

The National Election Studies

1985 PILOT STUDY

WAVE II

P. 495822 (208)

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(For the benefit of those who did not interview during Wave I, we have included all of the original information about the National Election Studies. On pages 1 - 9 anything in italics is new to Wave II -- interviewers who worked on Wave I should review these carefully. The Q-by-Q's are, of course, new as well.)

ABOUT THE NATIONAL ELECTION STUDIES

The Election Studies of the Survey Research Center started in 1948 and have been conducted every two years during the past three decades. Data gathered from these studies represent an invaluable contribution to the better understanding of the wants, aspirations and political behavior of American citizens. Each new Election Study adds to the value of the series, for not only are we able to capture people's feelings and opinions with regard to the particular historical moment they are experiencing, we are also able, once the data are gathered, to compare present feelings and opinions with those voiced in the past. Our understanding of the political and social life of our nation is sharpened as we study current opinions and behaviors and continue to explore their trends over the years.

Two well-known books resulting from the analysis of NES data are The American Voter (1960) and Elections and the Political Order (1966), both by Angus Campbell, Philip Converse, Warren Miller, and Donald Stokes. In addition, literally scores of other books, doctoral dissertations and scholarly articles in the field of American government and politics have made use of these data. Our current Election Study bibliography lists entries of publications and research works using Election Studies data. With our data base now extending over 30 years, historians as well as students of contemporary government are beginning to show an interest in the interview data.

Those of you who have joined our staff recently might be interested to know that this archive of data is regarded so highly by students of American government that in 1962 the Interuniversity Consortium for Political Research was established in Ann Arbor partly for the purpose of making our political data readily available to other students of American politics besides ourselves. Today more than 240 American and foreign universities and colleges are members of this Consortium.

Since 1978, the studies have been conducted under the auspices of grants made by the National Science Foundation to provide long-term support for

the National Election Studies. In effect, the grant acknowledges that the Election Studies are a national resource of great value to those engaged in social science research. Because the studies have proven invaluable to so many researchers, NSF has agreed to fund the studies through 1988. The NSF and NES have encouraged, through financial support and other means, the involvement of a large number of scholars in these ventures. A nine-person Board of Overseers drawn from the national community of social scientists exists to supervise the implementation of the grant, set priorities for future studies and link members of the social science community to present and future National Election Studies. Since 1978, the Elections Studies are best described as a collaborative venture involving the study staff, the Board of Overseers and a committee of scholars interested in electoral research.

ABOUT THE 1985 PILOT STUDY

As mentioned above, the "traditional" Election Studies are conducted every two years, with a post election study during non-presidential election years and a pre-post study during presidential years. About 60% of those studies is devoted to measures of attitudes we have been studying for a long time; the questions which are repeated year after year are referred to as "CORE." The other 40% is usually "new" material, measures which have been tried and are perceived to have merit and support from the community of users, but have not been repeated, or not repeated often enough to be classed as CORE.

Included in our NSF grant is a certain amount of money to develop these new measures and study procedures. One outgrowth of this was the 1984 Rolling Cross-Section study. Another is the practice of off-year pilot studies to test new material for possible inclusion in the traditional Election Studies. And that is where we are now.

The purpose of the 1985 Pilot Study is to develop new measures for possible inclusion in the 1986 and 1988 National Election Studies. There are eight subject areas for which these measures are being developed: "Morality," political information, group identification, racial attitudes, women and the elderly, work participation, congress, and issues. In the Pilot Study are also a few stray "chestnuts" (CORE questions), which are there for the purposes of validation and control.

The eight contributors to the 1985 Pilot Study are scholars of political science and political psychology from seven universities around the country. They brought to us "babies" they have been interested in and, in some cases, tested in other contexts. We compiled their questions and asked some Ann Arbor Telephone Facility interviewers to pretest them for us. Those interviewers were truly wonderful -- they turned the pretest questionnaire upside down and inside out with the enthusiasm of hungry lions over a piece of meat. The Pilot questionnaire reflects heavily their experiences with the questions and their insightful suggestions for revisions (so if you don't like it, you know who to talk to...).

Data from the 1985 Pilot Study will be combined with data from the 1984 Pre-Post Election Studies and released in mid-March, 1986. While anyone can have access to these data, the primary users will be the eight people who contributed to the Pilot Study content. They will be doing analyses (quickly!) in order to determine what worked and what didn't, and make recommendations about new questionnaire content to the 1986 Election Study planning committee.

This study is being conducted by the Institute for Social Research's Center for Political Studies. Dr. Warren E. Miller, former director of the Center, is the principal investigator (now orchestrating the endeavor from sunny Arizona State). Dr. Steven Rosenstone, a member of the Board of Overseers, chairs the 1985 Pilot Study committee. Santa Traugott is the Director of Studies and Jeanne Castro is the Field Director for NES. Marlene Segal is acting as NES's AATF Field Manager.

ABOUT WAVE II

While Wave I was devoted principally to congress, issues, work participation, women and the elderly, and morality, Wave II is made up largely of items about racial attitudes, group identification, and political information. The race items in Wave II are "antecedents," and are items which will help explain the respondents' responses to the race items in Wave I. "Group identification" in this case means the kinds of groups and organizations people choose to belong to or support -- there is strong evidence that by examining the types of groups people favor, some predictions can be made about their political behavior and issue orientation. "Political information" is a set

of questions designed to give us some idea of what kind of information the respondent knows. It is a section which asks for facts rather than opinions, and there are right and wrong answers. Obviously, handling the ill-informed respondents through this section, avoiding making them feel they are being tested (and that they're failing), requires a gentle hand. For respondents who are well informed, however, this section is fun and they really enjoy its test-like nature.

FIELD NOTES

SPECIAL FEATURES OF THE PILOT STUDY

A. SAMPLE: The sample for the 1985 Pilot Study is a sub-sample of respondents who were interviewed in person (meaning that they have never been interviewed over the phone) on the 1984 Pre-Post Election Studies. Their experience with us has consisted of two 70 minute-interviews, the most recent of which was conducted 10-12 months ago. We have recently mailed out to these respondents the Report to Respondents for the 1984 studies, copies of which will be distributed to interviewers at the prestudy conference. --So, they have heard from us recently...

The selection of respondents from the 1984 sample was made to retain a national cross-section sample. The cross-section sample is supplemented that with a sample of the elderly (respondents who are 60 years of age or older). By the end of Wave II, we expect to have 300 cross-section respondents who will have completed both Waves, and an additional 40 respondents who are elderly, whose answers can be combined with the answers from the elderly cross-section respondents, bringing the total number of folks in the "elderly sample" to 100.

B. THE WAVE II SAMPLE: *People eligible to be interviewed in Wave II will be only the respondents who completed the Wave I interview. The release of Wave II coversheets will be regulated such that the Wave I interview will have been completed at least three weeks earlier.*

C. DESIGN OF WAVE II: *There are two "forms" ("A" and "B") so that one set of questions can be tested in two formats. This Instruction Book covers both forms of Wave II.*

D. DATES FOR WAVE II:

Prestudy Conferences for the 1985 Pilot Study, Wave II are scheduled for the large conference room in ISR on Wednesday, December 4 at 5:30 p.m., and Thursday, December 5 at 9:00 a.m. Interviewing on Wave II begins on Friday, Dec. 6. Interviewing on Wave I ends on Thurs, Dec. 12. Interviewing on Wave II ends on Monday, Jan. 13.

E. PRE-INTERVIEW EDITING ON WAVE II: *In order to administer the Wave II questionnaire, information specific to the respondent must be pre-edited into certain items. Information about the respondent's sex and age appear on the label on the cover sheet, and is used to complete the checkpoint on p. 11, D3. The Form assignment, "A" or "B", which also appears on the label, is used to complete item 4 on the Face Sheet of the questionnaire and Item D12 on p. 15, which will determine whether the D13 or D14 series is asked of the respondent. In addition, Face Sheet items 2, and 3 should also be pre-edited. Contrary to the practice in Wave I, the interviewer who first receives a Wave II coversheet will have to pre-edit the questionnaire for that respondent.*

F. THE WAVE II PRACTICE INTERVIEW: *You will be provided with a Wave II, questionnaire and "Worksheets" (for Section J) for the purposes of the practice interview. Please ask your practice respondent for the information necessary to complete the checkpoint at D3, p. 11. At D12, p. 15, the choice is yours..*

Conduct a practice interview, not with a relative, preferably with someone you don't know or don't know well. Treat it as a production interview, completely edited with a thumbnail sketch and the face sheet filled out. Bring your practice interview with you to the prestudy conference.

G. THE QUESTION-BY-QUESTION OBJECTIVES: *Writing q-by-q's for brand new questions is difficult, because objectives are usually developed from our experience with the questions. Thus, you will find the instructions we have provided "sparse," less instructions than*

explanations of what we hope to learn. In fact, there is so little to say at this point, that we decided not to reproduce the questionnaire in the Instruction Book, but simply provide page and question number references.

H. THERE IS NO REPORT TO RESPONDENTS PLANNED FOR THE 1985 PILOT STUDY: So, for heaven's sake, don't promise anyone a report!

J. RESPONDENTS AREN'T PROMISED THEY WON'T BE CONTACTED AGAIN: While it is unlikely that we will want to talk to these folks again, it's possible that we will want to talk to them again -- someday. Thus, the only thing we can tell them for sure is that the Wave II interview will complete our current research. If pushed to the wall, you can say that, while we don't expect to be asking them for another interview, you are not permitted to promise they won't be called again. Sorry, but we can't do any better than that.

K. PERSUASION LETTERS FOR WAVE II: There is a persuasion letter for Wave II (see a copy of this letter of the following page) which is distinct from the Wave I persuasion letter. When you request a persuasion letter, please be sure to indicate whether you want the Wave I letter sent or the one for Wave II.



**SURVEY
RESEARCH
CENTER**

You were recently telephoned by one of the interviewers working on our study about national issues. We would like to take this opportunity to extend our thanks for your time you have already spent with us on the previous interviews, and the thoughts you have contributed to our research.

I would like to give you a little more information about our study and the importance of another interview with you.

This study will complete our current long-term research program at The University of Michigan. We will be asking your feelings about social and political issues of concern to Americans these days. A vital aspect of this research is to add to what we already know about peoples' attitudes from our previous interviews. To do this, we must re-interview people who have given us their time in the past. In a research design such as this, there is no substitute for the responses of people who have previously participated in our studies. The answers you give are kept separate from your name and address and telephone number or any other information that could identify you. Any information you give is held in strictest confidence.

Results of these studies are made available in statistical form for the purpose of research in American government and politics. Data from these studies are particularly valuable to researchers because of its unusual depth, covering respondents' opinions on so many topics.

Thank you again for helping us in the past. We recognize that one of the largest costs of research is the time you and other respondents devote to providing the crucial data. Yet, it is precisely because you have been so generous with your time in the past, that your opinions are so vital to us now. We hope that you will reconsider and grant us another interview.

Sincerely,

Marlene Segal
Study Manager
Telephone Interviewing Facility

INSTITUTE FOR
SOCIAL RESEARCH

**THE UNIVERSITY
OF MICHIGAN**

ANN ARBOR,
MICHIGAN 48106

WII, 208

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS ABOUT THE STUDY

The following is a list of the questions we think you are likely to be asked before a respondent agrees to be interviewed. We hope we've written helpful, informative and persuasive responses. Feel free to paraphrase. We urge you to keep the list handy.

What is this study all about?

This study deals with several aspects of life in our nation. The topics covered include questions about people's work, social and political activities, feelings about issues discussed frequently in the news these days, and evaluations of current government policies.

How is this study different from the one I did just a few weeks ago?

As you know from the last interview we are interested in how well you think America is doing on social and political issues. This interview is designed to give us more in-depth information about those things, an extension of the last interview rather than a repetition of the same questions to see what has changed. In addition to questions about things we discussed last time, there are questions about people and topics in the news a lot these days, and about groups and organizations which interest you and which you support.

Why are you calling me again? Can't you talk to someone else?

The current study is what is called a "follow-up study." When this study is complete we will combine the answers from everyone in this study with the answers from the last study and those from the interviews you did last year. This will give us a much larger body of information to work with, but in order for it to be valid, we have to talk to the same group of people. You are, therefore, irreplaceable -- we can't replace the answers you might give us with those from anyone else.

Why is this study important?

This country has gone through major economic and political changes in the last several years. In order to understand those changes and their impact on the lives of Americans, we need to talk to people to find out how things

are going for them now, how they feel about their government, and how they think things might change in the future.

The data gathered are available, in statistical form, to anyone wishing to use them. Government policy makers and advisors will use the data as well as scholars and students of political, social and economic life of the nation. The research keeps policy makers informed about how Americans view their government, how people evaluate what the government does, what they currently find satisfying or dissatisfying in their lives, and what directions they would like to see their government take.

What happens to my answers?

Interviewers at the Survey Research Center are trained to record respondents' answers objectively and accurately. They have pledged to keep in confidence anything said in an interview.

Once the interview is taken, answers from participants will be used for research purposes only; all names, addresses, and other identifying information will be removed from the answers before they are processed.

Who is doing the study?

The study is conducted by the University of Michigan's Survey Research Center under a grant from the National Science Foundation. The Survey Research Center is one of the world's largest and most respected academic survey research organizations. It has been conducting national surveys for over 35 years.

Who is the study director?

Dr. Warren E. Miller is the principal investigator. (He is one of the authors of the foremost text used in studying the American Elections. The book is The American Voter, which was based on interviews taken from people like you.)

Where is the report you promised to send me when I was interviewed last year?

The Report to Respondents was sent to all 1984 survey participants the last week of October (1985). If you haven't yet received your copy, I will be happy to put another in the mail to you immediately.

QUESTION-BY-QUESTION OBJECTIVES

Face Sheet

Items 2-4 These should all be pre-edited and, once this is done, the pre-edited questionnaire should be kept with its coversheet until it becomes finally determined (as an interview or a final noninterview).

Page 1:

A1a-e Just for your information, these are the "morality" questions -- a special area of study for the Pilot.

Pages 2-3:

A2 This is a CORE question, although the specific persons and groups are not CORE. The Thermometer question in Wave II serves multiple purposes for the Pilot contributors, because within it are questions concerning political information, women and the elderly, and racial attitudes. The following is the CORE Q-by-Q for the Thermometer:

Watch to be sure that warmth of feeling is not equated with anger. In order to avoid such a mix-up, make sure that R understands that warm or favorable is the same as "liking" someone (or something) and cold means "disliking."

We want the ratings entered in degrees on the interview schedule. Any whole number between 0 and 100 is acceptable. R may want to pick a range such as "75 degrees to 100 degrees." Probe in such a case, "Which would you say is closer, 75 degrees or 100 degrees?" R will probably say "75 degrees," "100 degrees" or maybe "85 degrees" -- all are acceptable. "97.5 degrees" or "97 and a half degrees" are not acceptable. Probe: "Which is closer, 97 or 98 degrees?"

A probe has been supplied which you may use when the respondent is not able to rate a person. An "I don't know" response is misleading, and the probe helps you distinguish between the following situations:

1.) Is R trying to tell you that he knows the person or group (recognizes the name), but doesn't know (can't decide) how to rate the person or group because he/she is unfamiliar with the ideas of the person/group, feels the category is too broad, etc.? This answer belongs in the column labeled: DON'T KNOW WHERE TO RATE; CAN'T JUDGE.

2) Does R mean that the name just doesn't "ring a bell," that is, that he/she really doesn't know who the person/group is, in which case the answer should be marked in the column labeled: R DOESN'T RECOGNIZE NAME.

Please take time to be sure that R understands the mechanics of the feeling thermometer.

Please note the following problems which have come up. First, some R's say, "I don't have anything against GROUP X, give them 100." Remind R that 100 is for groups he/she very much likes; if all he/she can say is that he/she has nothing against them, maybe R's rating should be closer to 50. Second, be careful to distinguish, "I don't have any special feeling about them" (an answer indicating a feeling around 50 degrees) from "I don't know much about them" (an answer indicating one of the "DK" categories).

Page 3:

A3. This is the standard "presidential approval" item, which is definitely CORE. The CORE Q-by-Q:

Respondents may want to know whether "approve" means the same as "satisfied." (Answer: "Whatever it means to you.") Or whether they can choose a middle category. (Answer: "Well, in general, which is closer to the way you feel?" Repeat question.)

Page 4:

B1a-f B1a-f and F1a-f are designed to elicit R's feelings about egalitarianism (equality among people) in this country, and work ethics.

Page 5: B2 is a CORE question to determine the Lib/Con leanings of the respondent. The CORE Q-by-Q:

If the respondent has trouble with the terms liberal, conservative and moderate, meaning that he/she has no idea at all what the terms mean and insists he/she can't answer the question, say something like, "It's all right if you haven't thought much about this. We can just go on to the next question," check box "0", and skip to Section C. Please do not help the respondent define the words "liberal," and "conservative."

If the respondent gives an answer other than "liberal," "conservative," or "moderate" (e.g., "communist," "radical"), probe by repeating the question. If the answer is still not one of the responses boxed, record the respondent's choice in the margin and move on to Section C.

Pages 6-7:

C1 This series has to be read carefully because it's easy to miss the "reason for why white people seem to get more of the good things in life." In other words, the focus of the question is not a simply a matter of whether the respondent agrees with the statement, but whether he/she agrees that it's a reason for why white people seem to get more of the good things in life. Thus, when you read the probe, please be sure to read all of the probe.

Page 9

D1 This series is the companion to the Wave I series about the same groups of people receiving "respect."

In the pretest, a respondent complained that "older people" and "the elderly" were the same. Well, evidently they are the same to some people but not to others, so the only response we can give the respondent is, whatever-it-means-to-you. Another problem arose at "homemakers" (but obviously could arise with any of the items). The respondent said social status of "a homemaker" depends upon what the "homemaker's" husband does. A banker's homemaking spouse has a very different social status from that of a sanitation truck driver's. What we means is, "homemakers, in general."

Pages 10-11:

D2 This is another section which must be read carefully, since the point of the question is not merely a rating of importance, but a rating of importance as a reason for why there are poor people in this country.

Given the format of the other similar questions, the respondent may have some difficulty switching from the strongly agree/strongly disagree alternatives to those on "importance." He/she may say that he/she strongly disagrees with the item. Read the probe, and presumably you'll get a response like "not at all important."

Page 11:

D3 This checkpoint should be pre-edited with information from the coversheet label. It is a good practice to check before you begin calling on a coversheet to be certain this checkpoint is completed accurately.

Pages 12-14:

D4-D11 These questions are also companions to the "respect questions" in Wave I. However, in Wave I, the questions read, "If X were more actively involved in running the affairs of this country..."

Page 15:

D12 This checkpoint should be pre-edited. Again, before calling on a coversheet, it would be a good idea to make sure that this item has been completed accurately.

D13 This series is called "citizen duty," another area for which the Pilot study is developing new measures. It is also a set of questions asked in two formats -- see D14, p. 16 for the alternative wording.

Page 17:

E4 If the respondent says he/she does not know what an "affirmative action" program is, please record this remark, check the "Don't Know" box and move on.

Page 18:

F1 See the Q-by-Q for B1, page 4.

Page 19:

F3 There are two responses to this question which always give us pause: 1) "There is only one school in town," and 2) "There aren't any blacks around here so we don't worry about desegregation." In both cases, the response is "Very Unlikely" as far as we are concerned.

F4-F5 These questions are companions to E3, p. 17, and they are to be asked of everyone, not just whites. One problem did arise with an elderly respondent in the pretest who felt that chances for more opportunity would not get better because of his age -- it had nothing to do with what was happening with blacks and whites. If you get a response like this, please record R's words, leave the response boxes unmarked, but follow the skip for "DK."

Page 20:

F6-F9a These are items in the "approval" format, although they are not CORE. See the Q-by-Q for item A3, p. 3.

Pages 22-23

G1 This is the meat of the "political information" series, and it will take some footwork on your part to handle it well. We'd like you to record whatever response the respondent gives, right or wrong, and we do not want you to probe (do not probe DK's and don't repeat an item unless the respondents asks you to do so) other than to pause long enough for the respondent to sift through his/her memory to see if he/she knows the answer. We've tried to provide some well-known items, such that everyone will know at least one...

Here are a few suggestions from pretest interviewers: Respondents frequently begin all their answers with "Isn't that...?" If the respondent really want's to know whether he/she is right, tell him/her you aren't supposed to discuss the questions during the interview, but you can discuss it with them at the end of the interview. If the answer is being phrased as a rhetorical "Isn't that...?" try to get away with a noncommittal "O.K." or "um-hum" as you record the response. One pretest respondent with a tendency to run-on said, "Daniel Ortega. Isn't he the guy who runs those lettuce boycotts in California?" The interviewer, anxious to avoid discussion and keep things moving along said, "Gee, beats me." The point is to avoid a test-like atmosphere, so if you can carry off a "you-and-me-together" feeling with the R, do it -- e.g., putting a respondent at ease by saying, "I'm not sure about that one either," is O.K. with the study staff, although it may make your supervisors cringe.

Pages 23-24

G2-G11 Again, on all of the information items please do not probe the "don't know" responses.

G5 A "Don't Know" response can mean either that the respondent doesn't know the person/group, or that he/she doesn't know whether the group is generally Dem/Rep. Both are appropriate "don't know" responses.

Page 25

H1 This is a CORE question, but its principal purpose in the Pilot Study is to move you into the correct series of work-related questions -- the difference between the series being that of asking questions in the present or past tense. We will, therefore, not burden you here with the full blast of q-by-q's. No matter what category the respondent selects, if R is working now he/she will end up in the "working now" sequence; or if R is not working now but has worked sometime, he/she will be asked about the most recent job.

Pages 26-27:

H2a/H7a Notice that if R works for himself/herself and works alone, he/she is skipped out of the employment series.

H3/H8 The alternative wording "(other)" appears in this question and is used when the respondent is black. You know whether you respondent is black or white from the label on the coversheet.

Pages 29-30:

J1-J3 The purpose of this question is to find out what kind of organizations the respondent belongs to or supports through donations. Responses to J1 are to be recorded on the "Worksheet", which is a "goldenrod" form you are supplied with. Specific instruction for completing the form appear in the box on p. 29. In column 1 of the worksheet you will record the complete name of the organizations R mentions. In column 2, please record the item letter in response to which the organization was mentioned. This is very important, because when an organization is named will have an impact on how it is coded. For example, a respondent who names the "National Rifle Association" in response to item "G" has a different view of the organization than a respondent who names it in response to item "F."

Remember that a respondent is not limited to one Worksheet, or to six organizations. Use as many Worksheets as necessary, but be certain they are all properly identified with the interview (post-editing task).

Page 31

J4 This is a closing statement, which you may reword to something you are more comfortable with. The principal elements are to thank the respondent again for his/her participation, tell him/her how important he/she is to our research, and not say anything about whether we will contact them in the future. If you are asked, you can say that you can't promise we will never call again, but that this interview completes our current research project. If pushed still further, say we don't expect to be calling them again, but there is always some chance we may wish to talk to them again.

FOR OFFICE USE

**1985 PILOT STUDY
for the
National Election Studies**

Project 495822
(208)
Fall, 1985



**SURVEY RESEARCH CENTER
INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH
THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN 48106**

WAVE II, FORMS A & B

1. Interviewer's ID number: _____
2. ID number from coversheet label, upper left corner:
3. "Pilot ID Number" from upper left corner of Wave I coversheet:
4. This interview is: 1. FORM **A** 2. FORM **B**
5. Date of interview: _____
6. Length of interview: _____(MINUTES)
7. Time at beginning of post-editing: _____
8. Time at end of post-editing: _____
9. Total time to post-edit: _____(MINUTES)

THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT MUST BE READ TO ALL RESPONDENTS:

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

EXACT TIME NOW: _____

SECTION A

In this interview, we would like to broaden our understanding of things we discussed in the last interview, and also explore some new topics.

A1. First, I am going to read several statements. After each one, please tell me how much you agree or disagree. The first statement is:

(PROBE AS NECESSARY: Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, disagree strongly, or disagree somewhat with this statement?)

	1. AGREE STRONGLY	2. AGREE SOMEWHAT	3. NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE	4. DISAGREE SOMEWHAT	5. DISAGREE STRONGLY	8. DK
a. The newer lifestyles are contributing to the breakdown of our society. Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, disagree strongly, or disagree somewhat with this statement?						
b. The world is always changing and we should accommodate our view of moral behavior to those changes.						
c. There will always be some people who will think and act differently, and there is nothing wrong with that.						
d. Society should be more accepting of people whose appearance or values are very different from most.						
e. This country would be better off if there were more emphasis on traditional family ties.						

A2. Now let's talk about your feelings toward some political figures.

I will read the name of a person and I will ask you to rate that person on an imaginary thermometer that runs from 0 to 100 degrees. Ratings between 50 and 100 mean that you feel favorable and warm toward that person. Ratings between 0 and 50 mean that you don't feel too favorable or are cool toward that person. You may use any number from 0 to 100.

If we come to a name you recognize, but you feel neither warm nor cold toward the person, you would rate that person at the 50 degree mark.

If we come to a person whose name you don't recognize, just tell me and we'll move on.

The first person is "Ronald Reagan." How would you rate him using this thermometer?

PROBE FOR "I DON'T KNOW" RESPONSE:

When you say "don't know" do you mean that you don't know who the person is, or do you have something else in mind?

INTERVIEWER: PLEASE INDICATE WHEN YOU HAVE USED THIS PROBE BY ENTERING AN "X" IN THE COLUMN PROVIDED.

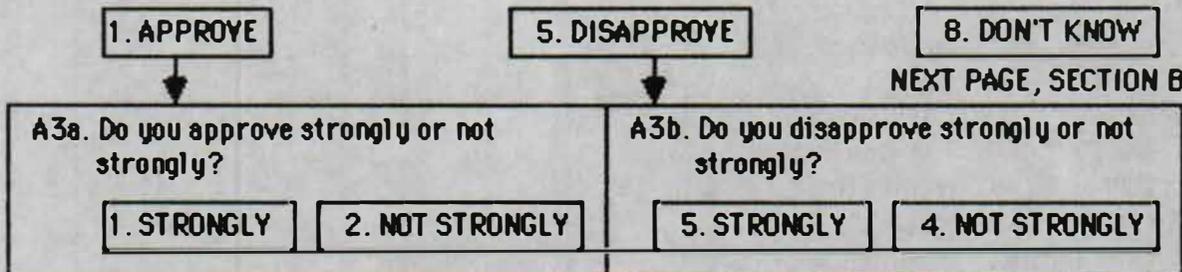
	RATING:	997. R DOESN'T RECOGNIZE NAME	998. DK WHERE TO RATE; CAN'T JUDGE	USED PROBE; 'X'
a. RONALD REAGAN	_____			
b. Mario Cuomo	_____			
c. Ted Kennedy	_____			
d. Jesse Jackson	_____			

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

	RATING:	997. R DOESN'T RECOGNIZE NAME	998. DK WHERE TO RATE; CAN'T JUDGE	USED PROBE; 'X'
e. civil rights leaders	_____			
f. the women's movement	_____			
g. people who oppose abortion	_____			
h. blacks	_____			
i. women	_____			
j. older people	_____			
k. feminists	_____			
m. whites	_____			
n. black politicians	_____			
r. black young people	_____			
s. black activists	_____			
t. working class blacks	_____			
u. black militants	_____			
v. white politicians	_____			

Thank you. And now, not using the thermometer:

A3. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling his job as president?



SECTION B

B1. Now I am going to read several statements as I did before. After each one, please tell me whether you agree or disagree with the statement.

(PROBE AS NECESSARY: Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, disagree strongly, or disagree somewhat with this statement?)

	1. AGREE STRONGLY	2. AGREE SOMEWHAT	3. NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE	4. DISAGREE SOMEWHAT	5. DISAGREE STRONGLY	8. DK
a. This country would be better off if we worried less about how equal people are. Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, disagree strongly or disagree somewhat with this statement?						
b. Most people who do not get ahead in life probably work as hard as people who do.						
c. If people were treated more equally in this country we would have many fewer problems.						
d. Any person who is willing to work hard has a good chance of succeeding.						
e. It is not really that big of a problem if some people have more of a chance in life than others.						
f. Even if people try hard they often cannot reach their goals.						
g. In general, people getting together in their own communities can solve their problems better than the government in Washington can.						

B2. In general, when it comes to politics, do you usually think of yourself as a liberal, a conservative, a moderate, or what?

1. YES, LIBERAL

B2a. Do you think of yourself as a strong liberal or a not-very-strong liberal?

1. STRONG

5. NOT VERY STRONG

TURN TO P. 6, SECTION C

5. YES, CONSERVATIVE

B2b. Do you think of yourself as a strong conservative or a not-very-strong conservative?

1. STRONG

5. NOT VERY STRONG

TURN TO P. 6, SECTION C

3. YES, MODERATE

7. NO, NEVER

8. DON'T KNOW

B2c. Do you think of yourself as more like a liberal or more like a conservative?

1. LIBERAL

5. CONSERVATIVE

3. NEITHER; R REFUSED TO CHOOSE

8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 6, SECTION C

O. R HAS ABSOLUTELY NO UNDERSTANDING OF THE TERMS "LIBERAL" AND "CONSERVATIVE"

TURN TO P. 6, SECTION C

SECTION C

C1. In past studies we have asked people why they think white people seem to get more of the good things in life in America -- such as better jobs and more money -- than black people do. These are some of the reasons given by both blacks and whites. Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with each reason for why white people seem to get more of the good things in life.

(PROBE AS NECESSARY: Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, disagree strongly, or disagree somewhat with this reason for why white people seem to get more of the good things in life?)

	1. AGREE STRONGLY	2. AGREE SOMEWHAT	3. NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE	4. DISAGREE SOMEWHAT	5. DISAGREE STRONGLY	8. DK
a. A small group of powerful and wealthy white people control things and act to keep blacks down. Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, disagree strongly or disagree somewhat with this reason for why white people seem to get more of the good things in life?						
b. The differences are brought about by God; God made the races different as part of His divine plan.						
c. It's really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; that if blacks would only try harder they could be just as well off as whites.						
d. Generations of slavery and discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for blacks to work their way out of the lower class.						

C1. (CONTINUED)

(PROBE AS NECESSARY: Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, disagree strongly, or disagree somewhat with this reason for why white people seem to get more of the good things in life?)

	1. AGREE STRONGLY	2. AGREE SOMEWHAT	3. NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE	4. DISAGREE SOMEWHAT	5. DISAGREE STRONGLY	8. DK
e. Black Americans teach their children values and skills different from those required to be successful in American society.						
f. Blacks come from a less able race and this explains why blacks are not as well off as whites in America.						

C2. How much discrimination against blacks do you feel there is in the United States today, limiting their chances to get ahead? Would you say a lot, some, just a little, or none at all?

1. A LOT	2. SOME	4. A LITTLE	5. NONE AT ALL	8. DK
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C3. During the last 10 years or so, do you think that the chances for blacks to get ahead have improved greatly, improved somewhat, stayed about the same, become worse, or become much worse?

1. IMPROVED GREATLY	2. IMPROVED SOMEWHAT	3. STAYED ABOUT THE SAME	4. BECOME WORSE	5. BECOME MUCH WORSE	8. DK
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C4. Now I am going to read several statements, as I did earlier. As you did before, please tell me whether you agree or disagree.

(PROBE AS NECESSARY: Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, disagree strongly, or disagree somewhat with this statement?)

	1. AGREE STRONGLY	2. AGREE SOMEWHAT	3. NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE	4. DISAGREE SOMEWHAT	5. DISAGREE STRONGLY	8. DK
a. Most blacks who receive money from welfare programs could get along without it if they tried. Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, disagree strongly, or disagree somewhat with this statement?						
b. Blacks shouldn't push themselves where they're not wanted.						
c. Over the past few years, blacks have gotten less than they deserve.						
d. Government officials usually pay less attention to a request or complaint from a black person than from a white person.						
e. Irish, Italians, Jewish and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same without any special favors.						

SECTION D

- D1. Some groups of people in our society enjoy higher social status than others. By this I mean they are thought of by others more favorably, are treated with greater respect and work in higher ranking positions.

Please imagine a ladder with ten rungs or steps. The top or tenth rung or step represents the highest social status, the bottom or first rung or step represents the lowest social status.

What rung on this imaginary ladder do you think represents the social status of:

	RATING (1 - 10)	
a. older people	_____	98. DON'T KNOW
b. (What rung do you think represents the social status of) the elderly	_____	98. DON'T KNOW
c. retired people	_____	98. DON'T KNOW
d. older working people	_____	98. DON'T KNOW
e. homemakers	_____	98. DON'T KNOW
f. feminists	_____	98. DON'T KNOW
g. women	_____	98. DON'T KNOW
h. working women	_____	98. DON'T KNOW

D2. Here are some reasons some people give to explain why there are poor people in this country. The first reason is, "lack of effort by the poor people themselves." Do you think this is an extremely important, very important, not very important, or a not at all important reason for why there are poor people in this country?

(PROBE AS NECESSARY: How important a reason is this for why there are poor people in this country -- extremely important, very important, not very important, or not at all important?)

	1. EXTREMELY IMPORTANT	2. VERY IMPORTANT	4. NOT VERY IMPORTANT	5. NOT AT ALL IMPORTANT	8. DK; HAVEN'T THOUGHT
a. LACK OF EFFORT BY THE POOR THEMSELVES.					
b. Lack of thrift and proper money management skills by poor people. How important a reason is this for why there are poor people in this country--extremely important, very important, not very important, or not at all important?					
c. Lack of ability and talent among poor people. How important a reason is this for why there are poor people in this country?					
d. Loose morals and drunkenness. (How important a reason is this for why there are poor people in this country?)					
e. Sickness and physical handicaps. (How important a reason is this for why there are poor people in this country?)					
f. Low wages in some businesses and industries.					

D2. (CONTINUED)

(PROBE AS NECESSARY: How important a reason is this for why there are poor people in this country -- extremely important, very important, not very important, or not at all important?)

	1. EXTREMELY IMPORTANT	2. VERY IMPORTANT	4. NOT VERY IMPORTANT	5. NOT AT ALL IMPORTANT	8. DK; HAVEN'T THOUGHT
g. Failure of society to provide good schools for many Americans.					
h. Prejudice and discrimination against blacks.					
i. Failure of private industry to provide enough jobs.					
j. Being taken advantage of by rich people.					
k. Just bad luck.					

D3. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT

A. SEX	B. AGE
R IS FEMALE <input type="checkbox"/>	1. R IS 60 OR OLDER <input type="checkbox"/> → NEXT PAGE, D4
	2. R IS 59 OR YOUNGER <input type="checkbox"/> → TURN TO P. 13, D8
R IS MALE <input type="checkbox"/>	3. R IS 60 OR OLDER <input type="checkbox"/> → TURN TO P. 14, D11
	4. R IS 59 OR YOUNGER <input type="checkbox"/> → TURN TO P. 15, D12

SERIES FOR WOMEN 60 OR OLDER

D4. If women in this country received greater respect would this increase the respect you personally receive from others, decrease it, or wouldn't it have any effect on you?

1. INCREASE 5. DECREASE 3. NO EFFECT 8. DON'T KNOW

GO TO D5

D4a. Would this increase the respect you personally receive a lot or just a little?

1. A LOT 2. A LITTLE 8. DON'T KNOW

D5. If feminists were more actively involved in running the affairs of this country, do you think this would increase the respect you personally receive from others, decrease it, or wouldn't it have any effect on you?

1. INCREASE 5. DECREASE 3. NO EFFECT 8. DON'T KNOW

GO TO D6

D5a. Would this increase the respect you personally receive a lot or just a little?

1. A LOT 2. A LITTLE 8. DON'T KNOW

D6. If homemakers in this country received greater respect would this increase the respect you personally receive from others, decrease it, or wouldn't it have any effect on you?

1. INCREASE 5. DECREASE 3. NO EFFECT 8. DON'T KNOW

GO TO D7

D6a. Would this increase the respect you personally receive a lot or just a little?

1. A LOT 2. A LITTLE 8. DON'T KNOW

D7. If older people in this country received greater respect would this increase the respect you personally receive from others, decrease it, or wouldn't it have any effect on you?

1. INCREASE 5. DECREASE 3. NO EFFECT 8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 15, D12

D7a. Would this increase the respect you personally receive a lot or just a little?

1. A LOT 2. A LITTLE 8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 15, D12

SERIES FOR WOMEN 59 OR YOUNGER

D8. If women in this country received greater respect would this increase the respect you personally receive from others, decrease it, or wouldn't it have any effect on you?

1. INCREASE	5. DECREASE	3. NO EFFECT	8. DON'T KNOW
-------------	-------------	--------------	---------------

↓

GO TO D9

D8a. Would this increase the respect you personally receive a lot or just a little?		
1. A LOT	2. A LITTLE	8. DON'T KNOW

D9. If feminists were more actively involved in running the affairs of this country, do you think this would increase the respect you personally receive from others, decrease it, or wouldn't it have any effect on you?

1. INCREASE	5. DECREASE	3. NO EFFECT	8. DON'T KNOW
-------------	-------------	--------------	---------------

↓

GO TO D10

D9a. Would this increase the respect you personally receive a lot or just a little?		
1. A LOT	2. A LITTLE	8. DON'T KNOW

D10. If homemakers in this country received greater respect would this increase the respect you personally receive from others, decrease it, or wouldn't it have any effect on you?

1. INCREASE	5. DECREASE	3. NO EFFECT	8. DON'T KNOW
-------------	-------------	--------------	---------------

↓

TURN TO P. 15, D12

D10a. Would this increase the respect you personally receive a lot or just a little?		
1. A LOT	2. A LITTLE	8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 15, D12

SERIES FOR MEN 60 OR OLDER

D11. If older people in this country received greater respect would this increase the respect you personally receive from others, decrease it, or wouldn't it have any effect on you?

 1. INCREASE 5. DECREASE 3. NO EFFECT 8. DON'T KNOW**NEXT PAGE, D12**

D11a. Would this increase the respect you personally receive a lot or just a little?

 1. A LOT 2. A LITTLE 8. DON'T KNOW**NEXT PAGE, D12**

D12. INTERVIEWER'S CHECKPOINT

<input type="checkbox"/>	1. THIS IS A FORM A INTERVIEW
<input type="checkbox"/>	2. THIS IS A FORM B INTERVIEW → NEXT PAGE, D14

↓

D13. I am going to read several statements people sometimes use to describe themselves. As in earlier questions, please tell me whether you agree or disagree.

(PROBE AS NECESSARY: Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, disagree strongly, or disagree somewhat with this statement?)

	1. AGREE STRONGLY	2. AGREE SOMEWHAT	3. NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE	4. DISAGREE SOMEWHAT	5. DISAGREE STRONGLY	8. DK
a. With all the elections there are, I'm often not interested enough or don't have time to vote. Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, disagree strongly, or disagree somewhat with this statement?						
b. The ideals of America, such as freedom and equality, are very important to me personally.						
c. I'm really not concerned whether my actions benefit or help the country as a whole.						
d. Though I wouldn't commit a real crime, sometimes I might break minor laws such as traffic regulations.						
e. If the United States went to war, I would volunteer to help in the war effort in whatever way I possibly could.						

TURN TO P. 17, SECTION E

FORM B ONLY

D14. Now for something a little different.

D14a. With all the elections that there are, would you say that you vote almost always, some of the time, only now and then, or hardly ever?

1. ALMOST ALWAYS	2. SOME OF THE TIME	4. ONLY NOW AND THEN	5. HARDLY EVER	8. DON'T KNOW
---------------------	------------------------	-------------------------	-------------------	------------------

D14b. How important to you personally are the ideals of America such as freedom and equality -- extremely important, very important, somewhat important, or not very important?

1. EXTREMELY IMPORTANT	2. VERY IMPORTANT	4. SOMEWHAT IMPORTANT	5. NOT VERY IMPORTANT	8. DK
---------------------------	----------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	-------

D14c. How important is it to you that your actions benefit or help the country as a whole -- extremely important, very important, somewhat important, or not very important?

1. EXTREMELY IMPORTANT	2. VERY IMPORTANT	4. SOMEWHAT IMPORTANT	5. NOT VERY IMPORTANT	8. DK
---------------------------	----------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	-------

D14d. Although you wouldn't commit a real crime, would you say you break minor laws such as traffic regulations almost always, some of the time, only now and then, or hardly ever?

1. ALMOST ALWAYS	2. SOME OF THE TIME	4. ONLY NOW AND THEN	5. HARDLY EVER	8. DON'T KNOW
---------------------	------------------------	-------------------------	-------------------	------------------

D14e. If the United States went to war, how likely is it that you would volunteer to help in the war effort in whatever way you could -- extremely likely, very likely, somewhat likely, or not very likely?

1. EXTREMELY LIKELY	2. VERY LIKELY	4. SOMEWHAT LIKELY	5. NOT VERY LIKELY	8. DON'T KNOW
------------------------	-------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	------------------

SECTION E

E1. What do you think the chances are these days that a white person won't get admitted to a school while an equally or less qualified minority person gets admitted instead. Is this very likely, somewhat likely, or not very likely to happen these days?

1. VERY LIKELY

3. SOMEWHAT LIKELY

5. NOT VERY LIKELY

8. DON'T KNOW

E2. What do you think the chances are these days that a white person won't get a job or a promotion while an equally or less qualified minority employee gets one instead? Is this very likely, somewhat likely, or not very likely to happen these days?

1. VERY LIKELY

3. SOMEWHAT LIKELY

5. NOT VERY LIKELY

8. DON'T KNOW

E3. Think about the opportunities for advancement now available to black people and to white people. These days, do you think that whites would have more opportunity to advance than blacks, or would blacks have more opportunity to advance than whites?

1. WHITES HAVE MORE

3. HAVE THE SAME

5. BLACKS HAVE MORE

8. DK
GO TO E4

<p>E3a. Would you say whites would have much more, or only somewhat more opportunity than blacks?</p> <p>1. MUCH 2. SOMEWHAT</p>	<p>E3b. If you had to choose, would you say that whites would have slightly more opportunity or blacks have slightly more?</p> <p>3. WHITES 4. BLACKS</p>	<p>E3c. Would you say blacks would have much more, or only somewhat more opportunity than whites?</p> <p>5. MUCH 6. SOMEWHAT</p>
---	--	---

E4. I would like you to tell me whether you agree or disagree with the following statement: Affirmative action programs for minorities have reduced whites' chances for jobs, promotions, and admissions to schools and training programs. (Do you agree or disagree?)

1. AGREE

5. DISAGREE

8. DON'T KNOW

NEXT PAGE, SECTION F

<p>E4a. Do you agree strongly or not strongly?</p> <p>1. STRONGLY 2. NOT STRONGLY</p>	<p>E4b. Do you disagree strongly or not strongly?</p> <p>5. STRONGLY 4. NOT STRONGLY</p>
--	---

SECTION F

F1. Now I am going to read several statements as I did before. After each one, please tell me whether you agree or disagree.

(PROBE AS NECESSARY: Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, disagree strongly, or disagree somewhat with this statement?)

	1. AGREE STRONGLY	2. AGREE SOMEWHAT	3. NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE	4. DISAGREE SOMEWHAT	5. DISAGREE STRONGLY	8. DK
a. Our society should do whatever is <u>necessary</u> to make sure that everyone has an equal opportunity to <u>succeed</u> . Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, disagree strongly, or disagree somewhat with this statement?						
b. Most people who don't get ahead shouldn't blame the system; they have only themselves to blame.						
c. We have gone too far in pushing equal rights in this country.						
d. Hard work offers little guarantee of success.						
e. One of the big problems in this country is that we don't give everyone an equal chance.						
f. If people work hard they almost always get what they want.						

F2. How many people in your neighborhood are about 60 years of age or older? Is it more than half, about half, about a quarter, or are there only a few older people in your neighborhood?

- | | | | | |
|-------------------|---------------|--------------------|---------------|---------------|
| 1. MORE THAN HALF | 2. ABOUT HALF | 3. ABOUT A QUARTER | 4. ONLY A FEW | 8. DON'T KNOW |
|-------------------|---------------|--------------------|---------------|---------------|

F3. How likely is it that children from the elementary schools in your neighborhood will be bused to other parts of the city in order to achieve school desegregation? Is it very likely, somewhat likely, somewhat unlikely, or very unlikely?

- | | | | | |
|----------------|--------------------|----------------------|------------------|---------------|
| 1. VERY LIKELY | 2. SOMEWHAT LIKELY | 4. SOMEWHAT UNLIKELY | 5. VERY UNLIKELY | 8. DON'T KNOW |
|----------------|--------------------|----------------------|------------------|---------------|

F4. Think about your own opportunities for advancement in society compared to the opportunities available to most black people. These days, do you think that you would have more opportunity to advance, or less opportunity to advance than most black people?

- | | | | |
|---------|---------|---------|-------|
| 1. MORE | 3. SAME | 5. LESS | 8. DK |
|---------|---------|---------|-------|
- GO TO F5

<p>F 4a. Would you say you would have much more, or only somewhat more opportunity than most blacks?</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td>1. MUCH</td> <td>2. SOMEWHAT</td> </tr> </table>	1. MUCH	2. SOMEWHAT	<p>F 4b. If you had to choose, would you say that you would have slightly more opportunity or that most blacks have slightly more?</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td>3. SELF</td> <td>4. BLACKS</td> </tr> </table>	3. SELF	4. BLACKS	<p>F 4c. Would you say that most blacks would have much more, or only somewhat more opportunity than you?</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td>5. MUCH</td> <td>6. SOMEWHAT</td> </tr> </table>	5. MUCH	6. SOMEWHAT
1. MUCH	2. SOMEWHAT							
3. SELF	4. BLACKS							
5. MUCH	6. SOMEWHAT							

F5. If opportunities for white people in general were to improve over the next few years, do you think that your own opportunities would get better, get worse, or stay about the same?

- | | | | |
|---------------|-------------------------------|--------------|------------------------|
| 1. GET BETTER | 3. STAY SAME
NEXT PAGE, F6 | 5. GET WORSE | 8. DK
NEXT PAGE, F6 |
|---------------|-------------------------------|--------------|------------------------|

<p>F5a. Do you think they would get much better, or only somewhat better?</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td>1. MUCH BETTER</td> <td>2. SOMEWHAT BETTER</td> </tr> </table>	1. MUCH BETTER	2. SOMEWHAT BETTER	<p>F5a. Do you think they would get much worse or only somewhat worse?</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td>5. MUCH WORSE</td> <td>4. SOMEWHAT WORSE</td> </tr> </table>	5. MUCH WORSE	4. SOMEWHAT WORSE
1. MUCH BETTER	2. SOMEWHAT BETTER				
5. MUCH WORSE	4. SOMEWHAT WORSE				

F6. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling the economy?

1. APPROVE	5. DISAPPROVE	8. DON'T KNOW				
		GO TO F7				
<p>F6a. Do you approve strongly or not strongly?</p> <table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="text-align: center;">1. STRONGLY</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2. NOT STRONGLY</td> </tr> </table>		1. STRONGLY	2. NOT STRONGLY	<p>F6b. Do you disapprove strongly or not strongly?</p> <table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="text-align: center;">5. STRONGLY</td> <td style="text-align: center;">4. NOT STRONGLY</td> </tr> </table>	5. STRONGLY	4. NOT STRONGLY
1. STRONGLY	2. NOT STRONGLY					
5. STRONGLY	4. NOT STRONGLY					

F7. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling foreign affairs?

1. APPROVE	5. DISAPPROVE	8. DON'T KNOW				
		GO TO F8				
<p>F7a. Do you approve strongly or not strongly?</p> <table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="text-align: center;">1. STRONGLY</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2. NOT STRONGLY</td> </tr> </table>		1. STRONGLY	2. NOT STRONGLY	<p>F7b. Do you disapprove strongly or not strongly?</p> <table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="text-align: center;">5. STRONGLY</td> <td style="text-align: center;">4. NOT STRONGLY</td> </tr> </table>	5. STRONGLY	4. NOT STRONGLY
1. STRONGLY	2. NOT STRONGLY					
5. STRONGLY	4. NOT STRONGLY					

F8. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling relations between blacks and whites?

1. APPROVE	5. DISAPPROVE	8. DON'T KNOW				
		GO TO F9				
<p>F8a. Do you approve strongly or not strongly?</p> <table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="text-align: center;">1. STRONGLY</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2. NOT STRONGLY</td> </tr> </table>		1. STRONGLY	2. NOT STRONGLY	<p>F8b. Do you disapprove strongly or not strongly?</p> <table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="text-align: center;">5. STRONGLY</td> <td style="text-align: center;">4. NOT STRONGLY</td> </tr> </table>	5. STRONGLY	4. NOT STRONGLY
1. STRONGLY	2. NOT STRONGLY					
5. STRONGLY	4. NOT STRONGLY					

F9. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling the United States' relations with the South African government?

1. APPROVE	5. DISAPPROVE	8. DON'T KNOW				
		NEXT PAGE, F10				
<p>F9a. Do you approve strongly or not strongly?</p> <table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="text-align: center;">1. STRONGLY</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2. NOT STRONGLY</td> </tr> </table>		1. STRONGLY	2. NOT STRONGLY	<p>F9b. Do you disapprove strongly or not strongly?</p> <table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="text-align: center;">5. STRONGLY</td> <td style="text-align: center;">4. NOT STRONGLY</td> </tr> </table>	5. STRONGLY	4. NOT STRONGLY
1. STRONGLY	2. NOT STRONGLY					
5. STRONGLY	4. NOT STRONGLY					

F10. When decisions are being made in your community which interest you, how often do you try to influence them -- often, sometimes, rarely, or never?

1. OFTEN 2. SOMETIMES 3. RARELY 4. NEVER 8. DK

F11. 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?

1. BETTER	3. SAME	5. WORSE	8. DON'T KNOW
↓		↓	
GO TO F12		GO TO F12	
F11a. Is that much better off or somewhat better off? 1. MUCH BETTER 2. SOMEWHAT BETTER		F11b. Is that much worse off or somewhat worse off? 5. MUCH WORSE 4. SOMEWHAT WORSE	

F12. What about women? Would you say that over the past year the economic position of women has gotten better, stayed about the same, or gotten worse?

1. BETTER	3. SAME	5. WORSE	8. DON'T KNOW
↓		↓	
GO TO F12		GO TO F12	
F12a. Is that much better off or somewhat better off? 1. MUCH BETTER 2. SOMEWHAT BETTER		F12b. Is that much worse off or somewhat worse off? 5. MUCH WORSE 4. SOMEWHAT WORSE	

F13. What about the elderly? (Would you say that over the past year the economic position of the elderly has gotten better, stayed about the same, or gotten worse?)

1. BETTER	3. SAME	5. WORSE	8. DON'T KNOW
↓		↓	
NEXT PAGE, SECTION G		NEXT PAGE, SECTION G	
F13a. Is that much better off or somewhat better off? 1. MUCH BETTER 2. SOMEWHAT BETTER		F13b. Is that much worse off or somewhat worse off? 5. MUCH WORSE 4. SOMEWHAT WORSE	

SECTION 6

Now we have a set of questions concerning public affairs information. These questions do not represent a "test" of any sort; rather, we want to assess what kind of information gets through to the public and whether different people find out about different issues.

G1. I am going to read a list of individuals, groups, and terms. Please try to identify each.

(●PAUSE AFTER EACH ITEM, GIVING R A MOMENT TO THINK.

●RECORD WHATEVER R SAYS.

●IF R SAYS "DON'T KNOW," **DO NOT PROBE** OTHER THAN TO PAUSE.)

G1a. Martin Luther King: _____

G1b. Caspar Weinberger: _____

G1c. Thurgood Marshall: _____

G1d. George Bush: _____

G1e. N.A.A.C.P (READ AS: N double A C P): _____

G1f. Daniel Ortega: _____

G1g. Richard Nixon: _____

G1h. Dow Jones Index: _____

G1i. NATO (READ AS A WORD, NOT AS LETTERS): _____

G1j. Affirmative Action: _____

G1k. Paul Volker: _____

G2. What do you think is the current national unemployment rate?
 (IF R GIVES RANGE, PROBE FOR WHICH NUMBER IS CLOSEST.)
(DO NOT PROBE "DKs")

_____ % UNEMPLOYMENT RATE 998. DON'T KNOW

G3. What do you think is the current rate of inflation -- that is, by what
 percent have prices increased this year over last?
 (IF R GIVES RANGE, PROBE FOR WHICH NUMBER IS CLOSEST.)
(DO NOT PROBE "DKs")

_____ % INFLATION RATE 998. DON'T KNOW

G4. Is the federal budget deficit larger or smaller than it was when
 President Reagan first took office? **(DO NOT PROBE "DKs")**

1. LARGER 5. SMALLER 8. DON'T KNOW

G5. I am going to read a list of groups and individuals. For each, please
 indicate what you consider their political party preference to be, if
 they have one--generally Democratic, generally Republican, or no clear
 preference.

The first group is...
(DO NOT PROBE.)

- a. corporate executives
- b. blacks
- c. Jack Kemp
- d. Mario Cuomo
- e. people on welfare
- f. feminists
- g. stock brokers

	1. GENERALLY DEMOCRATIC	5. GENERALLY REPUBLICAN	7. NO CLEAR PREFERENCE	8. DK
a. corporate executives				
b. blacks				
c. Jack Kemp				
d. Mario Cuomo				
e. people on welfare				
f. feminists				
g. stock brokers				

Now I would like to ask you some questions about the international situation:

G6. Is the government of Poland an ally of the United States, an ally of Russia, an ally of neither the U.S. nor Russia, or aren't you sure about this? **(DO NOT PROBE "DKs")**

1. ALLY OF
U.S.

5. ALLY OF
RUSSIA

3. NOT AN
ALLY

8. AREN'T
SURE; DK

G7. How about Turkey? Is Turkey an ally of the United States, an ally of Russia, an ally of neither the U.S. nor Russia, or aren't you sure about this? **(DO NOT PROBE "DKs")**

1. ALLY OF
U.S.

5. ALLY OF
RUSSIA

3. NOT AN
ALLY

8. AREN'T
SURE; DK

G8. This is a question about mainland China. Have you paid attention to the kind of government China has -- is it a democracy, a communist system, or something else? **(DO NOT PROBE "DKs")**

1. DEMOCRACY

5. COMMUNIST
SYSTEM

3. SOMETHING
ELSE

8. DK

G9. How about India: Is the government of India a democracy, a communist system, or something else? **(DO NOT PROBE "DKs")**

1. DEMOCRACY

5. COMMUNIST
SYSTEM

3. SOMETHING
ELSE

8. DK

G10. Is the United States a member of the United Nations?
(DO NOT PROBE "DKs")

1. YES, IS A MEMBER

5. NO, IS NOT A MEMBER

8. HAVEN'T HEARD; DK

G11. Do you happen to know in what country the headquarters and General Assembly of the United Nations are located? (Which country is that?)
(DO NOT PROBE "DKs")

1. THE UNITED
STATES OR
"NEW YORK"

OTHER (SPECIFY):

8. DON'T
KNOW

SECTION H

H1. Now for a few questions about jobs. Are you working now, temporarily laid off, or are you unemployed, retired, permanently disabled, (a homemaker), (a student), or what? (CHECK ALL THAT APPLY.)

1. WORKING NOW

NEXT PAGE, H2

2. TEMPORARILY LAID OFF

4. UNEMPLOYED

GO TO P. 27, H7

5. RETIRED

H1a. Are you doing any work for pay at the present time?

1. YES 5. NO 8. DK

NEXT PAGE, H2, "WORKING NOW" GO TO P. 27, H7

6. PERMANENTLY DISABLED

H1b. Are you doing any work for pay at the present time?

1. YES 5. NO 8. DK

NEXT PAGE, H2, "WORKING NOW"

H1c. Have you ever done any work for pay?

1. YES 5. NO 8. DK

GO TO P. 27, H7 GO TO P. 28, H12

7. HOMEMAKER

8. STUDENT

H1d. Are you doing any work for pay at the present time?

1. YES 5. NO 8. DK

NEXT PAGE, H2, "WORKING NOW"

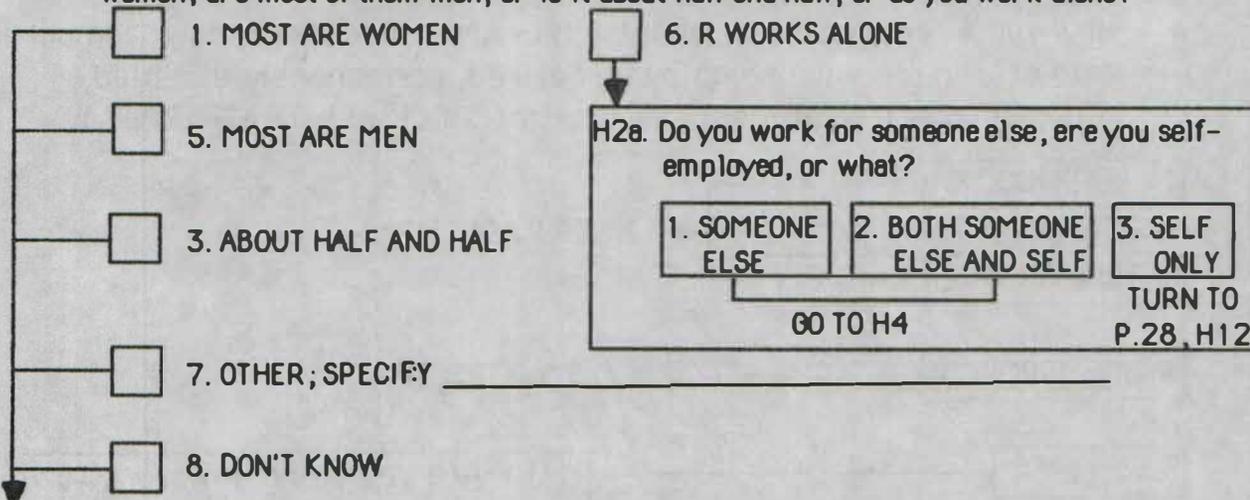
H1e. Have you ever done any work for pay?

1. YES 5. NO 8. DK

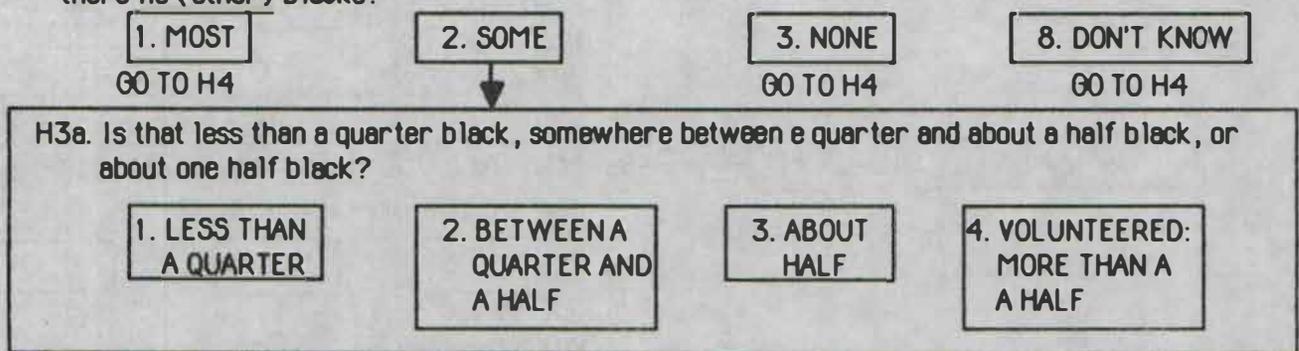
GO TO P. 27, H7 GO TO P. 28, H12

WORKING NOW AND TEMPORARILY LAID OFF

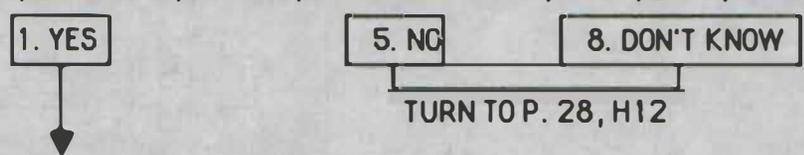
H2. What proportion of the people at your work are women? Are most people at your work women, are most of them men, or is it about half and half, or do you work alone?



H3. What proportion of the (other) people at your work are black -- are most black, some, or are there no (other) blacks?



H4. At your main job, is there anyone in a position of authority over you in your day-to-day work?



H5. We'd like to find out how decisions are made on your job. When decisions are made affecting your own work, do those in authority over you usually consult you about them, do they sometimes consult you, do they rarely consult you, or are you never consulted?



H6. Have you ever complained to someone in authority about a decision affecting your own work?



TURN TO P. 28, H12

H12. Some children want to have a say in decisions that affect them, while others like to have, for instance, their parents or teachers make these decisions. Thinking back to when you were growing up, did you want ~~what~~ to have a say in all the decisions affecting you, most of the decisions, some of the decisions, few of the decisions, or none of the decisions affecting you?

- | | | | | | |
|--------|---------|---------|--------|---------|-------|
| 1. ALL | 2. MOST | 3. SOME | 4. FEW | 5. NONE | 8. DK |
|--------|---------|---------|--------|---------|-------|

H13. What do you think the chances are these days that you or anyone in your family won't get a job or promotion while an equally or less qualified minority employee receives one instead? Is this very likely, somewhat likely, somewhat unlikely, or very unlikely?

- | | | | | |
|----------------|--------------------|----------------------|------------------|---------------|
| 1. VERY LIKELY | 2. SOMEWHAT LIKELY | 4. SOMEWHAT UNLIKELY | 5. VERY UNLIKELY | 8. DON'T KNOW |
|----------------|--------------------|----------------------|------------------|---------------|

H14. What do you think the chances are these days that you or anyone in your family won't get admitted to a school while an equally or less qualified minority is admitted instead? Is this very likely, somewhat likely, somewhat unlikely, or very unlikely?

- | | | | | |
|----------------|--------------------|----------------------|------------------|---------------|
| 1. VERY LIKELY | 2. SOMEWHAT LIKELY | 4. SOMEWHAT UNLIKELY | 5. VERY UNLIKELY | 8. DON'T KNOW |
|----------------|--------------------|----------------------|------------------|---------------|

H12. Some people prefer to participate in making decisions in various parts of their lives, while others prefer the decisions be made by someone else. What about you -- do you prefer to make all the decisions in your life, most of the decisions, some of the decisions, few of the decisions, or none of the decisions in your life?

- | | | | | | |
|--------|---------|---------|--------|---------|-------|
| 1. ALL | 2. MOST | 3. SOME | 4. FEW | 5. NONE | 8. DK |
|--------|---------|---------|--------|---------|-------|

H13. What do you think the chances are these days that you or anyone in your family won't get a job or promotion while an equally or less qualified minority employee receives one instead? Is this very likely, somewhat likely, somewhat unlikely, or very unlikely?

- | | | | | |
|-------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|------------------|
| 1. VERY
LIKELY | 2. SOMEWHAT
LIKELY | 4. SOMEWHAT
UNLIKELY | 5. VERY
UNLIKELY | 8. DON'T
KNOW |
|-------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|------------------|

H14. What do you think the chances are these days that you or anyone in your family won't get admitted to a school while an equally or less qualified minority is admitted instead? Is this very likely, somewhat likely, somewhat unlikely, or very unlikely?

- | | | | | |
|-------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|------------------|
| 1. VERY
LIKELY | 2. SOMEWHAT
LIKELY | 4. SOMEWHAT
UNLIKELY | 5. VERY
UNLIKELY | 8. DON'T
KNOW |
|-------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|------------------|

CURRENTLY UNEMPLOYED

H7. At your most recent job, what proportion of the people at your work were women? Were most people at your work women, were most of them men, or was it about half and half, or did you work alone?

<input type="checkbox"/>	1. MOST WERE WOMEN	<input type="checkbox"/>	6. R WORKED ALONE			
<input type="checkbox"/>	5. MOST WERE MEN	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px;"> <p>H7a. Did you work for someone else, were you self-employed, or what?</p> <table border="1" style="width: 100%; text-align: center;"> <tr> <td style="padding: 2px;">1. SOMEONE ELSE</td> <td style="padding: 2px;">2. BOTH SOMEONE ELSE AND SELF</td> <td style="padding: 2px;">3. SELF ONLY</td> </tr> </table> <p style="text-align: center;">GO TO H9</p> <p style="text-align: right;">TURN TO P. 28, H12</p> </div>		1. SOMEONE ELSE	2. BOTH SOMEONE ELSE AND SELF	3. SELF ONLY
1. SOMEONE ELSE	2. BOTH SOMEONE ELSE AND SELF			3. SELF ONLY		
<input type="checkbox"/>	3. ABOUT HALF AND HALF					
<input type="checkbox"/>	7. OTHER; SPECIFY _____					
<input type="checkbox"/>	8. DON'T KNOW					

H8. At your most recent job, what proportion of the (other) people at your work were black -- were most black, some, or were there no (other) blacks?

<input type="checkbox"/> 1. MOST	<input type="checkbox"/> 2. SOME	<input type="checkbox"/> 3. NONE	<input type="checkbox"/> 8. DON'T KNOW
GO TO H9	↓	GO TO H9	GO TO H9

H8a. Was that less than a quarter black, somewhere between a quarter and about a half black, or about one half black?

1. LESS THAN A QUARTER	2. BETWEEN A QUARTER AND A HALF	3. ABOUT HALF	4. VOLUNTEERED: MORE THAN A HALF
------------------------	---------------------------------	---------------	----------------------------------

H9. At your most recent job, was there anyone in a position of authority over you in your day-to-day work?

<input type="checkbox"/> 1. YES	<input type="checkbox"/> 5. NO	<input type="checkbox"/> 8. DON'T KNOW
↓	TURN TO P. 28, H12	

H10. We'd like to find out how decisions were made on your most recent job. When decisions were made affecting your own work, did those in authority over you usually consult you about them, did they sometimes consult you, did they rarely consult you, or were you never consulted?

1. USUALLY CONSULTED	2. SOMETIMES CONSULTED	3. RARELY CONSULTED	4. NEVER CONSULTED	8. DON'T KNOW
----------------------	------------------------	---------------------	--------------------	---------------

H11. Did you ever complain to someone in authority about a decision affecting your own work?

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

SECTION J

J1. Now we would like to know about the groups and organizations you might belong to. I am going to read a list of different types of organizations. For each type, could you tell me the names of any organizations you belong to or have given money to in the past twelve months.

INSTRUCTIONS TO INTERVIEWERS:

*READ THE LIST OF TYPES OF GROUPS WHICH APPEARS ON THE NEXT PAGE, PAUSING AFTER EACH ITEM TO GIVE THE RESPONDENT TIME TO THINK.

*RECORD ON THE WORKSHEET IN COLUMN 1 THE EXACT NAME OF EACH SPECIFIC GROUP THE RESPONDENT MENTIONS. USE AS MANY WORKSHEETS AS NECESSARY.

*IN COLUMN 2 ON THE WORKSHEET INDICATE THE ITEM LETTER ("A," "B," ETC.) CORRESPONDING TO THE TYPE OF GROUP.

*ASK J2 ABOUT EACH GROUP THE RESPONDENT MENTIONS.

***WHEN THE LIST OF GROUPS IS COMPLETE, ASK J3 ABOUT EACH GROUP MENTIONED.**

IF R ASKS:

>"I GET THEIR MAGAZINE, DOES THAT MEAN I'M A MEMBER?" OR "WELL, I PAY DUES. DOES THAT MEAN I'M A MEMBER?" RECORD R'S QUESTION, AND SAY "YES."

>"I AM A MEMBER AND I SENT MONEY." CHECK "ACTIVE MEMBER" AND "SENT MONEY."

>"I BELONG TO (NAME OF GROUP). DO YOU THINK IT BELONGS IN THIS CATEGORY?" SAY "YES." ACCEPT A GROUP MENTIONED UNDER WHATEVER CATEGORY R CHOOSES.

>IF R MENTIONS A GROUP TWICE, SAY, "OH, I ALREADY HAVE THAT ONE DOWN. ARE THERE ANY OTHERS IN THIS CATEGORY?"

J1. (CONTINUED) (RESPONSES ARE RECORDED ON THE "WORKSHEET.")

**ITEM
LETTER:** **TYPE OF
GROUP:**

- A. National or local charities such as the United Way, the Red Cross, the March of Dimes, or any similar organization
- B. Labor unions or employee associations
- C. Any association or group connected with a business or profession
- D. Veterans organizations
- E. Any association that looks after the interests of some kinds of people, such as the elderly, the handicapped, children, or some other similar group
- F. Any association that is concerned with social issues, such as reducing taxes, protecting the environment, promoting prayer in the schools, or any other causes.
- G. Sports, recreation, community, neighborhood, school, or youth organizations
- H. Fraternities, lodges, nationality, or ethnic organizations
- J. Cultural, literary, or art organizations
- K. Any other groups

**AFTER COMPLETING THE WORKSHEET,
GO TO NEXT PAGE, J3**

EXACT TIME NOW: _____

31

J4. These are all the questions I have. I would like to thank you once more for being willing to participate in our research and for contributing so much valuable information to the study. With this interview we have completed our current study of public opinion. One of our research goals is to understand how people's opinions change over time. Your willingness to talk to us several times during the past year has helped our project achieve this goal.

THUMBNAIL SKETCH:

SECTION J

J1. Now we would like to know about the groups and organizations you might belong to. I am going to read a list of different types of organizations. For each type, could you tell me the names of any organizations you belong to or have given money to in the past twelve months.

INSTRUCTIONS TO INTERVIEWERS:

*READ THE LIST OF TYPES OF GROUPS WHICH APPEARS ON THE NEXT PAGE, PAUSING AFTER EACH ITEM TO GIVE THE RESPONDENT TIME TO THINK.

*RECORD ON THE WORKSHEET IN COLUMN 1 THE EXACT NAME OF EACH SPECIFIC GROUP THE RESPONDENT MENTIONS. USE AS MANY WORKSHEETS AS NECESSARY.

*IN COLUMN 2 ON THE WORKSHEET INDICATE THE ITEM LETTER ("A," "B," ETC.) CORRESPONDING TO THE TYPE OF GROUP.

*ASK J2 ABOUT EACH GROUP THE RESPONDENT MENTIONS

*ASK J3 ABOUT EACH GROUP THE RESPONDENT MENTIONS

IF R ASKS:

>"I GET THEIR MAGAZINE, DOES THAT MEAN I'M A MEMBER?" OR "WELL, I PAY DUES. DOES THAT MEAN I'M A MEMBER?" RECORD R'S QUESTION, AND SAY "YES."

>"I AM A MEMBER AND I SENT MONEY." CHECK "ACTIVE MEMBER" AND "SENT MONEY."

>"I BELONG TO (NAME OF GROUP). DO YOU THINK IT BELONGS IN THIS CATEGORY?" SAY "YES." ACCEPT A GROUP MENTIONED UNDER WHATEVER CATEGORY R CHOOSES.

>IF R MENTIONS A GROUP TWICE, SAY, "OH, I ALREADY HAVE THAT ONE DOWN. ARE THERE ANY OTHERS IN THIS CATEGORY?"

J1. (CONTINUED) (RESPONSES ARE RECORDED ON THE "WORKSHEET.")

- | ITEM
LETTER: | TYPE OF
GROUP: |
|-------------------------|---|
| A. | National or local charities such as the United Way, the Red Cross, the March of Dimes, or any similar local organization |
| B. | Labor unions or employee associations |
| C. | Any association or group connected with a business or profession |
| D. | Veterans organizations |
| E. | Any association that looks after the interests of some kinds of people, such as the elderly, the handicapped, children, or some other similar group |
| F. | Any association that is concerned with social issues, such as reducing taxes, protecting the environment, promoting prayer in the schools, or any other causes. |
| G. | Sports, recreation, community, neighborhood, school, or youth organizations |
| H. | Fraternalities, lodges, nationality, or ethnic organizations |
| J. | Cultural, literary, or art organizations |
| K. | Any other groups |

**AFTER COMPLETING THE WORKSHEET,
GO TO NEXT PAGE, J3**

EXACT TIME NOW: _____

31

- J4.** These are all the questions I have. Thank you for agreeing to go through these questions with me. It's very important that we have a chance to talk to people like you, and I appreciate the time you've spent with me and the thoughts you have contributed to the study.

THUMBNAIL SKETCH:

WORKSHEET FOR 1985 NES PILOT STUDY

INTERVIEWER'S NUMBER: _____

INTERVIEW NO.: _____

PAGE ____ OF ____

DATE OF INTERVIEW: _____

(1). NAME OF ORGANIZATION	(2). ITEM LETTER	J2. Are you an active member, a member but not active, or have you given money only?	J3. Does (NAME OF GROUP) take stands on or discuss public issues or try to influence governmental actions?
1		<input type="checkbox"/> 1. ACTIVE MEMBER <input type="checkbox"/> 2. MEMBER, NOT ACTIVE <input type="checkbox"/> 3. SENT MONEY	<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around;"> 1. YES 5. NO </div> <div style="text-align: center; margin-top: 5px;"> 8. DON'T KNOW </div>
2		<input type="checkbox"/> 1. ACTIVE MEMBER <input type="checkbox"/> 2. MEMBER, NOT ACTIVE <input type="checkbox"/> 3. SENT MONEY	<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around;"> 1. YES 5. NO </div> <div style="text-align: center; margin-top: 5px;"> 8. DON'T KNOW </div>
3		<input type="checkbox"/> 1. ACTIVE MEMBER <input type="checkbox"/> 2. MEMBER, NOT ACTIVE <input type="checkbox"/> 3. SENT MONEY	<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around;"> 1. YES 5. NO </div> <div style="text-align: center; margin-top: 5px;"> 8. DON'T KNOW </div>
4		<input type="checkbox"/> 1. ACTIVE MEMBER <input type="checkbox"/> 2. MEMBER, NOT ACTIVE <input type="checkbox"/> 3. SENT MONEY	<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around;"> 1. YES 5. NO </div> <div style="text-align: center; margin-top: 5px;"> 8. DON'T KNOW </div>
5		<input type="checkbox"/> 1. ACTIVE MEMBER <input type="checkbox"/> 2. MEMBER, NOT ACTIVE <input type="checkbox"/> 3. SENT MONEY	<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around;"> 1. YES 5. NO </div> <div style="text-align: center; margin-top: 5px;"> 8. DON'T KNOW </div>
6		<input type="checkbox"/> 1. ACTIVE MEMBER <input type="checkbox"/> 2. MEMBER, NOT ACTIVE <input type="checkbox"/> 3. SENT MONEY	<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around;"> 1. YES 5. NO </div> <div style="text-align: center; margin-top: 5px;"> 8. DON'T KNOW </div>

