the corresponding trait). Clinton has two traits more than Dole or Perot.

K1.

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

K1a.

(IF REPUBLICAN) Would you call yourself a strong Republican or a not very strong Republican?

K1b.

(IF DEMOCRAT) Would you call yourself a strong Democrat or a not very strong Democrat?

K1c.

(IF INDEP, NO PREF, OTHER) Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party or to the Democratic Party?

K2.

(RB, page 5) 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 intelligent" describe Bill Clinton extremely well, quite well, not too well, or not well at all?

- K2a.** INTELLIGENT
K2b. (How about) compassionate
K2c. Moral
K2c1. How certain are you about this? Very certain, pretty certain, or not very certain?
K2d. Inspiring
K2e. Provides strong leadership
K2f. Really cares about people like you
K2g. Knowledgeable
K2h. Honest
K2j. Gets things done
K2j1. How certain are you about this? Very certain, pretty certain, or not very certain?

K3. (RB, page 5) Think about Bob Dole. In your opinion, does “provides strong leadership” describe Bob Dole extremely well, quite well, not too well, or not well at all?

- K3a.** Moral
K3a1. How certain are you about this? Very certain, pretty certain, or not very certain?
K3b. Inspiring
K3c. Provides strong leadership
K3d. Really cares about people like you
K3e. Knowledgeable
K3f. Honest
K3g. Gets things done
K3g1. How certain are you about this? Very certain, pretty certain, or not very certain?

K4. (RB, page 5) Think about Ross Perot. In your opinion, does “provides strong leadership” describe Ross Perot extremely well, quite well, not too well, or not well at all?

- K4a.** Moral
K4a1. How certain are you about this? Very certain, pretty certain, or not very certain?
K4b. Inspiring
K4c. Provides strong leadership
K4d. Really cares about people like you
K4e. Knowledgeable
K4f. Honest
K4g. Gets things done
K4g1. How certain are you about this? Very certain, pretty certain, or not very certain?

SECTION L

SECTION L NOTES:	The candidate names in questions L1b-L1d will appear in random order (and L1b1 will pertain to the candidate mentioned in L1b, etc.). The parties in questions L1e-L1f will appear in random order. The candidate names in questions L1g-L1h will appear in random order.
	The candidate names in questions L2b-L2d will appear in random order (and L2b1-L2b2 will pertain to the candidate asked in L2b, etc.) The candidate names in questions L2e-L2f will appear in random order. The parties in questions L2g-L2h will appear in random order.
	The candidate names in questions L3b-L3d will appear in random order. The candidate names in questions L4b-L4d will appear in random order. The candidate names in questions L5b-L5d will appear in random order (and L5b1 will pertain to the candidate mentioned in L5b, etc.).
	The issues mentioned in questions L6a-L6g will appear in random order.

L1. (RB, page 6) Some people think the government should provide fewer services even in areas such as health and education in order to reduce spending. Other people feel it is important for the government to provide many more services even if it means an increase in spending.

- L1a.** Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?
L1a1. How certain are you of your position on this scale? Very certain, pretty certain, or not very certain?
L1a2. How important is this issue to you? Extremely important, very important, somewhat important, not too important, or not important at all?
- L1b.** Where would you place Bill Clinton on this scale?
L1b1. How certain are you of Bill Clinton's position on this scale? Very certain, pretty certain, or not very certain?
- L1c.** (Where would you place) Bob Dole?
L1c1. How certain are you of Bob Dole's position on this scale? Very certain, pretty certain, or not very certain?
- L1d.** Ross Perot?
L1d1. How certain are you of Ross Perot's position on this scale? Very certain, pretty certain, or not very certain?
- L1e.** The Democratic party
L1f. The Republican party
L1g. Democrat House candidate(NAME #31,#33,#35)
L1h. Republican House candidate (NAME #32,#34,#36)

L2. (RB, page 7) Some people believe that we should spend much less money for defense. Others feel that defense spending should be greatly increased.

- L2a.** Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?
L2a1. How certain are you of your position on this scale? Very certain, pretty certain, or not very certain?
L2a2. How important is this issue to you? Extremely important, very important, somewhat important, not too important, or not important at all?
- L2b.** Where would you place Bill Clinton on this scale?
L2b1. How certain are you of Bill Clinton's position on this scale? Very certain, pretty certain, or not very certain?
L2b2. How important is this issue to Bill Clinton? Extremely important, very important, somewhat important, not too important, or not important at all?
- L2c.** (Where would you place) Bob Dole?
L2c1. How certain are you of Bob Dole's position on this scale? Very certain, pretty certain, or not very certain?
L2c2. How important is this issue to Bob Dole? Extremely important, very important, somewhat important, not too important, or not important at all?
- L2d.** Ross Perot?
L2d1. How certain are you of Ross Perot's position on this scale? Very certain, pretty certain, or not very certain?
L2d2. How important is this issue to Ross Perot? Extremely important, very important, somewhat important, not too important, or not important at all?
- L2e.** Democrat House candidate(NAME #31,#33,#35)
L2f. Republican House candidate (NAME #32,#34,#36)
L2g. The Democratic party
L2h. The Republican party

L3. (RB, page 8) There is much concern about the rapid rise in medical and hospital costs. Some people feel there should be a government insurance plan which would cover all medical and hospital expenses for everyone. Others feel that all medical expenses should be paid by individuals and through private

insurance plans like Blue Cross or other company paid plans.

L3a. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?

L3b. Where would you place Bill Clinton on this scale?

L3c. (Where would you place) Bob Dole?

L3d. Ross Perot?

L4. (RB, page 9) Some people feel the government in Washington should see to it that every person has a job and a good standard of living. (Suppose these people are at one end of a scale, at point 1.) Others think the government should just let each person get ahead on their own. (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.)

L4a. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?

L4b. Where would you place Bill Clinton on this scale?

L4c. (Where would you place) Bob Dole?

L4d. Ross Perot?

L5. (RB, page 10) Some people feel that the government in Washington should make every effort to improve the social and economic position of blacks. Others feel that the government should not make any special effort to help blacks because they should help themselves.

L5a. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?

L5a1. How certain are you of your position on this scale? Very certain, pretty certain, or not very certain?

L5a2. How important is this issue to you? Extremely important, very important, somewhat important, not too important, or not important at all?

L5b. Where would you place Bill Clinton on this scale?

L5b1. How certain are you of Bill Clinton's position on this scale? Very certain, pretty certain, or not very certain?

L5c. (Where would you place) Bob Dole?

L5c1. How certain are you of Bob Dole's position on this scale? Very certain, pretty certain, or not very certain?

L5d. Ross Perot?

L5d1. How certain are you of Ross Perot's position on this scale? Very certain, pretty certain, or not very certain?

L6. If you had a say in making up the federal budget this year, for which of the following programs would you like to see spending increased and for which would you like to see spending decreased —

L6a. Should federal spending on food stamps be increased, decreased, or kept about the same?

L6b. Welfare programs? (Should federal spending on welfare programs be increased, decreased, or kept about the same?)

L6c. Spending on AIDS research?

L6d. Foreign aid?

L6e. Financial aid to college students?

L6f. Solving the problem of the homeless?

L6g. Tightening border security and preventing illegal immigration

SECTION M

SECTION M NOTES:	The candidate names in questions M1b-M1d will appear in random order (and M1b1-M1b2 will pertain to the candidate mentioned in M1b, etc.). The candidate names in questions M1e-M1f will appear in random order. The parties in questions M1g-M1h will
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appear in random order.

The candidate names in questions M2b-M2d will appear in random order.

The candidate names in questions M3b-M3d will appear in random order (and M3b1-M3b2 will pertain to the candidate mentioned in M3b, etc.). The parties in questions M3e-M3f will appear in random order.

M1a.

(RB, page 11) There has been some discussion about abortion during recent years. Which one of the opinions on this page best agrees with your view? You can just tell me the number of the opinion you choose.

1. BY LAW, ABORTION SHOULD NEVER BE PERMITTED.
2. THE LAW SHOULD PERMIT ABORTION ONLY IN CASE OF RAPE, INCEST, OR WHEN THE WOMAN'S LIFE IS IN DANGER
3. THE LAW SHOULD PERMIT ABORTION FOR REASONS OTHER THAN RAPE, INCEST, OR DANGER TO THE WOMAN'S LIFE, BUT ONLY AFTER THE NEED FOR THE ABORTION HAS BEEN CLEARLY ESTABLISHED
4. BY LAW, A WOMAN SHOULD ALWAYS BE ABLE TO OBTAIN AN ABORTION AS A MATTER OF PERSONAL CHOICE

M1a1. How certain are you of your position on this issue? Very certain, pretty certain, or not very certain?

M1a2. How important is this issue to you? Extremely important, very important, somewhat important, not too important, or not important at all?

M1b. Where would you place Bill Clinton on this issue?

M1b1. How certain are you of Bill Clinton's position on this issue? Very certain, pretty certain, or not very certain?

M1b2. How important is this issue to Bill Clinton? Extremely important, very important, somewhat important, not too important, or not important at all?

M1c. (Where would you place) Bob Dole?

M1c1. How certain are you of Bob Dole's position on this issue? Very certain, pretty certain, or not very certain?

M1c2. How important is this issue to Bob Dole? Extremely important, very important, somewhat important, not too important, or not important at all?

M1d. Ross Perot?

M1d1. How certain are you of Ross Perot's position on this issue? Very certain, pretty certain, or not very certain?

M1d2. How important is this issue to Ross Perot? Extremely important, very important, somewhat important, not too important, or not important at all?

M1e. Democrat House candidate(NAME #31,#33,#35)

M1f. Republican House candidate (NAME #32,#34,#36)

M1g. The Democratic party

M1h. The Republican party

M2.

(RB, page 12) Some people say the best way to reduce crime is to address the social problems that cause crime, like bad schools, poverty and joblessness. Other people say the best way to reduce crime is to make sure that criminals are caught, convicted and punished.

M2a. Where would you place yourself on this scale?

M2b. Where would you place Bill Clinton (on this scale)?

M2c. Bob Dole?

M2d. Ross Perot?

M3.

(RB, page 13) Some people think it is important to protect the environment even if it costs some jobs or otherwise reduces our standard of living. (Suppose these people are at one end of the scale, at point number 1) Other people think that protecting the environment is not as important as maintaining jobs and our standard of living. (Suppose

these people are at the other end of the scale, at point number 7. And of course, some other people have opinions somewhere in between, at points 2,3,4,5, or 6.)

- M3a.** Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?
M3a1. How certain are you of your position on this scale? Very certain, pretty certain, or not very certain?
M3a2. How important is this issue to you? Extremely important, very important, somewhat important, not too important, or not important at all?
- M3b.** Where would you place Bill Clinton on this scale?
M3b1. How certain are you of Bill Clinton's position on this scale? Very certain, pretty certain, or not very certain?
M3b2. How important is this issue to Bill Clinton? Extremely important, very important, somewhat important, not too important, or not important at all?
- M3c.** (Where would you place) Bob Dole?
M3c1. How certain are you of Bob Dole's position on this scale? Very certain, pretty certain, or not very certain?
M3c2. How important is this issue to Bob Dole? Extremely important, very important, somewhat important, not too important, or not important at all?
- M3d.** Ross Perot?
M3d1. How certain are you of Ross Perot's position on this scale? Very certain, pretty certain, or not very certain?
M3d2. How important is this issue to Ross Perot? Extremely important, very important, somewhat important, not too important, or not important at all?
- M3e.** The Democratic party
M3f. The Republican party
- M4.** (RB, page 14) Some people think we need much tougher government regulations on business in order to protect the environment. Others think that current regulations to protect the environment are already too much of a burden on business.
- M4a.** Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?
M4b. Where would you place Bill Clinton on this scale?
M4c. (Where would you place) Bob Dole?
M4d. Ross Perot?
M4e. The Democratic Party
M4f. The Republican Party

SECTION N

SECTION N NOTES:	The candidate names in questions N1b-N1d will appear in random order. The candidate names in question N3a will appear in random order.
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The issues in questions N5a-N5f will appear in random order.

- N1a.** (RB, page 15) Recently there has been a lot of talk about women's rights. Some people feel that women should have an equal role with men in running business, industry, and government. Others feel that a woman's place is in the home.
- N1b.** Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?
N1c. Where would you place Bill Clinton on this scale?
N1d. (Where would you place) Bob Dole?
Ross Perot?
- N2.** So far as you know now, do you expect to vote in the national elections this coming November or not?
- N2a.** (IF YES) Who do you think you will vote for in the election for President? (PROBE: We all know the election is some time away and people are not certain at this point who they will vote for. Still, who do you think you will vote for in the election for President?)

- N2b.** Would you say that your preference for this candidate is strong or not strong?
- N2c.** (IF NO, or DK to N2)) If you were going to vote, who do you think you would vote for in the election for President? (PROBE: We all know the election is some time away and people are not certain at this point who they will vote for. Still, who do you think you will vote for in the election for President?
- N2d.** Would you say that your preference for this candidate is strong or not strong?
- N3a.** Sometimes people do not vote for candidates who have no chance of winning. Regardless of who you think will win, who would you most like to see elected in November -- Bob Dole, Bill Clinton, or Ross Perot?
- N3b.** If you could cast more than one vote in the presidential election this November, which other candidate would you find acceptable and vote for?
- N4a.** (IF R INTENDS TO VOTE) Who do you think you will vote for in the election for the U.S. House of Representatives in this district (alternatively -- in the district in which you will vote)?
- N4b.** Would you say that your preference for this candidate is strong or not strong?
- N4c.** (IF R DOES NOT INTEND TO VOTE) Who do you think you would vote for in the election for the U.S. House of Representatives in this district?
- N4d.** Would you say that your preference for this candidate is strong or not strong?
- N5.** Here are some more questions about federal spending. If you had a say in making up the federal budget this year, for which of the following programs would you like to see spending increased and for which would you like to see spending decreased —
- N5a.** Should federal spending on social security be increased, decreased, or kept about the same?
- N5b.** Should federal spending on improving and protecting the environment be increased, decreased, or kept about the same?
- N5c.** Public schools?
- N5d.** Dealing with crime?
- N5e.** Child care?
- N5f.** Poor people?

SECTION Q

- Q1.** 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?
- Q2.** Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted, or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people?
- Q2.1.** (RB, page 16) Please tell me how much you agree or disagree with this statement: "People like me don't have any say about what the government does."
- Q3.** Do you think most people would try to take advantage of you if they got the chance or would they try to be fair?
- Q4.** 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?
- Q5.** Do you consider religion to be an important part of your life, or not?
- Q6.** 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?

Q7. People practice their religion in different ways.

Q7a. (RB, page 17) Outside of attending religious services, do you pray several times a day, once a day, a few times a week, once a week or less or never?

Q7b. (RB, still on page 17) Outside of attending religious services, do you read the Bible several times a day, once a day, a few times a week, once a week or less or never?

Q8. (RB, page 18) Which of these statements comes closest to describing your feelings about the Bible? You can just give me the number of your choice.

1. THE BIBLE IS THE ACTUAL WORD OF GOD AND IS TO BE TAKEN LITERALLY, WORD FOR WORD, OR
2. THE BIBLE IS THE WORD OF GOD BUT NOT EVERYTHING IN IT SHOULD BE TAKEN LITERALLY, WORD FOR WORD, OR
3. THE BIBLE IS A BOOK WRITTEN BY MEN AND IS NOT THE WORD OF GOD.

SECTION X

X1. Lots of things come up that keep people from attending religious services even if they want to. Thinking about your life these days, do you ever attend religious services, apart from occasional weddings, baptisms or funerals?

_____ **X1a.** (IF NO) Regardless of whether you now attend any religious services do you ever think of yourself as part of a particular church or denomination?

_____ **X2.** (IF YES TO X1) Do you go to religious services every week, almost every week, once or twice a month, a few times a year, or never?

X2a. (IF EVERY WEEK TO X2) Would you say you go to religious services once a week or more often than once a week?

X3. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT: DOES R ATTEND CHURCH?

_____ **X3a.** (YES) Do you mostly attend a place of worship that is Protestant, Roman Catholic, Jewish, or what?

X3b. (NO) Do you consider yourself Protestant, Roman Catholic, Jewish, or what?

X4. (IF PROTESTANT OR OTHER) What church or denomination is that?

X4a. (IF BAPTIST) With which Baptist group is your church associated? Is it the Southern Baptist Convention, the American Baptist Churches in the U.S.A., the American Baptist Association, an independent Baptist church or some other Baptist group?

X4b. (IF INDEPENDENT BAPTIST) Are you affiliated with any larger Baptist group or is this strictly a local church?

X4c. (IF LUTHERAN) Is this church part of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in American, the Missouri Synod, or some other Lutheran group?

X4d. (IF METHODIST) Is your church part of the United Methodist Church, African Methodist Episcopal, or some other Methodist group?

X4e. (IF PRESBYTERIAN) Is this the Presbyterian Church in the USA or some other Presbyterian group?

X4f. (IF REFORMED) Is this the Christian Reformed Church, the Reformed Church in America or some other Reformed group?

X4g. (IF BRETHREN) Is this the church of the Brethren, the Plymouth Brethren, or what?

X4h. (IF CHRISTIAN) When you say "Christian" does that mean the denomination called the "Christian Church (Disciples of Christ)," or some other Christian denomination, or do you mean to say "I am just a Christian"?

X4i. (IF CHURCH OF CHRIST) Is this the Church of Christ or the United Church of Christ?

X4j. (IF CHURCH OF GOD) Is this the Church of God of Anderson, Indiana; the Church of God of Cleveland, Tennessee; the Church of God in Christ; or some other Church of God?

X4k. (IF HOLINESS OR PENTECOSTAL) What kind of church is that? What is it called exactly? Is that part of a larger church or denomination? What is that church called? (THESE QUESTIONS ARE PROBES. USE THESE AND OTHERS TO GET AS MUCH SPECIFIC INFORMATION AS POSSIBLE)

X4m. OTHER: What is it called exactly? Is that church part of a denomination? (USE ANY OR ALL AS NECESSARY; GET AS MUCH DETAIL AS POSSIBLE).

X4m1. Is that group Christian?

X6a. (IF R ATTENDS JEWISH SERVICES) Do you usually attend a synagogue or temple that is Orthodox, Conservative, Reform or what?

X6b. (IF R CONSIDERS HIMSELF/HERSELF JEWISH) Do you consider yourself Orthodox, Conservative, Reform, or what?

X7. Are you officially a member of a parish, congregation, temple or other place of worship?

X8. (ASK OF PROTESTANTS, CATHOLICS OR OTHER CHRISTIANS) (RB, page 19) Which one of these words best describes your kind of Christianity, fundamentalist, evangelical, charismatic or spirit filled, moderate to liberal?

X9. (ASK OF ALL PROTESTANTS, CATHOLICS, OR OTHER CHRISTIANS) Would you call yourself a born-again Christian, that is, have you personally had a conversion experience related to Jesus Christ?

SECTION Y

Y1. What is the month, day and year of your birth?

Y2. Are you married now and living with your (husband/wife)--or are you widowed, divorced, separated, or have you never married?

Y3. What is the highest grade of school or year of college you have completed?
Y3a. (IF LT 13) Did you get a high school diploma or pass a high school equivalency test?
Y3b. (IF GT 12) What is the highest degree that you have earned?

Y5. (IF MARRIED/PARTNERED) What is the highest grade of school or year of college (your husband/your wife/your partner) has completed?
Y5a. (IF LT 13) Did (he/she) get a high school diploma or pass a high school equivalency test?
Y5b. (IF GT 12) What is the highest degree that (he/she) has earned?

Y6. (RB, page 20) We'd like to know if you are working now, temporarily laid off, or are you unemployed, retired, permanently disabled, (a homemaker), (a student), or what? (MARK ALL THAT APPLY, & FOLLOW SKIP OF HIGHEST NUMBERED ANSWER BOX; EXCEPT IF RETIRED AND)
 HOMEMAKER OR STUDENT, FOLLOW THE PATH FOR RETIRED.)
 (WORKING NOW OR LAID OFF)

Y7. (Not using the booklet) What is your main occupation? (What sort of work do you do?)
Y7a. What are your most important activities or duties?
Y7b. What kind of (business/industry) is that?
Y7c. Do you work for someone else, are you self-employed, or what?
Y7d. Are you employed by a federal, state or local government?
Y7e. About how many hours do you work on your job in the average week?
Y7f. Is that more hours than you want to work, fewer hours than you want to work, or generally about right?
Y7g. How worried are you about losing your job in the near future; a lot, somewhat, or not much at all?
Y7h. (WORKING NOW ONLY) Were you out of work or laid off at any time during the last six months?
Y7j. (WORKING NOW ONLY) During the last six months, have you had a reduction in your work hours or had to take a cut in pay at any time for reasons other than illness or personal choice?

(UNEMPLOYED)

Y9. Have you ever done any work for pay? (NO -- SKIP OCC SERIES -- but go to Y10e)

Y10. What kind of work did you do on your last regular job? (What was your occupation)

Y10a. What were your most important duties or activities?

Y10b. What kind of (business/industry) was that?

- Y10c.** Did you work for someone else, were you self-employed, or what?
Y10d. Were you employed by a federal, state, or local government?
Y10e. Have you had a job in the last six months?
Y10f. About how many hours did you work on your job in the average week?
Y10g. Are you looking for work at the present time?
Y10h. How worried are you about not being able to find a job in the near future; a lot, somewhat, or not much at all?

(RETIRED)

- Y11.** When did you retire?
Y12. What kind of work did you do on your last regular job? (What was your occupation)
Y12a. What were your most important duties or activities?
Y12b. What kind of (business/industry) was that?
Y12c. Did you work for someone else, were you self-employed, or what?
Y12d. Were you employed by a federal, state, or local government?
Y12e. Have you had a job in the last six months?
Y12f. About how many hours did you work on your job in the average week?
Y12g. Are you doing any work for pay at the present time? (YES -- back to WORKING NOW)
Y12h. Are you looking for work at the present time?
Y12j. How worried are you about not being able to find a job in the near future; a lot, somewhat, or not much at all?

(DISABLED)

- Y13.** Have you ever done any work for pay? (IF NOT, SKIP OCC SERIES)
Y14. What kind of work did you do on your last regular job? (What was your occupation)
Y14a. What were your most important duties or activities?
Y14b. What kind of (business/industry) was that?
Y14c. Did you work for someone else, were you self-employed, or what?
Y14d. Were you employed by a federal, state, or local government?
Y14e. Have you had a job in the last six months?
Y14f. About how many hours did you work on your job in the average week?
Y14g. Are you doing any work for pay at the present time? (YES -- back to WORKING NOW)
Y14h. Are you looking for work at the present time?
Y14j. How worried are you about not being able to find a job in the near future; a lot, somewhat, or not much at all?

(HOUSEWIFE OR STUDENT)

- Y15.** Are you doing any work for pay at the present time? (IF YES, GO TO WORKING NOW SERIES)
Y15a. In the last six months, did you do any work for pay?
Y16. What kind of work did you do on your last regular job? (What was your occupation)
Y16a. What were your most important duties or activities?
Y16b. What kind of (business/industry) was that?
Y16c. Did you work for someone else, were you self-employed, or what?
Y16d. Were you employed by a federal, state, or local government?
Y16e. Have you had a job in the last six months?
Y16f. About how many hours did you work on your job in the average week?
Y16g. Are you doing any work for pay at the present time? (YES -- back to WORKING NOW)
Y16h. Are you looking for work at the present time?
Y16j. How worried are you about not being able to find a job in the near future; a lot, somewhat, or not much at all?

Y17.

(IF R MARRIED/PARTNERED)(RB, page 20) We'd like to know about your (husband/wife/partner). Is (he/she) working now, temporarily laid off, or are you unemployed, retired, permanently disabled, (a homemaker), (a student), or what? (MARK ALL THAT APPLY, & FOLLOW SKIP OF HIGHEST NUMBERED ANSWER BOX; EXCEPT IF RETIRED AND HOMEMAKER OR STUDENT, FOLLOW THE PATH FOR RETIRED.)

- Y17a. Has (he/she) ever done any work for pay?
 Y17b. (IF RETIRED) When did (he/she) retire?
 Y17c. Is (he/she) doing any work for pay at the present time?
 Y17d. Has (he/she) done any work for pay in the past six monthth

Y17e. (Not using the booklet) What is (his/her) main occupation? (What sort of work does (he/she)

do?)

Y17f. _____ What are (his/her) most important activities or duties?

Y17g _____ What kind of (business/industry) is that?

Y17h. _____ How many hours does (he/she) work in an average week?

Y18. Do you or anyone else in this household belong to a labor union?

Y18a. Who is it that belongs?(CHECK ALL THAT APPLY)

- a. Respondent
- b. R's wife
- c. R's husband
- d. Someone else

Y19. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT: R ONLY FAMILY MEMBER AGE 14 OR OLDER

Y20. (RB, page 21) Please look at the booklet and tell me the letter of the income group that includes the income of all members of your family living here in 1995 before taxes. This figure should include salaries, wages, pensions, dividends, interest, and all other income. (IF UNCERTAIN: What would be your best guess?)

- | | |
|------------------------------|------------------------|
| A. NONE OR LESS THAN \$2,999 | N. \$17,000-\$19,999 |
| B. \$3,000-\$4,999 | P. \$20,000-\$21,999 |
| C. \$5,000-\$6,999 | Q. \$22,000-\$24,999 |
| D. \$7,000-\$8,999 | R. \$25,000-\$29,999 |
| E. \$9,000-\$9,999 | S. \$30,000-\$34,999 |
| F. \$10,000-\$10,999 | T. \$35,000-\$39,999 |
| G. \$11,000-\$11,999 | U. \$40,000-\$44,999 |
| H. \$12,000-\$12,999 | V. \$45,000-\$49,999 |
| J. \$13,000-\$13,999 | W. \$50,000-\$59,999 |
| K. \$14,000-\$14,999 | X. \$60,000-\$74,999 |
| M. \$15,000-\$16,999 | Z. \$75,000-89,999 |
| | AA. \$90,000-\$104,999 |
| | BB. \$105,000 AND OVER |

class=Section3>

Y20a. (RB, still on page 21) Now we are interested in the income that you yourself received in 1995, not including any of the income received by (your spouse and) the rest of your family. Please look at this page and tell me the income you yourself had in 1995 before taxes. This figure should include salaries, wages, pensions, dividends, interest, and all other income. (IF UNCERTAIN: What would be your best guess?)

- | | |
|------------------------------|------------------------|
| A. NONE OR LESS THAN \$2,999 | N. \$17,000-\$19,999 |
| B. \$3,000-\$4,999 | P. \$20,000-\$21,999 |
| C. \$5,000-\$6,999 | Q. \$22,000-\$24,999 |
| D. \$7,000-\$8,999 | R. \$25,000-\$29,999 |
| E. \$9,000-\$9,999 | S. \$30,000-\$34,999 |
| F. \$10,000-\$10,999 | T. \$35,000-\$39,999 |
| G. \$11,000-\$11,999 | U. \$40,000-\$44,999 |
| H. \$12,000-\$12,999 | V. \$45,000-\$49,999 |
| J. \$13,000-\$13,999 | W. \$50,000-\$59,999 |
| K. \$14,000-\$14,999 | X. \$60,000-\$74,999 |
| M. \$15,000-\$16,999 | Z. \$75,000-89,999 |
| | AA. \$90,000-\$104,999 |
| | BB. \$105,000 AND OVER |

Y21. (R ONLY FAMILY MEMBER AGE 14 OR OLDER) (RB, page 21) Please tell me the letter of the income group that includes the income you had in 1995 before taxes. This figure should include salaries, wages, pensions, dividends, interest, and all other income.

(REPEAT RESPONSE CATEGORIES AS ABOVE)

Y22. In addition to being American, what do you consider your main ethnic group or nationality group?

Y22a. (IF MORE THAN ONE GROUP NAMED) With which of these groups do you most closely identify?

Y22b. Were both your parents born in this country?

Y23. (IF NO SPANISH OR HISPANIC GROUP MENTIONED ABOVE) Are you of Spanish or Hispanic

origin or descent?

Y23a. (RB, page 22) Please look at the booklet, pagexx, and tell me which category best describes your Hispanic origin.

1. MEXICAN
2. PUERTO RICAN
3. CUBAN
4. LATIN AMERICAN
5. CENTRAL AMERICAN
6. SPANISH

Y24. What kind of work did your father (OR FATHER SUBSTITUTE) do for a living while you were growing up? (What was his main occupation?)

Y24a. What were his most important activities or duties?

Y24b. What kind of business or industry was that?

Y25. Where was it that you grew up? (IF UNITED STATES: Which state or states?)

Y26. (Not using the booklet) How long have you lived in your present (CITY/ TOWN/ TOWNSHIP/ COUNTY)?

Y27. How long have you lived in this (house/condo/apartment)?

Y28. (Do you/Does your family) own your home, pay rent, or what?

Y29. (And finally), about how many miles do you drive in a typical day?