

For Office Use Only

1984 NATIONAL ELECTION STUDY
ROLLING CROSS-SECTION

Project 495806
Jan.-Nov., 1984
Version 1



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

1. Telephone interviewer's number: _____
2. Control ID number (5-digit number from label on cover sheet): _____
3. Respondent's area code (from label on cover sheet): _____
4. Sample assigned week (from label on cover sheet): _____
5. Date interview completed: _____
6. Time interview began:

A.M.

P.M.

 ANN ARBOR TIME

A.M.

P.M.

 R's LOCAL TIME
7. Length of interview: _____ (MINUTES)
8. Time at beginning of edit: _____
9. Time at end of edit: _____
10. Total time to 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 on to the next question.

TO BE COMPLETED IN CODING:

- 11a/b. Date interview started: _____ (Month/Day)
12. Week interview started: _____
13. Week interview completed: _____
14. ICPSR state code/ FIPS state code: _____

Time Now: _____

Date: _____

SECTION A

In this interview we will be talking about many different topics of interest. Here is our first question:

- A1. We are interested in how people are getting along financially these days. Would you say that you (and your family living with you) are better or worse off financially than you were a year ago?

1. BETTER	3. SAME GO TO A2	5. WORSE	8. DON'T KNOW GO TO A2
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A1a. Is that <u>much</u> better or <u>somewhat</u> better?	A1b. Is that <u>much</u> worse or <u>somewhat</u> worse?
1. MUCH BETTER 2. SOMEWHAT BETTER	5. MUCH WORSE 4. SOMEWHAT WORSE

- A2. This past year, have you (and your family) had to watch your budget more closely than the year before?

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

GO TO A3

A2a. Is that <u>much</u> more closely or <u>a little</u> more closely?	
1. MUCH MORE CLOSELY	2. A LITTLE MORE CLOSELY

- A3. Do you think that over the last year, (your/your family's) income has gone up more than the cost of living, has it fallen behind, or has it stayed about even with the cost of living?

1. GONE UP MORE	3. STAYED ABOUT EVEN TURN TO P. 2, A4	5. FALLEN BEHIND	8. DON'T KNOW TURN TO P. 2, A4
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A3a. Has it gone up <u>a lot</u> more or <u>a little</u> more?	A3b. Has it fallen behind <u>a lot</u> or <u>a little</u> ?
1. A LOT MORE 2. A LITTLE MORE	5. FALLEN A LOT 4. FALLEN A LITTLE

- A4. Sometimes people think about other groups of people in society when they think about their own economic well-being, people who are being helped or hurt by economic conditions. When it comes to economic matters, what groups of people do you feel close to?

(IF R DOESN'T KNOW WHAT WE MEAN BY "GROUPS": Some people have mentioned farmers, the elderly, teachers, blacks, and union members.)

(GROUP NAMES)

R DOESN'T MENTION
ANY GROUPS

TURN TO P. 3, A6
(ASK A6 - A10)

A4a. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

☐ 1. R NAMED MORE THAN ONE
GROUP IN A4

☐ 5. R NAMED ONLY ONE
GROUP IN A4

When it comes to economic matters,
what sorts of people do you feel
closest to?

BELOW, CHECK A BOX FOR THE GROUP
NAMED IN A4, OR ENTER GROUP IN BOX
FOR "OTHER."

A4b.

10. WOMEN

20. BLACKS

30. ELDERLY (SENIOR CITIZENS)

40. THE POOR

50. MIDDLE CLASS (INCL. UPPER-
MIDDLE & LOWER-MIDDLE)

OTHER (SPECIFY):

- A4c. Would you say that over the past year the economic position of GROUP FROM A4b has gotten better, stayed about the same, or gotten worse?

1. GOTTEN BETTER

3. STAYED THE SAME

5. GOTTEN WORSE

8. DK

GO TO A4f

GO TO A4f

A4d. Would you say much better
or somewhat better?

1. MUCH

2. SOMEWHAT

A4e. Would you say much worse
or somewhat worse?

5. MUCH

4. SOMEWHAT

- A4f. Would you say that over the past year the incomes of GROUP FROM A4b have gone up more than the cost of living, stayed about even, or fallen behind the cost of living?

1. GONE UP MORE

3. STAYED ABOUT EVEN

5. FALLEN BEHIND

8. DK

TURN TO P. 3, A41

TURN TO
P. 3, A41

A4g. Have they gone up a lot or
a little?

1. A LOT

2. A LITTLE

A4h. Have they fallen behind a lot
or a little?

5. A LOT

4. A LITTLE

A4i. Would you say that over the past year GROUP FROM A4b have had a harder time finding enough work, an easier time, or have things stayed about the same?

1. HARDER TIME

3. ABOUT THE SAME

5. EASIER TIME

8. DK

GO TO A5

GO TO A5

A4j. Have they had a much harder time or a little harder time?

1. MUCH HARDER

2. A LITTLE HARDER

A4k. Have they had a much easier time or a little easier time?

5. MUCH EASIER

4. A LITTLE EASIER

A5. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

☐ 1. IN A4b ONE OF THE CHECK BOXES 10-50 IS "Xed"

BELOW, CHECK THE BOXES INDICATING WHETHER THE GROUP WAS OR WAS NOT MENTIONED BY R IN A4b:

WOMEN:

MENTIONED

NOT MENTIONED

BLACKS:

MENTIONED

NOT MENTIONED

THE ELDERLY (SENIOR CITIZEN)

MENTIONED

NOT MENTIONED

THE POOR:

MENTIONED

NOT MENTIONED

THE MIDDLE CLASS (INCL. UPPER/LOWER MIDDLE):

MENTIONED

NOT MENTIONED

TURN TO P.4,
SECTION B

☐ 5. IN A4b NONE OF THE CHECK BOXES 10-50 HAS BEEN "Xed"

A6. 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. DK

A7. What about blacks? (Would you say that over the past year the economic position of blacks has gotten better, stayed about the same, or gotten worse?)

1. BETTER

3. SAME

5. WORSE

8. DK

A8. (And what about) the elderly?

1. BETTER

3. SAME

5. WORSE

8. DK

A9. (And what about) the poor?

1. BETTER

3. SAME

5. WORSE

8. DK

A10. (And what about) the middle class?

1. BETTER

3. SAME

5. WORSE

8. DK

SECTION B

- B1. Some people seem to follow what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time, whether there's an election going on or not. Others aren't that interested. Would you say you follow what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time, some of the time, only now and then, or hardly at all?

1. MOST OF
THE TIME

2. SOME OF
THE TIME

3. ONLY NOW
AND THEN

4. HARDLY
AT ALL

8. DON'T
KNOW

- B2. Let's switch to the presidential campaign for a minute. Would you say that you are very much interested, somewhat interested, or not much interested in following the presidential campaign in 1984?

1. VERY MUCH INTERESTED

3. SOMEWHAT INTERESTED

5. NOT MUCH INTERESTED

- B3. Would you say that you personally care a good deal which party wins the presidential election in the fall of 1984, or that you don't care very much which party wins?

1. CARE A GOOD DEAL

3. DON'T CARE VERY MUCH

8. DON'T KNOW

- B4. Has anyone called you up or come around and talked to you about supporting a candidate for president?

1. YES

5. NO

GO TO B5

B4a. Has this happened in the last week?

1. YES

5. NO

- B5. Has anyone called you up or come around to talk to you about registering to vote?

1. YES

5. NO

B6. So far this year have you talked to anyone and tried to show them why they should support one of the candidates for president?

1. YES

5. NO

TURN TO P. 6,
SECTION C

B6a. Have you done this in the last week?

1. YES

5. NO

SECTION C

INTERVIEWER INSTRUCTION: USE BLUE CARD TO RECORD ANSWERS TO C1

C1. I'm going to read a list with names of possible presidential candidates in 1984. Many people tell us that they have not heard about some of the people on this list. As I read each name, please tell me when I come to a person you have never heard of.

(INTERVIEWER: READ THE LIST SLOWLY, TO GIVE R A CHANCE TO RESPOND.
CROSS OUT NAMES R HAS NEVER HEARD OF.)

INTERVIEWER: AFTER THE INTERVIEW IS COMPLETED, ATTACH
 BLUE CARD TO THIS PAGE.

INTERVIEWER:
 PLEASE ENTER
 CONTROL ID NUMBER
 (5-DIGIT NUMBER FROM
 LABEL ON COVER SHEET):

BLUE CARD

a. Ronald Reagan
b. John Glenn
c. Ted Kennedy
d. Walter Mondale
e. Alan Cranston
f. John Anderson
g. Ernest Hollings
h. Reubin Askew
i. Jesse Jackson
j. George Bush
k. Howard Baker
m. George McGovern
n. Robert Dole
o. Gary Hart

Versions 1-4

C2. Now let's talk about your feelings toward the candidates you know something about.

I'll read the name of a person and I will ask you to rate that person on a thermometer that runs from 0 degrees to 100 degrees. Ratings between 50 degrees and 100 degrees mean that you feel favorable and warm toward that person. Ratings between 0 degrees and 50 degrees mean that you don't feel too favorable and are cool toward that person. You may use any number from 0 to 100 to tell me how favorable or unfavorable your feelings are for each person.

If you recognize the name, but don't feel particularly warm or cold toward the person, you would rate the person at the 50 degree mark.

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

	997. R DOESN'T RECOGNIZE	998. DON'T KNOW WHERE TO RATE; CAN'T JUDGE	
RATING	NAME		
			a. RONALD REAGAN
			b. JOHN GLENN
			c. TED KENNEDY
			d. WALTER MONDALE
			e. ALAN CRANSTON
			f. JOHN ANDERSON
			g. ERNEST HOLLINGS
			h. REUBIN ASKEW
			i. JESSE JACKSON
			j. GEORGE BUSH
			k. HOWARD BAKER
			m. GEORGE MCGOVERN
			n. ROBERT DOLE
			o. GARY HART

INTERVIEWER:

PLACE BLUE CARD
HERE, SUCH THAT
THE NAMES LINE
UP WITH THE
RESPONSE BOXES.

ASK ALL NAMES
NOT CROSSED OUT
ON THE BLUE
CARD.

FOR CROSSED OUT
NAMES, ENTER "X"
IN COLUMN 997.,
"R DOESN'T
RECOGNIZE NAME"

SECTION D

D1. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling his job as president?

1. APPROVE	5. DISAPPROVE	8. DON'T KNOW GO TO D2	
D1a. Do you approve <u>strongly</u> or <u>not strongly</u> ?		D1b. Do you disapprove <u>strongly</u> or <u>not strongly</u> ?	
1. STRONGLY	2. NOT STRONGLY	5. STRONGLY	4. NOT STRONGLY

D2. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling the economy?

1. APPROVE	5. DISAPPROVE	8. DON'T KNOW GO TO D3	
D2a. Do you approve <u>strongly</u> or <u>not strongly</u> ?		D2b. Do you disapprove <u>strongly</u> or <u>not strongly</u> ?	
1. STRONGLY	2. NOT STRONGLY	5. STRONGLY	4. NOT STRONGLY

D3. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling our relations with foreign countries?

1. APPROVE	5. DISAPPROVE	8. DON'T KNOW TURN TO P. 9, SECTION E	
D3a. Do you approve <u>strongly</u> or <u>not strongly</u> ?		D3b. Do you disapprove <u>strongly</u> or <u>not strongly</u> ?	
1. STRONGLY	2. NOT STRONGLY	5. STRONGLY	4. NOT STRONGLY

SECTION E

- E1. Now let's talk about who is likely to win the Democratic nomination for President. We will be using a scale which runs from 0 to 100, where 0 represents no chance for the nomination, 50 represents an even chance, and 100 represents certain victory.

INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:	
REFER TO BLUE CARD --	
IS NAME <u>CROSSED OUT</u> ?	
WALTER MONDALE	
YES	NO → E1a. Using this 0 to 100 scale, what do you think <u>Walter Mondale's</u> chances are of winning the nomination?
	_____ (NUMBER) 998. DON'T KNOW
JOHN GLENN	
YES	NO → E1b. (Using this 0 to 100 scale,) what do you think <u>John Glenn's</u> chances are of winning the nomination?
	_____ (NUMBER) 998. DON'T KNOW
ALAN CRANSTON	
YES	NO → E1c. (Using this 0 to 100 scale,) what do you think <u>Alan Cranston's</u> chances are of winning the nomination?
	_____ (NUMBER) 998. DON'T KNOW
JESSE JACKSON	
YES	NO → E1d. (Using this 0 to 100 scale,) what do you think <u>Jesse Jackson's</u> chances are of winning the nomination?
	_____ (NUMBER) 998. DON'T KNOW
TED KENNEDY	
YES	NO → E1e. (Using this 0 to 100 scale,) what do you think <u>Ted Kennedy's</u> chances are of winning the nomination?
	_____ (NUMBER) 998. DON'T KNOW
TURN TO P.10, SECTION F	

SECTION F

F1. How many days in the past week did you watch national news on T.V.?

(NUMBER OF DAYS IN WEEK)

0. NONE

GO TO F2

F1a. How much attention did you pay to news on T.V. about the campaign for president -- a great deal, quite a bit, some, very little, or none?1. A GREAT
DEAL2. QUITE
A BIT

3. SOME

4. VERY
LITTLE

5. NONE

F2. How many days in the past week did you read a daily newspaper?

(NUMBER OF DAYS IN WEEK)

0. NONE

TURN TO P. 11,
SECTION G

F2a. Which paper or papers did you read? (GET FULL TITLE AND CITY WHERE PUBLISHED.) (Any others?)

TITLECITY WHERE PUBLISHED

F2b. How much attention did you pay to articles in the newspaper about the campaign for president -- a great deal, quite a bit, some, very little, or none?1. A GREAT
DEAL2. QUITE
A BIT

3. SOME

4. VERY
LITTLE

5. NONE

SECTION G

G1. Now we'd like to know about your impressions of Ronald Reagan. I am going to read a list of words and phrases people use to describe political figures. After each one, I would like you to tell me how much the word or phrase fits your impression of Ronald Reagan.

The first phrase is "hard-working." How much would you say "hard-working" fits your impression of Ronald Reagan: a great deal, somewhat, a little, or not at all?

		1. A GREAT DEAL	2. SOMEWHAT	3. CAN'T DECIDE	4. A LITTLE	5. NOT AT ALL	8. DK
a. HARD-WORKING	a.						
b. decent	b.						
c. compassionate	c.						
d. commands respect	d.						
e. intelligent	e.						
f. moral	f.						
g. kind	g.						
h. inspiring	h.						
i. knowledgeable	i.						
j. sets a good example	j.						
k. really cares about people like you	k.						
m. provides strong leadership	m.						

G2. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:

☐ 1. "WALTER MONDALE"
IS NOT CROSSED OUT

☐ 5. "WALTER MONDALE" IS
CROSSED OUT -- ➔ TURN TO
P.13,G4

G3. Now about Walter Mondale. Would you say "hard-working" fits your impression of him: a great deal, somewhat, a little, or not at all?

	1. A GREAT DEAL	2. SOMEWHAT	3. CAN'T DECIDE	4. A LITTLE	5. NOT AT ALL	8. DK
a. HARD-WORKING	a.					
b. decent	b.					
c. compassionate	c.					
d. commands respect	d.					
e. intelligent	e.					
f. moral	f.					
g. kind	g.					
h. inspiring	h.					
i. knowledgeable	i.					
j. sets a good example	j.					
k. really cares about people like you	k.					
m. provides strong leadership	m.					

G4. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT

REFER TO BLUE CARD:

☐ 1. "JOHN GLENN" IS
NOT CROSSED OUT

☐ 5. "JOHN GLENN" IS
CROSSED OUT → TURN TO P.14,G6

G5. And now about John Glenn. Would you say "hard-working" fits your impression of him: a great deal, somewhat, a little, or not at all?

	1. A GREAT DEAL	2. SOMEWHAT	3. CAN'T DECIDE	4. A LITTLE	5. NOT AT ALL	8. DK
a. HARD-WORKING	a.					
b. decent	b.					
c. compassionate	c.					
d. commands respect	d.					
e. intelligent	e.					
f. moral	f.					
g. kind	g.					
h. inspiring	h.					
i. knowledgeable	i.					
j. sets a good example	j.					
k. really cares about people like you	k.					
m. provides strong leadership	m.					

G6. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:

☐ 1. "JESSE JACKSON" IS
 NOT CROSSED OUT

☐ 5. "JESSE JACKSON" IS
 CROSSED OUT → TURN TO
 P.15, SECTION H

G7. Now about Jesse Jackson. Would you say "hard-working" fits your impression of him: a great deal, somewhat, a little, or not at all?

	1. A GREAT DEAL	2. SOMEWHAT	3. CAN'T DECIDE	4. A LITTLE	5. NOT AT ALL	8. DK
a. HARD-WORKING	a.					
b. decent	b.					
c. compassionate	c.					
d. commands respect	d.					
e. intelligent	e.					
f. moral	f.					
g. kind	g.					
h. inspiring	h.					
i. knowledgeable	i.					
j. sets a good example	j.					
k. really cares about people like you	k.					
m. provides strong leadership	m.					

SECTION H

- H1. Now, let's talk about 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?

1. GOTTEN BETTER	3. STAYED SAME GO TO H2	5. GOTTEN WORSE	8. DON'T KNOW GO TO H2
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<p>H1a. Would you say <u>much</u> better or <u>somewhat</u> 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>H1b. Would you say <u>much</u> worse or <u>somewhat</u> 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				

- H2. Would you say that over the past year, people across the country have had a harder time finding enough work, an easier time, or have things stayed about the same?

1. HARDER TIME	3. STAYED SAME GO TO H3	5. EASIER TIME	8. DON'T KNOW GO TO H3
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<p>H2a. Would you say <u>much</u> harder or <u>a little</u> harder?</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td>1. MUCH HARDER</td> <td>2. A LITTLE HARDER</td> </tr> </table>	1. MUCH HARDER	2. A LITTLE HARDER	<p>H2b. Would you say <u>much</u> easier or <u>a little</u> easier?</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td>5. MUCH EASIER</td> <td>4. A LITTLE EASIER</td> </tr> </table>	5. MUCH EASIER	4. A LITTLE EASIER
1. MUCH HARDER	2. A LITTLE HARDER				
5. MUCH EASIER	4. A LITTLE EASIER				

- H3. During the last year, have the costs of things gone up, gone down, or have they remained about the same?

1. GONE UP	3. STAYED SAME TURN TO P. 16, H4	5. GONE DOWN	8. DON'T KNOW TURN TO P. 16, H4
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<p>H3a. Have they gone up <u>a lot</u> or <u>a little</u>?</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td>1. A LOT</td> <td>2. A LITTLE</td> </tr> </table>	1. A LOT	2. A LITTLE	<p>H3b. Have they gone down <u>a lot</u> or <u>a little</u>?</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td>5. A LOT</td> <td>4. A LITTLE</td> </tr> </table>	5. A LOT	4. A LITTLE
1. A LOT	2. A LITTLE				
5. A LOT	4. A LITTLE				

- H4. 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?

1. WEAKER

3. STAYED SAME

5. STRONGER

8. DON'T KNOW

- H5. How worried are you about our country getting into a conventional war at this time, one in which nuclear weapons are not used? Are you very worried, somewhat worried, or not worried at all?

1. VERY WORRIED

3. SOMEWHAT WORRIED

5. NOT WORRIED

8. DK

- H6. How worried are you about our country getting into a nuclear war at this time? Are you very worried, somewhat worried, or not worried at all?

1. VERY WORRIED

3. SOMEWHAT WORRIED

5. NOT WORRIED

8. DK

SECTION J

J1. When it comes to politics, do you usually think of yourself as a liberal, a conservative, a moderate, or what?

1. YES, LIBERAL →

J1a. Do you think of yourself as a strong liberal or a not-very-strong liberal?

1. STRONG

5. NOT VERY STRONG

TURN TO P. 18, J2

5. YES, CONSERVATIVE →

J1b. Do you think of yourself as a strong conservative or a not-very-strong conservative?

1. STRONG

5. NOT VERY STRONG

TURN TO P. 18, J2

3. YES, MODERATE

7. NO, NEVER

8. DON'T KNOW

J1c. 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. 18, J2

R HAS ABSOLUTELY NO UNDERSTANDING
0. OF TERMS "LIBERAL" AND "CONSERVATIVE" →

TURN TO P. 22, SECTION K

J2. What about Ronald Reagan? Do you usually think of Ronald Reagan as a liberal, a conservative, a moderate, or what?

1. LIBERAL	→	<p>J2a. Do you think he is a <u>strong</u> liberal or a <u>not-very-strong</u> liberal?</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td>1. STRONG</td> <td>5. NOT VERY STRONG</td> </tr> </table>	1. STRONG	5. NOT VERY STRONG
1. STRONG	5. NOT VERY STRONG			

TURN TO P. 19, J3

5. CONSERVATIVE	→	<p>J2b. Do you think he is a <u>strong</u> conservative or a <u>not-very-strong</u> conservative?</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td>1. STRONG</td> <td>5. NOT VERY STRONG</td> </tr> </table>	1. STRONG	5. NOT VERY STRONG
1. STRONG	5. NOT VERY STRONG			

TURN TO P. 19, J3

3. MODERATE	→	<p>J2c. Do you think he is more like a liberal or more like a conservative?</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td>1. LIBERAL</td> <td>5. CONSERVATIVE</td> </tr> <tr> <td>3. NEITHER</td> <td>8. DON'T KNOW</td> </tr> </table>	1. LIBERAL	5. CONSERVATIVE	3. NEITHER	8. DON'T KNOW
1. LIBERAL			5. CONSERVATIVE			
3. NEITHER			8. DON'T KNOW			
7. NONE OF THESE						
8. DON'T KNOW						

TURN TO P. 19, J3

J3. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:
☐ 1. "JOHN GLENN" IS
NOT CROSSED OUT

☐ 5. "JOHN GLENN" IS
 CROSSED OUT → TURN TO
 P. 20, J5

J4. Now think about John Glenn. Do you usually think of John Glenn as a liberal,
 a conservative, a moderate, or what?

1. LIBERAL

J4a. Do you think he is a strong liberal or
 a not-very-strong liberal?

1. STRONG

5. NOT VERY STRONG

TURN TO P. 20, J5

5. CONSERVATIVE

J4b. Do you think he is a strong conservative
 or a not-very-strong conservative?

1. STRONG

5. NOT VERY STRONG

TURN TO P. 20, J5

3. MODERATE

7. NONE OF THESE

8. DON'T KNOW

J4c. Do you think he is more like a liberal
 or more like a conservative?

1. LIBERAL

5. CONSERVATIVE

3. NEITHER

8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 20, J5

J5. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:
☐ 1. "WALTER MONDALE" IS
NOT CROSSED OUT

☐ 5. "WALTER MONDALE" IS
 CROSSED OUT → TURN TO
 P. 21, J7

J6. What about Walter Mondale? Do you usually think of Walter Mondale as a liberal, a conservative, a moderate, or what?

1. LIBERAL

J6a. Do you think he is a strong liberal or a not-very-strong liberal?

1. STRONG

5. NOT VERY STRONG

TURN TO P. 21, J7

5. CONSERVATIVE

J6b. Do you think he is a strong conservative or a not-very-strong conservative?

1. STRONG

5. NOT VERY STRONG

TURN TO P. 21, J7

3. MODERATE

7. NONE OF THESE

8. DON'T KNOW

J6c. Do you think he is more like a liberal or more like a conservative?

1. LIBERAL

5. CONSERVATIVE

3. NEITHER

8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 21, J7

J7. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:
☐ 1. "JESSE JACKSON" IS
NOT CROSSED OUT

☐ 5. "JESSE JACKSON" IS
 CROSSED OUT → TURN TO P. 22,
 SECTION K

J8. And what about Jesse Jackson. Do you usually think of Jesse Jackson as a liberal, a conservative, a moderate, or what?

1. LIBERAL

J8a. Do you think he is a strong liberal or
 a not-very-strong liberal?

1. STRONG

5. NOT VERY STRONG

TURN TO P. 22, SECTION K

5. CONSERVATIVE

J8b. Do you think he is a strong conservative
 or a not-very-strong conservative?

1. STRONG

5. NOT VERY STRONG

TURN TO P. 22, SECTION K

3. MODERATE

7. NONE OF THESE

8. DON'T KNOW

J8c. Do you think he is more like a liberal
 or more like a conservative?

1. LIBERAL

5. CONSERVATIVE

3. NEITHER

8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 22, SECTION K

SECTION K

- K1. We would like to know something about the feelings you have toward Ronald Reagan. I would like you to tell me whether something about Ronald Reagan, or something he has done, has made you have certain feelings like "anger" or "pride."

First, has Ronald Reagan (because of the kind of person he is, or because of something he has done) ever made you feel:

1. YES; HAVE FELT 5. NO; NEVER FELT

- a. angry toward him
b. hopeful
c. afraid of him
d. proud

K2. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:

☐ 1. "JOHN GLENN" IS
NOT CROSSED OUT

☐ 5. "JOHN GLENN" IS
CROSSED OUT → TURN TO
P. 23, K4

- K3. What about John Glenn? Has he (because of the kind of person he is, or because of something he has done) ever made you feel:

1. YES; HAVE FELT 5. NO; NEVER FELT

- a. angry toward him
b. hopeful
c. afraid of him
d. proud

SECTION L

Now let's move to a different set of questions.

L1. Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an independent, or what?

1. REPUBLICAN	5. DEMOCRAT	2. INDEPENDENT
		3. NO PREFERENCE
		4. OTHER PARTY
<p>L1a. Would you call yourself a <u>strong</u> Republican or a <u>not very strong</u> Republican?</p> <p>1. STRONG</p> <p>5. NOT VERY STRONG</p>	<p>L1b. Would you call yourself a <u>strong</u> Democrat or a <u>not very strong</u> Democrat?</p> <p>1. STRONG</p> <p>5. NOT VERY STRONG</p>	<p>L1c. Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party or to the Democratic Party?</p> <p>1. CLOSER TO REPUBLICAN</p> <p>5. CLOSER TO DEMOCRATIC</p> <p>3. NEITHER</p>

L2. Who is your first choice for the Democratic nomination for president in 1984?

_____ (NAME)

98. DON'T KNOW/CAN'T ANSWER

TURN TO P. 25, SECTION M

L2a. Suppose, for one reason or another, (he/she) is not chosen as the Democratic candidate. Who would be your second choice for the Democratic nomination?

_____ (NAME)

DON'T KNOW/
98. CAN'T ANSWER

SECTION M

M1. The next few questions are about government spending and government services.

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 more services even if it means an increase in spending.

Do you have an opinion on this topic or haven't you thought much about it?

1. YES, HAVE AN OPINION

5. NO, HAVEN'T THOUGHT

8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 27, M2

M1a. (Do you think the government should reduce spending, provide more services, or is your position somewhere in between?)

1. REDUCE SPENDING

3. SOMEWHERE BETWEEN

5. MORE SERVICES

8. DK

GO TO M1d

GO TO M1d

M1b. Would you prefer a moderate reduction in spending and services, or a large reduction?

2. MODERATE

1. LARGE

8. DK

M1c. Would you prefer a moderate increase in spending and services, or a large increase?

4. MODERATE

5. LARGE

8. DK

M1d. In your opinion, does Ronald Reagan think the government should reduce spending, provide more services, or is his position somewhere in between?

1. REDUCE SPENDING

3. SOMEWHERE BETWEEN

5. MORE SERVICES

8. DK

TURN TO P. 26, M1g

TURN TO
P. 26, M1g

M1e. Do you think he would prefer a moderate reduction in spending and services, or a large reduction?

2. MODERATE

1. LARGE

8. DK

M1f. Do you think he would prefer a moderate increase in spending and services, or a large increase?

4. MODERATE

5. LARGE

8. DK

Mlg. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:

☐ 1. "WALTER MONDALE" IS
NOT CROSSED OUT

☐ 5. "WALTER MONDALE" IS
CROSSED OUT —> GO TO M1k

M1h. In your opinion, does Walter Mondale think the government should reduce spending, provide more services, or is his position somewhere in between?

1. REDUCE SPENDING

3. SOMEWHERE BETWEEN

5. MORE SERVICES

8. DK

GO TO M1k

GO TO M1k

M1i. Do you think he would prefer a moderate reduction in spending and services, or a large reduction?

2. MODERATE

1. LARGE

8. DK

M1j. Do you think he would prefer a moderate increase in spending and services, or a large increase?

4. MODERATE

5. LARGE

8. DK

M1k. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:

☐ 1. "JOHN GLENN" IS
NOT CROSSED OUT

☐ 5. "JOHN GLENN" IS
CROSSED OUT —> TURN TO
P. 27, M2

M1m. In your opinion, does John Glenn think the government should reduce spending, provide more services, or is his position somewhere in between?

1. REDUCE SPENDING

3. SOMEWHERE BETWEEN

5. MORE SERVICES

8. DK

TURN TO P. 27, M2

TURN TO
P. 27, M2

M1n. Do you think he would prefer a moderate reduction in spending and services, or a large reduction?

2. MODERATE

1. LARGE

8. DK

M1o. Do you think he would prefer a moderate increase in spending and services, or a large increase?

4. MODERATE

5. LARGE

8. DK

M2. Some people feel that the government in Washington should make every effort to improve the social and economic position of blacks and other minority groups. Others feel that the government should not make any special effort to help minorities because they should help themselves.

Do you have an opinion on this issue, or haven't you thought much about this?

1. YES, HAVE AN OPINION

5. NO, HAVEN'T THOUGHT

8. DON'T KNOW

GO TO M3

M2a. (Do you feel the government should help improve the position of minorities, that minorities should help themselves, or is your position somewhere in between?)

1. GOVT SHOULD HELP

3. SOMEWHERE BETWEEN

5. MINORITIES
HELP SELVES

8. DK

GO TO M3

GO TO M3

M2b. Should the government help minorities to a great extent or only to some extent?

1. GREAT

2. SOME

8. DK

M2c. Should the government leave minorities alone to help themselves to a great extent or only to some extent?

5. GREAT

4. SOME

8. DK

M3. Some people think that the United States should become more involved in the internal affairs of Central American countries. Others believe that the U.S. should become less involved in this area. Do you have an opinion on this, or haven't you thought much about it?

1. YES, HAVE AN OPINION

5. NO, HAVEN'T THOUGHT

8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 28, M6

M3a. (Do you feel that the U.S. should become less involved in Central America, become more involved in this area, or is your position somewhere in between?)

1. MORE INVOLVED

3. SOMEWHERE BETWEEN

5. LESS INVOLVED

8. DK

TURN TO P. 28, M6

TURN TO
P. 28, M6

M3b. Do you think the U.S. should increase its involvement to a great extent or only to some extent?

1. GREAT

2. SOME

8. DK

M3c. Do you think the U.S. should decrease its involvement to a great extent or only to some extent?

5. GREAT

4. SOME

8. DK

M4. OMITTED.

M5. OMITTED.

M6. Some people believe that we should spend less money for defense. Others feel that defense spending should be increased. Do you have an opinion on this issue, or haven't you thought much about this?

1. YES, HAVE AN OPINION

5. NO, HAVEN'T THOUGHT

8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 30, M7

M6a. (Do you feel the government should decrease defense spending, increase defense spending, or is the government spending about the right amount?)

1. DECREASE SPENDING

3. SPENDING RIGHT
AMOUNT

5. INCREASE SPENDING

8. DK

GO TO M6d

GO TO M6d

M6b. Should the government reduce
defense spending a lot or a
little?

1. A LOT

2. LITTLE

8. DK

M6c. Should the government increase
defense spending a lot or a
little?

5. A LOT

4. LITTLE

8. DK

M6d. In your opinion, does Ronald Reagan feel the government should decrease defense spending, increase defense spending, or does he feel the government is spending about the right amount?

1. DECREASE SPENDING

3. SPENDING RIGHT
AMOUNT

5. INCREASE SPENDING

8. DK

TURN TO P. 29, M6g

TURN TO
P. 29, M6g

M6e. Does Ronald Reagan feel the
government should reduce
defense spending a lot or a
little?

1. A LOT

2. LITTLE

8. DK

M6f. Does Ronald Reagan feel the
government should increase
defense spending a lot or a
little?

5. A LOT

4. LITTLE

8. DK

M6g. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:
☐ 1. "WALTER MONDALE" IS
NOT CROSSED OUT
☐ 5. "WALTER MONDALE" IS
CROSSED OUT → GO TO M6k

M6h. In your opinion, does Walter Mondale feel the government should decrease defense spending, increase defense spending, or does he feel the government is spending about the right amount?

☐ 1. DECREASE
SPENDING

☐ 3. SPENDING RIGHT
AMOUNT
GO TO M6k

☐ 5. INCREASE
SPENDING

☐ 8. DON'T
KNOW
GO TO M6k

M6i. Does Walter Mondale feel the government should reduce defense spending a lot or a little?

☐ 1. A LOT

☐ 2. LITTLE

☐ 8. DK

M6j. Does Walter Mondale feel the government should increase defense spending a lot or a little?

☐ 5. A LOT

☐ 4. LITTLE

☐ 8. DK

M6k. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:
☐ 1. "JOHN GLENN" IS
NOT CROSSED OUT
☐ 5. "JOHN GLENN" IS
CROSSED OUT → TURN TO
P. 30, M7

M6m. In your opinion does John Glenn feel the government should decrease defense spending, increase defense spending, or does he feel the government is spending about the right amount?

☐ 1. DECREASE
SPENDING

☐ 3. SPENDING RIGHT
AMOUNT
TURN TO P. 30, M7

☐ 5. INCREASE
SPENDING

☐ 8. DON'T
KNOW
TURN TO
P. 30, M7

M6n. Does John Glenn feel the government should reduce defense spending a lot or a little?

☐ 1. A LOT

☐ 2. LITTLE

☐ 8. DK

M6o. Does John Glenn feel the government should increase defense spending a lot or a little?

☐ 5. A LOT

☐ 4. LITTLE

☐ 8. DK

M7. If you had a say in making up the federal budget this year, which programs would you like to see increased and which reduced? Should federal spending on improving and protecting the environment be increased, decreased, or kept about the same?

	1. INCREASED	3. SAME	5. DECREASED	8. DON'T KNOW
a. IMPROVING AND PROTECTING THE ENVIRONMENT				
b. Dealing with crime				
c. Public schools				
d. Social Security				
e. Food stamps				
f. Medicare				
g. Government jobs for the unemployed				
h. Science and technology				

M8. Some people feel that the government in Washington should make every effort to improve the social and economic position of women. Others feel that the government should not make any special effort to help women because they should help themselves. Do you have an opinion on this issue, or haven't you thought much about it?

1. YES, HAVE OPINION

5. NO, HAVEN'T THOUGHT

8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 31, M9

M8a. (Do you feel that the government should help improve the position of women, that women should help themselves, or is your position somewhere in between?)

1. GOVT SHOULD HELP

3. SOMEWHERE BETWEEN

5. WOMEN
HELP SELVES

8. DK

TURN TO P. 31, M9

TURN TO
P.31,M9

M8b. Should the government help women to a great extent or only to some extent?

1. GREAT

2. SOME

8. DK

M8c. Should the government leave women alone to help themselves to a great extent or only to some extent?

5. GREAT

4. SOME

8. DK

M9. Some people feel it is important for us to try to cooperate more with Russia, while others believe we should be much tougher in our dealings with Russia. Do you have an opinion on this, or haven't you thought much about it?

1. YES, HAVE OPINION

5. NO, HAVEN'T THOUGHT

8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 32, SECTION N

M9a. (Do you feel that we should try to cooperate more with Russia, get tougher in our dealings with Russia, or is your opinion somewhere in between?)

1. COOPERATE

3. SOMEWHERE BETWEEN

5. GET TOUGHER

8. DON'T
KNOW

TURN TO P. 32, SECTION N

TURN TO P. 32,
SECTION N

M9b. Should we try to cooperate a lot more or somewhat more?

1. A LOT

2. SOMEWHAT

8. DON'T KNOW

M9c. Should we get a lot tougher, or only somewhat tougher?

5. A LOT

4. SOMEWHAT

8. DON'T KNOW

N1. Now we'd like you to tell us about some of the candidates' chances of winning the presidency in 1984.

As before, we will use a scale that runs from 0 to 100, where 0 represents no chance of winning the presidency, 50 represents an even chance, and 100 represents certain victory.

First, what if Ronald Reagan is nominated by the Republicans. What chance would he have of winning the 1984 Presidential election?

_____(NUMBER)

998. DON'T KNOW

INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD --

IS NAME CROSSED OUT?

WALTER MONDALE

YES

NO

N1a. What if Walter Mondale is nominated by Democrats. What chance would he have of winning the 1984 Presidential election against Ronald Reagan?

_____(NUMBER)

998. DON'T KNOW

JOHN GLENN

YES

NO

N1b. (What if John Glenn is nominated by Democrats.) What chance would John Glenn have of winning the 1984 Presidential election against Ronald Reagan?

_____(NUMBER)

998. DON'T KNOW

ALAN CRANSTON

YES

NO

N1c. (What if Alan Cranston is nominated by Democrats.) What chance would Alan Cranston have of winning the 1984 Presidential election against Ronald Reagan?

_____(NUMBER)

998. DON'T KNOW

JESSE JACKSON

YES

NO

N1d. (What if Jesse Jackson is nominated by Democrats.) What chance would Jesse Jackson have of winning the 1984 Presidential election against Ronald Reagan?

_____(NUMBER)

998. DON'T KNOW

TED KENNEDY

YES

NO

N1e. (What if Ted Kennedy is nominated by Democrats.) What chance would Ted Kennedy have of winning the 1984 Presidential election against Ronald Reagan?

_____(NUMBER)

998. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P.33,
SECTION Y

Now for a few questions about you.

Y1. As far as you know, are you currently registered to vote?

1. YES

5. NO

6. NOT REQUIRED TO
REGISTER IN STATE

8. DON'T KNOW

9. REFUSED

GO TO Y2

Y1a. Are you registered as a Republican, a Democrat, an independent, or something else?

R VOLUNTEERS:

1. DEMOCRAT

5. NOT REQUIRED TO DECLARE
PARTY TO REGISTER

2. INDEPENDENT

6. NOT REQUIRED TO REGISTER

3. REPUBLICAN

7. "I AM NOT REGISTERED."

4. OTHER PARTY, SPECIFY:

8. DON'T KNOW

Y2. What is the month, day, and year of your birth?

_____(MONTH) _____(DAY) _____(YEAR)

Y3. Are you married now and living with your (husband/wife) -- or are you widowed, divorced, separated, or have you never been married?

MARRIED AND

LIVING WITH

1. SPOUSE (OR

SPOUSE IN

SERVICE

5. WIDOWED

3. DIVORCED

4. SEPAR-

ATED

2. NEVER

MARRIED

PARTNERS;

7. NOT

MARRIED

Y4. What is the highest grade of school or year of college you have completed?

00 01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08 09 10 11 12 13 14 15 16+

Y4a. Did you get a high school diploma or pass a high school equivalency test?

1. YES

5. NO

TURN TO P. 34, Y5

Y4b. Did you graduate from a four-year college or university?

1. YES

5. NO

TURN TO P. 34, Y5

Y5. We'd like to know if you are working now, or are you unemployed, retired, (a housewife), (a student), or what? (RESPONSES APPEAR ON PAGES 34 AND 35)

1. WORKING
NOW

2. TEMPORARILY
LAID OFF

Y5a. What is your main occupation? (What sort of work do you do?)
(IF NOT CLEAR; Tell me a little more about what you do.)

Y5b. What kind of (business/industry) is that?

Y6. How worried are you about losing your job in the near future:
a lot, somewhat, or not much at all?

1. A
LOT

3. SOME-
WHAT

5. NOT MUCH
AT ALL

8. DON'T
KNOW

9. REFUSED

Y7. Were you out of work or laid off at any time during the last
six months?

1. YES

5. NO

Y8. Have you had to reduce your work hours or take a cut in pay
at any time during the last six months?

1. YES

5. NO

TURN TO P. 36, Y14

4. UNEMPLOYED

Y9. Have you had a job in the past six months?

1. YES

5. NO

GO TO Y10

Y9a. About how many hours did you work on your job in the
average week?

(HOURS)

5. RETIRED

Y10. Are you looking for work at the present time?

1. YES

5. NO

TURN TO
P. 36, Y14

Y11. How worried are you about not being able to find
work in the near future: a lot, somewhat, or not
much at all?

1. A
LOT

3. SOME-
WHAT

5. NOT MUCH
AT ALL

8. DON'T
KNOW

9. RE-
FUSED

TURN TO P. 36, Y14

6. PERMANENTLY
DISABLED → TURN TO P. 36, Y14

7. HOUSEWIFE →

8. STUDENT →

Y12. Are you doing any work for pay at the present time?

1. YES

5. NO

GO BACK TO Y5a,
"WORKING NOW"

Y13. Are you looking for work at the present time?

1. YES

5. NO

Y13a. How worried are you about not being able to
find a job in the near future; a lot, some-
what, or not much at all?

1. A
LOT

3. SOME-
WHAT

5. NOT MUCH
AT ALL

8. DON'T
KNOW

9. RE-
FUSED

TURN TO P. 36, Y14

Y14. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

<input type="checkbox"/>	1. R <u>ONLY ADULT</u> IN HOUSEHOLD OR <u>LIVES ALONE</u> → TURN TO P. 38, Y23
<input type="checkbox"/>	5. R LIVES WITH <u>OTHER ADULTS</u> IN HOUSEHOLD
Y14a. <input type="checkbox"/>	1. R <u>MARRIED</u> & LIVING WITH SPOUSE
GO TO Y15. ASK Y15-Y22b ABOUT R's SPOUSE	<input type="checkbox"/> 2. ALL OTHERS

Y14b. We'd like to talk about the person in your household who provides the major share of financial support -- the main breadwinner. Who is this person? (What is his/her relationship to you?)

RELATIONSHIP TO R	RESPONDENT
GO TO Y15. ASK Y15-Y22b ABOUT PERSON NAMED IN Y14b	TURN TO P.38,Y23

Y15. We'd like to know about (your husband/ your wife/ PERSON NAMED IN Y14b). Is (he/she) working now, unemployed, retired, (a housewife), (a student), or what? (RESPONSES APPEAR ON PAGES 36 AND 37.)

1. WORKING NOW	Y16. What is (his/her) main occupation? (What sort of work does (he/she) do?) (IF NOT CLEAR: Tell me a little more about what (he/she) does.)			
2. TEMPORARILY LAID OFF				
Y16a. What kind of (business/industry) is that?				
Y17. How worried is (he/she) about losing (his/her) job in the near future: a lot, somewhat, or not much at all?				
1. A LOT	3. SOME-WHAT	5. NOT MUCH AT ALL	8. DON'T KNOW	9. REFUSED
Y18. Was (he/she) out of work or laid off at any time during the last six months?				
1. YES		5. NO		
Y19. Has (he/she) had to reduce (his/her) hours or take a cut in pay at any time during the last six months?				
1. YES		5. NO		

TURN TO P. 38, Y23

4. UNEMPLOYED → Y20. Has (he/she) had a job in the past six months?

1. YES 5. NO → GO TO Y21

Y20a. About how many hours did (he/she) work on (his/her) job in the average week? _____ (HOURS)

5. RETIRED → Y21. Is (he/she) looking for work at the present time?

1. YES 5. NO → TURN TO P. 38, Y23

Y21a. How worried is (he/she) about not being able to find work in the near future: a lot, somewhat, or not much at all?

1. A LOT	3. SOMEWHAT	5. NOT MUCH AT ALL	8. DON'T KNOW	9. REFUSED
----------	-------------	--------------------	---------------	------------

TURN TO P. 38, Y23

6. PERMANENTLY DISABLED → TURN TO P. 38, Y23

7. HOUSEWIFE → Y22. Is (he/she) doing any work for pay at the present time?

1. YES 5. NO

GO BACK TO Y16, "WORKING NOW"

8. STUDENT → Y22a. Is (he/she) looking for work at the present time?

1. YES 5. NO

Y22b. How worried is (he/she) about not being able to find a job in the near future: a lot, somewhat, or not much at all?

1. A LOT	3. SOMEWHAT	5. NOT MUCH AT ALL	8. DON'T KNOW	9. REFUSED
----------	-------------	--------------------	---------------	------------

TURN TO P. 38, Y23

Y23. Does anyone in this household belong to a labor union?

1. YES

5. NO

GO TO Y24

Y23a. Who is it that belongs? (CHECK AS MANY AS APPLICABLE)

1. RESPONDENT

3. OTHER FAMILY MEMBER

2. RESPONDENT'S SPOUSE

4. SOMEONE ELSE

Y24. We would like to know the general range of your family income, that is the family living with you, for 1983 before taxes. This figure should include salaries, wages, pensions, dividends, interest, and all other income. Was it under \$20,000 or over \$20,000?

(IF UNCERTAIN: What do you think it was?)

1. UNDER
\$20,000

3. \$20,000
EXACTLY

5. MORE THAN
\$20,000

8. DON'T
KNOW

7. REFUSED

TURN TO
P. 29, Y25

TURN TO P. 39, Y25

Y24a. Was it under \$10,000 or over \$10,000?

1. UNDER

3. \$10,000
EXACTLY

5. OVER

8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 39, Y25

Y24b. Was it under \$30,000 or over \$30,000?

1. UNDER

3. \$30,000
EXACTLY

5. OVER

8. DK

TURN TO P. 39, Y25

TURN TO
P. 39, Y25

Y24c. Was it under \$40,000 or over \$40,000?

1. UNDER

5. \$40,000
OR MORE

8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 39, Y25

Y25. Is your religious preference Protestant, Roman Catholic, Jewish, or something else?

PROTESTANT	200. ROMAN CATHOLIC	300. JEWISH	OTHER (SPECIFY):	998. NONE; NO PREFERENCE
	GO TO Y26			GO TO Y27
				999. REFUSED
				GO TO Y27

Y25a. What church or denomination is that?

Y25b. (IF BAPTIST:) Is that Southern Baptist or something else?

Y26. (IF ANY RELIGIOUS PREFERENCE) Would you say you go to (church/synagogue) every week, almost every week, once or twice a month, a few times a year, or never?

1. EVERY WEEK	2. ALMOST EVERY WEEK	3. ONCE OR TWICE A MONTH	4. A FEW TIMES A YEAR	5. NEVER
---------------	----------------------	--------------------------	-----------------------	----------

Y27. How long have you lived in your city or town? (IF NECESSARY: How long have you lived in your county?)

90. ALL OF LIFE	_____ YEARS	OR	_____ MONTHS IF LESS THAN TWO YEARS
-----------------	-------------	----	-------------------------------------

Y28. How long have you lived at your present address?

90. ALL OF LIFE	_____ YEARS	OR	_____ MONTHS IF LESS THAN TWO YEARS
-----------------	-------------	----	-------------------------------------

Y29. Would you mind telling me your race? Are you white, black, American Indian or Alaskan native, Asian or Pacific Islander?

1. WHITE	2. BLACK	3. AMERICAN INDIAN OR ALASKAN NATIVE	4. ASIAN OR PACIFIC ISLANDER
----------	----------	---	---------------------------------

Y30. And is your ethnic origin Hispanic, that is, are you Mexican-American or Chicano, Puerto Rican, Cuban, or some other Hispanic origin?

5. NO	1. YES, MEXICAN- AMERICAN/CHICANO	2. YES, PUERTO RICAN	3. YES, CUBAN	4. YES, OTHER HISPANIC
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Y31. How many telephones, counting extensions, do you have in your home?

1. ONE GO TO Y32	NUMBER MORE THAN ONE	8. DON'T KNOW; NOT SURE	9. REFUSED
---------------------	-------------------------	----------------------------	------------

GO TO Y32

Y31a. Do (both/all) telephones have the same number?

1. YES GO TO Y32	5. NO	8. DON'T KNOW	9. REFUSED
---------------------	-------	---------------	------------

GO TO Y32

Y31b. How many different numbers are there?

NUMBER OF DIFFERENT TELEPHONE NUMBERS	8. DON'T KNOW	9. REFUSED
--	---------------	------------

GO TO Y32

Y31c. Are any of the numbers for business use only?

1. YES	5. NO
--------	-------

GO TO Y32

Y31d. How many are used only for business?

NUMBER OF PHONE NUMBERS USED ONLY FOR BUSINESS	8. DON'T KNOW	9. REFUSED
--	---------------	------------

Y32. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

Time Now: _____

Date: _____

TURN TO P. 4 OF COVER SHEET

Z1. SEX OF RESPONDENT:

1. MALE

2. FEMALE

Z2. THUMBNAIL SKETCH:

For Office Use Only

1984 NATIONAL ELECTION STUDY
ROLLING CROSS-SECTION

Project 495806
Jan.-Nov., 1984
Version 1.243



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

1. Telephone interviewer's number: _____
2. Control ID number (5-digit number from label on cover sheet): _____
3. Respondent's area code (from label on cover sheet): _____
4. Sample assigned week (from label on cover sheet): _____
5. Date interview completed: _____
6. Time interview began:

A.M.

P.M.

A.M.

P.M.

 _____ ANN ARBOR TIME
R's LOCAL TIME
7. Length of interview: _____ (MINUTES)
8. Time at beginning of edit: _____
9. Time at end of edit: _____
10. Total time to 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 on to the next question.

TO BE COMPLETED IN CODING:

- 11a/b. Date interview started: _____ (Month/Day)
12. Week interview started: _____
13. Week interview completed: _____
14. ICPSR state code/ FIPS state code: _____

SECTION A

Time Now: _____

Date: _____

In this interview we will be talking about many different topics of interest. Here is our first question:

- A1. We are interested in how people are getting along financially these days. Would you say that you (and your family living with you) are better or worse off financially than you were a year ago?

1. BETTER	3. SAME GO TO A2	5. WORSE	8. DON'T KNOW GO TO A2
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<p>A1a. Is that <u>much</u> better or <u>somewhat</u> 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>A1b. Is that <u>much</u> worse or <u>somewhat</u> 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				

- A2. This past year, have you (and your family) had to watch your budget more closely than the year before?

1. YES	5. NO	8. DON'T KNOW GO TO A3
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A2a. Is that <u>much</u> more closely or <u>a little</u> more closely?	
1. MUCH MORE CLOSELY	2. A LITTLE MORE CLOSELY

- A3. Do you think that over the last year, (your/your family's) income has gone up more than the cost of living, has it fallen behind, or has it stayed about even with the cost of living?

1. GONE UP MORE	3. STAYED ABOUT EVEN TURN TO P. 2, A4	5. FALLEN BEHIND	8. DON'T KNOW TURN TO P. 2, A4
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<p>A3a. Has it gone up <u>a lot</u> more or <u>a little</u> more?</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td>1. A LOT MORE</td> <td>2. A LITTLE MORE</td> </tr> </table>	1. A LOT MORE	2. A LITTLE MORE	<p>A3b. Has it fallen behind <u>a lot</u> or <u>a little</u>?</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td>5. FALLEN A LOT</td> <td>4. FALLEN A LITTLE</td> </tr> </table>	5. FALLEN A LOT	4. FALLEN A LITTLE
1. A LOT MORE	2. A LITTLE MORE				
5. FALLEN A LOT	4. FALLEN A LITTLE				

- A4. Sometimes people think about other groups of people in society than they think about their own economic well-being, people who are being helped or hurt by economic conditions. When it comes to economic matters, what groups of people do you feel close to?

(IF R DOESN'T KNOW WHAT WE MEAN BY "GROUPS": Some people have mentioned farmers, the elderly, teachers, blacks, and union members.)

(GROUP NAMES)

R DOESN'T MENTION ANY GROUPS

TURN TO P. 3, A6
(ASK A6 - A10)

A4a. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

☐ 1. R NAMED MORE THAN ONE GROUP IN A4

☐ 5. R NAMED ONLY ONE GROUP IN A4

When it comes to economic matters, what sorts of people do you feel closest to?

BELOW, CHECK A BOX FOR THE GROUP NAMED IN A4, OR ENTER GROUP IN BOX FOR "OTHER."

10. WOMEN

20. BLACKS

30. ELDERLY (SENIOR CITIZENS)

40. THE POOR

50. MIDDLE CLASS (INCL. UPPER-MIDDLE & LOWER-MIDDLE)

OTHER (SPECIFY):

A4b.

- A4c. Would you say that over the past year the economic position of GROUP FROM A4b has gotten better, stayed about the same, or gotten worse?

1. GOTTEN BETTER

3. STAYED THE SAME

5. GOTTEN WORSE

8. DK

GO TO A4f

GO TO A4f

A4d. Would you say much better or somewhat better?

1. MUCH

2. SOMEWHAT

A4e. Would you say much worse or somewhat worse?

5. MUCH

4. SOMEWHAT

- A4f. Would you say that over the past year the incomes of GROUP FROM A4b have gone up more than the cost of living, stayed about even, or fallen behind the cost of living?

1. GONE UP MORE

3. STAYED ABOUT EVEN

5. FALLEN BEHIND

8. DK

TURN TO P. 3, A4i

TURN TO P. 3, A4i

A4g. Have they gone up a lot or a little?

1. A LOT

2. A LITTLE

A4h. Have they fallen behind a lot or a little?

5. A LOT

4. A LITTLE

A4i. Would you say that over the past year GROUP FROM A4b have had a harder time finding enough work, an easier time, or have things stayed about the same?

1. HARDER TIME

3. ABOUT THE SAME

5. EASIER TIME

8. DK

GO TO A5

GO TO A5

A4j. Have they had a much harder time or a little harder time?

1. MUCH HARDER

2. A LITTLE HARDER

A4k. Have they had a much easier time or a little easier time?

5. MUCH EASIER

4. A LITTLE EASIER

A5. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

☐ 1. IN A4b ONE OF THE CHECK BOXES 10-50 IS "Xed"

BELOW, CHECK THE BOXES INDICATING WHETHER THE GROUP WAS OR WAS NOT MENTIONED BY R IN A4b:

WOMEN:

MENTIONED

NOT MENTIONED

BLACKS:

MENTIONED

NOT MENTIONED

THE ELDERLY (SENIOR CITIZEN)

MENTIONED

NOT MENTIONED

THE POOR:

MENTIONED

NOT MENTIONED

THE MIDDLE CLASS (INCL. UPPER/LOWER MIDDLE):

MENTIONED

NOT MENTIONED

TURN TO P. 4,
SECTION B

☐ 5. IN A4b NONE OF THE CHECK BOXES 10-50 HAS BEEN "Xed"

A6. 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. DK

A7. What about blacks? (Would you say that over the past year the economic position of blacks has gotten better, stayed about the same, or gotten worse?)

1. BETTER

3. SAME

5. WORSE

8. DK

A8. (And what about) the elderly?

1. BETTER

3. SAME

5. WORSE

8. DK

A9. (And what about) the poor?

1. BETTER

3. SAME

5. WORSE

8. DK

A10. (And what about) the middle class?

1. BETTER

3. SAME

5. WORSE

8. DK

SECTION B

- B1. Some people seem to follow what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time, whether there's an election going on or not. Others aren't that interested. Would you say you follow what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time, some of the time, only now and then, or hardly at all?

1. MOST OF
THE TIME

2. SOME OF
THE TIME

3. ONLY NOW
AND THEN

4. HARDLY
AT ALL

5. DON'T
KNOW

- B2. Let's switch to the presidential campaign for a minute. Would you say that you are very much interested, somewhat interested, or not much interested in following the presidential campaign in 1984?

1. VERY MUCH INTERESTED

3. SOMEWHAT INTERESTED

5. NOT MUCH INTERESTED

- B3. Would you say that you personally care a good deal which party wins the presidential election in the fall of 1984, or that you don't care very much which party wins?

1. CARE A GOOD DEAL

3. DON'T CARE VERY MUCH

5. DON'T KNOW

- B4. Has anyone called you up or come around and talked to you about supporting a candidate for president?

1. YES

3. NO

GO TO B5

B4a. Has this happened in the last week?

1. YES

5. NO

- B5. Has anyone called you up or come around to talk to you about registering to vote?

1. YES

5. NO

B6. So far this year have you talked to anyone and tried to show them why they should support one of the candidates for president?

1. YES

5. NO

→ TURN TO P. 6,
SECTION C

B6a. Have you done this in the last week?

1. YES

5. NO

SECTION C

INTERVIEWER INSTRUCTION: USE BLUE CARD TO RECORD ANSWERS TO C1

- C1. I'm going to read a list with names of possible presidential candidates in 1984. Many people tell us that they have not heard about some of the people on this list. As I read each name, please tell me when I come to a person you have never heard of.

(INTERVIEWER: READ THE LIST SLOWLY, TO GIVE R A CHANCE TO RESPOND.
CROSS OUT NAMES R HAS NEVER HEARD OF.)

INTERVIEWER: AFTER THE INTERVIEW IS COMPLETED, ATTACH
 BLUE CARD TO THIS PAGE.

INTERVIEWER:
 PLEASE ENTER
 CONTROL ID NUMBER
 (5-DIGIT NUMBER FROM
 LABEL ON COVER SHEET):

BLUE CARD

a. Ronald Reagan
b. John Glenn
c. Ted Kennedy
d. Walter Mondale
e. Alan Cranston
f. John Anderson
g. Ernest Hollings
h. Reubin Askew
i. Jesse Jackson
j. George Bush
k. Howard Baker
m. George McGovern
n. Robert Dole
o. Gary Hart

Versions 1-4

C2. Now let's talk about your feelings toward the candidates you know something about.

I'll read the name of a person and I will ask you to rate that person on a thermometer that runs from 0 degrees to 100 degrees. Ratings between 50 degrees and 100 degrees mean that you feel favorable and warm toward that person. Ratings between 0 degrees and 50 degrees mean that you don't feel too favorable and are cool toward that person. You may use any number from 0 to 100 to tell me how favorable or unfavorable your feelings are for each person.

If you recognize the name, but don't feel particularly warm or cold toward the person, you would rate the person at the 50 degree mark.

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

	997. R DOESN'T RECOGNIZE NAME	998. DON'T KNOW WHERE TO RATE; CAN'T JUDGE	
	RATING		
INTERVIEWER:			a. RONALD REAGAN
PLACE BLUE CARD HERE, SUCH THAT THE NAMES LINE UP WITH THE RESPONSE BOXES.			b. JOHN GLENN
			c. TED KENNEDY
			d. WALTER MONDALE
ASK ALL NAMES NOT CROSSED OUT ON THE BLUE CARD.			e. ALAN CRANSTON
			f. JOHN ANDERSON
			g. ERNEST HOLLINGS
FOR CROSSED OUT NAMES, ENTER "X" IN COLUMN 997., "R DOESN'T RECOGNIZE NAME"			h. REUBIN ASKEW
			i. JESSE JACKSON
			j. GEORGE BUSH
			k. HOWARD BAKER
			m. GEORGE MCGOVERN
			n. ROBERT DOLE
			o. GARY HART

SECTION D

D1. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling his job as president?

1. APPROVE	5. DISAPPROVE	8. DON'T KNOW GO TO D2
D1a. Do you approve <u>strongly</u> or <u>not strongly</u> ?		D1b. Do you disapprove <u>strongly</u> or <u>not strongly</u> ?
1. STRONGLY	2. NOT STRONGLY	5. STRONGLY
		4. NOT STRONGLY

D2. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling the economy?

1. APPROVE	5. DISAPPROVE	8. DON'T KNOW GO TO D3
D2a. Do you approve <u>strongly</u> or <u>not strongly</u> ?		D2b. Do you disapprove <u>strongly</u> or <u>not strongly</u> ?
1. STRONGLY	2. NOT STRONGLY	5. STRONGLY
		4. NOT STRONGLY

D3. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling our relations with foreign countries?

1. APPROVE	5. DISAPPROVE	8. DON'T KNOW TURN TO P. 9, SECTION E
D3a. Do you approve <u>strongly</u> or <u>not strongly</u> ?		D3b. Do you disapprove <u>strongly</u> or <u>not strongly</u> ?
1. STRONGLY	2. NOT STRONGLY	5. STRONGLY
		4. NOT STRONGLY

E1. Now let's talk about who is likely to win the Democratic nomination for President. We will be using a scale which runs from 0 to 100, where 0 represents no chance for the nomination, 50 represents an even chance, and 100 represents certain victory.

INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:		
REFER TO <u>BLUE CARD</u> --		
IS NAME <u>CROSSED OUT</u> ?		
WALTER MONDALE		
YES	NO	E1a. Using this 0 to 100 scale, what do you think <u>Walter Mondale's</u> chances are of winning the nomination?
		_____ (NUMBER) 998. DON'T KNOW
JOHN GLENN		
YES	NO	E1b. (Using this 0 to 100 scale,) what do you think <u>John Glenn's</u> chances are of winning the nomination?
		_____ (NUMBER) 998. DON'T KNOW
ALAN CRANSTON		
YES	NO	E1c. (Using this 0 to 100 scale,) what do you think <u>Alan Cranston's</u> chances are of winning the nomination?
		_____ (NUMBER) 998. DON'T KNOW
JESSE JACKSON		
YES	NO	E1d. (Using this 0 to 100 scale,) what do you think <u>Jesse Jackson's</u> chances are of winning the nomination?
		_____ (NUMBER) 998. DON'T KNOW
TED KENNEDY		
YES	NO	E1e. (Using this 0 to 100 scale,) what do you think <u>Ted Kennedy's</u> chances are of winning the nomination?
		_____ (NUMBER) 998. DON'T KNOW
GARY HART		
YES	NO	E1f. (Using this 0 to 100 scale,) what do you think <u>Gary Hart's</u> chances are of winning the nomination?
		_____ (NUMBER) 998. DON'T KNOW
TURN TO P.10, SECTION F		

SECTION F

F1. How many days in the past week did you watch national news on T.V.?

_____ (NUMBER OF DAYS IN WEEK)

0. NONE

GO TO F2

F1a. How much attention did you pay to news on T.V. about the campaign for president -- a great deal, quite a bit, some, very little, or none?

1. A GREAT
DEAL

2. QUITE
A BIT

3. SOME

4. VERY
LITTLE

5. NONE

F2. How many days in the past week did you read a daily newspaper?

_____ (NUMBER OF DAYS IN WEEK)

0. NONE

TURN TO P. 11,
SECTION G

F2a. Which paper or papers did you read? (GET FULL TITLE AND CITY WHERE PUBLISHED.) (Any others?)

TITLE

CITY WHERE PUBLISHED

F2b. How much attention did you pay to articles in the newspaper about the campaign for president -- a great deal, quite a bit, some, very little, or none?

1. A GREAT
DEAL

2. QUITE
A BIT

3. SOME

4. VERY
LITTLE

5. NONE

SECTION G

G1. Now we'd like to know about your impressions of Ronald Reagan. I am going to read a list of words and phrases people use to describe political figures. After each one, I would like you to tell me how much the word or phrase fits your impression of Ronald Reagan.

The first phrase is "hard-working." How much would you say "hard-working" fits your impression of Ronald Reagan: a great deal, somewhat, a little, or not at all?

		1. A GREAT DEAL	2. SOMEWHAT	3. CAN'T DECIDE	4. A LITTLE	5. NOT AT ALL	8. DK
a. HARD-WORKING	a.						
b. decent	b.						
c. compassionate	c.						
d. commands respect	d.						
e. intelligent	e.						
f. moral	f.						
g. kind	g.						
h. inspiring	h.						
i. knowledgeable	i.						
j. sets a good example	j.						
k. really cares about people like you	k.						
m. provides strong leadership	m.						

G2. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:
☐ 1. "WALTER MONDALE"
IS NOT CROSSED OUT

☐ 5. "WALTER MONDALE" IS
CROSSED OUT — TURN TO
P.13,G4

G3. Now about Walter Mondale. Would you say "hard-working" fits your impression of him: a great deal, somewhat, a little, or not at all?

	1. A GREAT DEAL	2. SOMEWHAT	3. CAN'T DECIDE	4. A LITTLE	5. NOT AT ALL	6. OK
a. HARD-WORKING	a.					
b. decent	b.					
c. compassionate	c.					
d. commands respect	d.					
e. intelligent	e.					
f. moral	f.					
g. kind	g.					
h. inspiring	h.					
i. knowledgeable	i.					
j. sets a good example	j.					
k. really cares about people like you	k.					
m. provides strong leadership	m.					

G4. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT

REFER TO BLUE CARD:

☐ 1. "JOHN GLENN" IS
NOT CROSSED OUT

☐ 5. "JOHN GLENN" IS
CROSSED OUT → TURN TO P.14,G6

G5. And now about John Glenn. Would you say "hard-working" fits your impression of him: a great deal, somewhat, a little, or not at all?

	1. A GREAT DEAL	2. SOMEWHAT	3. CAN'T DECIDE	4. A LITTLE	5. NOT AT ALL	8. DK
a. HARD-WORKING	a.					
b. decent	b.					
c. compassionate	c.					
d. commands respect	d.					
e. intelligent	e.					
f. moral	f.					
g. kind	g.					
h. inspiring	h.					
i. knowledgeable	i.					
j. sets a good example	j.					
k. really cares about people like you	k.					
m. provides strong leadership	m.					

G6. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:☐ 1. "JESSE JACKSON" IS
NOT CROSSED OUT☐ 5. "JESSE JACKSON" IS
CROSSED OUT → TURN TO
P. 14a, G8

G7. Now about Jesse Jackson. Would you say "hard-working" fits your impression of him: a great deal, somewhat, a little, or not at all?

	1. A GREAT DEAL	2. SOMEWHAT	3. CAN'T DECIDE	4. A LITTLE	5. NOT AT ALL	8. DK
a. HARD-WORKING	a.					
b. decent	b.					
c. compassionate	c.					
d. commands respect	d.					
e. intelligent	e.					
f. moral	f.					
g. kind	g.					
h. inspiring	h.					
i. knowledgeable	i.					
j. sets a good example	j.					
k. really cares about people like you	k.					
m. provides strong leadership	m.					

C8. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:

☐1. "GARY HART" IS
NOT CROSSED OUT☐5. "GARY HART" IS
CROSSED OUT→ TURN TO
P.15, SECTION H

G9. Now about Gary Hart. Would you say "hard-working" fits your impression of him: a great deal, somewhat, a little, or not at all?

	1. A GREAT DEAL	2. SOMEWHAT	3. CAN'T DECIDE	4. A LITTLE	5. NOT AT ALL	8. DK
a. HARD-WORKING						
b. decent						
c. compassionate						
d. commands respect						
e. intelligent						
f. moral						
g. kind						
h. inspiring						
i. knowledgeable						
j. sets a good example						
k. really cares about people like you						
m. provides strong leadership						

SECTION H

- H1. Now, let's talk about 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?

1. GOTTEN BETTER	3. STAYED SAME GO TO H2	5. GOTTEN WORSE	8. DON'T KNOW GO TO H2
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<p>H1a. Would you say <u>much</u> better or <u>somewhat</u> 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>H1b. Would you say <u>much</u> worse or <u>somewhat</u> 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				

- H2. Would you say that over the past year, people across the country have had a harder time finding enough work, an easier time, or have things stayed about the same?

1. HARDER TIME	3. STAYED SAME GO TO H3	5. EASIER TIME	8. DON'T KNOW GO TO H3
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<p>H2a. Would you say <u>much</u> harder or <u>a little</u> harder?</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td>1. MUCH HARDER</td> <td>2. A LITTLE HARDER</td> </tr> </table>	1. MUCH HARDER	2. A LITTLE HARDER	<p>H2b. Would you say <u>much</u> easier or <u>a little</u> easier?</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td>5. MUCH EASIER</td> <td>4. A LITTLE EASIER</td> </tr> </table>	5. MUCH EASIER	4. A LITTLE EASIER
1. MUCH HARDER	2. A LITTLE HARDER				
5. MUCH EASIER	4. A LITTLE EASIER				

- H3. During the last year, have the costs of things gone up, gone down, or have they remained about the same?

1. GONE UP	3. STAYED SAME TURN TO P. 16, H4	5. GONE DOWN	8. DON'T KNOW TURN TO P. 16, H4
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<p>H3a. Have they gone up <u>a lot</u> or <u>a little</u>?</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td>1. A LOT</td> <td>2. A LITTLE</td> </tr> </table>	1. A LOT	2. A LITTLE	<p>H3b. Have they gone down <u>a lot</u> or <u>a little</u>?</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td>5. A LOT</td> <td>4. A LITTLE</td> </tr> </table>	5. A LOT	4. A LITTLE
1. A LOT	2. A LITTLE				
5. A LOT	4. A LITTLE				

- H4. 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?

1. WEAKER

3. STAYED SAME

5. STRONGER

8. DON'T KNOW

- H5. How worried are you about our country getting into a conventional war at this time, one in which nuclear weapons are not used? Are you very worried, somewhat worried, or not worried at all?

1. VERY WORRIED

3. SOMEWHAT WORRIED

5. NOT WORRIED

8. DK

- H6. How worried are you about our country getting into a nuclear war at this time? Are you very worried, somewhat worried, or not worried at all?

1. VERY WORRIED

3. SOMEWHAT WORRIED

5. NOT WORRIED

8. DK

SECTION J

J1. When it comes to politics, do you usually think of yourself as a liberal, a conservative, a moderate, or what?

1. YES, LIBERAL

J1a. Do you think of yourself as a strong liberal or a not-very-strong liberal?

1. STRONG

5. NOT VERY STRONG

TURN TO P. 18, J2

5. YES, CONSERVATIVE

J1b. Do you think of yourself as a strong conservative or a not-very-strong conservative?

1. STRONG

5. NOT VERY STRONG

TURN TO P. 18, J2

3. YES, MODERATE

7. NO, NEVER

8. DON'T KNOW

J1c. 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. 18, J2

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

TURN TO P. 22, SECTION K

J2. What about Ronald Reagan? Do you usually think of Ronald Reagan as a liberal, a conservative, a moderate, or what?

1. LIBERAL

J2a. Do you think he is a strong liberal or a not-very-strong liberal?

1. STRONG

5. NOT VERY STRONG

TURN TO P. 19, J3

5. CONSERVATIVE

J2b. Do you think he is a strong conservative or a not-very-strong conservative?

1. STRONG

5. NOT VERY STRONG

TURN TO P. 19, J3

3. MODERATE

7. NONE OF THESE

8. DON'T KNOW

J2c. Do you think he is more like a liberal or more like a conservative?

1. LIBERAL

5. CONSERVATIVE

3. NEITHER

8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 19, J3

J3. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:
☐ 1. "JOHN GLENN" IS
NOT CROSSED OUT

☐ 5. "JOHN GLENN" IS
 CROSSED OUT → TURN TO
 P. 20, J5

J4. Now think about John Glenn. Do you usually think of John Glenn as a liberal,
 a conservative, a moderate, or what?

1. LIBERAL →

J4a. Do you think he is a strong liberal or
 a not-very-strong liberal?

1. STRONG

5. NOT VERY STRONG

TURN TO P. 20, J5

5. CONSERVATIVE →

J4b. Do you think he is a strong conservative
 or a not-very-strong conservative?

1. STRONG

5. NOT VERY STRONG

TURN TO P. 20, J5

3. MODERATE

7. NONE OF THESE

8. DON'T KNOW

J4c. Do you think he is more like a liberal
 or more like a conservative?

1. LIBERAL

5. CONSERVATIVE

3. NEITHER

8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 20, J5

J5. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:

☐ 1. "WALTER MONDALE" IS
NOT CROSSED OUT

☐ 5. "WALTER MONDALE" IS
CROSSED OUT → TURN TO
P. 21, J7

J6. What about Walter Mondale? Do you usually think of Walter Mondale as a liberal, a conservative, a moderate, or what?

1. LIBERAL

J6a. Do you think he is a strong liberal or a not-very-strong liberal?

1. STRONG

5. NOT VERY STRONG

TURN TO P. 21, J7

5. CONSERVATIVE

J6b. Do you think he is a strong conservative or a not-very-strong conservative?

1. STRONG

5. NOT VERY STRONG

TURN TO P. 21, J7

3. MODERATE

7. NONE OF THESE

8. DON'T KNOW

J6c. Do you think he is more like a liberal or more like a conservative?

1. LIBERAL

5. CONSERVATIVE

3. NEITHER

8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 21, J7

J7. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:

☐ 1. "JESSE JACKSON" IS
NOT CROSSED OUT

☐ 5. "JESSE JACKSON" IS
CROSSED OUT → TURN TO P.21A,
J9

J8. And what about Jesse Jackson. Do you usually think of Jesse Jackson as a liberal, a conservative, a moderate, or what?

1. LIBERAL

J8a. Do you think he is a strong liberal or a not-very-strong liberal?

1. STRONG

5. NOT VERY STRONG

TURN TO P. 21A, J9

5. CONSERVATIVE

J8b. Do you think he is a strong conservative or a not-very-strong conservative?

1. STRONG

5. NOT VERY STRONG

TURN TO P. 21A, J9

3. MODERATE

7. NONE OF THESE

8. DON'T KNOW

J8c. Do you think he is more like a liberal or more like a conservative?

1. LIBERAL

5. CONSERVATIVE

3. NEITHER

8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 21A, J9

J9. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:
☐ 1. "GARY HART" IS
NOT CROSSED OUT

☐ 5. "GARY HART" IS
 CROSSED OUT → TURN TO P. 22,
 SECTION K

J10. And what about Gary Hart. Do you usually think of Gary Hart as a liberal, a conservative, a moderate, or what?

1. LIBERAL

J8a. Do you think he is a strong liberal or a not-very-strong liberal?

1. STRONG

5. NOT VERY STRONG

TURN TO P. 22, SECTION K

5. CONSERVATIVE

J8b. Do you think he is a strong conservative or a not-very-strong conservative?

1. STRONG

5. NOT VERY STRONG

TURN TO P. 22, SECTION K

3. MODERATE

7. NONE OF THESE

8. DON'T KNOW

J8c. Do you think he is more like a liberal or more like a conservative?

1. LIBERAL

5. CONSERVATIVE

3. NEITHER

8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 22, SECTION K

SECTION K

- K1. We would like to know something about the feelings you have toward Ronald Reagan. I would like you to tell me whether something about Ronald Reagan, or something he has done, has made you have certain feelings like "anger" or "pride."

First, has Ronald Reagan (because of the kind of person he is, or because of something he has done) ever made you feel:

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

K2. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:

☐ 1. "JOHN GLENN" IS
NOT CROSSED OUT

☐ 5. "JOHN GLENN" IS
CROSSED OUT → TURN TO
P. 23, K4

- K3. What about John Glenn? Has he (because of the kind of person he is, or because of something he has done) ever made you feel:

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

K4. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:

☐ 1. "WALTER MONDALE" IS
NOT CROSSED OUT

☐ 5. "WALTER MONDALE" IS
CROSSED OUT → GO TO K6

K5. Has Walter Mondale (because of the kind of person he is, or because of something he has done) ever made you feel:

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

K6. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:

☐ 1. "JESSE JACKSON" IS
NOT CROSSED OUT

☐ 5. "JESSE JACKSON" IS
CROSSED OUT → GO TO K8

K7. And has Jesse Jackson (because of the kind of person he is, or because of something he has done) ever made you feel?

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

K8. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:

☐ 1. "GARY HART" IS
NOT CROSSED OUT

☐ 5. "GARY HART" IS
CROSSED OUT → TURN TO P. 24,
SECTION L

K9. And has Gary Hart (because of the kind of person he is, or because of something he has done) ever made you feel?

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

SECTION L

Now let's move to a different set of questions.

L1. Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an independent, or what?

1. REPUBLICAN	5. DEMOCRAT	2. INDEPENDENT
		3. NO PREFERENCE
		4. OTHER PARTY
<p>L1a. Would you call yourself a <u>strong</u> Republican or a <u>not very strong</u> Republican?</p> <p data-bbox="142 618 249 653">1. STRONG</p> <p data-bbox="142 673 337 707">5. NOT VERY STRONG</p>	<p>L1b. Would you call yourself a <u>strong</u> Democrat or a <u>not very strong</u> Democrat?</p> <p data-bbox="425 618 524 653">1. STRONG</p> <p data-bbox="425 673 617 707">5. NOT VERY STRONG</p>	<p>L1c. Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party or to the Democratic Party?</p> <p data-bbox="762 618 902 666">1. CLOSER TO REPUBLICAN</p> <p data-bbox="762 701 902 749">5. CLOSER TO DEMOCRATIC</p> <p data-bbox="762 769 876 803">3. NEITHER</p>

L2. Who is your first choice for the Democratic nomination for president in 1984?

_____ (NAME)

98. DON'T KNOW/CAN'T ANSWER

TURN TO P. 25, SECTION M

L2a. Suppose, for one reason or another, (he/she) is not chosen as the Democratic candidate. Who would be your second choice for the Democratic nomination?

_____ (NAME)

DON'T KNOW/
98. CAN'T ANSWER

SECTION M

M1. The next few questions are about government spending and government services.

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 more services even if it means an increase in spending.

Do you have an opinion on this topic or haven't you thought much about it?

1. YES, HAVE AN OPINION

5. NO, HAVEN'T THOUGHT

8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 27, M2

M1a. (Do you think the government should reduce spending, provide more services, or is your position somewhere in between?)

1. REDUCE SPENDING

3. SOMEWHERE BETWEEN

5. MORE SERVICES

8. DK

GO TO M1d

GO TO M1d

M1b. Would you prefer a moderate reduction in spending and services, or a large reduction?

2. MODERATE

1. LARGE

8. DK

M1c. Would you prefer a moderate increase in spending and services, or a large increase?

4. MODERATE

5. LARGE

8. DK

M1d. In your opinion, does Ronald Reagan think the government should reduce spending, provide more services, or is his position somewhere in between?

1. REDUCE SPENDING

3. SOMEWHERE BETWEEN

5. MORE SERVICES

8. DK

TURN TO P. 26, M1g

TURN TO
P. 26, M1g

M1e. Do you think he would prefer a moderate reduction in spending and services, or a large reduction?

2. MODERATE

1. LARGE

8. DK

M1f. Do you think he would prefer a moderate increase in spending and services, or a large increase?

4. MODERATE

5. LARGE

8. DK

Mlg. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:

☐ 1. "WALTER MONDALE" IS
NOT CROSSED OUT

☐ 5. "WALTER MONDALE" IS
CROSSED OUT —> GO TO Mlk

Mlh. In your opinion, does Walter Mondale think the government should reduce spending, provide more services, or is his position somewhere in between?

1. REDUCE SPENDING

3. SOMEWHERE BETWEEN

5. MORE SERVICES

8. DK

GO TO Mlk

GO TO Mlk

Mli. Do you think he would prefer a moderate reduction in spending and services, or a large reduction?

2. MODERATE

1. LARGE

8. DK

Mlj. Do you think he would prefer a moderate increase in spending and services, or a large increase?

4. MODERATE

5. LARGE

8. DK

Mlk. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:

☐ 1. "JOHN GLENN" IS
NOT CROSSED OUT

☐ 5. "JOHN GLENN" IS
CROSSED OUT —> TURN TO
P. 26a, Mlp

Mlm. In your opinion, does John Glenn think the government should reduce spending, provide more services, or is his position somewhere in between?

1. REDUCE SPENDING

3. SOMEWHERE BETWEEN

5. MORE SERVICES

8. DK

TURN TO P. 26a, Mlp

TURN TO
P. 26a, Mlp

Mln. Do you think he would prefer a moderate reduction in spending and services, or a large reduction?

2. MODERATE

1. LARGE

8. DK

Mlo. Do you think he would prefer a moderate increase in spending and services, or a large increase?

4. MODERATE

5. LARGE

8. DK

Mlp. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:

☐ 1. "GARY HART" IS
NOT CROSSED OUT
☐ 5. "GARY HART" IS
CROSSED OUT → TURN TO
P. 27, M2

Mlq. In your opinion, does Gary Hart think the government should reduce spending, provide more services, or is his position somewhere in between?

1. REDUCE SPENDING

3. SOMEWHERE BETWEEN

5. MORE SERVICES

8. DK

TURN TO P. 27, M2

TURN TO
P. 27, M2

Mlr. Do you think he would prefer a moderate reduction in spending and services, or a large reduction?

2. MODERATE

1. LARGE

8. DK

Mls. Do you think he would prefer a moderate increase in spending and services, or a large increase?

4. MODERATE

5. LARGE

8. DK

- M2. Some people feel that the government in Washington should make every effort to improve the social and economic position of blacks and other minority groups. Others feel that the government should not make any special effort to help minorities because they should help themselves.

Do you have an opinion on this issue, or haven't you thought much about this?

1. YES, HAVE AN OPINION

5. NO, HAVEN'T THOUGHT

8. DON'T KNOW

GO TO M3

M2a. (Do you feel the government should help improve the position of minorities, that minorities should help themselves, or is your position somewhere in between?)

1. GOVT SHOULD HELP

3. SOMEWHERE BETWEEN

5. MINORITIES
HELP SELVES

8. DK

GO TO M3

GO TO M3

M2b. Should the government help minorities to a great extent or only to some extent?

1. GREAT

2. SOME

8. DK

M2c. Should the government leave minorities alone to help themselves to a great extent or only to some extent?

5. GREAT

4. SOME

8. DK

- M3. Some people think that the United States should become more involved in the internal affairs of Central American countries. Others believe that the U.S. should become less involved in this area. Do you have an opinion on this, or haven't you thought much about it?

1. YES, HAVE AN OPINION

5. NO, HAVEN'T THOUGHT

8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 28, M6

M3a. (Do you feel that the U.S. should become less involved in Central America, become more involved in this area, or is your position somewhere in between?)

1. MORE INVOLVED

3. SOMEWHERE BETWEEN

5. LESS INVOLVED

8. DK

TURN TO P. 28, M6

TURN TO
P.28,M6

M3b. Do you think the U.S. should increase its involvement to a great extent or only to some extent?

1. GREAT

2. SOME

8. DK

M3c. Do you think the U.S. should decrease its involvement to a great extent or only to some extent?

5. GREAT

4. SOME

8. DK

M4. OMITTED.

M5. OMITTED.

M6. Some people believe that we should spend less money for defense. Others feel that defense spending should be increased. Do you have an opinion on this issue, or haven't you thought much about this?

1. YES, HAVE AN OPINION

5. NO, HAVEN'T THOUGHT

8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 30, M7

M6a. (Do you feel the government should decrease defense spending, increase defense spending, or is the government spending about the right amount?)

1. DECREASE SPENDING

3. SPENDING RIGHT
AMOUNT

5. INCREASE SPENDING

8. DK

GO TO M6d

GO TO M6d

M6b. Should the government reduce defense spending a lot or a little?

1. A LOT

2. LITTLE

8. DK

M6c. Should the government increase defense spending a lot or a little?

5. A LOT

4. LITTLE

8. DK

M6d. In your opinion, does Ronald Reagan feel the government should decrease defense spending, increase defense spending, or does he feel the government is spending about the right amount?

1. DECREASE SPENDING

3. SPENDING RIGHT
AMOUNT

5. INCREASE SPENDING

8. DK

TURN TO P. 29, M6g

TURN TO
P. 29, M6g

M6e. Does Ronald Reagan feel the government should reduce defense spending a lot or a little?

1. A LOT

2. LITTLE

8. DK

M6f. Does Ronald Reagan feel the government should increase defense spending a lot or a little?

5. A LOT

4. LITTLE

8. DK

M6g. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:

☐ 1. "WALTER MONDALE" IS
NOT CROSSED OUT

☐ 5. "WALTER MONDALE" IS
CROSSED OUT → GO TO M6k

M6h. In your opinion, does Walter Mondale feel the government should decrease defense spending, increase defense spending, or does he feel the government is spending about the right amount?

☐ 1. DECREASE
SPENDING

☐ 3. SPENDING RIGHT
AMOUNT
GO TO M6k

☐ 5. INCREASE
SPENDING

☐ 8. DON'T
KNOW
GO TO M6k

M6i. Does Walter Mondale feel the government should reduce defense spending a lot or a little?

☐ 1. A LOT

☐ 2. LITTLE

☐ 8. DK

M6j. Does Walter Mondale feel the government should increase defense spending a lot or a little?

☐ 5. A LOT

☐ 4. LITTLE

☐ 8. DK

M6k. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:

☐ 1. "JOHN GLENN" IS
NOT CROSSED OUT

☐ 5. "JOHN GLENN" IS
CROSSED OUT → TURN TO
P. 29a, M6p

M6m. In your opinion does John Glenn feel the government should decrease defense spending, increase defense spending, or does he feel the government is spending about the right amount?

☐ 1. DECREASE
SPENDING

☐ 3. SPENDING RIGHT
AMOUNT
TURN TO P. 29a, M6p

☐ 5. INCREASE
SPENDING

☐ 8. DON'T
KNOW
TURN TO
P. 29a, M6p

M6n. Does John Glenn feel the government should reduce defense spending a lot or a little?

☐ 1. A LOT

☐ 2. LITTLE

☐ 8. DK

M6o. Does John Glenn feel the government should increase defense spending a lot or a little?

☐ 5. A LOT

☐ 4. LITTLE

☐ 8. DK

M6p. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:
☐ 1. "GARY HART" IS
NOT CROSSED OUT

☐ 5. "GARY HART" IS
 CROSSED OUT → TURN TO
 P. 30, M7

M6q. In your opinion does Gary Hart feel the government should decrease defense spending, increase defense spending, or does he feel the government is spending about the right amount?

☐ 1. DECREASE
 SPENDING

☐ 3. SPENDING RIGHT
 AMOUNT

TURN TO P. 30, M7

☐ 5. INCREASE
 SPENDING

☐ 8. DON'T
 KNOW
TURN TO
P. 30, M7

M6r. Does Gary Hart feel the government should reduce defense spending a lot or a little?

☐ 1. A LOT

☐ 2. LITTLE

☐ 8. DK

M6s. Does Gary Hart feel the government should increase defense spending a lot or a little?

☐ 5. A LOT

☐ 4. LITTLE

☐ 8. DK

- M7. If you had a say in making up the federal budget this year, which programs would you like to see increased and which reduced? Should federal spending on improving and protecting the environment be increased, decreased, or kept about the same?

	1. INCREASED	3. SAME	5. DECREASED	8. DON'T KNOW
a. IMPROVING AND PROTECTING THE ENVIRONMENT				
b. Dealing with crime				
c. Public schools				
d. Social Security				
e. Food stamps				
f. Medicare				
g. Government jobs for the unemployed				
h. Science and technology				

- M8. Some people feel that the government in Washington should make every effort to improve the social and economic position of women. Others feel that the government should not make any special effort to help women because they should help themselves. Do you have an opinion on this issue, or haven't you thought much about it?

1. YES, HAVE OPINION

5. NO, HAVEN'T THOUGHT

8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 31, M9

M8a. (Do you feel that the government should help improve the position of women, that women should help themselves, or is your position somewhere in between?)

1. GOVT SHOULD HELP

3. SOMEWHERE BETWEEN

5. WOMEN
HELP SELVES

8. DK

TURN TO P. 31, M9

TURN TO
P.31,M9

M8b. Should the government help women to a great extent or only to some extent?

1. GREAT

2. SOME

8. DK

M8c. Should the government leave women alone to help themselves to a great extent or only to some extent?

5. GREAT

4. SOME

8. DK

M9. Some people feel it is important for us to try to cooperate more with Russia, while others believe we should be much tougher in our dealings with Russia. Do you have an opinion on this, or haven't you thought much about it?

1. YES, HAVE OPINION

5. NO, HAVEN'T THOUGHT

8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 32, SECTION N

M9a. (Do you feel that we should try to cooperate more with Russia, get tougher in our dealings with Russia, or is your opinion somewhere in between?)

1. COOPERATE

3. SOMEWHERE BETWEEN

5. GET TOUGHER

8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 32, SECTION N

TURN TO P. 32,
SECTION N

M9b. Should we try to cooperate a lot more or somewhat more?

1. A LOT

2. SOMEWHAT

8. DON'T KNOW

M9c. Should we get a lot tougher, or only somewhat tougher?

5. A LOT

4. SOMEWHAT

8. DON'T KNOW

N1. Now we'd like you to tell us about some of the candidates' chances of winning the presidency in 1984.

As before, we will use a scale that runs from 0 to 100, where 0 represents no chance of winning the presidency, 50 represents an even chance, and 100 represents certain victory.

First, what if Ronald Reagan is nominated by the Republicans. What chance would he have of winning the 1984 Presidential election?

____ (NUMBER)

998. DON'T KNOW

INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD --

IS NAME CROSSED OUT?

WALTER MONDALE

YES

NO

N1a. What if Walter Mondale is nominated by Democrats. What chance would he have of winning the 1984 Presidential election against Ronald Reagan?

____ (NUMBER)

998. DON'T KNOW

JOHN GLENN

YES

NO

N1b. (What if John Glenn is nominated by Democrats.) What chance would John Glenn have of winning the 1984 Presidential election against Ronald Reagan?

____ (NUMBER)

998. DON'T KNOW

ALAN CRANSTON

YES

NO

N1c. (What if Alan Cranston is nominated by Democrats.) What chance would Alan Cranston have of winning the 1984 Presidential election against Ronald Reagan?

____ (NUMBER)

998. DON'T KNOW

JESSE JACKSON

YES

NO

N1d. (What if Jesse Jackson is nominated by Democrats.) What chance would Jesse Jackson have of winning the 1984 Presidential election against Ronald Reagan?

____ (NUMBER)

998. DON'T KNOW

TED KENNEDY

YES

NO

N1e. (What if Ted Kennedy is nominated by Democrats.) What chance would Ted Kennedy have of winning the 1984 Presidential election against Ronald Reagan?

____ (NUMBER)

998. DON'T KNOW

GARY HART

YES

NO

N1f. (What if Gary Hart is nominated by Democrats.) What chance would Gary Hart have of winning the 1984 Presidential election against Ronald Reagan?

____ (NUMBER)

998. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P.33,
SECTION Y

Now for a few questions about you.

Y1. As far as you know, are you currently registered to vote?

1. YES

5. NO

6. NOT REQUIRED TO
REGISTER IN STATE

8. DON'T KNOW

9. REFUSED

GO TO Y2

Y1a. Are you registered as a Republican, a Democrat, an independent, or something else?

R VOLUNTEERS:

1. DEMOCRAT

5. NOT REQUIRED TO DECLARE
PARTY TO REGISTER

2. INDEPENDENT

6. NOT REQUIRED TO REGISTER

3. REPUBLICAN

7. "I AM NOT REGISTERED."

4. OTHER PARTY, SPECIFY:

8. DON'T KNOW

Y2. What is the month, day, and year of your birth?

_____(MONTH) _____(DAY) _____(YEAR)

Y3. Are you married now and living with your (husband/wife) -- or are you widowed, divorced, separated, or have you never been married?

MARRIED AND
LIVING WITH1. SPOUSE (OR
SPOUSE IN
SERVICE

5. WIDOWED

3. DIVORCED

4. SEPAR-
ATED2. NEVER
MARRIEDPARTNERS;
7. NOT
MARRIED

Y4. What is the highest grade of school or year of college you have completed?

00 01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08 09 10 11 12 13 14 15 16+

Y4a. Did you get a high school diploma or pass a high school equivalency test?

1. YES

5. NO

TURN TO P. 34, Y5

Y4b. Did you graduate from a four-year college or university?

1. YES

5. NO

TURN TO P. 34, Y5

Y5. We'd like to know if you are working now, or are you unemployed, retired, (a housewife), (a student), or what? (RESPONSES APPEAR ON PAGES 34 AND 35)

1. WORKING
NOW

2. TEMPORARILY
LAID OFF

Y5a. What is your main occupation? (What sort of work do you do?)
(IF NOT CLEAR: Tell me a little more about what you do.)

Y5b. What kind of (business/industry) is that?

Y6. How worried are you about losing your job in the near future:
a lot, somewhat, or not much at all?

1. A
LOT

3. SOME-
WHAT

5. NOT MUCH
AT ALL

8. DON'T
KNOW

9. REFUSED

Y7. Were you out of work or laid off at any time during the last six months?

1. YES

5. NO

Y8. Have you had to reduce your work hours or take a cut in pay at any time during the last six months?

1. YES

5. NO

TURN TO P. 36, Y14

4. UNEMPLOYED

Y9. Have you had a job in the past six months?

1. YES

5. NO

GO TO Y10

Y9a. About how many hours did you work on your job in the average week?

(HOURS)

5. RETIRED

Y10. Are you looking for work at the present time?

1. YES

5. NO

TURN TO
P. 36, Y14

Y11. How worried are you about not being able to find work in the near future: a lot, somewhat, or not much at all?

1. A
LOT

3. SOME-
WHAT

5. NOT MUCH
AT ALL

8. DON'T
KNOW

9. RE-
FUSED

TURN TO P. 36, Y14

6. PERMANENTLY
DISABLED

TURN TO P. 36, Y14

7. HOUSEWIFE

8. STUDENT

Y12. Are you doing any work for pay at the present time?

1. YES

5. NO

GO BACK TO Y5a,
"WORKING NOW"

Y13. Are you looking for work at the present time?

1. YES

5. NO

Y13a. How worried are you about not being able to
find a job in the near future; a lot, some-
what, or not much at all?

1. A
LOT

3. SOME-
WHAT

5. NOT MUCH
AT ALL

8. DON'T
KNOW

9. RE-
FUSED

TURN TO P. 36, Y14

Y14. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

<input type="checkbox"/>	1. R <u>ONLY ADULT IN HOUSEHOLD OR LIVES ALONE</u> → TURN TO P. 38, Y23
<input type="checkbox"/>	5. R LIVES WITH <u>OTHER ADULTS</u> IN HOUSEHOLD
Y14a. <input type="checkbox"/>	1. R <u>MARRIED</u> & LIVING WITH SPOUSE
	2. ALL OTHERS
GO TO Y15. ASK Y15-Y22b ABOUT R's SPOUSE	

Y14b. We'd like to talk about the person in your household who provides the major share of financial support -- the main breadwinner. Who is this person? (What is his/her relationship to you?)

RELATIONSHIP TO R

RESPONDENT

TURN TO P.38,Y23

GO TO Y15. ASK Y15-Y22b
ABOUT PERSON NAMED IN Y14b

Y15. We'd like to know about (your husband/ your wife/ PERSON NAMED IN Y14b). Is (he/she) working now, unemployed, retired, (a housewife), (a student), or what? (RESPONSES APPEAR ON PAGES 36 AND 37.)

1. WORKING NOW	<p>Y16. What is (his/her) main occupation? (What sort of work does (he/she) do?) (IF NOT CLEAR: Tell me a little more about what (he/she) does.)</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>Y16a. What kind of (business/industry) is that?</p> <p>_____</p> <p>Y17. How worried is (he/she) about losing (his/her) job in the near future: a lot, somewhat, or not much at all?</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td>1. A LOT</td> <td>3. SOME-WHAT</td> <td>5. NOT MUCH AT ALL</td> <td>8. DON'T KNOW</td> <td>9. REFUSED</td> </tr> </table> <p>Y18. Was (he/she) out of work or laid off at any time during the last six months?</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td>1. YES</td> <td>5. NO</td> </tr> </table> <p>Y19. Has (he/she) had to reduce (his/her) hours or take a cut in pay at any time during the last six months?</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td>1. YES</td> <td>5. NO</td> </tr> </table>	1. A LOT	3. SOME-WHAT	5. NOT MUCH AT ALL	8. DON'T KNOW	9. REFUSED	1. YES	5. NO	1. YES	5. NO
1. A LOT		3. SOME-WHAT	5. NOT MUCH AT ALL	8. DON'T KNOW	9. REFUSED					
1. YES	5. NO									
1. YES	5. NO									
2. TEMPORARILY LAID OFF										

TURN TO P. 38, Y23

4. UNEMPLOYED → Y20. Has (he/she) had a job in the past six months?

1. YES 5. NO → GO TO Y21

Y20a. About how many hours did (he/she) work on (his/her) job in the average week? _____ (HOURS)

5. RETIRED → Y21. Is (he/she) looking for work at the present time?

1. YES 5. NO → TURN TO P. 38, Y23

Y21a. How worried is (he/she) about not being able to find work in the near future: a lot, somewhat, or not much at all?

1. A LOT	3. SOMEWHAT	5. NOT MUCH AT ALL	8. DON'T KNOW	9. REFUSED
----------	-------------	--------------------	---------------	------------

TURN TO P. 38, Y23

6. PERMANENTLY DISABLED → TURN TO P. 38, Y23

7. HOUSEWIFE → Y22. Is (he/she) doing any work for pay at the present time?

1. YES 5. NO

GO BACK TO Y16, "WORKING NOW"

8. STUDENT → Y22a. Is (he/she) looking for work at the present time?

1. YES 5. NO

Y22b. How worried is (he/she) about not being able to find a job in the near future: a lot, somewhat, or not much at all?

1. A LOT	3. SOMEWHAT	5. NOT MUCH AT ALL	8. DON'T KNOW	9. REFUSED
----------	-------------	--------------------	---------------	------------

TURN TO P. 38, Y23

Y23. Does anyone in this household belong to a labor union?

1. YES

5. NO

GO TO Y24

Y23a. Who is it that belongs? (CHECK AS MANY AS APPLICABLE)

1. RESPONDENT

3. OTHER FAMILY MEMBER

2. RESPONDENT'S SPOUSE

4. SOMEONE ELSE

Y24. We would like to know the general range of your family income, that is the family living with you, for 1983 before taxes. This figure should include salaries, wages, pensions, dividends, interest, and all other income. Was it under \$20,000 or over \$20,000?

(IF UNCERTAIN: What do you think it was?)

1. UNDER
\$20,000

3. \$20,000
EXACTLY

5. MORE THAN
\$20,000

8. DON'T
KNOW

7. REFUSED

TURN TO
P. 29, Y25

TURN TO P. 39, Y25

Y24a. Was it under \$10,000 or over \$10,000?

1. UNDER

3. \$10,000
EXACTLY

5. OVER

8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 39, Y25

Y24b. Was it under \$30,000 or over \$30,000?

1. UNDER

3. \$30,000
EXACTLY

5. OVER

8. DK

TURN TO P. 39, Y25

TURN TO
P. 39, Y25

Y24c. Was it under \$40,000 or over \$40,000?

1. UNDER

5. \$40,000
OR MORE

8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 39, Y25

Y25. Is your religious preference Protestant, Roman Catholic, Jewish, or something else?

PROTESTANT	200. ROMAN CATHOLIC	300. JEWISH	OTHER (SPECIFY):	998. NONI; NO PREFERENCE
	GO TO Y26			GO TO Y27
				999. REFUSED
				GO TO Y27

Y25a. What church or denomination is that?

Y25b. (IF BAPTIST:) Is that Southern Baptist or something else?

Y26. (IF ANY RELIGIOUS PREFERENCE) Would you say you go to (church/synagogue) every week, almost every week, once or twice a month, a few times a year, or never?

1. EVERY WEEK	2. ALMOST EVERY WEEK	3. ONCE OR TWICE A MONTH	4. A FEW TIMES A YEAR	5. NEVER
---------------	----------------------	--------------------------	-----------------------	----------

Y27. How long have you lived in your city or town? (IF NECESSARY: How long have you lived in your county?)

90. ALL OF LIFE	_____ YEARS	OR	_____ MONTHS IF LESS THAN TWO YEARS
-----------------	-------------	----	-------------------------------------

Y28. How long have you lived at your present address?

90. ALL OF LIFE	_____ YEARS	OR	_____ MONTHS IF LESS THAN TWO YEARS
-----------------	-------------	----	-------------------------------------

Y29. Would you mind telling me your race? Are you white, black, American Indian or Alaskan native, Asian or Pacific Islander?

1. WHITE

2. BLACK

3. AMERICAN INDIAN OR
ALASKAN NATIVE4. ASIAN OR
PACIFIC ISLANDER

Y30. And is your ethnic origin Hispanic, that is, are you Mexican-American or Chicano, Puerto Rican, Cuban, or some other Hispanic origin?

5. NO

1. YES, MEXICAN-
AMERICAN/CHICANO2. YES, PUERTO
RICAN3. YES,
CUBAN4. YES, OTHER
HISPANIC

Y31. How many telephones, counting extensions, do you have in your home?

1. ONE

GO TO Y32

NUMBER MORE
THAN ONE8. DON'T KNOW;
NOT SURE

9. REFUSED

GO TO Y32

Y31a. Do (both/all) telephones have the same number?

1. YES

GO TO Y32

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW

9. REFUSED

GO TO Y32

Y31b. How many different numbers are there?

NUMBER OF DIFFERENT
TELEPHONE NUMBERS

8. DON'T KNOW

9. REFUSED

GO TO Y32

Y31c. Are any of the numbers for business use only?

1. YES

5. NO

GO TO Y32

Y31d. How many are used only for business?

NUMBER OF PHONE
NUMBERS USED ONLY
FOR BUSINESS

8. DON'T KNOW

9. REFUSED

Y32. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

Time Now: _____

Date: _____

TURN TO P. 4 OF COVER SHEET

Z1. SEX OF RESPONDENT:

☐ 1. MALE☐ 2. FEMALE

Z2. THUMBNAIL SKETCH:

Project 495806
Jan.-Nov., 1984
Version 24

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

- 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 on to the next question.

TO BE COMPLETED IN CODING:

- 11a/b. Date interview started: _____ (Month/Day)
12. Week interview started: _____
13. Week interview completed: _____
14. ICPSR state code/ FIPS state code: _____

SECTION A

Time Now: _____

Date: _____

In this interview we will be talking about many different topics of interest. Here is our first question:

- A1. We are interested in how people are getting along financially these days. Would you say that you (and your family living with you) are better or worse off financially than you were a year ago?

1. BETTER	3. SAME GO TO A2	5. WORSE	8. DON'T KNOW GO TO A2
-----------	---------------------	----------	---------------------------

<p>A1a. Is that <u>much</u> better or <u>somewhat</u> 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>A1b. Is that <u>much</u> worse or <u>somewhat</u> 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				

- A2. This past year, have you (and your family) had to watch your budget more closely than the year before?

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

GO TO A3

A2a. Is that <u>much</u> more closely or <u>a little</u> more closely?	
1. MUCH MORE CLOSELY	2. A LITTLE MORE CLOSELY

- A3. Do you think that over the last year, (your/your family's) income has gone up more than the cost of living, has it fallen behind, or has it stayed about even with the cost of living?

1. GONE UP MORE	3. STAYED ABOUT EVEN	5. FALLEN BEHIND	8. DON'T KNOW
-----------------	----------------------	------------------	---------------

TURN TO P. 2, A4

<p>A3a. Has it gone up <u>a lot</u> more or <u>a little</u> more?</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td>1. A LOT MORE</td> <td>2. A LITTLE MORE</td> </tr> </table>	1. A LOT MORE	2. A LITTLE MORE	<p>A3b. Has it fallen behind <u>a lot</u> or <u>a little</u>?</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td>5. FALLEN A LOT</td> <td>4. FALLEN A LITTLE</td> </tr> </table>	5. FALLEN A LOT	4. FALLEN A LITTLE
1. A LOT MORE	2. A LITTLE MORE				
5. FALLEN A LOT	4. FALLEN A LITTLE				

A4. Sometimes people think about other groups of people in society when they think about their own economic well-being, people who are being helped or hurt by economic conditions. When it comes to economic matters, what groups of people do you feel close to?

(IF R DOESN'T KNOW WHAT WE MEAN BY "GROUPS": Some people have mentioned farmers, the elderly, teachers, blacks, and union members.)

☐ CHECK THIS BOX IF THE DEFINITION OF "GROUPS" WAS READ TO R)

(GROUP NAMES)

R DOESN'T MENTION
ANY GROUPS

TURN TO P. 3, A6
(ASK A6 - A10)

A4a. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

☐ 1. R NAMED MORE THAN ONE
GROUP IN A4

☐ 5. R NAMED ONLY ONE
GROUP IN A4

When it comes to economic matters,
what sorts of people do you feel
closest to?

BELOW, CHECK A BOX FOR THE GROUP
NAMED IN A4, OR ENTER GROUP IN BOX
FOR "OTHER."

10. WOMEN

20. BLACKS

30. ELDERLY (SENIOR CITIZENS)

40. THE POOR

50. MIDDLE CLASS (INCL. UPPER-
MIDDLE & LOWER-MIDDLE)

OTHER (SPECIFY):

A4b.

A4c. Would you say that over the past year the economic position of GROUP FROM A4b has gotten better, stayed about the same, or gotten worse?

1. GOTTEN BETTER

3. STAYED THE SAME

GO TO A4f

5. GOTTEN WORSE

8. DK

GO TO A4f

A4d. Would you say much better
or somewhat better?

1. MUCH

2. SOMEWHAT

A4e. Would you say much worse
or somewhat worse?

5. MUCH

4. SOMEWHAT

A4f. Would you say that over the past year the incomes of GROUP FROM A4b have gone up more than the cost of living, stayed about even, or fallen behind the cost of living?

1. GONE UP MORE

3. STAYED ABOUT EVEN

TURN TO P. 3, A41

5. FALLEN BEHIND

8. DK

TURN TO
P. 3, A41

A4g. Have they gone up a lot or
a little?

1. A LOT

2. A LITTLE

A4h. Have they fallen behind a lot
or a little?

5. A LOT

4. A LITTLE

A4i. Would you say that over the past year GROUP FROM A4b have had a harder time finding enough work, an easier time, or have things stayed about the same?

1. HARDER TIME

3. ABOUT THE SAME

GO TO A5

5. EASIER TIME

8. DK

GO TO A5

A4j. Have they had a much harder time or a little harder time?

1. MUCH HARDER

2. A LITTLE HARDER

A4k. Have they had a much easier time or a little easier time?

5. MUCH EASIER

4. A LITTLE EASIER

A5. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

☐ 1. IN A4b ONE OF THE CHECK BOXES 10-50 IS "Xed"

BELOW, CHECK THE BOXES INDICATING WHETHER THE GROUP WAS OR WAS NOT MENTIONED BY R IN A4b:

WOMEN:

MENTIONED

NOT MENTIONED

BLACKS:

MENTIONED

NOT MENTIONED

THE ELDERLY (SENIOR CITIZEN)

MENTIONED

NOT MENTIONED

THE POOR:

MENTIONED

NOT MENTIONED

THE MIDDLE CLASS (INCL. UPPER/LOWER MIDDLE):

MENTIONED

NOT MENTIONED

TURN TO P.4,
SECTION B

☐ 5. IN A4b NONE OF THE CHECK BOXES 10-50 HAS BEEN "Xed"

A6. 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. DK

A7. What about blacks? (Would you say that over the past year the economic position of blacks has gotten better, stayed about the same, or gotten worse?)

1. BETTER

3. SAME

5. WORSE

8. DK

A8. (And what about) the elderly?

1. BETTER

3. SAME

5. WORSE

8. DK

A9. (And what about) the poor?

1. BETTER

3. SAME

5. WORSE

8. DK

A10. (And what about) the middle class?

1. BETTER

3. SAME

5. WORSE

8. DK

SECTION B

- B1. Some people seem to follow what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time, whether there's an election going on or not. Others aren't that interested. Would you say you follow what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time, some of the time, only now and then, or hardly at all?

1. MOST OF
THE TIME2. SOME OF
THE TIME3. ONLY NOW
AND THEN4. HARDLY
AT ALL8. DON'T
KNOW

- B2. Let's switch to the presidential campaign for a minute. Would you say that you are very much interested, somewhat interested, or not much interested in following the presidential campaign in 1984?

1. VERY MUCH INTERESTED

3. SOMEWHAT INTERESTED

5. NOT MUCH INTERESTED

- B3. Would you say that you personally care a good deal which party wins the presidential election in the fall of 1984, or that you don't care very much which party wins?

1. CARE A GOOD DEAL

3. DON'T CARE VERY MUCH

8. DON'T KNOW

- B4. Has anyone called you up or come around and talked to you about supporting a candidate for president?

1. YES

5. NO

GO TO B5

B4a. Has this happened in the last week?

1. YES

5. NO

- B5. Has anyone called you up or come around to talk to you about registering to vote?

1. YES

5. NO

B6. So far this year have you talked to anyone and tried to show them why they should support one of the candidates for president?

1. YES

5. NO

→ TURN TO P. 6,
SECTION C

B6a. Have you done this in the last week?

1. YES

5. NO

SECTION C

INTERVIEWER INSTRUCTION: USE BLUE CARD TO RECORD ANSWERS TO C1

C1. I'm going to read a list with names of possible presidential candidates in 1984. Many people tell us that they have not heard about some of the people on this list. As I read each name, please tell me when I come to a person you have never heard of.

(INTERVIEWER: READ THE LIST SLOWLY, TO GIVE R A CHANCE TO RESPOND.
CROSS OUT NAMES R HAS NEVER HEARD OF.)

INTERVIEWER: AFTER THE INTERVIEW IS COMPLETED, ATTACH
 BLUE CARD TO THIS PAGE.

INTERVIEWER:
 PLEASE ENTER
 CONTROL ID NUMBER
 (5-DIGIT NUMBER FROM
 LABEL ON COVER SHEET):

BLUE CARD

a. Ronald Reagan
b. John Glenn
c. Ted Kennedy
d. Walter Mondale
e. Alan Cranston
f. John Anderson
g. Ernest Hollings
h. Reubin Askew
i. Jesse Jackson
j. George Bush
k. Howard Baker
m. George McGovern
n. Robert Dole
o. Gary Hart

Versions 1-4

C2. Now let's talk about your feelings toward the candidates you know something about.

I'll read the name of a person and I will ask you to rate that person on a thermometer that runs from 0 degrees to 100 degrees. Ratings between 50 degrees and 100 degrees mean that you feel favorable and warm toward that person. Ratings between 0 degrees and 50 degrees mean that you don't feel too favorable and are cool toward that person. You may use any number from 0 to 100 to tell me how favorable or unfavorable your feelings are for each person.

If you recognize the name, but don't feel particularly warm or cold toward the person, you would rate the person at the 50 degree mark.

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

INTERVIEWER:

PLACE BLUE CARD
HERE, SUCH THAT
THE NAMES LINE
UP WITH THE
RESPONSE BOXES.

ASK ALL NAMES
NOT CROSSED OUT
ON THE BLUE
CARD.

FOR CROSSED OUT
NAMES, ENTER "X"
IN COLUMN 997.,
"R DOESN'T
RECOGNIZE NAME"

	997. R DOESN'T RECOGNIZE	998. DON'T KNOW WHERE TO RATE; CAN'T JUDGE	
RATING	NAME		
			a. RONALD REAGAN
			b. JOHN GLENN
			c. TED KENNEDY
			d. WALTER MONDALE
			e. ALAN CRANSTON
			f. JOHN ANDERSON
			g. ERNEST HOLLINGS
			h. REUBIN ASKEW
			i. JESSE JACKSON
			j. GEORGE BUSH
			k. HOWARD BAKER
			m. GEORGE MCGOVERN
			n. ROBERT DOLE
			o. GARY HART

SECTION D

D1. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling his job as president?

1. APPROVE

5. DISAPPROVE

8. DON'T KNOW

GO TO D2

D1a. Do you approve strongly or not strongly?

1. STRONGLY

2. NOT STRONGLY

D1b. Do you disapprove strongly or not strongly?

5. STRONGLY

4. NOT STRONGLY

D2. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling the economy?

1. APPROVE

5. DISAPPROVE

8. DON'T KNOW

GO TO D3

D2a. Do you approve strongly or not strongly?

1. STRONGLY

2. NOT STRONGLY

D2b. Do you disapprove strongly or not strongly?

5. STRONGLY

4. NOT STRONGLY

D3. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling our relations with foreign countries?

1. APPROVE

5. DISAPPROVE

8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 9,
SECTION E

D3a. Do you approve strongly or not strongly?

1. STRONGLY

2. NOT STRONGLY

D3b. Do you disapprove strongly or not strongly?

5. STRONGLY

4. NOT STRONGLY

SECTION E

E1. Now let's talk about who is likely to win the Democratic nomination for President. We will be using a scale which runs from 0 to 100, where 0 represents no chance for the nomination, 50 represents an even chance, and 100 represents certain victory.

INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD --IS NAME CROSSED OUT?

WALTER MONDALE

YES

NO

E1a. Using this 0 to 100 scale, what do you think Walter Mondale's chances are of winning the nomination?

____ (NUMBER)

998. DON'T KNOW

E1b. OMITTED

E1c. OMITTED

JESSE JACKSON

YES

NO

E1d. (Using this 0 to 100 scale,) what do you think Jesse Jackson's chances are of winning the nomination?

____ (NUMBER)

998. DON'T KNOW

TED KENNEDY

YES

NO

E1e. (Using this 0 to 100 scale,) what do you think Ted Kennedy's chances are of winning the nomination?

____ (NUMBER)

998. DON'T KNOW

GARY HART

YES

NO

E1f. (Using this 0 to 100 scale,) what do you think Gary Hart's chances are of winning the nomination?

____ (NUMBER)

998. DON'T KNOW

TURN
TO P.10,
SECTION F

SECTION F

F1. How many days in the past week did you watch national news on T.V.?

____ (NUMBER OF DAYS IN WEEK)

0. NONE

GO TO F2

F1a. How much attention did you pay to news on T.V. about the campaign for president -- a great deal, quite a bit, some, very little, or none?

1. A GREAT
DEAL

2. QUITE
A BIT

3. SOME

4. VERY
LITTLE

5. NONE

F2. How many days in the past week did you read a daily newspaper?

____ (NUMBER OF DAYS IN WEEK)

0. NONE

TURN TO P. 11,
SECTION G

F2a. Which paper or papers did you read? (GET FULL TITLE AND CITY WHERE PUBLISHED.) (Any others?)

TITLE

CITY WHERE PUBLISHED

F2b. How much attention did you pay to articles in the newspaper about the campaign for president -- a great deal, quite a bit, some, very little, or none?

1. A GREAT
DEAL

2. QUITE
A BIT

3. SOME

4. VERY
LITTLE

5. NONE

SECTION G

G1. Now we'd like to know about your impressions of Ronald Reagan. I am going to read a list of words and phrases people use to describe political figures. After each one, I would like you to tell me how much the word or phrase fits your impression of Ronald Reagan.

The first phrase is "hard-working." How much would you say "hard-working" fits your impression of Ronald Reagan: a great deal, somewhat, a little, or not at all?

		1. A GREAT DEAL	2. SOMEWHAT	3. CAN'T DECIDE	4. A LITTLE	5. NOT AT ALL	8. DK
a. HARD-WORKING	a.						
b. decent	b.						
c. compassionate	c.						
d. commands respect	d.						
e. intelligent	e.						
f. moral	f.						
g. kind	g.						
h. inspiring	h.						
i. knowledgeable	i.						
j. sets a good example	j.						
k. really cares about people like you	k.						
m. provides strong leadership	m.						

G2. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:
☐ 1. "WALTER MONDALE"
IS NOT CROSSED OUT

☐ 5. "WALTER MONDALE" IS
CROSSED OUT -- ➤ TURN TO
P.13,G6

G3. Now about Walter Mondale. Would you say "hard-working" fits your impression of him: a great deal, somewhat, a little, or not at all?

	1. A GREAT DEAL	2. SOMEWHAT	3. CAN'T DECIDE	4. A LITTLE	5. NOT AT ALL	8. DK
a. HARD-WORKING	a.					
b. decent	b.					
c. compassionate	c.					
d. commands respect	d.					
e. intelligent	e.					
f. moral	f.					
g. kind	g.					
h. inspiring	h.					
i. knowledgeable	i.					
j. sets a good example	j.					
k. really cares about people like you	k.					
m. provides strong leadership	m.					

G4. OMITTED

G5. OMITTED

G6. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:

☐1. "JESSE JACKSON" IS
NOT CROSSED OUT☐5. "JESSE JACKSON" IS
CROSSED OUT → TURN TO
P. 14, G8G7. Now about Jesse Jackson. Would you say "hard-working" fits your impression of him: a great deal, somewhat, a little, or not at all?

		1. A GREAT DEAL	2. SOMEWHAT	3. CAN'T DECIDE	4. A LITTLE	5. NOT AT ALL	8. DK
a. HARD-WORKING	a.						
b. decent	b.						
c. compassionate	c.						
d. commands respect	d.						
e. intelligent	e.						
f. moral	f.						
g. kind	g.						
h. inspiring	h.						
i. knowledgeable	i.						
j. sets a good example	j.						
k. really cares about people like you	k.						
m. provides strong leadership	m.						

G8. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:

☐ 1. "GARY HART" IS
NOT CROSSED OUT

☐ 5. "GARY HART" IS
CROSSED OUT → TURN TO P.15,
SECTION H

G9. Now about Gary Hart. Would you say "hard-working" fits your impression of him: a great deal, somewhat, a little, or not at all?

	1. A GREAT DEAL	2. SOMEWHAT	3. CAN'T DECIDE	4. A LITTLE	5. NOT AT ALL	8. DK
a. HARD-WORKING	a.					
b. decent	b.					
c. compassionate	c.					
d. commands respect	d.					
e. intelligent	e.					
f. moral	f.					
g. kind	g.					
h. inspiring	h.					
i. knowledgeable	i.					
j. sets a good example	j.					
k. really cares about people like you	k.					
m. provides strong leadership	m.					

SECTION H

- H1. Now, let's talk about 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?

1. GOTTEN BETTER	3. STAYED SAME GO TO H2	5. GOTTEN WORSE	8. DON'T KNOW GO TO H2
------------------	----------------------------	-----------------	---------------------------

<p>H1a. Would you say <u>much</u> better or <u>somewhat</u> 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>H1b. Would you say <u>much</u> worse or <u>somewhat</u> 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				

- H2. Would you say that over the past year, people across the country have had a harder time finding enough work, an easier time, or have things stayed about the same?

1. HARDER TIME	3. STAYED SAME GO TO H3	5. EASIER TIME	8. DON'T KNOW GO TO H3
----------------	----------------------------	----------------	---------------------------

<p>H2a. Would you say <u>much</u> harder or <u>a little</u> harder?</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td>1. MUCH HARDER</td> <td>2. A LITTLE HARDER</td> </tr> </table>	1. MUCH HARDER	2. A LITTLE HARDER	<p>H2b. Would you say <u>much</u> easier or <u>a little</u> easier?</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td>5. MUCH EASIER</td> <td>4. A LITTLE EASIER</td> </tr> </table>	5. MUCH EASIER	4. A LITTLE EASIER
1. MUCH HARDER	2. A LITTLE HARDER				
5. MUCH EASIER	4. A LITTLE EASIER				

- H3. During the last year, have the costs of things gone up, gone down, or have they remained about the same?

1. GONE UP	3. STAYED SAME TURN TO P. 16, H4	5. GONE DOWN	8. DON'T KNOW TURN TO P. 16, H4
------------	-------------------------------------	--------------	------------------------------------

<p>H3a. Have they gone up <u>a lot</u> or <u>a little</u>?</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td>1. A LOT</td> <td>2. A LITTLE</td> </tr> </table>	1. A LOT	2. A LITTLE	<p>H3b. Have they gone down <u>a lot</u> or <u>a little</u>?</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td>5. A LOT</td> <td>4. A LITTLE</td> </tr> </table>	5. A LOT	4. A LITTLE
1. A LOT	2. A LITTLE				
5. A LOT	4. A LITTLE				

- H4. 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?

1. WEAKER

3. STAYED SAME

5. STRONGER

8. DON'T KNOW

- H5. How worried are you about our country getting into a conventional war at this time, one in which nuclear weapons are not used? Are you very worried, somewhat worried, or not worried at all?

1. VERY WORRIED

3. SOMEWHAT WORRIED

5. NOT WORRIED

8. DK

- H6. How worried are you about our country getting into a nuclear war at this time? Are you very worried, somewhat worried, or not worried at all?

1. VERY WORRIED

3. SOMEWHAT WORRIED

5. NOT WORRIED

8. DK

SECTION J

J1. When it comes to politics, do you usually think of yourself as a liberal, a conservative, a moderate, or what?

1. YES, LIBERAL

J1a. Do you think of yourself as a strong liberal or a not-very-strong liberal?

1. STRONG

5. NOT VERY STRONG

TURN TO P. 18, J2

5. YES, CONSERVATIVE

J1b. Do you think of yourself as a strong conservative or a not-very-strong conservative?

1. STRONG

5. NOT VERY STRONG

TURN TO P. 18, J2

3. YES, MODERATE

7. NO, NEVER

8. DON'T KNOW

J1c. 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. 18, J2

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

TURN TO P. 22, SECTION K

J2. What about Ronald Reagan? Do you usually think of Ronald Reagan as a liberal, a conservative, a moderate, or what?

1. LIBERAL

J2a. Do you think he is a strong liberal or a not-very-strong liberal?

1. STRONG

5. NOT VERY STRONG

TURN TO P. 19, J5

5. CONSERVATIVE

J2b. Do you think he is a strong conservative or a not-very-strong conservative?

1. STRONG

5. NOT VERY STRONG

TURN TO P. 19, J5

3. MODERATE

7. NONE OF THESE

8. DON'T KNOW

J2c. Do you think he is more like a liberal or more like a conservative?

1. LIBERAL

5. CONSERVATIVE

3. NEITHER

8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 19, J5

J3. OMITTED

J4. OMITTED

J5. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:

☐ 1. "WALTER MONDALE" IS
NOT CROSSED OUT

☐ 5. "WALTER MONDALE" IS
 CROSSED OUT → TURN TO
 P. 20, J7

J6. What about Walter Mondale? Do you usually think of Walter Mondale as a liberal, a conservative, a moderate, or what?

1. LIBERAL

J6a. Do you think he is a strong liberal or a not-very-strong liberal?

1. STRONG

5. NOT VERY STRONG

TURN TO P. 20, J7

5. CONSERVATIVE

J6b. Do you think he is a strong conservative or a not-very-strong conservative?

1. STRONG

5. NOT VERY STRONG

TURN TO P. 20, J7

3. MODERATE

7. NONE OF THESE

8. DON'T KNOW

J6c. Do you think he is more like a liberal or more like a conservative?

1. LIBERAL

5. CONSERVATIVE

3. NEITHER

8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 20, J7

J7. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:

☐ 1. "JESSE JACKSON" IS
NOT CROSSED OUT

☐ 5. "JESSE JACKSON" IS
 CROSSED OUT → TURN TO
 P. 21, J9

J8. And what about Jesse Jackson. Do you usually think of Jesse Jackson as a liberal, a conservative, a moderate, or what?

1. LIBERAL

J8a. Do you think he is a strong liberal or a not-very-strong liberal?

1. STRONG

5. NOT VERY STRONG

TURN TO P. 21, J9

5. CONSERVATIVE

J8b. Do you think he is a strong conservative or a not-very-strong conservative?

1. STRONG

5. NOT VERY STRONG

TURN TO P. 21, J9

3. MODERATE

7. NONE OF THESE

8. DON'T KNOW

J8c. Do you think he is more like a liberal or more like a conservative?

1. LIBERAL

5. CONSERVATIVE

3. NEITHER

8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 21, J9

J9. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:
☐ 1. "GARY HART" IS
NOT CROSSED OUT

☐ 5. "GARY HART" IS
 CROSSED OUT → TURN TO P. 22,
 SECTION K

J10. And what about Gary Hart. Do you usually think of Gary Hart as a
liberal, a conservative, a moderate, or what?

1. LIBERAL

J8a. Do you think he is a strong liberal or
a not-very-strong liberal?

1. STRONG

5. NOT VERY STRONG

TURN TO P. 22, SECTION K

5. CONSERVATIVE

J8b. Do you think he is a strong conservative
or a not-very-strong conservative?

1. STRONG

5. NOT VERY STRONG

TURN TO P. 22, SECTION K

3. MODERATE

7. NONE OF THESE

8. DON'T KNOW

J8c. Do you think he is more like a liberal
or more like a conservative?

1. LIBERAL

5. CONSERVATIVE

3. NEITHER

8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 22, SECTION K

SECTION K

K1. We would like to know something about the feelings you have toward Ronald Reagan. I would like you to tell me whether something about Ronald Reagan, or something he has done, has made you have certain feelings like "anger" or "pride."

First, has Ronald Reagan (because of the kind of person he is, or because of something he has done) ever made you feel:

1. YES; HAVE FELT 5. NO; NEVER FELT

- a. angry toward him
- b. hopeful
- c. afraid of him
- d. proud

K2. OMITTED

K3. OMITTED

K4. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:

☐ 1. "WALTER MONDALE" IS
NOT CROSSED OUT

☐ 5. "WALTER MONDALE" IS
CROSSED OUT → TURN TO P.23,K6



K5. Has Walter Mondale (because of the kind of person he is, or because of something he has done) ever made you feel:

1. YES; HAVE FELT 5. NO; NEVER FELT

- a. angry toward him
- b. hopeful
- c. afraid of him
- d. proud

K6. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:☐ 1. "JESSE JACKSON" IS
NOT CROSSED OUT☐ 5. "JESSE JACKSON" IS
CROSSED OUT —> GO TO K8K7. And has Jesse Jackson (because of the kind of person he is, or because of something he has done) ever made you feel?

- a. angry toward him
- b. hopeful
- c. afraid of him
- d. proud

1. YES; HAVE FELT 5. NO; NEVER FELT

1. YES; HAVE FELT	5. NO; NEVER FELT

K8. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:☐ 1. "GARY HART" IS
NOT CROSSED OUT☐ 5. "GARY HART" IS
CROSSED OUT —> TURN TO P.24,
SECTION J

K9. And has Gary Hart (because of the kind of person he is, or because of something he has done) ever made you feel:

- a. angry toward him
- b. hopeful
- c. afraid of him
- d. proud

1. YES; HAVE FELT 5. NO; NEVER FELT

1. YES; HAVE FELT	5. NO; NEVER FELT

SECTION L

Now let's move to a different set of questions.

L1. Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an independent, or what?

1. REPUBLICAN

5. DEMOCRAT

2. INDEPENDENT

3. NO PREFERENCE

4. OTHER PARTY

L1a. Would you call yourself a strong Republican or a not very strong Republican?

1. STRONG

5. NOT VERY STRONG

L1b. Would you call yourself a strong Democrat or a not very strong Democrat?

1. STRONG

5. NOT VERY STRONG

L1c. Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party or to the Democratic Party?

1. CLOSER TO REPUBLICAN

5. CLOSER TO DEMOCRATIC

3. NEITHER

L2. Who is your first choice for the Democratic nomination for president in 1984?

(NAME)

98. DON'T KNOW/CAN'T ANSWER

TURN TO P. 25, SECTION M

L2a. Suppose, for one reason or another, (he/she) is not chosen as the Democratic candidate. Who would be your second choice for the Democratic nomination?

(NAME)

DON'T KNOW/
98. CAN'T ANSWER

M0. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling the balancing of the national budget?

1. APPROVE	5. DISAPPROVE	8. DON'T KNOW GO TO M1
M0a. Do you approve <u>strongly</u> or <u>not strongly</u> ?		M0b. Do you disapprove <u>strongly</u> or <u>not strongly</u> ?
1. STRONGLY	2. NOT STRONGLY	5. STRONGLY 4. NOT STRONGLY

M1. The next few questions are about government spending and government services.

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 more services even if it means an increase in spending.

Do you have an opinion on this topic or haven't you thought much about it?

1. YES, HAVE AN OPINION	5. NO, HAVEN'T THOUGHT	8. DON'T KNOW
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TURN TO P. 27, M2

M1a. (Do you think the government should reduce spending, provide more services, or is your position somewhere in between?)

1. REDUCE SPENDING	3. SOMEWHERE BETWEEN GO TO M1d	5. MORE SERVICES	8. DK GO TO M1d
--------------------	-----------------------------------	------------------	--------------------

M1b. Would you prefer a moderate reduction in spending and services, or a large reduction?

2. MODERATE	1. LARGE	8. DK
-------------	----------	-------

M1c. Would you prefer a moderate increase in spending and services, or a large increase?

4. MODERATE	5. LARGE	8. DK
-------------	----------	-------

M1d. In your opinion, does Ronald Reagan think the government should reduce spending, provide more services, or is his position somewhere in between?

1. REDUCE SPENDING	3. SOMEWHERE BETWEEN TURN TO P. 26, M1g	5. MORE SERVICES	8. DK TURN TO P. 26, M1g
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M1e. Do you think he would prefer a moderate reduction in spending and services, or a large reduction?

2. MODERATE	1. LARGE	8. DK
-------------	----------	-------

M1f. Do you think he would prefer a moderate increase in spending and services, or a large increase?

4. MODERATE	5. LARGE	8. DK
-------------	----------	-------

Mlg. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:☐ 1. "WALTER MONDALE" IS
NOT CROSSED OUT☐ 5. "WALTER MONDALE" IS
CROSSED OUT → GO TO MlpMlh. In your opinion, does Walter Mondale think the government should reduce spending, provide more services, or is his position somewhere in between?

1. REDUCE SPENDING

3. SOMEWHERE BETWEEN

5. MORE SERVICES

8. DK

GO TO Mlp

GO TO
Mlp

Mli. Do you think he would prefer a moderate reduction in spending and services, or a large reduction?

2. MODERATE

1. LARGE

8. DK

Mlj. Do you think he would prefer a moderate increase in spending and services, or a large increase?

4. MODERATE

5. LARGE

8. DK

Mlk - Mlo OMITTED

Mlp. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:☐ 1. "GARY HART" IS
NOT CROSSED OUT☐ 5. "GARY HART" IS
CROSSED OUT → TURN TO P.27, M2Mlq. In your opinion, does Gary Hart think the government should reduce spending, provide more services, or is his position somewhere in between?

1. REDUCE SPENDING

3. SOMEWHERE BETWEEN

5. MORE SERVICES

8. DK

TURN TO P. 27, M2

TURN TO
P.27,M2

Mlr. Do you think he would prefer a moderate reduction in spending and services, or a large reduction?

2. MODERATE

1. LARGE

8. DK

Mls. Do you think he would prefer a moderate increase in spending and services, or a large increase?

4. MODERATE

5. LARGE

8. DK

M2. Some people feel that the government in Washington should make every effort to improve the social and economic position of blacks and other minority groups. Others feel that the government should not make any special effort to help minorities because they should help themselves.

Do you have an opinion on this issue, or haven't you thought much about this?

1. YES, HAVE AN OPINION

5. NO, HAVEN'T THOUGHT

8. DON'T KNOW

GO TO M3

M2a. (Do you feel the government should help improve the position of minorities, that minorities should help themselves, or is your position somewhere in between?)

1. GOVT SHOULD HELP

3. SOMEWHERE BETWEEN

5. MINORITIES
HELP SELVES

8. DK

GO TO M3

GO TO M3

M2b. Should the government help minorities to a great extent or only to some extent?

1. GREAT

2. SOME

8. DK

M2c. Should the government leave minorities alone to help themselves to a great extent or only to some extent?

5. GREAT

4. SOME

8. DK

M3. Some people think that the United States should become more involved in the internal affairs of Central American countries. Others believe that the U.S. should become less involved in this area. Do you have an opinion on this, or haven't you thought much about it?

1. YES, HAVE AN OPINION

5. NO, HAVEN'T THOUGHT

8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 29, M6

M3a. (Do you feel that the U.S. should become less involved in Central America, become more involved in this area, or is your position somewhere in between?)

1. MORE INVOLVED

3. SOMEWHERE BETWEEN

5. LESS INVOLVED

8. DK

TURN TO P. 28, M3d

TURN TO
P.28, M3d

M3b. Do you think the U.S. should increase its involvement to a great extent or only to some extent?

1. GREAT

2. SOME

8. DK

M3c. Do you think the U.S. should decrease its involvement to a great extent or only to some extent?

5. GREAT

4. SOME

8. DK

M3d. In your opinion, does Ronald Reagan feel that the U.S. should become less involved in Central America, become more involved in this area, or is his position somewhere in between?

1. MORE INVOLVED

3. SOMEWHERE BETWEEN

5. LESS INVOLVED

8. DON'T KNOW

GO TO M3g

GO TO M3g

M3e. Does Ronald Reagan feel the U.S. should increase its involvement to a great extent or only to some extent?

1. GREAT

2. SOME

8. DK

M3f. Does Ronald Reagan feel the U.S. should decrease its involvement to a great extent or only to some extent?

5. GREAT

4. SOME

8. DK

M3g. INTERVIEWER'S CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:

☐ 1. "WALTER MONDALE" IS NOT CROSSED OUT

☐ 5. "WALTER MONDALE" IS CROSSED OUT → GO TO M3k

M3h. In your opinion, does Walter Mondale feel that the U.S. should become less involved in Central America, become more involved in this area, or is his position somewhere in between?

1. MORE INVOLVED

3. SOMEWHERE BETWEEN

5. LESS INVOLVED

8. DON'T KNOW

GO TO M3k

GO TO M3k

M3i. Does Walter Mondale feel the U.S. should increase its involvement to a great extent or only to some extent?

1. GREAT

2. SOME

8. DK

M3j. Does Walter Mondale feel the U.S. should decrease its involvement to a great extent or only to some extent?

5. GREAT

4. SOME

8. DK

M3k. INTERVIEWER'S CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:

☐ 1. "GARY HART" IS NOT CROSSED OUT

☐ 5. "GARY HART" IS CROSSED OUT → TURN TO P.29, M6

M3m. In your opinion, does Gary Hart feel that the U.S. should become less involved in Central America, become more involved in this area, or is his position somewhere in between?

1. MORE INVOLVED

3. SOMEWHERE BETWEEN

5. LESS INVOLVED

8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P.29, M6

TURN TO P.29, M6

M3n. Does Gary Hart feel the U.S. should increase its involvement to a great extent or only to some extent?

1. GREAT

2. SOME

8. DK

M3o. Does Gary Hart feel the U.S. should decrease its involvement to a great extent or only to some extent?

5. GREAT

4. SOME

8. DK

M4. OMITTED.

M5. OMITTED.

M6. Some people believe that we should spend less money for defense. Others feel that defense spending should be increased. Do you have an opinion on this issue, or haven't you thought much about this?

1. YES, HAVE AN OPINION

5. NO, HAVEN'T THOUGHT

8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 31, M7

M6a. (Do you feel the government should decrease defense spending, increase defense spending, or is the government spending about the right amount?)

1. DECREASE SPENDING

3. SPENDING RIGHT
AMOUNT

5. INCREASE SPENDING

8. DK

GO TO M6d

GO TO M6d

M6b. Should the government reduce defense spending a lot or a little?

1. A LOT

2. LITTLE

8. DK

M6c. Should the government increase defense spending a lot or a little?

5. A LOT

4. LITTLE

8. DK

M6d. In your opinion, does Ronald Reagan feel the government should decrease defense spending, increase defense spending, or does he feel the government is spending about the right amount?

1. DECREASE SPENDING

3. SPENDING RIGHT
AMOUNT

5. INCREASE SPENDING

8. DK

TURN TO P. 30, M6g

TURN TO
P. 30, M6g

M6e. Does Ronald Reagan feel the government should reduce defense spending a lot or a little?

1. A LOT

2. LITTLE

8. DK

M6f. Does Ronald Reagan feel the government should increase defense spending a lot or a little?

5. A LOT

4. LITTLE

8. DK

M6g. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:☐ 1. "WALTER MONDALE" IS
NOT CROSSED OUT☐ 5. "WALTER MONDALE" IS
CROSSED OUT → GO TO M6p

M6h. In your opinion, does Walter Mondale feel the government should decrease defense spending, increase defense spending, or does he feel the government is spending about the right amount?

1. DECREASE
SPENDING3. SPENDING RIGHT
AMOUNT5. INCREASE
SPENDING8. DON'T
KNOW

GO TO M6p

GO TO M6p

M6i. Does Walter Mondale feel the government should reduce defense spending a lot or a little?

1. A LOT

2. LITTLE

8. DK

M6j. Does Walter Mondale feel the government should increase defense spending a lot or a little?

5. A LOT

4. LITTLE

8. DK

M6k - M6o. OMITTED

M6p. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:☐ 1. "GARY HART" IS
NOT CROSSED OUT☐ 5. "GARY HART" IS
CROSSED OUT → TURN TO P.31, M7

M6q. In your opinion does Gary Hart feel the government should decrease defense spending, increase defense spending, or does he feel the government is spending about the right amount?

1. DECREASE
SPENDING3. SPENDING RIGHT
AMOUNT5. INCREASE
SPENDING8. DON'T
KNOW

TURN TO P. 31, M7

TURN TO
P. 31, M7

M6r. Does Gary Hart feel the government should reduce defense spending a lot or a little?

1. A LOT

2. LITTLE

8. DK

M6s. Does Gary Hart feel the government should increase defense spending a lot or a little?

5. A LOT

4. LITTLE

8. DK

- M7. If you had a say in making up the federal budget this year, which programs would you like to see increased and which reduced? Should federal spending on improving and protecting the environment be increased, decreased, or kept about the same?

	1. INCREASED	3. SAME	5. DECREASED	8. DON'T KNOW
a. IMPROVING AND PROTECTING THE ENVIRONMENT				
b. Dealing with crime				
c. Public schools				
d. Social Security				
e. Food stamps				
f. Medicare				
g. Government jobs for the unemployed				
h. Science and technology				

- M8. Some people feel that the government in Washington should make every effort to improve the social and economic position of women. Others feel that the government should not make any special effort to help women because they should help themselves. Do you have an opinion on this issue, or haven't you thought much about it?

1. YES, HAVE OPINION

5. NO, HAVEN'T THOUGHT

8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 33, M9

M8a. (Do you feel that the government should help improve the position of women, that women should help themselves, or is your position somewhere in between?)

1. GOVT SHOULD HELP

3. SOMEWHERE BETWEEN

5. WOMEN
HELP SELVES

8. DK

TURN TO P. 32, M8d

TURN TO
P.32, M8d

M8b. Should the government help women to a great extent or only to some extent?

1. GREAT

2. SOME

8. DK

M8c. Should the government leave women alone to help themselves to a great extent or only to some extent?

5. GREAT

4. SOME

8. DK

M8d. In your opinion, does Ronald Reagan feel that the government should help improve the position of women, that women should help themselves, or is his position somewhere in between?

1. GOVT SHOULD HELP

3. SOMEWHERE BETWEEN

5. WOMEN HELP SELVES

8. DK

GO TO M8g

GO TO M8g

M8e. Does Ronald Reagan feel that the government should help women to a great extent or only to some extent?

1. GREAT

2. SOME

8. DK

M8f. Does Ronald Reagan feel that the government should leave women alone to help themselves to a great extent or only to some extent?

5. GREAT

2. SOME

8. DK

M8g. INTERVIEWER'S CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:

☐ 1. "WALTER MONDALE" IS NOT CROSSED OUT

☐ 5. "WALTER MONDALE" IS CROSSED OUT → GO TO M8k

M8h. In your opinion does Walter Mondale feel that the government should help improve the position of women, that women should help themselves, or is his position somewhere in between?

1. GOVT SHOULD HELP

3. SOMEWHERE BETWEEN

5. WOMEN HELP SELVES

8. DK

GO TO M8k

GO TO M8k

M8i. Does Walter Mondale feel that the government should help women to a great extent or only to some extent?

1. GREAT

2. SOME

8. DK

M8j. Does Walter Mondale feel that the government should leave women alone to help themselves to a great extent or only to some extent?

5. GREAT

2. SOME

8. DK

M8k. INTERVIEWER'S CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:

☐ 1. "GARY HART" IS NOT CROSSED OUT

☐ 5. "GARY HART" IS CROSSED OUT → TURN TO P. 33, M9

M8m. In your opinion does Gary Hart feel that the government should help improve the position of women, that women should help themselves, or is his position somewhere in between?

1. GOVT SHOULD HELP

3. SOMEWHERE BETWEEN

5. WOMEN HELP SELVES

8. DK

TURN TO P. 33, M9

TURN TO P. 33, M9

M8n. Does Gary Hart feel that government should help women to a great extent or only to some extent?

1. GREAT

2. SOME

8. DK

M8o. Does Gary Hart feel that the government should leave women alone to help themselves to a great extent or only to some extent?

5. GREAT

2. SOME

8. DK

M9. Some people feel it is important for us to try to cooperate more with Russia, while others believe we should be much tougher in our dealings with Russia. Do you have an opinion on this, or haven't you thought much about it?

1. YES, HAVE OPINION

5. NO, HAVEN'T THOUGHT

8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 35, SECTION N

M9a. (Do you feel that we should try to cooperate more with Russia, get tougher in our dealings with Russia, or is your opinion somewhere in between?)

1. COOPERATE

3. SOMEWHERE BETWEEN

5. GET TOGETHER

8. DK

GO TO M9d

GO TO M9d

M9b. Should we try to cooperate a lot more or somewhat more?

1. A LOT

2. SOMEWHAT

8. DK

M9c. Should we get a lot tougher, or only somewhat tougher?

5. A LOT

4. SOMEWHAT

8. DK

M9d. In your opinion, does Ronald Reagan feel that we should try to cooperate more with Russia, get tougher in our dealings with Russia, or is his opinion somewhere in between?

1. COOPERATE

3. SOMEWHERE BETWEEN

5. GET TOUGHER

8. DK

TURN TO P. 34, M9g

TURN TO
P. 34, M9g

M9e. Does Ronald Reagan feel we should try to cooperate a lot more or somewhat more?

1. A LOT

2. SOMEWHAT

8. DK

M9f. Does Ronald Reagan feel we should get a lot tougher, or only somewhat tougher?

5. A LOT

4. SOMEWHAT

8. DK

M9g. INTERVIEWER'S CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:

☐ 1. "WALTER MONDALE" IS
NOT CROSSED OUT☐ 5. "WALTER MONDALE" IS
CROSSED OUT → GO TO M9kM9h. In your opinion, does Walter Mondale feel that we should try to cooperate more with Russia, get tougher in our dealings with Russia, or is his opinion somewhere in between?

1. COOPERATE

3. SOMEWHERE BETWEEN

5. GET TOUGHER

8. DK

GO TO M9k

GO TO M9k

M9i. Does Walter Mondale feel we should try to cooperate a lot more or somewhat more?

1. A LOT

2. SOMEWHAT

8. DK

M9j. Does Walter Mondale feel we should get a lot tougher, or only somewhat tougher?

5. A LOT

4. SOMEWHAT

8. DK

M9k. INTERVIEWER'S CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:

☐ 1. "GARY HART" IS
NOT CROSSED OUT☐ 5. "GARY HART" IS
CROSSED OUT → TURN TO P. 35,
SECTION NM9m. In your opinion does Gary Hart feel that we should try to cooperate more with Russia, get tougher in our dealings with Russia, or is his opinion somewhere in between?

1. COOPERATE

3. SOMEWHERE BETWEEN

5. GET TOUGHER

8. DK

TURN TO P.35, SECTION N

TURN TO P.35,
SECTION NM9n. Does Gary Hart feel we should try to cooperate a lot more or somewhat more?

1. A LOT

2. SOMEWHAT

8. DK

M9o. Does Gary Hart feel we should get a lot tougher, or only somewhat tougher?

5. A LOT

4. SOMEWHAT

8. DK

N1. Now we'd like you to tell us about some of the candidate's chances of winning the presidency in 1984.

As before, we will use a scale that runs from 0 to 100, where 0 represents no chance of winning the presidency, 50 represents an even chance, and 100 represents certain victory.

First, what if Ronald Reagan is nominated by the Republicans. What chance would he have of winning the 1984 Presidential election?

_____(NUMBER)

998. DON'T KNOW

INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD --

IS NAME CROSSED OUT?

WALTER MONDALE

YES

NO

N1a. What if Walter Mondale is nominated by Democrats. What chance would he have of winning the 1984 Presidential election against Ronald Reagan?

_____(NUMBER)

998. DON'T KNOW

N1b. OMITTED

N1c. OMITTED

JESSE JACKSON

YES

NO

N1d. (What if Jesse Jackson is nominated by Democrats.) What chance would Jesse Jackson have of winning the 1984 Presidential election against Ronald Reagan?

_____(NUMBER)

998. DON'T KNOW

TED KENNEDY

YES

NO

N1e. (What if Ted Kennedy is nominated by Democrats.) What chance would Ted Kennedy have of winning the 1984 Presidential election against Ronald Reagan?

_____(NUMBER)

998. DON'T KNOW

GARY HART

YES

NO

TURN TO P.37,
SECTION Y

N1f. (What if Gary Hart is nominated by Democrats.) What chance would Gary Hart have of winning the 1984 Presidential election against Ronald Reagan?

_____(NUMBER)

998. DON'T KNOW

Now for a few questions about you.

Y1. As far as you know, are you currently registered to vote?

1. YES

5. NO

6. NOT REQUIRED TO
REGISTER IN STATE

8. DON'T KNOW

9. REFUSED

GO TO Y2

Y1a. Are you registered as a Republican, a Democrat, an independent, or something else?

R VOLUNTEERS:

1. DEMOCRAT

5. NOT REQUIRED TO DECLARE
PARTY TO REGISTER

2. INDEPENDENT

6. NOT REQUIRED TO REGISTER

3. REPUBLICAN

7. "I AM NOT REGISTERED."

4. OTHER PARTY, SPECIFY:

8. DON'T KNOW

Y2. What is the month, day, and year of your birth?

_____ (MONTH) _____ (DAY) _____ (YEAR)

Y3. Are you married now and living with your (husband/wife) -- or are you widowed, divorced, separated, or have you never been married?

MARRIED AND
LIVING WITH
1. SPOUSE (OR
SPOUSE IN
SERVICE

5. WIDOWED

3. DIVORCED

4. SEPAR-
ATED2. NEVER
MARRIED

PARTNERS;
7. NOT
MARRIED

Y4. What is the highest grade of school or year of college you have completed?

00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16+
----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	-----

TURN TO
P. 38, Y5

Y4a. Did you get a high school diploma or pass a high school equivalency test?

1. YES

5. NO

TURN TO P. 38, Y5

Y4b. Did you graduate from a four-year college or university?

1. YES

5. NO

TURN TO P. 38, Y5

Y5. We'd like to know if you are working now, or are you unemployed, retired, (a housewife), (a student), or what? (RESPONSES APPEAR ON PAGES 38 AND 39)

1. WORKING
NOW

2. TEMPORARILY
LAID OFF

Y5a. What is your main occupation? (What sort of work do you do?)
(IF NOT CLEAR; Tell me a little more about what you do.)

Y5b. What kind of (business/industry) is that?

Y6. How worried are you about losing your job in the near future:
a lot, somewhat, or not much at all?

1. A
LOT

3. SOME-
WHAT

5. NOT MUCH
AT ALL

8. DON'T
KNOW

9. REFUSED

Y7. Were you out of work or laid off at any time during the last
six months?

1. YES

5. NO

Y8. Have you had to reduce your work hours or take a cut in pay
at any time during the last six months?

1. YES

5. NO

TURN TO P. 40, Y14

4. UNEMPLOYED

Y9. Have you had a job in the past six months?

1. YES

5. NO

GO TO Y10

Y9a. About how many hours did you work on your job in the
average week?

(HOURS)

5. RETIRED

Y10. Are you looking for work at the present time?

1. YES

5. NO

TURN TO
P. 40, Y14

Y11. How worried are you about not being able to find
work in the near future: a lot, somewhat, or not
much at all?

1. A
LOT

3. SOME-
WHAT

5. NOT MUCH
AT ALL

8. DON'T
KNOW

9. RE-
FUSED

TURN TO P. 40, Y14

6. PERMANENTLY
DISABLED

TURN TO P. 40, Y14

7. HOUSEWIFE

8. STUDENT

Y12. Are you doing any work for pay at the present time?

1. YES

5. NO

GO BACK TO Y5a,
"WORKING NOW"

Y13. Are you looking for work at the present time?

1. YES

5. NO

Y13a. How worried are you about not being able to
find a job in the near future; a lot, some-
what, or not much at all?

1. A
LOT

3. SOME-
WHAT

5. NOT MUCH
AT ALL

8. DON'T
KNOW

9. RE-
FUSED

TURN TO P. 40, Y14

Y14. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

<input type="checkbox"/>	1. R <u>ONLY ADULT</u> IN HOUSEHOLD <u>OR LIVES ALONE</u> → TURN TO P. 42, Y23
<input type="checkbox"/>	5. R LIVES WITH <u>OTHER ADULTS</u> IN HOUSEHOLD
Y14a. <input type="checkbox"/>	1. R <u>MARRIED</u> & LIVING WITH SPOUSE
GO TO Y15. ASK Y15-Y22b ABOUT R's SPOUSE	<input type="checkbox"/> 2. ALL OTHERS

Y14b. We'd like to talk about the person in your household who provides the major share of financial support -- the main breadwinner. Who is this person? (What is his/her relationship to you?)

RELATIONSHIP TO R	RESPONDENT
GO TO Y15. ASK Y15-Y22b ABOUT PERSON NAMED IN Y14b	TURN TO P. 42, Y23

Y15. We'd like to know about (your husband/ your wife/ PERSON NAMED IN Y14b). Is (he/she) working now, unemployed, retired, (a housewife), (a student), or what? (RESPONSES APPEAR ON PAGES 40 AND 41.)

1. WORKING NOW	<p>Y16. What is (his/her) main occupation? (What sort of work does (he/she) do?) (IF NOT CLEAR: Tell me a little more about what (he/she) does.)</p> <hr/> <hr/> <p>Y16a. What kind of (business/industry) is that?</p> <hr/> <p>Y17. How worried is (he/she) about losing (his/her) job in the near future: a lot, somewhat, or not much at all?</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td>1. A LOT</td> <td>3. SOMEWHAT</td> <td>5. NOT MUCH AT ALL</td> <td>8. DON'T KNOW</td> <td>9. REFUSED</td> </tr> </table> <p>Y18. Was (he/she) out of work or laid off at any time during the last six months?</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td>1. YES</td> <td>5. NO</td> </tr> </table> <p>Y19. Has (he/she) had to reduce (his/her) hours or take a cut in pay at any time during the last six months?</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td>1. YES</td> <td>5. NO</td> </tr> </table>	1. A LOT	3. SOMEWHAT	5. NOT MUCH AT ALL	8. DON'T KNOW	9. REFUSED	1. YES	5. NO	1. YES	5. NO
1. A LOT		3. SOMEWHAT	5. NOT MUCH AT ALL	8. DON'T KNOW	9. REFUSED					
1. YES	5. NO									
1. YES	5. NO									
2. TEMPORARILY LAID OFF										

TURN TO P. 42, Y23

4. UNEMPLOYED → Y20. Has (he/she) had a job in the past six months?

1. YES 5. NO → GO TO Y21

Y20a. About how many hours did (he/she) work on (his/her) job in the average week? _____ (HOURS)

5. RETIRED → Y21. Is (he/she) looking for work at the present time?

1. YES 5. NO → TURN TO P.42, Y23

Y21a. How worried is (he/she) about not being able to find work in the near future: a lot, somewhat, or not much at all?

1. A LOT	3. SOME-WHAT	5. NOT MUCH AT ALL	8. DON'T KNOW	9. RE-FUSED
----------	--------------	--------------------	---------------	-------------

TURN TO P. 42, Y23

6. PERMANENTLY DISABLED → TURN TO P. 42, Y23

7. HOUSEWIFE → Y22. Is (he/she) doing any work for pay at the present time?

1. YES 5. NO

GO BACK TO Y16, "WORKING NOW"

8. STUDENT → Y22a. Is (he/she) looking for work at the present time?

1. YES 5. NO

Y22b. How worried is (he/she) about not being able to find a job in the near future: a lot, somewhat, or not much at all?

1. A LOT	3. SOME-WHAT	5. NOT MUCH AT ALL	8. DON'T KNOW	9. RE-FUSED
----------	--------------	--------------------	---------------	-------------

TURN TO P. 42, Y23

Y23. Does anyone in this household belong to a labor union?

1. YES

5. NO

GO TO Y24

Y23a. Who is it that belongs? (CHECK AS MANY AS APPLICABLE)

1. RESPONDENT

3. OTHER FAMILY MEMBER

2. RESPONDENT'S SPOUSE

4. SOMEONE ELSE

Y24. We would like to know the general range of your family income, that is the family living with you, for 1983 before taxes. This figure should include salaries, wages, pensions, dividends, interest, and all other income. Was it under \$20,000 or over \$20,000?

(IF UNCERTAIN: What do you think it was?)

1. UNDER
\$20,000

3. \$20,000
EXACTLY

5. MORE THAN
\$20,000

8. DON'T
KNOW

7. REFUSED

TURN TO
P. 43, Y25

TURN TO P. 43, Y25

Y24a. Was it under \$10,000 or over \$10,000?

1. UNDER

3. \$10,000
EXACTLY

5. OVER

8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 43, Y25

Y24b. Was it under \$30,000 or over \$30,000?

1. UNDER

3. \$30,000
EXACTLY

5. OVER

8. DK

TURN TO P. 43, Y25

TURN TO
P. 43, Y25

Y24c. Was it under \$40,000 or over \$40,000?

1. UNDER

5. \$40,000
OR MORE

8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 43, Y25

Y25. Is your religious preference Protestant, Roman Catholic, Jewish, or something else?

PROTESTANT	200. ROMAN CATHOLIC	300. JEWISH	OTHER (SPECIFY):	998. NONE; NO PREFERENCE
------------	---------------------	-------------	------------------	--------------------------

GO TO Y26

GO TO Y27

999. REFUSED
GO TO Y27

Y25a. What church or denomination is that?

Y25b. (IF BAPTIST:) Is that Southern Baptist or something else?

Y26. (IF ANY RELIGIOUS PREFERENCE) Would you say you go to (church/synagogue) every week, almost every week, once or twice a month, a few times a year, or never?

1. EVERY WEEK	2. ALMOST EVERY WEEK	3. ONCE OR TWICE A MONTH	4. A FEW TIMES A YEAR	5. NEVER
---------------	----------------------	--------------------------	-----------------------	----------

Y27. How long have you lived in your city or town? (IF NECESSARY: How long have you lived in your county?)

90. ALL OF LIFE	_____ YEARS	OR	_____ MONTHS IF LESS THAN TWO YEARS
-----------------	-------------	----	-------------------------------------

Y28. How long have you lived at your present address?

90. ALL OF LIFE	_____ YEARS	OR	_____ MONTHS IF LESS THAN TWO YEARS
-----------------	-------------	----	-------------------------------------

Y29. Would you mind telling me your race? Are you white, black, American Indian or Alaskan native, Asian or Pacific Islander?

1. WHITE

2. BLACK

3. AMERICAN INDIAN OR
ALASKAN NATIVE4. ASIAN OR
PACIFIC ISLANDER

Y30. And is your ethnic origin Hispanic, that is, are you Mexican-American or Chicano, Puerto Rican, Cuban, or some other Hispanic origin?

5. NO

1. YES, MEXICAN-
AMERICAN/CHICANO2. YES, PUERTO
RICAN3. YES,
CUBAN4. YES, OTHER
HISPANIC

Y31. How many telephones, counting extensions, do you have in your home?

1. ONE

GO TO Y32

NUMBER MORE
THAN ONE8. DON'T KNOW;
NOT SURE

9. REFUSED

GO TO Y32

Y31a. Do (both/all) telephones have the same number?

1. YES

GO TO Y32

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW

9. REFUSED

GO TO Y32

Y31b. How many different numbers are there?

NUMBER OF DIFFERENT
TELEPHONE NUMBERS

8. DON'T KNOW

9. REFUSED

GO TO Y32

Y31c. Are any of the numbers for business use only?

1. YES

5. NO

GO TO Y32

Y31d. How many are used only for business?

NUMBER OF PHONE
NUMBERS USED ONLY
FOR BUSINESS

8. DON'T KNOW

9. REFUSED

Y32. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

Time Now: _____

Date: _____

TURN TO P. 4 OF COVER SHEET

SECTION Z

Z1. SEX OF RESPONDENT:

☐ 1. MALE☐ 5. FEMALE

Z2. IN A4 ON PAGE 2, THE CHECKBOX, INDICATING THAT THE DEFINITION OF "GROUPS" WAS READ, IS "Xed":

☐ 1. YES, BOX "Xed"☐ 5. NO, BOX HAS NO "X"

Z3. INTERVIEWER'S THUMBNAIL SKETCH:

For Office Use Only

1984 NATIONAL ELECTION STUDY
ROLLING CROSS-SECTION

Project 495806
Jan.-Nov., 1984
Version 5



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

1. Telephone interviewer's number: _____
2. Control ID number (5-digit number from label on cover sheet): _____
3. Respondent's area code (from label on cover sheet): _____
4. Sample assigned week (from label on cover sheet): _____
5. Date interview completed: _____
6. Time interview began:

A.M.

P.M.

 ANN ARBOR TIME

A.M.

P.M.

 R's LOCAL TIME
7. Length of interview: _____ (MINUTES)
8. Time at beginning of edit: _____
9. Time at end of edit: _____
10. Total time to 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 on to the next question.

TO BE COMPLETED IN CODING:

- 11a/b. Date interview started: _____ (Month/Day)
12. Week interview started: _____
13. Week interview completed: _____
14. ICPSR state code/ FIPS state code: _____

Time Now: _____

Date: _____

SECTION A

In this interview we will be talking about many different topics of interest. Here is our first question:

- A1. We are interested in how people are getting along financially these days. Would you say that you (and your family living with you) are better or worse off financially than you were a year ago?

1. BETTER	3. SAME GO TO A2	5. WORSE	8. DON'T KNOW GO TO A2
A1a. Is that <u>much</u> better or <u>somewhat</u> better?		A1b. Is that <u>much</u> worse or <u>somewhat</u> worse?	
1. MUCH BETTER	2. SOMEWHAT BETTER	5. MUCH WORSE	4. SOMEWHAT WORSE

- A2. This past year, have you (and your family) had to watch your budget more closely than the year before?

1. YES	5. NO	8. DON'T KNOW
GO TO A3		
A2a. Is that <u>much</u> more closely or <u>a little</u> more closely?		
1. MUCH MORE CLOSELY	2. A LITTLE MORE CLOSELY	

- A3. Do you think that over the last year, (your/your family's) income has gone up more than the cost of living, has it fallen behind, or has it stayed about even with the cost of living?

1. GONE UP MORE	3. STAYED ABOUT EVEN TURN TO P. 2, A4	5. FALLEN BEHIND	8. DON'T KNOW TURN TO P. 2, A4
A3a. Has it gone up <u>a lot</u> more or <u>a little</u> more?		A3b. Has it fallen behind <u>a lot</u> or <u>a little</u> ?	
1. A LOT MORE	2. A LITTLE MORE	5. FALLEN A LOT	4. FALLEN A LITTLE

- A4. Sometimes people think about other groups of people in society when they think about their own economic well-being, people who are being helped or hurt by economic conditions. When it comes to economic matters, what groups of people do you feel close to?

(IF R DOESN'T KNOW WHAT WE MEAN BY "GROUPS": Some people have mentioned farmers, the elderly, teachers, blacks, and union members.)

☐ CHECK THIS BOX IF THE DEFINITION OF "GROUPS" WAS READ TO R)

(GROUP NAMES)

R DOESN'T MENTION
ANY GROUPS

TURN TO P. 3, A6
(ASK A6 - A10)

A4a. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

☐ 1. R NAMED MORE THAN ONE
GROUP IN A4

☐ 5. R NAMED ONLY ONE
GROUP IN A4

When it comes to economic matters,
what sorts of people do you feel
closest to?

BELOW, CHECK A BOX FOR THE GROUP
NAMED IN A4, OR ENTER GROUP IN BOX
FOR "OTHER."

10. WOMEN

20. BLACKS

30. ELDERLY (SENIOR CITIZENS)

40. THE POOR

50. MIDDLE CLASS (INCL. UPPER-
MIDDLE & LOWER-MIDDLE)

OTHER (SPECIFY):

A4b.

- A4c. Would you say that over the past year the economic position of GROUP FROM A4b has gotten better, stayed about the same, or gotten worse?

1. GOTTEN BETTER

3. STAYED THE SAME

5. GOTTEN WORSE

8. DK

GO TO A4f

GO TO A4f

A4d. Would you say much better
or somewhat better?

1. MUCH

2. SOMEWHAT

A4e. Would you say much worse
or somewhat worse?

5. MUCH

4. SOMEWHAT

- A4f. Would you say that over the past year the incomes of GROUP FROM A4b have gone up more than the cost of living, stayed about even, or fallen behind the cost of living?

1. GONE UP MORE

3. STAYED ABOUT EVEN

5. FALLEN BEHIND

8. DK

TURN TO P. 3, A41

TURN TO
P. 3, A41

A4g. Have they gone up a lot or
a little?

1. A LOT

2. A LITTLE

A4h. Have they fallen behind a lot
or a little?

5. A LOT

4. A LITTLE

A4i. Would you say that over the past year GROUP FROM A4b have had a harder time finding enough work, an easier time, or have things stayed about the same?

1. HARDER TIME

3. ABOUT THE SAME

5. EASIER TIME

8. DK

GO TO A5

GO TO A5

A4j. Have they had a much harder time or a little harder time?

1. MUCH HARDER

2. A LITTLE HARDER

A4k. Have they had a much easier time or a little easier time?

5. MUCH EASIER

4. A LITTLE EASIER

A5. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

☐ 1. IN A4b ONE OF THE CHECK BOXES 10-50 IS "Xed"

BELOW, CHECK THE BOXES INDICATING WHETHER THE GROUP WAS OR WAS NOT MENTIONED BY R IN A4b:

WOMEN:

MENTIONED

NOT MENTIONED

BLACKS:

MENTIONED

NOT MENTIONED

THE ELDERLY (SENIOR CITIZEN)

MENTIONED

NOT MENTIONED

THE POOR:

MENTIONED

NOT MENTIONED

THE MIDDLE CLASS (INCL. UPPER/LOWER MIDDLE):

MENTIONED

NOT MENTIONED

TURN TO P.4,
SECTION B

☐ 5. IN A4b NONE OF THE CHECK BOXES 10-50 HAS BEEN "Xed"

A6. 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. DK

A7. What about blacks? (Would you say that over the past year the economic position of blacks has gotten better, stayed about the same, or gotten worse?)

1. BETTER

3. SAME

5. WORSE

8. DK

A8. (And what about) the elderly?

1. BETTER

3. SAME

5. WORSE

8. DK

A9. (And what about) the poor?

1. BETTER

3. SAME

5. WORSE

8. DK

A10. (And what about) the middle class?

1. BETTER

3. SAME

5. WORSE

8. DK

SECTION B

- B1. Some people seem to follow what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time, whether there's an election going on or not. Others aren't that interested. Would you say you follow what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time, some of the time, only now and then, or hardly at all?

1. MOST OF
THE TIME

2. SOME OF
THE TIME

3. ONLY NOW
AND THEN

4. HARDLY
AT ALL

8. DON'T
KNOW

- B2. Let's switch to the presidential campaign for a minute. Would you say that you are very much interested, somewhat interested, or not much interested in following the presidential campaign in 1984?

1. VERY MUCH INTERESTED

3. SOMEWHAT INTERESTED

5. NOT MUCH INTERESTED

- B3. Would you say that you personally care a good deal which party wins the presidential election in the fall of 1984, or that you don't care very much which party wins?

1. CARE A GOOD DEAL

3. DON'T CARE VERY MUCH

8. DON'T KNOW

- B4. Has anyone called you up or come around and talked to you about supporting a candidate for president?

1. YES

5. NO

GO TO B5

B4a. Has this happened in the last week?

1. YES

5. NO

- B5. Has anyone called you up or come around to talk to you about registering to vote?

1. YES

5. NO

B6. So far this year have you talked to anyone and tried to show them why they should support one of the candidates for president?

1. YES

5. NO

TURN TO P. 6,
SECTION C

B6a. Have you done this in the last week?

1. YES

5. NO

B7. As far as you know, are you now registered so that you can vote in the election for president this year?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW

6. R VOLUNTEERS: VOTERS NOT REQUIRED
TO REGISTER

B8. So far as you know now, do you expect to vote in the presidential election this November, or not?

1. YES, WILL VOTE

5. NO, WILL NOT VOTE

8. DON'T KNOW

B8a. Are you pretty certain you will vote, or not certain?

1. CERTAIN

2. NOT CERTAIN

8. DK

B8c. If the presidential election were being held today, would you vote for Walter Mondale, the Democratic candidate, or for Ronald Reagan, the Republican candidate?

R'S CHOICE:

01. WALTER MONDALE

20. RONALD REAGAN

SOMEONE ELSE, SPECIFY:

B8b. Are you pretty certain you won't vote, or not certain?

5. CERTAIN

4. NOT CERTAIN

8. DK

B8d. If you were going to vote, and the presidential election were being held today, would you vote for Walter Mondale, the Democratic candidate, or for Ronald Reagan, the Republican candidate?

R VOLUNTEERS:

95. WOULDN'T VOTE AT ALL

96. NEITHER OF THESE CANDIDATES
(NO MENTION OF ANOTHER CAND.)

98. DON'T KNOW/CAN'T ANSWER

TURN TO P. 6,
SECTION C

B8e. Would you say that your preference for this candidate is strong or not strong?

1. STRONG

5. NOT STRONG

8. DON'T KNOW

SECTION C

INTERVIEWER INSTRUCTION: USE BLUE CARD TO RECORD ANSWERS TO C1

C1. I'm going to read a list with names of possible presidential candidates in 1984. Many people tell us that they have not heard about some of the people on this list. As I read each name, please tell me when I come to a person you have never heard of.

(INTERVIEWER: READ THE LIST SLOWLY, TO GIVE R A CHANCE TO RESPOND.
CROSS OUT NAMES R HAS NEVER HEARD OF.)

INTERVIEWER: AFTER THE INTERVIEW IS COMPLETED, ATTACH
 BLUE CARD TO THIS PAGE.

INTERVIEWER:
 PLEASE ENTER
 CONTROL ID NUMBER
 (5-DIGIT NUMBER FROM
 LABEL ON COVER SHEET):

BLUE CARD

Version 5

a. Ronald Reagan
b. John Glenn
c. Ted Kennedy
d. Walter Mondale
f. John Anderson
g. Ernest Hollings
i. Jesse Jackson
j. George Bush
k. Howard Baker
m. George McGovern
o. Gary Hart
r. Lloyd Bentsen
s. Dale Bumpers
t. Mario Cuomo

C2. Now let's talk about your feelings toward the candidates you know something about.

I'll read the name of a person and I will ask you to rate that person on a thermometer that runs from 0 degrees to 100 degrees. Ratings between 50 degrees and 100 degrees mean that you feel favorable and warm toward that person. Ratings between 0 degrees and 50 degrees mean that you don't feel too favorable and are cool toward that person. You may use any number from 0 to 100 to tell me how favorable or unfavorable your feelings are for each person.

If you recognize the name, but don't feel particularly warm or cold toward the person, you would rate the person at the 50 degree mark.

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

INTERVIEWER:

PLACE BLUE CARD
HERE, SUCH THAT
THE NAMES LINE
UP WITH THE
RESPONSE BOXES.

ASK ALL NAMES
NOT CORSED OUT
ON THE BLUE
CARD.

FOR CROSSED OUT
NAMES, ENTER "X"
IN COLUMN 997,
"R DOESN'T
RECOGNIZE NAME".

	997. R DOESN'T RECOGNIZE	998. DON'T KNOW WHERE TO RATE; CAN'T JUDGE	
RATING	NAME		
			a. RONALD REAGAN
			b. JOHN GLENN
			c. TED KENNEDY
			d. WALTER MONDALE
			f. JOHN ANDERSON
			g. ERNEST HOLLINGS
			i. JESSE JACKSON
			j. GEORGE BUSH
			k. HOWARD BAKER
			m. GOERGE MCGOVERN
			o. GARY HART
			r. LLOYD BENTSEN
			s. DALE BUMPERS
			t. MARIO CUOMO

SECTION D

D1. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling his job as president?

1. APPROVE	5. DISAPPROVE	8. DON'T KNOW GO TO D2
------------	---------------	---------------------------

<p>D1a. Do you approve <u>strongly</u> or <u>not strongly</u>?</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td>1. STRONGLY</td> <td>2. NOT STRONGLY</td> </tr> </table>	1. STRONGLY	2. NOT STRONGLY	<p>D1b. Do you disapprove <u>strongly</u> or <u>not strongly</u>?</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td>5. STRONGLY</td> <td>4. NOT STRONGLY</td> </tr> </table>	5. STRONGLY	4. NOT STRONGLY
1. STRONGLY	2. NOT STRONGLY				
5. STRONGLY	4. NOT STRONGLY				

D2. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling the economy?

1. APPROVE	5. DISAPPROVE	8. DON'T KNOW GO TO D3
------------	---------------	---------------------------

<p>D2a. Do you approve <u>strongly</u> or <u>not strongly</u>?</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td>1. STRONGLY</td> <td>2. NOT STRONGLY</td> </tr> </table>	1. STRONGLY	2. NOT STRONGLY	<p>D2b. Do you disapprove <u>strongly</u> or <u>not strongly</u>?</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td>5. STRONGLY</td> <td>4. NOT STRONGLY</td> </tr> </table>	5. STRONGLY	4. NOT STRONGLY
1. STRONGLY	2. NOT STRONGLY				
5. STRONGLY	4. NOT STRONGLY				

D3. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling our relations with foreign countries?

1. APPROVE	5. DISAPPROVE	8. DON'T KNOW TURN TO P. 9, SECTION E
------------	---------------	---

<p>D3a. Do you approve <u>strongly</u> or <u>not strongly</u>?</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td>1. STRONGLY</td> <td>2. NOT STRONGLY</td> </tr> </table>	1. STRONGLY	2. NOT STRONGLY	<p>D3b. Do you disapprove <u>strongly</u> or <u>not strongly</u>?</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td>5. STRONGLY</td> <td>4. NOT STRONGLY</td> </tr> </table>	5. STRONGLY	4. NOT STRONGLY
1. STRONGLY	2. NOT STRONGLY				
5. STRONGLY	4. NOT STRONGLY				

SECTION E

E1. Now let's talk about who is likely to win the Democratic nomination for President. We will be using a scale which runs from 0 to 100, where 0 represents no chance for the nomination, 50 represents an even chance, and 100 represents certain victory.

INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD --IS NAME CROSSED OUT?

WALTER MONDALE

YES

NO

E1a. Using this 0 to 100 scale, what do you think Walter Mondale's chances are of winning the nomination?

(NUMBER)

998. DON'T KNOW

E1b. OMITTED

E1c. OMITTED

JESSE JACKSON

YES

NO

E1d. (Using this 0 to 100 scale,) what do you think Jesse Jackson's chances are of winning the nomination?

(NUMBER)

998. DON'T KNOW

TED KENNEDY

YES

NO

E1e. (Using this 0 to 100 scale,) what do you think Ted Kennedy's chances are of winning the nomination?

(NUMBER)

998. DON'T KNOW

GARY HART

YES

NO

E1f. (Using this 0 to 100 scale,) what do you think Gary Hart's chances are of winning the nomination?

(NUMBER)

998. DON'T KNOW

TURN
TO P.10,
SECTION F

SECTION F

F1. How many days in the past week did you watch national news on T.V.?

____ (NUMBER OF DAYS IN WEEK)

0. NONE

GO TO F2

F1a. How much attention did you pay to news on T.V. about the campaign for president -- a great deal, quite a bit, some, very little, or none?

1. A GREAT
DEAL

2. QUITE
A BIT

3. SOME

4. VERY
LITTLE

5. NONE

F2. How many days in the past week did you read a daily newspaper?

____ (NUMBER OF DAYS IN WEEK)

0. NONE

TURN TO P. 11,
SECTION G

F2a. Which paper or papers did you read? (GET FULL TITLE AND CITY WHERE PUBLISHED.) (Any others?)

TITLE

CITY WHERE PUBLISHED

F2b. How much attention did you pay to articles in the newspaper about the campaign for president -- a great deal, quite a bit, some, very little, or none?

1. A GREAT
DEAL

2. QUITE
A BIT

3. SOME

4. VERY
LITTLE

5. NONE

SECTION G

G1. Now we'd like to know about your impressions of Ronald Reagan. I am going to read a list of words and phrases people use to describe political figures. After each one, I would like you to tell me how much the word or phrase fits your impression of Ronald Reagan.

The first phrase is "hard-working." How much would you say "hard-working" fits your impression of Ronald Reagan: a great deal, somewhat, a little, or not at all?

		1. A GREAT DEAL	2. SOMEWHAT	3. CAN'T DECIDE	4. A LITTLE	5. NOT AT ALL	8. DK
a. HARD-WORKING	a.						
b. decent	b.						
c. compassionate	c.						
d. commands respect	d.						
e. intelligent	e.						
f. moral	f.						
g. kind	g.						
h. inspiring	h.						
i. knowledgeable	i.						
j. sets a good example	j.						
k. really cares about people like you	k.						
m. provides strong leadership	m.						
n. understands people like you	n.						
o. fair	o.						
p. in touch with ordinary people	p.						
r. religious	r.						

G2. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:
☐ 1. "WALTER MONDALE"
IS NOT CROSSED OUT

☐ 5. "WALTER MONDALE" IS
CROSSED OUT — **TURN TO**
P.13,G6

G3. Now about Walter Mondale. Would you say "hard-working" fits your impression of him: a great deal, somewhat, a little, or not at all?

	1. A GREAT DEAL	2. SOMEWHAT	3. CAN'T DECIDE	4. A LITTLE	5. NOT AT ALL	8. DK
a. HARD-WORKING						
b. decent						
c. compassionate						
d. commands respect						
e. intelligent						
f. moral						
g. kind						
h. inspiring						
i. knowledgeable						
j. sets a good example						
k. really cares about people like you						
m. provides strong leadership						
n. understands people like you						
o. fair						
p. in touch with ordinary people						
r. religious						

G6. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:

- ☐ 1. "JESSE JACKSON" IS NOT CROSSED OUT

- ☐ 5. "JESSE JACKSON" IS
CROSSED OUT → TURN TO
P. 14, G8

G7. Now about Jesse Jackson. Would you say "hard-working" fits your impression of him: a great deal, somewhat, a little, or not at all?

- | | | | | | |
|-------|----------|--------|--------|--------|----|
| 1. | | 3. | 4. | 5. | |
| A | | CAN'T | A | NOT | 8. |
| GREAT | 2. | DECIDE | LITTLE | AT ALL | DK |
| DEAL | SOMEWHAT | | | | |

- a. HARD-WORKING
- b. decent
- c. compassionate
- d. commands respect
- e. intelligent
- f. moral
- g. kind
- h. inspiring
- i. knowledgeable
- j. sets a good example
- k. really cares about people like you
- m. provides strong leadership
- n. understands people like you
- o. fair
- p. in touch with ordinary people
- r. religious

a.					
b.					
c.					
d.					
e.					
f.					
g.					
h.					
i.					
j.					
k.					
m.					
n.					
o.					
p.					
r.					

G8. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:

☐ 1. "GARY HART" IS
NOT CROSSED OUT

☐ 5. "GARY HART" IS
 CROSSED OUT → TURN TO P.15,
 SECTION H

G9. Now about Gary Hart. Would you say "hard-working" fits your impression of him: a great deal, somewhat, a little, or not at all?

	1. A GREAT DEAL	2. SOMEWHAT	3. CAN'T DECIDE	4. A LITTLE	5. NOT AT ALL	8. DK
a. HARD-WORKING	a.					
b. decent	b.					
c. compassionate	c.					
d. commands respect	d.					
e. intelligent	e.					
f. moral	f.					
g. kind	g.					
h. inspiring	h.					
i. knowledgeable	i.					
j. sets a good example	j.					
k. really cares about people like you	k.					
m. provides strong leadership	m.					
n. understands people like you	n.					
o. fair	o.					
p. in touch with ordinary people	p.					
r. religious	r.					

SECTION H

- H1. Now, let's talk about 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?

1. GOTTEN BETTER	3. STAYED SAME GO TO H2	5. GOTTEN WORSE	8. DON'T KNOW GO TO H2
------------------	----------------------------	-----------------	---------------------------

<p>H1a. Would you say <u>much</u> better or <u>somewhat</u> 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>H1b. Would you say <u>much</u> worse or <u>somewhat</u> 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				

- H2. Would you say that over the past year, people across the country have had a harder time finding enough work, an easier time, or have things stayed about the same?

1. HARDER TIME	3. STAYED SAME GO TO H3	5. EASIER TIME	8. DON'T KNOW GO TO H3
----------------	----------------------------	----------------	---------------------------

<p>H2a. Would you say <u>much</u> harder or <u>a little</u> harder?</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td>1. MUCH HARDER</td> <td>2. A LITTLE HARDER</td> </tr> </table>	1. MUCH HARDER	2. A LITTLE HARDER	<p>H2b. Would you say <u>much</u> easier or <u>a little</u> easier?</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td>5. MUCH EASIER</td> <td>4. A LITTLE EASIER</td> </tr> </table>	5. MUCH EASIER	4. A LITTLE EASIER
1. MUCH HARDER	2. A LITTLE HARDER				
5. MUCH EASIER	4. A LITTLE EASIER				

- H3. During the last year, have the costs of things gone up, gone down, or have they remained about the same?

1. GONE UP	3. STAYED SAME TURN TO P. 16, H4	5. GONE DOWN	8. DON'T KNOW TURN TO P. 16, H4
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<p>H3a. Have they gone up <u>a lot</u> or <u>a little</u>?</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td>1. A LOT</td> <td>2. A LITTLE</td> </tr> </table>	1. A LOT	2. A LITTLE	<p>H3b. Have they gone down <u>a lot</u> or <u>a little</u>?</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td>5. A LOT</td> <td>4. A LITTLE</td> </tr> </table>	5. A LOT	4. A LITTLE
1. A LOT	2. A LITTLE				
5. A LOT	4. A LITTLE				

- H4. 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?

1. WEAKER

3. STAYED SAME

5. STRONGER

8. DON'T KNOW

- H5. How worried are you about our country getting into a conventional war at this time, one in which nuclear weapons are not used? Are you very worried, somewhat worried, or not worried at all?

1. VERY WORRIED

3. SOMEWHAT WORRIED

5. NOT WORRIED

8. DK

- H6. How worried are you about our country getting into a nuclear war at this time? Are you very worried, somewhat worried, or not worried at all?

1. VERY WORRIED

3. SOMEWHAT WORRIED

5. NOT WORRIED

8. DK

SECTION J

J1. When it comes to politics, do you usually think of yourself as a liberal, a conservative, a moderate, or what?

1. YES, LIBERAL

J1a. Do you think of yourself as a strong liberal or a not-very-strong liberal?

1. STRONG

5. NOT VERY STRONG

TURN TO P. 18, J2

5. YES, CONSERVATIVE

J1b. Do you think of yourself as a strong conservative or a not-very-strong conservative?

1. STRONG

5. NOT VERY STRONG

TURN TO P. 18, J2

3. YES, MODERATE

7. NO, NEVER

8. DON'T KNOW

J1c. 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. 18, J2

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

TURN TO P. 22, SECTION K

J2. What about Ronald Reagan? Do you usually think of Ronald Reagan as a liberal, a conservative, a moderate, or what?

1. LIBERAL

J2a. Do you think he is a strong liberal or a not-very-strong liberal?

1. STRONG

5. NOT VERY STRONG

TURN TO P. 19, J5

5. CONSERVATIVE

J2b. Do you think he is a strong conservative or a not-very-strong conservative?

1. STRONG

5. NOT VERY STRONG

TURN TO P. 19, J5

3. MODERATE

7. NONE OF THESE

8. DON'T KNOW

J2c. Do you think he is more like a liberal or more like a conservative?

1. LIBERAL

5. CONSERVATIVE

3. NEITHER

8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 19, J5

J3. OMITTED

J4. OMITTED

J5. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:

☐ 1. "WALTER MONDALE" IS
NOT CROSSED OUT

☐ 5. "WALTER MONDALE" IS
CROSSED OUT → TURN TO
P. 20, J7

J6. What about Walter Mondale? Do you usually think of Walter Mondale as a liberal, a conservative, a moderate, or what?

1. LIBERAL

J6a. Do you think he is a strong liberal or a not-very-strong liberal?

1. STRONG

5. NOT VERY STRONG

TURN TO P. 20, J7

5. CONSERVATIVE

J6b. Do you think he is a strong conservative or a not-very-strong conservative?

1. STRONG

5. NOT VERY STRONG

TURN TO P. 20, J7

3. MODERATE

7. NONE OF THESE

8. DON'T KNOW

J6c. Do you think he is more like a liberal or more like a conservative?

1. LIBERAL

5. CONSERVATIVE

3. NEITHER

8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 20, J7

J7. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:

☐ 1. "JESSE JACKSON" IS
NOT CROSSED OUT

☐ 5. "JESSE JACKSON" IS
CROSSED OUT → TURN TO
P. 21, J9

J8. And what about Jesse Jackson. Do you usually think of Jesse Jackson as a liberal, a conservative, a moderate, or what?

1. LIBERAL

J8a. Do you think he is a strong liberal or a not-very-strong liberal?

1. STRONG

5. NOT VERY STRONG

TURN TO P. 21, J9

5. CONSERVATIVE

J8b. Do you think he is a strong conservative or a not-very-strong conservative?

1. STRONG

5. NOT VERY STRONG

TURN TO P. 21, J9

3. MODERATE

7. NONE OF THESE

8. DON'T KNOW

J8c. Do you think he is more like a liberal or more like a conservative?

1. LIBERAL

5. CONSERVATIVE

3. NEITHER

8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 21, J9

J9. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:

☐ 1. "GARY HART" IS
NOT CROSSED OUT

☐ 5. "GARY HART" IS
 CROSSED OUT → TURN TO P. 22,
 SECTION K

J10. And what about Gary Hart. Do you usually think of Gary Hart as a
liberal, a conservative, a moderate, or what?

1. LIBERAL

J8a. Do you think he is a strong liberal or
 a not-very-strong liberal?

1. STRONG

5. NOT VERY STRONG

TURN TO P. 22, SECTION K

5. CONSERVATIVE

J8b. Do you think he is a strong conservative
 or a not-very-strong conservative?

1. STRONG

5. NOT VERY STRONG

TURN TO P. 22, SECTION K

3. MODERATE

7. NONE OF THESE

8. DON'T KNOW

J8c. Do you think he is more like a liberal
 or more like a conservative?

1. LIBERAL

5. CONSERVATIVE

3. NEITHER

8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 22, SECTION K

SECTION K

- K1. We would like to know something about the feelings you have toward Ronald Reagan. I would like you to tell me whether something about Ronald Reagan, or something he has done, has made you have certain feelings like "anger" or "pride."

First, has Ronald Reagan (because of the kind of person he is, or because of something he has done) ever made you feel:

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

K2. OMITTED

K3. OMITTED

K4. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:

☐ 1. "WALTER MONDALE" IS
NOT CROSSED OUT

☐ 5. "WALTER MONDALE" IS
CROSSED OUT → TURN TO P.23,K6



- K5. Has Walter Mondale (because of the kind of person he is, or because of something he has done) ever made you feel:

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

K6. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:☐ 1. "JESSE JACKSON" IS
NOT CROSSED OUT☐ 5. "JESSE JACKSON" IS
CROSSED OUT → GO TO K8K7. And has Jesse Jackson (because of the kind of person he is, or because of something he has done) ever made you feel?

- a. angry toward him
- b. hopeful
- c. afraid of him
- d. proud

1. YES; HAVE 5. NO; NEVER
FELT FELT

K8. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:☐ 1. "GARY HART" IS
NOT CROSSED OUT☐ 5. "GARY HART" IS
CROSSED OUT → TURN TO P.24,
SECTION JK9. And has Gary Hart (because of the kind of person he is, or because of something he has done) ever made you feel:

- a. angry toward him
- b. hopeful
- c. afraid of him
- d. proud

1. YES; HAVE 5. NO; NEVER
FELT FELT

SECTION 1

Now let's move to a different set of questions.

L1. Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an independent, or what?

1. REPUBLICAN

5. DEMOCRAT

2. INDEPENDENT

3. NO PREFERENCE

4. OTHER PARTY

L1a. Would you call yourself a strong Republican or a not very strong Republican?

1. STRONG

5. NOT VERY STRONG

L1b. Would you call yourself a strong Democrat or a not very strong Democrat?

1. STRONG

5. NOT VERY STRONG

L1c. Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party or to the Democratic Party?

1. CLOSER TO REPUBLICAN

5. CLOSER TO DEMOCRATIC

3. NEITHER

L2. Who is your first choice for the Democratic nomination for president in 1984?

_____(NAME)

98. DON'T KNOW/CAN'T ANSWER

TURN TO P. 25, SECTION M

L2a. Suppose, for one reason or another, (he/she) is not chosen as the Democratic candidate. Who would be your second choice for the Democratic nomination?

_____(NAME)

DON'T KNOW/
98. CAN'T ANSWER

MO. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling the balancing of the national budget?

1. APPROVE

5. DISAPPROVE

8. DON'T KNOW

GO TO M1

MOa. Do you approve strongly or not strongly?

1. STRONGLY

2. NOT STRONGLY

MOB. Do you disapprove strongly or not strongly?

5. STRONGLY

4. NOT STRONGLY

M1. The next few questions are about government spending and government services.

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 more services even if it means an increase in spending.

Do you have an opinion on this topic or haven't you thought much about it?

1. YES, HAVE AN OPINION

5. NO, HAVEN'T THOUGHT

8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 27, M2

M1a. (Do you think the government should reduce spending, provide more services, or is your position somewhere in between?)

1. REDUCE SPENDING

3. SOMEWHERE BETWEEN

5. MORE SERVICES

8. DK

GO TO M1d

GO TO
M1d

M1b. Would you prefer a moderate reduction in spending and services, or a large reduction?

2. MODERATE

1. LARGE

8. DK

M1c. Would you prefer a moderate increase in spending and services, or a large increase?

4. MODERATE

5. LARGE

8. DK

M1d. In your opinion, does Ronald Reagan think the government should reduce spending, provide more services, or is his position somewhere in between?

1. REDUCE SPENDING

3. SOMEWHERE BETWEEN

5. MORE SERVICES

8. DK

TURN TO P. 26, M1g

TURN TO
P. 26, M1g

M1e. Do you think he would prefer a moderate reduction in spending and services, or a large reduction?

2. MODERATE

1. LARGE

8. DK

M1f. Do you think he would prefer a moderate increase in spending and services, or a large increase?

4. MODERATE

5. LARGE

8. DK

Mlg. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:

☐ 1. "WALTER MONDALE" IS
NOT CROSSED OUT☐ 5. "WALTER MONDALE" IS
CROSSED OUT → GO TO Mlp

Mlh. In your opinion, does Walter Mondale think the government should reduce spending, provide more services, or is his position somewhere in between?

1. REDUCE SPENDING

3. SOMEWHERE BETWEEN

5. MORE SERVICES

8. DK

GO TO Mlp

GO TO
Mlp

Mli. Do you think he would prefer a moderate reduction in spending and services, or a large reduction?

2. MODERATE

1. LARGE

8. DK

Mlj. Do you think he would prefer a moderate increase in spending and services, or a large increase?

4. MODERATE

5. LARGE

8. DK

Mlk - Mlo OMITTED

Mlp. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:

☐ 1. "GARY HART" IS
NOT CROSSED OUT☐ 5. "GARY HART" IS
CROSSED OUT → TURN TO P.27, Mlt

Mlq. In your opinion, does Gary Hart think the government should reduce spending, provide more services, or is his position somewhere in between?

1. REDUCE SPENDING

3. SOMEWHERE BETWEEN

5. MORE SERVICES

8. DK

TURN TO P. 27, Mlt

TURN TO
P.27, Mlt

Mlr. Do you think he would prefer a moderate reduction in spending and services, or a large reduction?

2. MODERATE

1. LARGE

8. DK

Mls. Do you think he would prefer a moderate increase in spending and services, or a large increase?

4. MODERATE

5. LARGE

8. DK

M1t. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:
☐ 1. "JESSE JACKSON" IS
NOT CROSSED OUT

☐ 5. "JESSE JACKSON" IS
 CROSSED OUT → GO TO M2

M1u. In your opinion, does Jesse Jackson think the government should reduce spending, provide more services, or is his position somewhere in between?

1. REDUCE SPENDING

3. SOMEWHERE BETWEEN

5. MORE SERVICES

8. DK

GO TO M2

GO TO M2

M1v. Do you think he would prefer a moderate reduction in spending and services, or a large reduction?

2. MODERATE

1. LARGE

8. DK

Blw. Do you think he would prefer a moderate increase in spending and services, or a large increase?

4. MODERATE

5. LARGE

8. DK

M2. Some people feel that the government in Washington should make every effort to improve the social and economic position of blacks and other minority groups. Others feel that the government should not make any special effort to help minorities because they should help themselves.

Do you have an opinion on this issue, or haven't you thought much about this?

1. YES, HAVE AN OPINION

5. NO, HAVEN'T THOUGHT

8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 27b, M3

M2a. (Do you feel the government should help improve the position of minorities, that minorities should help themselves, or is your position somewhere in between?)

1. GOVT SHOULD HELP

3. SOMEWHERE BETWEEN

5. MINORITIES
HELP SELVES

8. DK

TURN TO P.27a, M2d

TURN TO
P.27a, M2d

M2b. Should the government help minorities to a great extent or only to some extent?

1. GREAT

2. SOME

8. DK

M2c. Should the government leave minorities alone to help themselves to a great extent or only to some extent?

5. GREAT

4. SOME

8. DK

M2d. In your opinion, does Ronald Reagan think the government should help improve the position of minorities, that minorities should help themselves, or is his position somewhere in between?

1. GOVT SHOULD HELP

3. SOMEWHERE BETWEEN

5. MINORITIES
HELP SELVES

8. DON'T
KNOW

GO TO M2g

GO TO M2g

M2e. Does Ronald Reagan feel that the government should help minorities to a great extent or only to some extent?

1. GREAT

2. SOME

8. DK

M2f. Does Ronald Reagan feel that the government should leave minorities alone to help themselves to a great extent or only to some extent?

5. GREAT

4. SOME

8. DK

M2g. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:

☐ 1. "WALTER MONDALE" IS
NOT CROSSED OUT

☐ 5. "WALTER MONDALE" IS
CROSSED OUT → GO TO M2k

M2h. In your opinion, does Walter Mondale think the government should help improve the position of minorities, that minorities should help themselves, or is his position somewhere in between?

1. GOVT SHOULD HELP

3. SOMEWHERE BETWEEN

5. MINORITIES
HELP SELVES

8. DON'T
KNOW

TO M2k

GO TO M2k

M2i. Does Walter Mondale feel that the government should help minorities to a great extent or only to some extent?

1. GREAT

2. SOME

8. DK

M2j. Does Walter Mondale feel that the government should leave minorities alone to help themselves to a great extent or only to some extent?

5. GREAT

4. SOME

8. DK

M2k. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:

☐ 1. "GARY HART" IS
NOT CROSSED OUT

☐ 5. "GARY HART" IS
CROSSED OUT → TURN TO
P. 27b, M2p

M2m. In your opinion, does Gary Hart think the government should help improve the position of minorities, that minorities should help themselves, or is his position somewhere in between?

1. GOVT SHOULD HELP

3. SOMEWHERE BETWEEN

5. MINORITIES
HELP SELVES

8. DON'T
KNOW

TURN TO P. 27b, M2n

TURN TO P. 27b, M2p

TURN TO
P. 27b, M2o

TURN TO
P. 27b, M2p

M2n. Does Gary Hart feel that the government should help minorities to a great extent or only to some extent?

1. GREAT

2. SOME

8. DK

M2o. Does Gary Hart feel that the government should leave minorities alone to help themselves to a great extent or only to some extent?

5. GREAT

4. SOME

8. DK

M2p. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:

☐ 1. "JESSE JACKSON" IS
NOT CROSSED OUT

☐ 5. "JESSE JACKSON" IS
CROSSED OUT → GO TO M3

M2q. In your opinion, does Jesse Jackson think the government should help improve the position of minorities, that minorities should help themselves, or is his position somewhere in between?

1. GOVE SHOULD HELP

3. SOMEWHERE BETWEEN

GO TO M3

5. MINORITIES
HELP SELVES

8. DON'T
KNOW

GO TO M3

M2r. Does Jesse Jackson feel that the government should help minorities to a great extent or only to some extent?

1. GREAT

2. SOME

8. DK

M2s. Does Jesse Jackson feel that the government should leave minorities alone to help themselves to a great extent or only to some extent?

5. GREAT

4. SOME

8. DK

M3. Some people think that the United States should become more involved in the internal affairs of Central American countries. Others believe that the U.S. should become less involved in this area. Do you have an opinion on this, or haven't you thought much about it?

1. YES, HAVE AN OPINION

5. NO, HAVEN'T THOUGHT

8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 29, M6

M3a. (Do you feel that the U.S. should become less involved in Central America, become more involved in this area, or is your position somewhere in between?)

1. MORE INVOLVED

3. SOMEWHERE BETWEEN

TURN TO P. 28, M3d

5. LESS INVOLVED

8. DK

TURN TO
P. 28, M3d

M3b. Do you think the U.S. should increase its involvement to a great extent or only to some extent?

1. GREAT

2. SOME

8. DK

M3c. Do you think the U.S. should decrease its involvement to a great extent or only to some extent?

5. GREAT

4. SOME

8. DK

M3d. In your opinion, does Ronald Reagan feel that the U.S. should become less involved in Central America, become more involved in this area, or is his position somewhere in between?

1. MORE INVOLVED

3. SOMEWHERE BETWEEN

5. LESS INVOLVED

8. DON'T KNOW

GO TO M3g

GO TO M3g

M3e. Does Ronald Reagan feel the U.S. should increase its involvement to a great extent or only to some extent?

1. GREAT

2. SOME

8. DK

M3f. Does Ronald Reagan feel the U.S. should decrease its involvement to a great extent or only to some extent?

5. GREAT

4. SOME

8. DK

M3g. INTERVIEWER'S CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:

☐

1. "WALTER MONDALE" IS
NOT CROSSED OUT

☐

5. "WALTER MONDALE" IS
CROSSED OUT → GO TO M3k

M3h. In your opinion, does Walter Mondale feel that the U.S. should become less involved in Central America, become more involved in this area, or is his position somewhere in between?

1. MORE INVOLVED

3. SOMEWHERE BETWEEN

5. LESS INVOLVED

8. DON'T KNOW

GO TO M3k

GO TO M3k

M3i. Does Walter Mondale feel the U.S. should increase its involvement to a great extent or only to some extent?

1. GREAT

2. SOME

8. DK

M3j. Does Walter Mondale feel the U.S. should decrease its involvement to a great extent or only to some extent?

5. GREAT

4. SOME

8. DK

M3k. INTERVIEWER'S CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:

☐

1. "GARY HART" IS
NOT CROSSED OUT

☐

5. "GARY HART" IS
CROSSED OUT → TURN TO P. 29, M3p

M3m. In your opinion, does Gary Hart feel that the U.S. should become less involved in Central America, become more involved in this area, or is his position somewhere in between?

1. MORE INVOLVED

3. SOMEWHERE BETWEEN

5. LESS INVOLVED

8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 29, M3p

TURN TO P. 29, M3p

M3n. Does Gary Hart feel the U.S. should increase its involvement to a great extent or only to some extent?

1. GREAT

2. SOME

8. DK

M3o. Does Gary Hart feel the U.S. should decrease its involvement to a great extent or only to some extent?

5. GREAT

4. SOME

8. DK

M3p. INTERVIEWER'S CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:

☐ 1. "JESSE JACKSON" is
NOT CROSSED OUT

☐ 2. "JESSE JACKSON" IS
CROSSED OUT → GO TO M6

M3q. In your opinion, does Jesse Jackson feel that the U.S. should become less involved in Central America, become more involved in this area, or is his position somewhere in between?

1. MORE INVOLVED

3. SOMEWHERE BETWEEN

5. LESS INVOLVED

8. DON'T KNOW

GO TO M6

GO TO M6

M3r. Does Jesse Jackson feel the U.S. should increase its involvement to a great extent or only to some extent?

1. GREAT

2. SOME

8. DK

M3s. Does Jesse Jackson feel the U.S. should decrease its involvement to a great extent or only to some extent?

5. GREAT

4. SOME

8. DK

M4 AND M5 OMITTED

M6. Some people believe that we should spend less money for defense. Others feel that defense spending should be increased. Do you have an opinion on this issue, or haven't you thought much about this?

1. YES, HAVE AN OPINION

5. NO, HAVEN'T THOUGHT

8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 31, M7

M6a. (Do you feel the government should decrease defense spending, increase defense spending, or is the government spending about the right amount?)

1. DECREASE SPENDING

3. SPENDING RIGHT
AMOUNT

5. INCREASE SPENDING

8. DK

GO TO M6d

GO TO M6d

M6b. Should the government reduce defense spending a lot or a little?

1. A LOT

2. LITTLE

8. DK

M6c. Should the government increase defense spending a lot or a little?

5. A LOT

4. LITTLE

8. DK

M6d. In your opinion, does Ronald Reagan feel the government should decrease defense spending, increase defense spending, or does he feel the government is spending about the right amount?

1. DECREASE SPENDING

3. SPENDING RIGHT
AMOUNT

5. INCREASE SPENDING

8. DK

TURN TO P. 30, M6g

TURN TO
P. 30, M6g

M6e. Does Ronald Reagan feel the government should reduce defense spending a lot or a little?

1. A LOT

2. LITTLE

8. DK

M6f. Does Ronald Reagan feel the government should increase defense spending a lot or a little?

5. A LOT

4. LITTLE

8. DK

M6g. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:☐ 1. "WALTER MONDALE" IS
NOT CROSSED OUT☐ 5. "WALTER MONDALE" IS
CROSSED OUT → GO TO M6pM6h. In your opinion, does Walter Mondale feel the government should decrease defense spending, increase defense spending, or does he feel the government is spending about the right amount?1. DECREASE
SPENDING3. SPENDING RIGHT
AMOUNT

GO TO M6p

5. INCREASE
SPENDING8. DON'T
KNOW

GO TO M6p

M6i. Does Walter Mondale feel the government should reduce defense spending a lot or a little?

1. A LOT

2. LITTLE

8. DK

M6j. Does Walter Mondale feel the government should increase defense spending a lot or a little?

5. A LOT

4. LITTLE

8. DK

M6k - M6o. OMITTED

M6p. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:☐ 1. "GARY HART" IS
NOT CROSSED OUT☐ 5. "GARY HART" IS
CROSSED OUT → TURN TO P. 31, M7

M6q. In your opinion does Gary Hart feel the government should decrease defense spending, increase defense spending, or does he feel the government is spending about the right amount?

1. DECREASE
SPENDING3. SPENDING RIGHT
AMOUNT

TURN TO P. 31, M7

5. INCREASE
SPENDING8. DON'T
KNOWTURN TO
P. 31, M7M6r. Does Gary Hart feel the government should reduce defense spending a lot or a little?

1. A LOT

2. LITTLE

8. DK

M6s. Does Gary Hart feel the government should increase defense spending a lot or a little?

5. A LOT

4. LITTLE

8. DK

- M7. If you had a say in making up the federal budget this year, which programs would you like to see increased and which reduced? Should federal spending on improving and protecting the environment be increased, decreased, or kept about the same?

- a. IMPROVING AND PROTECTING THE ENVIRONMENT
- b. Dealing with crime
- c. Public schools
- d. Social Security
- e. Food stamps
- f. Medicare
- g. Government jobs for the unemployed
- h. Science and technology

1. INCREASED	3. SAME	5. DECREASED	8. DON'T KNOW

- M8. Some people feel that the government in Washington should make every effort to improve the social and economic position of women. Others feel that the government should not make any special effort to help women because they should help themselves. Do you have an opinion on this issue, or haven't you thought much about it?

1. YES, HAVE OPINION

5. NO, HAVEN'T THOUGHT

8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 33, M9

M8a. (Do you feel that the government should help improve the position of women, that women should help themselves, or is your position somewhere in between?)

1. GOVT SHOULD HELP

3. SOMEWHERE BETWEEN

5. WOMEN
HELP SELVES

8. DK

TURN TO P. 32, M8d

TURN TO
P. 32, M8d

M8b. Should the government help women to a great extent or only to some extent?

1. GREAT

2. SOME

8. DK

M8c. Should the government leave women alone to help themselves to a great extent or only to some extent?

5. GREAT

4. SOME

8. DK

M8d. In your opinion, does Ronald Reagan feel that the government should help improve the position of women, that women should help themselves, or is his position somewhere in between?

1. GOVT SHOULD HELP

3. SOMEWHERE BETWEEN

5. WOMEN HELP
SELVES

8. DK

GO TO M8g

GO TO M8g

M8e. Does Ronald Reagan feel that the government should help women to a great extent or only to some extent?

1. GREAT

2. SOME

8. DK

M8f. Does Ronald Reagan feel that the government should leave women alone to help themselves to a great extent or only to some extent?

5. GREAT

2. SOME

8. DK

M8g. INTERVIEWER'S CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:

☐ 1. "WALTER MONDALE" IS
NOT CROSSED OUT

☐ 5. "WALTER MONDALE" IS
CROSSED OUT → GO TO M8k

M8h. In your opinion does Walter Mondale feel that the government should help improve the position of women, that women should help themselves, or is his position somewhere in between?

1. GOVT SHOULD HELP

3. SOMEWHERE BETWEEN

5. WOMEN HELP
SELVES

8. DK

GO TO M8k

GO TO M8k

M8i. Does Walter Mondale feel that the government should help women to a great extent or only to some extent?

1. GREAT

2. SOME

8. DK

M8j. Does Walter Mondale feel that the government should leave women alone to help themselves to a great extent or only to some extent?

5. GREAT

2. SOME

8. DK

M8k. INTERVIEWER'S CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:

☐ 1. "GARY HART" IS
NOT CROSSED OUT

☐ 5. "GARY HART" IS
CROSSED OUT → TURN TO P. 33, M9

M8m. In your opinion does Gary Hart feel that the government should help improve the position of women, that women should help themselves, or is his position somewhere in between?

1. GOVT SHOULD HELP

3. SOMEWHERE BETWEEN

5. WOMEN HELP
SELVES

8. DK

TURN TO P. 33, M9

TURN TO
P. 33, M9

M8n. Does Gary Hart feel that government should help women to a great extent or only to some extent?

1. GREAT

2. SOME

8. DK

M8o. Does Gary Hart feel that the government should leave women alone to help themselves to a great extent or only to some extent?

5. GREAT

2. SOME

8. DK

M9. Some people feel it is important for us to try to cooperate more with Russia, while others believe we should be much tougher in our dealings with Russia. Do you have an opinion on this, or haven't you thought much about it?

1. YES, HAVE OPINION

5. NO, HAVEN'T THOUGHT

8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 35, SECTION N

M9a. (Do you feel that we should try to cooperate more with Russia, get tougher in our dealings with Russia, or is your opinion somewhere in between?)

1. COOPERATE

3. SOMEWHERE BETWEEN

5. GET TOGETHER

8. DK

GO TO M9d

GO TO M9d

M9b. Should we try to cooperate a lot more or somewhat more?

1. A LOT

2. SOMEWHAT

8. DK

M9c. Should we get a lot tougher, or only somewhat tougher?

5. A LOT

4. SOMEWHAT

8. DK

M9d. In your opinion, does Ronald Reagan feel that we should try to cooperate more with Russia, get tougher in our dealings with Russia, or is his opinion somewhere in between?

1. COOPERATE

3. SOMEWHERE BETWEEN

5. GET TOUGHER

8. DK

TURN TO P. 34, M9g

TURN TO
P. 34, M9g

M9e. Does Ronald Reagan feel we should try to cooperate a lot more or somewhat more?

1. A LOT

2. SOMEWHAT

8. DK

M9f. Does Ronald Reagan feel we should get a lot tougher, or only somewhat tougher?

5. A LOT

4. SOMEWHAT

8. DK

M9g. INTERVIEWER'S CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:☐ 1. "WALTER MONDALE" IS
NOT CROSSED OUT☐ 5. "WALTER MONDALE" IS
CROSSED OUT → GO TO M9k

M9h. In your opinion, does Walter Mondale feel that we should try to cooperate more with Russia, get tougher in our dealings with Russia, or is his opinion somewhere in between?

1. COOPERATE

3. SOMEWHERE BETWEEN

5. GET TOUGHER

8. DK

GO TO M9k

GO TO M9k

M9i. Does Walter Mondale feel we should try to cooperate a lot more or somewhat more?

1. A LOT

2. SOMEWHAT

8. DK

M9j. Does Walter Mondale feel we should get a lot tougher, or only somewhat tougher?

5. A LOT

4. SOMEWHAT

8. DK

M9k. INTERVIEWER'S CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:☐ 1. "GARY HART" IS
NOT CROSSED OUT☐ 5. "GARY HART" IS
CROSSED OUT → TURN TO P. 35,
SECTION N

M9m. In your opinion does Gary Hart feel that we should try to cooperate more with Russia, get tougher in our dealings with Russia, or is his opinion somewhere in between?

1. COOPERATE

3. SOMEWHERE BETWEEN

5. GET TOUGHER

8. DK

TURN TO P.35, SECTION N

TURN TO P.35,
SECTION N

M9n. Does Gary Hart feel we should try to cooperate a lot more or somewhat more?

1. A LOT

2. SOMEWHAT

8. DK

M9o. Does Gary Hart feel we should get a lot tougher, or only somewhat tougher?

5. A LOT

4. SOMEWHAT

8. DK

N1. Now we'd like you to tell us about some of the candidate's chances of winning the presidency in 1984.

As before, we will use a scale that runs from 0 to 100, where 0 represents no chance of winning the presidency, 50 represents an even chance, and 100 represents certain victory.

First, what if Ronald Reagan is nominated by the Republicans. What chance would he have of winning the 1984 Presidential election?

_____(NUMBER)

998. DON'T KNOW

INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD --

IS NAME CROSSED OUT?

WALTER MONDALE

YES

NO

N1a. What if Walter Mondale is nominated by Democrats. What chance would he have of winning the 1984 Presidential election against Ronald Reagan?

_____(NUMBER)

998. DON'T KNOW

N1b. OMITTED

N1c. OMITTED

JESSE JACKSON

YES

NO

N1d. (What if Jesse Jackson is nominated by Democrats.) What chance would Jesse Jackson have of winning the 1984 Presidential election against Ronald Reagan?

_____(NUMBER)

998. DON'T KNOW

TED KENNEDY

YES

NO

N1e. (What if Ted Kennedy is nominated by Democrats.) What chance would Ted Kennedy have of winning the 1984 Presidential election against Ronald Reagan?

_____(NUMBER)

998. DON'T KNOW

GARY HART

YES

NO

N1f. (What if Gary Hart is nominated by Democrats.) What chance would Gary Hart have of winning the 1984 Presidential election against Ronald Reagan?

_____(NUMBER)

998. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P.37,
SECTION Y

Now for a few questions about you.

Y1. As far as you know, are you currently registered to vote?

1. YES

5. NO

6. NOT REQUIRED TO
REGISTER IN STATE

8. DON'T KNOW

9. REFUSED

GO TO Y2

Y1a. Are you registered as a Republican, a Democrat, an independent, or something else?

R VOLUNTEERS:

1. DEMOCRAT

5. NOT REQUIRED TO DECLARE
PARTY TO REGISTER

2. INDEPENDENT

6. NOT REQUIRED TO REGISTER

3. REPUBLICAN

7. "I AM NOT REGISTERED."

4. OTHER PARTY, SPECIFY:

8. DON'T KNOW

Y2. What is the month, day, and year of your birth?

_____(MONTH) _____(DAY) _____(YEAR)

Y3. Are you married now and living with your (husband/wife) -- or are you widowed, divorced, separated, or have you never been married?

MARRIED AND
LIVING WITH
1. SPOUSE (OR
SPOUSE IN
SERVICE

5. WIDOWED

3. DIVORCED

4. SEPAR-
ATED2. NEVER
MARRIED

PARTNERS;
7. NOT
MARRIED

Y4. What is the highest grade of school or year of college you have completed?

00 01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08 09 10 11 12 13 14 15 16+

TURN TO
P. 38, Y5

Y4a. Did you get a high school diploma or pass a high school equivalency test?

1. YES

5. NO

TURN TO P. 38, Y5

Y4b. Did you graduate from a four-year college or university?

1. YES

5. NO

TURN TO P. 38, Y5

Y5. We'd like to know if you are working now, or are you unemployed, retired, (a housewife), (a student), or what? (RESPONSES APPEAR ON PAGES 38 AND 39)

1. WORKING
NOW

2. TEMPORARILY
LAID OFF

Y5a. What is your main occupation? (What sort of work do you do?)
(IF NOT CLEAR; Tell me a little more about what you do.)

Y5b. What kind of (business/industry) is that?

Y6. How worried are you about losing your job in the near future:
a lot, somewhat, or not much at all?

1. A
LOT

3. SOME-
WHAT

5. NOT MUCH
AT ALL

8. DON'T
KNOW

9. REFUSED

Y7. Were you out of work or laid off at any time during the last
six months?

1. YES

5. NO

Y8. Have you had to reduce your work hours or take a cut in pay
at any time during the last six months?

1. YES

5. NO

TURN TO P. 40, Y14

4. UNEMPLOYED

Y9. Have you had a job in the past six months?

1. YES

5. NO

GO TO Y10

Y9a. About how many hours did you work on your job in the
average week?

(HOURS)

5. RETIRED

Y10. Are you looking for work at the present time?

1. YES

5. NO

TURN TO
P. 40, Y14

Y11. How worried are you about not being able to find
work in the near future: a lot, somewhat, or not
much at all?

1. A
LOT

3. SOME-
WHAT

5. NOT MUCH
AT ALL

8. DON'T
KNOW

9. RE-
FUSED

TURN TO P. 40, Y14

6. PERMANENTLY
DISABLED

TURN TO P. 40, Y14

7. HOUSEWIFE

8. STUDENT

Y12. Are you doing any work for pay at the present time?

1. YES

5. NO

GO BACK TO Y5a,
"WORKING NOW"

Y13. Are you looking for work at the present time?

1. YES

5. NO

Y13a. How worried are you about not being able to
find a job in the near future; a lot, some-
what, or not much at all?

1. A
LOT

3. SOME-
WHAT

5. NOT MUCH
AT ALL

8. DON'T
KNOW

9. RE-
FUSED

TURN TO P. 40, Y14

Y14. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

<input type="checkbox"/>	1. R <u>ONLY ADULT</u> IN HOUSEHOLD OR <u>LIVES ALONE</u> → TURN TO P. 42, Y23
<input type="checkbox"/>	5. R LIVES WITH <u>OTHER ADULTS</u> IN HOUSEHOLD
Y14a. <input type="checkbox"/>	1. R <u>MARRIED</u> & LIVING WITH SPOUSE
	2. ALL OTHERS
GO TO Y15. ASK Y15-Y22b ABOUT R's SPOUSE	

Y14b. We'd like to talk about the person in your household who provides the major share of financial support -- the main breadwinner. Who is this person? (What is his/her relationship to you?)

RELATIONSHIP TO R	RESPONDENT
-------------------	------------

TURN TO P. 42, Y23

GO TO Y15. ASK Y15-Y22b
ABOUT PERSON NAMED IN Y14b

Y15. We'd like to know about (your husband/ your wife/ PERSON NAMED IN Y14b). Is (he/she) working now, unemployed, retired, (a housewife), (a student), or what? (RESPONSES APPEAR ON PAGES 40 AND 41.)

1. WORKING NOW	Y16. What is (his/her) main occupation? (What sort of work does (he/she) do?) (IF NOT CLEAR: Tell me a little more about what (he/she) does.)
2. TEMPORARILY LAID OFF	
Y16a. What kind of (business/industry) is that?	
Y17. How worried is (he/she) about losing (his/her) job in the near future: a lot, somewhat, or not much at all?	
1. A LOT	3. SOME-WHAT
5. NOT MUCH AT ALL	8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED	
Y18. Was (he/she) out of work or laid off at any time during the last six months?	
1. YES	5. NO
Y19. Has (he/she) had to reduce (his/her) hours or take a cut in pay at any time during the last six months?	
1. YES	5. NO

TURN TO P. 42, Y23

4. UNEMPLOYED → Y20. Has (he/she) had a job in the past six months?

1. YES 5. NO → GO TO Y21

Y20a. About how many hours did (he/she) work on (his/her) job in the average week?

(HOURS)

5. RETIRED → Y21. Is (he/she) looking for work at the present time?

1. YES 5. NO → TURN TO P. 42, Y23

Y21a. How worried is (he/she) about not being able to find work in the near future: a lot, somewhat, or not much at all?

1. A LOT	3. SOME-WHAT	5. NOT MUCH AT ALL	8. DON'T KNOW	9. RE-FUSED
----------	--------------	--------------------	---------------	-------------

TURN TO P. 42, Y23

6. PERMANENTLY DISABLED → TURN TO P. 42, Y23

7. HOUSEWIFE
8. STUDENT → Y22. Is (he/she) doing any work for pay at the present time?

1. YES 5. NO

GO BACK TO Y16, "WORKING NOW"

Y22a. Is (he/she) looking for work at the present time?

1. YES 5. NO

Y22b. How worried is (he/she) about not being able to find a job in the near future: a lot, somewhat, or not much at all?

1. A LOT	3. SOME-WHAT	5. NOT MUCH AT ALL	8. DON'T KNOW	9. RE-FUSED
----------	--------------	--------------------	---------------	-------------

TURN TO P. 42, Y23

Y23. Does anyone in this household belong to a labor union?

1. YES

5. NO

GO TO Y24

Y23a. Who is it that belongs? (CHECK AS MANY AS APPLICABLE)

1. RESPONDENT

3. OTHER FAMILY MEMBER

2. RESPONDENT'S SPOUSE

4. SOMEONE ELSE

Y24. We would like to know the general range of your family income, that is the family living with you, for 1983 before taxes. This figure should include salaries, wages, pensions, dividends, interest, and all other income. Was it under \$20,000 or over \$20,000?

(IF UNCERTAIN: What do you think it was?)

1. UNDER
\$20,000

3. \$20,000
EXACTLY

5. MORE THAN
\$20,000

8. DON'T
KNOW

7. REFUSED

TURN TO
P.43, Y25

TURN TO P. 43, Y25

Y24a. Was it under \$10,000 or over \$10,000?

1. UNDER

3. \$10,000
EXACTLY

5. OVER

8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 43, Y25

Y24b. Was it under \$30,000 or over \$30,000?

1. UNDER

3. \$30,000
EXACTLY

5. OVER

8. DK

TURN TO P.43,Y25

TURN TO
P.43,Y25

Y24c. Was it under \$40,000 or over \$40,000?

1. UNDER

5. \$40,000
OR MORE

8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 43, Y25

Y25. Is your religious preference Protestant, Roman Catholic, Jewish, or something else?

PROTESTANT

200. ROMAN
CATHOLIC

300. JEWISH

OTHER (SPECIFY):

998. NONE; NO
PREFERENCE

GO TO Y27

GO TO Y26

999. REFUSED

GO TO Y27

Y25a. What church or denomination is that?

Y25b. (IF BAPTIST:) Is that Southern Baptist or something else?

Y26. (IF ANY RELIGIOUS PREFERENCE) Would you say you go to (church/synagogue) every week, almost every week, once or twice a month, a few times a year, or never?

1. EVERY
WEEK

ALMOST
2. EVERY
WEEK

ONCE OR
3. TWICE A
MONTH

A FEW
4. TIMES A
YEAR

5. NEVER

Y27. How long have you lived in your city or town? (IF NECESSARY: How long have you lived in your county?)

90. ALL OF LIFE

____ YEARS

OR

MONTHS IF LESS
____ THAN TWO YEARS

Y28. How long have you lived at your present address?

90. ALL OF LIFE

____ YEARS

OR

MONTHS IF LESS
____ THAN TWO YEARS

Y29. Would you mind telling me your race? Are you white, black, American Indian or Alaskan native, Asian or Pacific Islander?

1. WHITE

2. BLACK

3. AMERICAN INDIAN OR
ALASKAN NATIVE4. ASIAN OR
PACIFIC ISLANDER

Y30. And is your ethnic origin Hispanic, that is, are you Mexican-American or Chicano, Puerto Rican, Cuban, or some other Hispanic origin?

5. NO

1. YES, MEXICAN-
AMERICAN/CHICANO2. YES, PUERTO
RICAN

3. YES, CUBAN

4. YES, OTHER
HISPANIC

Y31. How many telephones, counting extensions, do you have in your home?

1. ONE

GO TO Y32

NUMBER MORE
THAN ONE8. DON'T KNOW;
NOT SURE

9. REFUSED

GO TO Y32

Y31a. Do (both/all) telephones have the same number?

1. YES

GO TO Y32

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW

9. REFUSED

GO TO Y32

Y31b. How many different numbers are there?

NUMBER OF DIFFERENT
TELEPHONE NUMBERS

8. DON'T KNOW

9. REFUSED

GO TO Y32

Y31c. Are any of the numbers for business use only?

1. YES

5. NO

GO TO Y32

Y31d. How many are used only for business?

NUMBER OF PHONE
NUMBERS USED ONLY
FOR BUSINESS

8. DON'T KNOW

9. REFUSED

Y32. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

Time Now: _____

Date: _____

TURN TO P. 4 OF COVER SHEET

SECTION Z

Z1. SEX OF RESPONDENT:

☐ 1. MALE☐ 5. FEMALE

Z2. IN A4 ON PAGE 2, THE CHECKBOX, INDICATING THAT THE DEFINITION OF "GROUPS" WAS READ, IS "Xed":

☐ 1. YES, BOX "Xed"☐ 5. NO, BOX HAS NO "X"

Z3. INTERVIEWER'S THUMBNAIL SKETCH:

For Office Use Only

1984 NATIONAL ELECTION STUDY
ROLLING CROSS-SECTION

Project 495806
Jan.-Nov., 1984
Version *86*



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

1. Telephone interviewer's number: _____
2. Control ID number (5-digit number from label on cover sheet): _____
3. Respondent's area code (from label on cover sheet): _____
4. Sample assigned week (from label on cover sheet): _____
5. Date interview completed: _____
6. Time interview began: _____

A.M.

P.M.

 ANN ARBOR TIME

A.M.

P.M.

 R's LOCAL TIME
7. Length of interview: _____ (MINUTES)
8. Time at beginning of edit: _____
9. Time at end of edit: _____
10. Total time to 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 on to the next question.

TO BE COMPLETED IN CODING:

- 11a/b. Date interview started: _____ (Month/Day)
12. Week interview started: _____
13. Week interview completed: _____
14. ICPSR state code/ FIPS state code: _____

Time Now: _____

Date: _____

SECTION A

In this interview we will be talking about many different topics of interest.
Here is our first question:

- A1. We are interested in how people are getting along financially these days. Would you say that you (and your family living with you) are better or worse off financially than you were a year ago?

1. BETTER

3. SAME

5. WORSE

8. DON'T KNOW

GO TO A2

GO TO A2

A1a. Is that much better or somewhat better?

1. MUCH
BETTER

2. SOMEWHAT
BETTER

A1b. Is that much worse or somewhat worse?

5. MUCH
WORSE

4. SOMEWHAT
WORSE

- A2. This past year, have you (and your family) had to watch your budget more closely than the year before?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW

GO TO A3

A2a. Is that much more closely or a little more closely?

1. MUCH MORE CLOSELY

2. A LITTLE MORE CLOSELY

- A3. Do you think that over the last year, (your/your family's) income has gone up more than the cost of living, has it fallen behind, or has it stayed about even with the cost of living?

1. GONE UP
MORE

3. STAYED
ABOUT EVEN

5. FALLEN
BEHIND

8. DON'T
KNOW

TURN TO P. 2, A4

TURN TO P. 2, A4

A3a. Has it gone up a lot more or a little more?

1. A LOT MORE

2. A LITTLE MORE

A3b. Has it fallen behind a lot or a little?

5. FALLEN A LOT

4. FALLEN A LITTLE

A4. Sometimes people think about other groups of people in society when they think about their own economic well-being, people who are being helped or hurt by economic conditions. When it comes to economic matters, what groups of people do you feel close to?

(IF R DOESN'T KNOW WHAT WE MEAN BY "GROUPS": Some people have mentioned farmers, the elderly, teachers, blacks, and union members.)

☐ CHECK THIS BOX IF THE DEFINITION OF "GROUPS" WAS READ TO R)

(GROUP NAMES)

R DOESN'T MENTION
ANY GROUPS

TURN TO P. 3, A6
(ASK A6 - A10)

A4a. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

☐ 1. R NAMED MORE THAN ONE
GROUP IN A4

☐ 5. R NAMED ONLY ONE
GROUP IN A4

When it comes to economic matters,
what sorts of people do you feel
closest to?

BELOW, CHECK A BOX FOR THE GROUP
NAMED IN A4, OR ENTER GROUP IN BOX
FOR "OTHER."

10. WOMEN

20. BLACKS

30. ELDERLY (SENIOR CITIZENS)

40. THE POOR

50. MIDDLE CLASS (INCL. UPPER-
MIDDLE & LOWER-MIDDLE)

OTHER (SPECIFY):

A4b.

A4c. Would you say that over the past year the economic position of GROUP FROM A4b
has gotten better, stayed about the same, or gotten worse?

1. GOTTEN BETTER

3. STAYED THE SAME

5. GOTTEN WORSE

8. DK

GO TO A4f

GO TO A4f

A4d. Would you say much better
or somewhat better?

1. MUCH

2. SOMEWHAT

A4e. Would you say much worse
or somewhat worse?

5. MUCH

4. SOMEWHAT

A4f. Would you say that over the past year the incomes of GROUP FROM A4b have gone
up more than the cost of living, stayed about even, or fallen behind the cost
of living?

1. GONE UP MORE

3. STAYED ABOUT EVEN

5. FALLEN BEHIND

8. DK

TURN TO P. 3, A41

TURN TO
P. 3, A41

A4g. Have they gone up a lot or
a little?

1. A LOT

2. A LITTLE

A4h. Have they fallen behind a lot
or a little?

5. A LOT

4. A LITTLE

A4i. Would you say that over the past year GROUP FROM A4b have had a harder time finding enough work, an easier time, or have things stayed about the same?

1. HARDER TIME

3. ABOUT THE SAME

5. EASIER TIME

8. DK

GO TO A5

GO TO A5

A4j. Have they had a much harder time or a little harder time?

1. MUCH HARDER

2. A LITTLE HARDER

A4k. Have they had a much easier time or a little easier time?

5. MUCH EASIER

4. A LITTLE EASIER

A5. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

☐ 1. IN A4b ONE OF THE CHECK BOXES 10-50 IS "Xed"

BELOW, CHECK THE BOXES INDICATING WHETHER THE GROUP WAS OR WAS NOT MENTIONED BY R IN A4b:

WOMEN:

MENTIONED

NOT MENTIONED

BLACKS:

MENTIONED

NOT MENTIONED

THE ELDERLY (SENIOR CITIZEN)

MENTIONED

NOT MENTIONED

THE POOR:

MENTIONED

NOT MENTIONED

THE MIDDLE CLASS (INCL. UPPER/LOWER MIDDLE):

MENTIONED

NOT MENTIONED

TURN TO P.4,
SECTION B

☐ 5. IN A4b NONE OF THE CHECK BOXES 10-50 HAS BEEN "Xed"

A6. 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. DK

A7. What about blacks? (Would you say that over the past year the economic position of blacks has gotten better, stayed about the same, or gotten worse?)

1. BETTER

3. SAME

5. WORSE

8. DK

A8. (And what about) the elderly?

1. BETTER

3. SAME

5. WORSE

8. DK

A9. (And what about) the poor?

1. BETTER

3. SAME

5. WORSE

8. DK

A10. (And what about) the middle class?

1. BETTER

3. SAME

5. WORSE

8. DK

SECTION B

- B1. Some people seem to follow what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time, whether there's an election going on or not. Others aren't that interested. Would you say you follow what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time, some of the time, only now and then, or hardly at all?

1. MOST OF
THE TIME2. SOME OF
THE TIME3. ONLY NOW
AND THEN4. HARDLY
AT ALL8. DON'T
KNOW

- B2. Let's switch to the presidential campaign for a minute. Would you say that you are very much interested, somewhat interested, or not much interested in following the presidential campaign in 1984?

1. VERY MUCH INTERESTED

3. SOMEWHAT INTERESTED

5. NOT MUCH INTERESTED

- B3. Would you say that you personally care a good deal which party wins the presidential election in the fall of 1984, or that you don't care very much which party wins?

1. CARE A GOOD DEAL

3. DON'T CARE VERY MUCH

8. DON'T KNOW

- B4. Has anyone called you up or come around and talked to you about supporting a candidate for president?

1. YES

5. NO

GO TO B5

B4a. Has this happened in the last week?

1. YES

5. NO

- B5. Has anyone called you up or come around to talk to you about registering to vote?

1. YES

5. NO

B6. So far this year have you talked to anyone and tried to show them why they should support one of the candidates for president?

1. YES

5. NO

→ GO TO B7

B6a. Have you done this in the last week?

1. YES

5. NO

B7. As far as you know, are you now registered so that you can vote in the election for president this year?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW

6. R VOLUNTEERS:

VOTERS NOT REQUIRED
TO REGISTER

B8. So far as you know now, do you expect to vote in the presidential election this November, or not?

1. YES, WILL VOTE

5. NO, WILL NOT VOTE

8. DON'T KNOW

B8a. Are you pretty certain you will vote, or not certain?

1. CERTAIN

2. NOT CERTAIN

8. DK

B8c. If the presidential election were being held today, would you vote for Walter Mondale, the Democratic candidate, or for Ronald Reagan, the Republican candidate?

R'S CHOICE:

01. WALTER MONDALE

20. RONALD REAGAN

SOMEONE ELSE, SPECIFY:

B8b. Are you pretty certain you won't vote, or not certain?

5. CERTAIN

4. NOT CERTAIN

8. DK

B8d. If you were going to vote, and the presidential election were being held today, would you vote for Walter Mondale, the Democratic candidate, or for Ronald Reagan, the Republican candidate?

R VOLUNTEERS:

95. WOULDN'T VOTE AT ALL

96. NEITHER OF THESE CANDIDATES
(NO MENTION OF ANOTHER CAND.)

98. DON'T KNOW/CAN'T ANSWER

TURN TO P.6,
SECTION C

B8e. Would you say that your preference for this candidate is strong or not strong?

1. STRONG

5. NOT STRONG

8. DON'T KNOW

SECTION C

INTERVIEWER INSTRUCTION: USE BLUE CARD TO RECORD ANSWERS TO C1

C1. I'm going to read a list with names of possible presidential candidates in 1984. Many people tell us that they have not heard about some of the people on this list. As I read each name, please tell me when I come to a person you have never heard of.

(INTERVIEWER: READ THE LIST SLOWLY, TO GIVE R A CHANCE TO RESPOND.
CROSS OUT NAMES R HAS NEVER HEARD OF.)

INTERVIEWER: AFTER THE INTERVIEW IS COMPLETED, ATTACH
 BLUE CARD TO THIS PAGE.

INTERVIEWER:
 PLEASE ENTER
 CONTROL ID NUMBER
 (5-DIGIT NUMBER FROM
 LABEL ON COVER SHEET):

BLUE CARD

a. Ronald Reagan
b. John Glenn
c. Ted Kennedy
d. Walter Mondale
e. John Anderson
f. Ernest Hollings
g. Jesse Jackson
h. George Bush
i. Howard Baker
j. George McGovern
k. Gary Hart
l. Lloyd Bentsen
m. Dale Bumpers
n. Mario Cuomo
o. Geraldine Ferraro

Versions 6-7

C2. Now let's talk about your feelings toward the candidates you know something about.

I'll read the name of a person and I will ask you to rate that person on a thermometer that runs from 0 degrees to 100 degrees. Ratings between 50 degrees and 100 degrees mean that you feel favorable and warm toward that person. Ratings between 0 degrees and 50 degrees mean that you don't feel too favorable and are cool toward that person. You may use any number from 0 to 100 to tell me how favorable or unfavorable your feelings are for each person.

If you recognize the name, but don't feel particularly warm or cold toward the person, you would rate the person at the 50 degree mark.

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

INTERVIEWER:

PLACE BLUE CARD
HERE, SUCH THAT
THE NAMES LINE
UP WITH THE
RESPONSE BOXES.

ASK ALL NAMES
NOT CORSED OUT
ON THE BLUE
CARD.

FOR CROSSED OUT
NAMES, ENTER "X"
IN COLUMN 997,
"R DOESN'T
RECOGNIZE NAME".

	997. R DOESN'T RECOGNIZE NAME	998. DON'T KNOW WHERE TO RATE; CAN'T JUDGE	
			a. RONALD REAGAN
			b. JOHN GLENN
			c. TED KENNEDY
			d. WALTER MONDALE
			f. JOHN ANDERSON
			g. ERNEST HOLLINGS
			i. JESSE JACKSON
			j. GEORGE BUSH
			k. HOWARD BAKER
			m. GEORGE MCGOVERN
			o. GARY HART
			r. LLOYD BENTSEN
			s. DALE BUMPERS
			t. MARIO CUOMO
			u. GERALDINE FERRARO

SECTION D

D1. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling his job as president?

1. APPROVE	5. DISAPPROVE	8. DON'T KNOW GO TO D2
D1a. Do you approve <u>strongly</u> or <u>not strongly</u> ? 1. STRONGLY 2. NOT STRONGLY		D1b. Do you disapprove <u>strongly</u> or <u>not strongly</u> ? 5. STRONGLY 4. NOT STRONGLY

D2. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling the economy?

1. APPROVE	5. DISAPPROVE	8. DON'T KNOW GO TO D3
D2a. Do you approve <u>strongly</u> or <u>not strongly</u> ? 1. STRONGLY 2. NOT STRONGLY		D2b. Do you disapprove <u>strongly</u> or <u>not strongly</u> ? 5. STRONGLY 4. NOT STRONGLY

D3. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling our relations with foreign countries?

1. APPROVE	5. DISAPPROVE	8. DON'T KNOW TURN TO P. 9, SECTION E
D3a. Do you approve <u>strongly</u> or <u>not strongly</u> ? 1. STRONGLY 2. NOT STRONGLY		D3b. Do you disapprove <u>strongly</u> or <u>not strongly</u> ? 5. STRONGLY 4. NOT STRONGLY

SECTION E

- E1. Now let's talk about who is likely to win the Democratic nomination for President. We will be using a scale which runs from 0 to 100, where 0 represents no chance for the nomination, 50 represents an even chance, and 100 represents certain victory.

INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD --IS NAME CROSSED OUT?

WALTER MONDALE

YES

NO

E1a. Using this 0 to 100 scale, what do you think Walter Mondale's chances are of winning the nomination?

____ (NUMBER)

998. DON'T KNOW

E1b. OMITTED

E1c. OMITTED

JESSE JACKSON

YES

NO

E1d. (Using this 0 to 100 scale,) what do you think Jesse Jackson's chances are of winning the nomination?

____ (NUMBER)

998. DON'T KNOW

TED KENNEDY

YES

NO

E1e. (Using this 0 to 100 scale,) what do you think Ted Kennedy's chances are of winning the nomination?

____ (NUMBER)

998. DON'T KNOW

GARY HART

YES

NO

E1f. (Using this 0 to 100 scale,) what do you think Gary Hart's chances are of winning the nomination?

____ (NUMBER)

998. DON'T KNOW

TURN
TO P.10,
SECTION F

F1. How many days in the past week did you watch national news on T.V.?

_____ (NUMBER OF DAYS IN WEEK)

0. NONE

GO TO F2

F1a. How much attention did you pay to news on T.V. about the campaign for president -- a great deal, quite a bit, some, very little, or none?

1. A GREAT
DEAL

2. QUITE
A BIT

3. SOME

4. VERY
LITTLE

5. NONE

F2. How many days in the past week did you read a daily newspaper?

_____ (NUMBER OF DAYS IN WEEK)

0. NONE

TURN TO P. 11,
SECTION G

F2a. Which paper or papers did you read? (GET FULL TITLE AND CITY WHERE PUBLISHED.) (Any others?)

TITLE

CITY WHERE PUBLISHED

F2b. How much attention did you pay to articles in the newspaper about the campaign for president -- a great deal, quite a bit, some, very little, or none?

1. A GREAT
DEAL

2. QUITE
A BIT

3. SOME

4. VERY
LITTLE

5. NONE

SECTION C

G1. Now we'd like to know about your impressions of Ronald Reagan. I am going to read a list of words and phrases people use to describe political figures. After each one, I would like you to tell me how much the word or phrase fits your impression of Ronald Reagan.

The first phrase is "hard-working." How much would you say "hard-working" fits your impression of Ronald Reagan: a great deal, somewhat, a little, or not at all?

1. A GREAT DEAL	2. SOMEWHAT	3. CAN'T DECIDE	4. A LITTLE	5. NOT AT ALL	8. DK
--------------------------	----------------	-----------------------	-------------------	---------------------	----------

- a. HARD-WORKING
- b. decent
- c. compassionate
- d. commands respect
- e. intelligent
- f. moral
- g. kind
- h. inspiring
- i. knowledgeable
- j. sets a good example
- k. really cares about people like you
- m. provides strong leadership
- n. understands people like you
- o. fair
- p. in touch with ordinary people
- r. religious

a.					
b.					
c.					
d.					
e.					
f.					
g.					
h.					
i.					
j.					
k.					
m.					
n.					
o.					
p.					
r.					

G2. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:
☐ 1. "WALTER MONDALE"
IS NOT CROSSED OUT

☐ 5. "WALTER MONDALE" IS
CROSSED OUT — ➤ TURN TO
P.13,G6

G3. Now about Walter Mondale. Would you say "hard-working" fits your impression of him: a great deal, somewhat, a little, or not at all?

	1. A GREAT DEAL	2. SOMEWHAT	3. CAN'T DECIDE	4. A LITTLE	5. NOT AT ALL	8. DK
a. HARD-WORKING	a.					
b. decent	b.					
c. compassionate	c.					
d. commands respect	d.					
e. intelligent	e.					
f. moral	f.					
g. kind	g.					
h. inspiring	h.					
i. knowledgeable	i.					
j. sets a good example	j.					
k. really cares about people like you	k.					
m. provides strong leadership	m.					
n. understands people like you	n.					
o. fair	o.					
p. in touch with ordinary people	p.					
r. religious	r.					

G6. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:

☐ 1. "JESSE JACKSON" IS
NOT CROSSED OUT

☐ 5. "JESSE JACKSON" IS
 CROSSED OUT → TURN TO
 P. 14, G8

G7. Now about Jesse Jackson. Would you say "hard-working" fits your impression of him: a great deal, somewhat, a little, or not at all?

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	8.
A		CAN'T	A	NOT	
GREAT	SOMEWHAT	DECIDE	LITTLE	AT ALL	DK
DEAL					

- a. HARD-WORKING
- b. decent
- c. compassionate
- d. commands respect
- e. intelligent
- f. moral
- g. kind
- h. inspiring
- i. knowledgeable
- j. sets a good example
- k. really cares about people like you
- m. provides strong leadership
- n. understands people like you
- o. fair
- p. in touch with ordinary people
- r. religious

a.					
b.					
c.					
d.					
e.					
f.					
g.					
h.					
i.					
j.					
k.					
m.					
n.					
o.					
p.					
r.					

G8. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:

☐ 1. "GARY HART" IS
NOT CROSSED OUT

☐ 5. "GARY HART" IS
CROSSED OUT → TURN TO P.15,
SECTION H

G9. Now about Gary Hart. Would you say "hard-working" fits your impression of him: a great deal, somewhat, a little, or not at all?

		1. A GREAT DEAL	2. SOMEWHAT	3. CAN'T DECIDE	4. A LITTLE	5. NOT AT ALL	8. DK
a. HARD-WORKING	a.						
b. decent	b.						
c. compassionate	c.						
d. commands respect	d.						
e. intelligent	e.						
f. moral	f.						
g. kind	g.						
h. inspiring	h.						
i. knowledgeable	i.						
j. sets a good example	j.						
k. really cares about people like you	k.						
m. provides strong leadership	m.						
n. understands people like you	n.						
o. fair	o.						
p. in touch with ordinary people	p.						
r. religious	r.						

SECTION H

- H1. Now, let's talk about 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?

1. GOTTEN BETTER	3. STAYED SAME GO TO H2	5. GOTTEN WORSE	8. DON'T KNOW GO TO H2
------------------	----------------------------	-----------------	---------------------------

<p>H1a. Would you say <u>much</u> better or <u>somewhat</u> 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>H1b. Would you say <u>much</u> worse or <u>somewhat</u> 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				

- H2. Would you say that over the past year, people across the country have had a harder time finding enough work, an easier time, or have things stayed about the same?

1. HARDER TIME	3. STAYED SAME GO TO H3	5. EASIER TIME	8. DON'T KNOW GO TO H3
----------------	----------------------------	----------------	---------------------------

<p>H2a. Would you say <u>much</u> harder or <u>a little</u> harder?</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td>1. MUCH HARDER</td> <td>2. A LITTLE HARDER</td> </tr> </table>	1. MUCH HARDER	2. A LITTLE HARDER	<p>H2b. Would you say <u>much</u> easier or <u>a little</u> easier?</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td>5. MUCH EASIER</td> <td>4. A LITTLE EASIER</td> </tr> </table>	5. MUCH EASIER	4. A LITTLE EASIER
1. MUCH HARDER	2. A LITTLE HARDER				
5. MUCH EASIER	4. A LITTLE EASIER				

- H3. During the last year, have the costs of things gone up, gone down, or have they remained about the same?

1. GONE UP	3. STAYED SAME TURN TO P. 16, H4	5. GONE DOWN	8. DON'T KNOW TURN TO P. 16, H4
------------	-------------------------------------	--------------	------------------------------------

<p>H3a. Have they gone up <u>a lot</u> or <u>a little</u>?</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td>1. A LOT</td> <td>2. A LITTLE</td> </tr> </table>	1. A LOT	2. A LITTLE	<p>H3b. Have they gone down <u>a lot</u> or <u>a little</u>?</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td>5. A LOT</td> <td>4. A LITTLE</td> </tr> </table>	5. A LOT	4. A LITTLE
1. A LOT	2. A LITTLE				
5. A LOT	4. A LITTLE				

- H4. 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?

1. WEAKER

3. STAYED SAME

5. STRONGER

8. DON'T KNOW

- H5. How worried are you about our country getting into a conventional war at this time, one in which nuclear weapons are not used? Are you very worried, somewhat worried, or not worried at all?

1. VERY WORRIED

3. SOMEWHAT WORRIED

5. NOT WORRIED

8. DK

- H6. How worried are you about our country getting into a nuclear war at this time? Are you very worried, somewhat worried, or not worried at all?

1. VERY WORRIED

3. SOMEWHAT WORRIED

5. NOT WORRIED

8. DK

SECTION J

J1. When it comes to politics, do you usually think of yourself as a liberal, a conservative, a moderate, or what?

1. YES, LIBERAL →

J1a. Do you think of yourself as a strong liberal or a not-very-strong liberal?

1. STRONG

5. NOT VERY STRONG

TURN TO P. 18, J2

5. YES, CONSERVATIVE →

J1b. Do you think of yourself as a strong conservative or a not-very-strong conservative?

1. STRONG

5. NOT VERY STRONG

TURN TO P. 18, J2

3. YES, MODERATE

7. NO, NEVER

8. DON'T KNOW

J1c. 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. 18, J2

R HAS ABSOLUTELY NO UNDERSTANDING
0. OF TERMS "LIBERAL" AND "CONSERVATIVE" →

TURN TO P. 22, SECTION K

J2. What about Ronald Reagan? Do you usually think of Ronald Reagan as a liberal, a conservative, a moderate, or what?

1. LIBERAL

J2a. Do you think he is a strong liberal or a not-very-strong liberal?

1. STRONG

5. NOT VERY STRONG

TURN TO P. 19, J5

5. CONSERVATIVE

J2b. Do you think he is a strong conservative or a not-very-strong conservative?

1. STRONG

5. NOT VERY STRONG

TURN TO P. 19, J5

3. MODERATE

7. NONE OF THESE

8. DON'T KNOW

J2c. Do you think he is more like a liberal or more like a conservative?

1. LIBERAL

5. CONSERVATIVE

3. NEITHER

8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 19, J5

J3. OMITTED

J4. OMITTED

J5. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:

☐ 1. "WALTER MONDALE" IS
NOT CROSSED OUT

☐ 5. "WALTER MONDALE" IS
CROSSED OUT → TURN TO
P. 20, J7

J6. What about Walter Mondale? Do you usually think of Walter Mondale as a liberal, a conservative, a moderate, or what?

1. LIBERAL

J6a. Do you think he is a strong liberal or a not-very-strong liberal?

1. STRONG

5. NOT VERY STRONG

TURN TO P. 20, J7

5. CONSERVATIVE

J6b. Do you think he is a strong conservative or a not-very-strong conservative?

1. STRONG

5. NOT VERY STRONG

TURN TO P. 20, J7

3. MODERATE

7. NONE OF THESE

8. DON'T KNOW

J6c. Do you think he is more like a liberal or more like a conservative?

1. LIBERAL

5. CONSERVATIVE

3. NEITHER

8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 20, J7

J7. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:

☐ 1. "JESSE JACKSON" IS
NOT CROSSED OUT

☐ 5. "JESSE JACKSON" IS
 CROSSED OUT → TURN TO
 P. 21, J9

J8. And what about Jesse Jackson. Do you usually think of Jesse Jackson as a liberal, a conservative, a moderate, or what?

1. LIBERAL

J8a. Do you think he is a strong liberal or a not-very-strong liberal?

1. STRONG

5. NOT VERY STRONG

TURN TO P. 21, J9

5. CONSERVATIVE

J8b. Do you think he is a strong conservative or a not-very-strong conservative?

1. STRONG

5. NOT VERY STRONG

TURN TO P. 21, J9

3. MODERATE

7. NONE OF THESE

8. DON'T KNOW

J8c. Do you think he is more like a liberal or more like a conservative?

1. LIBERAL

5. CONSERVATIVE

3. NEITHER

8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 21, J9

J9. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:

☐ 1. "GARY HART" IS
NOT CROSSED OUT

☐ 5. "GARY HART" IS
CROSSED OUT → TURN TO P. 22,
SECTION K

J10. And what about Gary Hart. Do you usually think of Gary Hart as a liberal, a conservative, a moderate, or what?

1. LIBERAL

J8a. Do you think he is a strong liberal or a not-very-strong liberal?

1. STRONG

5. NOT VERY STRONG

TURN TO P. 22, SECTION K

5. CONSERVATIVE

J8b. Do you think he is a strong conservative or a not-very-strong conservative?

1. STRONG

5. NOT VERY STRONG

TURN TO P. 22, SECTION K

3. MODERATE

7. NONE OF THESE

8. DON'T KNOW

J8c. Do you think he is more like a liberal or more like a conservative?

1. LIBERAL

5. CONSERVATIVE

3. NEITHER

8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 22, SECTION K

SECTION K

K1. We would like to know something about the feelings you have toward Ronald Reagan. I would like you to tell me whether something about Ronald Reagan, or something he has done, has made you have certain feelings like "anger" or "pride."

First, has Ronald Reagan (because of the kind of person he is, or because of something he has done) ever made you feel:

1. YES; HAVE FELT 5. NO; NEVER FELT

- a. angry toward him
- b. hopeful
- c. afraid of him
- d. proud

1. YES; HAVE FELT	5. NO; NEVER FELT

K2. OMITTED

K3. OMITTED

K4. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:

☐ 1. "WALTER MONDALE" IS
NOT CROSSED OUT

☐ 5. "WALTER MONDALE" IS
CROSSED OUT → TURN TO P.23,K6



K5. Has Walter Mondale (because of the kind of person he is, or because of something he has done) ever made you feel:

1. YES; HAVE FELT 5. NO; NEVER FELT

- a. angry toward him
- b. hopeful
- c. afraid of him
- d. proud

1. YES; HAVE FELT	5. NO; NEVER FELT

K6. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:☐ 1. "JESSE JACKSON" IS
NOT CROSSED OUT☐ 5. "JESSE JACKSON" IS
CROSSED OUT → GO TO K8K7. And has Jesse Jackson (because of the kind of person he is, or because of something he has done) ever made you feel?1. YES; HAVE 5. NO; NEVER
FELT FELT

- a. angry toward him
- b. hopeful
- c. afraid of him
- d. proud

K8. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:☐ 1. "GARY HART" IS
NOT CROSSED OUT☐ 5. "GARY HART" IS
CROSSED OUT → TURN TO P.24,
SECTION JK9. And has Gary Hart (because of the kind of person he is, or because of something he has done) ever made you feel:1. YES; HAVE 5. NO; NEVER
FELT FELT

- a. angry toward him
- b. hopeful
- c. afraid of him
- d. proud

SECTION L

Now let's move to a different set of questions.

L1. Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an independent, or what?

1. REPUBLICAN	5. DEMOCRAT	2. INDEPENDENT
		3. NO PREFERENCE
		4. OTHER PARTY
<p>L1a. Would you call yourself a <u>strong</u> Republican or a <u>not very strong</u> Republican?</p> <p>1. STRONG</p> <p>5. NOT VERY STRONG</p>	<p>L1b. Would you call yourself a <u>strong</u> Democrat or a <u>not very strong</u> Democrat?</p> <p>1. STRONG</p> <p>5. NOT VERY STRONG</p>	<p>L1c. Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party or to the Democratic Party?</p> <p>1. CLOSER TO REPUBLICAN</p> <p>5. CLOSER TO DEMOCRATIC</p> <p>3. NEITHER</p>

L2. Who is your first choice for the Democratic nomination for president in 1984?

_____ (NAME)

98. DON'T KNOW/CAN'T ANSWER

TURN TO P. 25, SECTION M

L2a. Suppose, for one reason or another, (he/she) is not chosen as the Democratic candidate. Who would be your second choice for the Democratic nomination?

_____ (NAME)

DON'T KNOW/
98. CAN'T ANSWER

M0. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling the balancing of the national budget?

1. APPROVE	5. DISAPPROVE	8. DON'T KNOW
		GO TO M1
M0a. Do you approve <u>strongly</u> or <u>not strongly</u> ?		M0b. Do you disapprove <u>strongly</u> or <u>not strongly</u> ?
1. STRONGLY	2. NOT STRONGLY	5. STRONGLY
		4. NOT STRONGLY

M1. The next few questions are about government spending and government services.

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 more services even if it means an increase in spending.

Do you have an opinion on this topic or haven't you thought much about it?

1. YES, HAVE AN OPINION	5. NO, HAVEN'T THOUGHT	8. DON'T KNOW
TURN TO P. 27, M2		

M1a. (Do you think the government should reduce spending, provide more services, or is your position somewhere in between?)

1. REDUCE SPENDING	3. SOMEWHERE BETWEEN	5. MORE SERVICES	8. DK
GO TO M1d		GO TO M1d	

M1b. Would you prefer a moderate reduction in spending and services, or a large reduction?

2. MODERATE	1. LARGE	8. DK
-------------	----------	-------

M1c. Would you prefer a moderate increase in spending and services, or a large increase?

4. MODERATE	5. LARGE	8. DK
-------------	----------	-------

M1d. In your opinion, does Ronald Reagan think the government should reduce spending, provide more services, or is his position somewhere in between?

1. REDUCE SPENDING	3. SOMEWHERE BETWEEN	5. MORE SERVICES	8. DK
TURN TO P. 26, M1g		TURN TO P. 26, M1g	

M1e. Do you think he would prefer a moderate reduction in spending and services, or a large reduction?

2. MODERATE	1. LARGE	8. DK
-------------	----------	-------

M1f. Do you think he would prefer a moderate increase in spending and services, or a large increase?

4. MODERATE	5. LARGE	8. DK
-------------	----------	-------

Mlg. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:☐ 1. "WALTER MONDALE" IS
NOT CROSSED OUT☐ 5. "WALTER MONDALE" IS
CROSSED OUT —> GO TO Mlp

Mlh. In your opinion, does Walter Mondale think the government should reduce spending, provide more services, or is his position somewhere in between?

1. REDUCE SPENDING

3. SOMEWHERE BETWEEN

5. MORE SERVICES

8. DK

GO TO Mlp

GO TO
Mlp

Mli. Do you think he would prefer a moderate reduction in spending and services, or a large reduction?

2. MODERATE

1. LARGE

8. DK

Mlj. Do you think he would prefer a moderate increase in spending and services, or a large increase?

4. MODERATE

5. LARGE

8. DK

Mlk - Mlo OMITTED

Mlp. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:☐ 1. "GARY HART" IS
NOT CROSSED OUT☐ 5. "GARY HART" IS
CROSSED OUT —> TURN TO P.27, Mlt

Mliq. In your opinion, does Gary Hart think the government should reduce spending, provide more services, or is his position somewhere in between?

1. REDUCE SPENDING

3. SOMEWHERE BETWEEN

5. MORE SERVICES

8. DK

TURN TO P. 27, Mlt

TURN TO
P.27, Mlt

Mli. Do you think he would prefer a moderate reduction in spending and services, or a large reduction?

2. MODERATE

1. LARGE

8. DK

Mlis. Do you think he would prefer a moderate increase in spending and services, or a large increase?

4. MODERATE

5. LARGE

8. DK

M1c. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:

☐ 1. "JESSE JACKSON" IS
NOT CROSSED OUT

☐ 5. "JESSE JACKSON" IS
CROSSED OUT → GO TO M2

M1u. In your opinion, does Jesse Jackson think the government should reduce spending, provide more services, or is his position somewhere in between?

1. REDUCE SPENDING

3. SOMEWHERE BETWEEN

5. MORE SERVICES

8. DK

GO TO M2

GO TO M2

M1v. Do you think he would prefer a moderate reduction in spending and services, or a large reduction?

2. MODERATE

1. LARGE

8. DK

M1w. Do you think he would prefer a moderate increase in spending and services, or a large increase?

4. MODERATE

5. LARGE

8. DK

M2. Some people feel that the government in Washington should make every effort to improve the social and economic position of blacks and other minority groups. Others feel that the government should not make any special effort to help minorities because they should help themselves.

Do you have an opinion on this issue, or haven't you thought much about this?

1. YES, HAVE AN OPINION

5. NO, HAVEN'T THOUGHT

8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 27b, M3

M2a. (Do you feel the government should help improve the position of minorities, that minorities should help themselves, or is your position somewhere in between?)

1. GOVT SHOULD HELP

3. SOMEWHERE BETWEEN

5. MINORITIES
HELP SELVES

8. DK

TURN TO P. 27a, M2d

TURN TO
P. 27a, M2d

M2b. Should the government help minorities to a great extent or only to some extent?

1. GREAT

2. SOME

8. DK

M2c. Should the government leave minorities alone to help themselves to a great extent or only to some extent?

5. GREAT

4. SOME

8. DK

M2d. In your opinion, does Ronald Reagan think the government should help improve the position of minorities, that minorities should help themselves, or is his position somewhere in between?

1. GOVT SHOULD HELP

3. SOMEWHERE BETWEEN

5. MINORITIES
HELP SELVES

8. DON'T
KNOW

GO TO M2g

GO TO M2g

M2e. Does Ronald Reagan feel that the government should help minorities to a great extent or only to some extent?

1. GREAT

2. SOME

8. DK

M2f. Does Ronald Reagan feel that the government should leave minorities alone to help themselves to a great extent or only to some extent?

5. GREAT

4. SOME

8. DK

M2g. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:

☐ 1. "WALTER MONDALE" IS
NOT CROSSED OUT

☐ 5. "WALTER MONDALE" IS
CROSSED OUT → GO TO M2k

M2h. In your opinion, does Walter Mondale think the government should help improve the position of minorities, that minorities should help themselves, or is his position somewhere in between?

1. GOVT SHOULD HELP

3. SOMEWHERE BETWEEN

5. MINORITIES
HELP SELVES

8. DON'T
KNOW

TO TO M2k

GO TO M2k

M2i. Does Walter Mondale feel that the government should help minorities to a great extent or only to some extent?

1. GREAT

2. SOME

8. DK

M2j. Does Walter Mondale feel that the government should leave minorities alone to help themselves to a great extent or only to some extent?

5. GREAT

4. SOME

8. DK

M2k. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:

☐ 1. "GARY HART" IS
NOT CROSSED OUT

☐ 5. "GARY HART" IS
CROSSED OUT → TURN TO
P. 27b, M2p

M2m. In your opinion, does Gary Hart think the government should help improve the position of minorities, that minorities should help themselves, or is his position somewhere in between?

1. GOVT SHOULD HELP

3. SOMEWHERE BETWEEN

5. MINORITIES
HELP SELVES

8. DON'T
KNOW

TURN TO P. 27b, M2n

TURN TO P. 27b, M2p

TURN TO
P. 27b, M2o

TURN TO
P. 27b, M2p

M2n. Does Gary Hart feel that the government should help minorities to a great extent or only to some extent?

1. GREAT

2. SOME

8. DK

M2o. Does Gary Hart feel that the government should leave minorities alone to help themselves to a great extent or only to some extent?

5. GREAT

4. SOME

8. DK

M2p. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:

☐ 1. "JESSE JACKSON" IS NOT CROSSED OUT

☐ 5. "JESSE JACKSON" IS CROSSED OUT → GO TO M3

M2q. In your opinion, does Jesse Jackson think the government should help improve the position of minorities, that minorities should help themselves, or is his position somewhere in between?

1. GOVE SHOULD HELP

3. SOMEWHERE BETWEEN

5. MINORITIES HELP SELVES

8. DON'T KNOW

GO TO M3

GO TO M3

M2r. Does Jesse Jackson feel that the government should help minorities to a great extent or only to some extent?

1. GREAT

2. SOME

8. DK

M2s. Does Jesse Jackson feel that the government should leave minorities alone to help themselves to a great extent or only to some extent?

5. GREAT

4. SOME

8. DK

M3. Some people think that the United States should become more involved in the internal affairs of Central American countries. Others believe that the U.S. should become less involved in this area. Do you have an opinion on this, or haven't you thought much about it?

1. YES, HAVE AN OPINION

5. NO, HAVEN'T THOUGHT

8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 29, M6

M3a. (Do you feel that the U.S. should become more involved in Central America, become more involved in this area, or is your position somewhere in between?)

1. MORE INVOLVED

3. SOMEWHERE BETWEEN

5. LESS INVOLVED

8. DK

TURN TO P. 28, M3d

TURN TO P. 28, M3d

M3b. Do you think the U.S. should increase its involvement to a great extent or only to some extent?

1. GREAT

2. SOME

8. DK

M3c. Do you think the U.S. should decrease its involvement to a great extent or only to some extent?

5. GREAT

4. SOME

8. DK

M3d. In your opinion, does Ronald Reagan feel that the U.S. should become less involved in Central America, become more involved in this area, or is his position somewhere in between?

1. MORE INVOLVED

3. SOMEWHERE BETWEEN

5. LESS INVOLVED

8. DON'T KNOW

GO TO M3g

GO TO M3g

M3e. Does Ronald Reagan feel the U.S. should increase its involvement to a great extent or only to some extent?

1. GREAT

2. SOME

8. DK

M3f. Does Ronald Reagan feel the U.S. should decrease its involvement to a great extent or only to some extent?

5. GREAT

4. SOME

8. DK

M3g. INTERVIEWER'S CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:

☐ 1. "WALTER MONDALE" IS NOT CROSSED OUT

☐ 5. "WALTER MONDALE" IS CROSSED OUT → GO TO M3k

M3h. In your opinion, does Walter Mondale feel that the U.S. should become less involved in Central America, become more involved in this area, or is his position somewhere in between?

1. MORE INVOLVED

3. SOMEWHERE BETWEEN

5. LESS INVOLVED

8. DON'T KNOW

GO TO M3k

GO TO M3k

M3i. Does Walter Mondale feel the U.S. should increase its involvement to a great extent or only to some extent?

1. GREAT

2. SOME

8. DK

M3j. Does Walter Mondale feel the U.S. should decrease its involvement to a great extent or only to some extent?

5. GREAT

4. SOME

8. DK

M3k. INTERVIEWER'S CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:

☐ 1. "GARY HART" IS NOT CROSSED OUT

☐ 5. "GARY HART" IS CROSSED OUT → TURN TO P.29, M3p

M3m. In your opinion, does Gary Hart feel that the U.S. should become less involved in Central America, become more involved in this area, or is his position somewhere in between?

1. MORE INVOLVED

3. SOMEWHERE BETWEEN

5. LESS INVOLVED

8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P.29, M3p

TURN TO P.29, M3p

M3n. Does Gary Hart feel the U.S. should increase its involvement to a great extent or only to some extent?

1. GREAT

2. SOME

8. DK

M3o. Does Gary Hart feel the U.S. should decrease its involvement to a great extent or only to some extent?

5. GREAT

4. SOME

8. DK

M3p. INTERVIEWER'S CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:

☐ 1. "JESSE JACKSON" is
NOT CROSSED OUT

☐ 2. "JESSE JACKSON" IS
CROSSED OUT → GO TO M6

M3q. In your opinion, does Jesse Jackson feel that the U.S. should become less involved in Central America, become more involved in this area, or is his position somewhere in between?

1. MORE INVOLVED

3. SOMEWHERE BETWEEN

5. LESS INVOLVED

8. DON'T KNOW

GO TO M6

GO TO M6

M3r. Does Jesse Jackson feel the U.S. should increase its involvement to a great extent or only to some extent?

1. GREAT

2. SOME

8. DK

M3s. Does Jesse Jackson feel the U.S. should decrease its involvement to a great extent or only to some extent?

5. GREAT

4. SOME

8. DK

M4 AND M5 OMITTED

M6. Some people believe that we should spend less money for defense. Others feel that defense spending should be increased. Do you have an opinion on this issue, or haven't you thought much about this?

1. YES, HAVE AN OPINION

5. NO, HAVEN'T THOUGHT

8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 31, M7

M6a. (Do you feel the government should decrease defense spending, increase defense spending, or is the government spending about the right amount?)

1. DECREASE SPENDING

3. SPENDING RIGHT
AMOUNT

5. INCREASE SPENDING

8. DK

GO TO M6d

GO TO M6d

M6b. Should the government reduce defense spending a lot or a little?

1. A LOT

2. LITTLE

8. DK

M6c. Should the government increase defense spending a lot or a little?

5. A LOT

4. LITTLE

8. DK

M6d. In your opinion, does Ronald Reagan feel the government should decrease defense spending, increase defense spending, or does he feel the government is spending about the right amount?

1. DECREASE SPENDING

3. SPENDING RIGHT
AMOUNT

5. INCREASE SPENDING

8. DK

TURN TO P.30, M6g

TURN TO
P. 30, M6g

M6e. Does Ronald Reagan feel the government should reduce defense spending a lot or a little?

1. A LOT

2. LITTLE

8. DK

M6f. Does Ronald Reagan feel the government should increase defense spending a lot or a little?

5. A LOT

4. LITTLE

8. DK

M6g. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:

- ☐ 1. "WALTER MONDALE" IS NOT CROSSED OUT
- ☐ 5. "WALTER MONDALE" IS CROSSED OUT → GO TO M6p

M6h. In your opinion, does Walter Mondale feel the government should decrease defense spending, increase defense spending, or does he feel the government is spending about the right amount?

1. DECREASE
SPENDING

3. SPENDING RIGHT
AMOUNT

5. INCREASE
SPENDING

8. DON'T
KNOW

GO TO M6p

GO TO M6p

M6i. Does Walter Mondale feel the government should reduce defense spending a lot or a little?

1. A LOT

2. LITTLE

8. DK

M6j. Does Walter Mondale feel the government should increase defense spending a lot or a little?

5. A LOT

4. LITTLE

8. DK

M6k - M6o. OMITTED

M6p. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:

- ☐ 1. "GARY HART" IS NOT CROSSED OUT
- ☐ 5. "GARY HART" IS CROSSED OUT → TURN TO P. 31, M7

M6q. In your opinion does Gary Hart feel the government should decrease defense spending, increase defense spending, or does he feel the government is spending about the right amount?

1. DECREASE
SPENDING

3. SPENDING RIGHT
AMOUNT

5. INCREASE
SPENDING

8. DON'T
KNOW

TURN TO P. 31, M7

TURN TO
P. 31, M7

M6r. Does Gary Hart feel the government should reduce defense spending a lot or a little?

1. A LOT

2. LITTLE

8. DK

M6s. Does Gary Hart feel the government should increase defense spending a lot or a little?

5. A LOT

4. LITTLE

8. DK

M7. If you had a say in making up the federal budget this year, which programs would you like to see increased and which reduced? Should federal spending on improving and protecting the environment be increased, decreased, or kept about the same?

	1. INCREASED	3. SAME	5. DECREASED	8. DON'T KNOW
a. IMPROVING AND PROTECTING THE ENVIRONMENT				
b. Dealing with crime				
c. Public schools				
d. Social Security				
e. Food stamps				
f. Medicare				
g. Government jobs for the unemployed				
h. Science and technology				

M8. Some people feel that the government in Washington should make every effort to improve the social and economic position of women. Others feel that the government should not make any special effort to help women because they should help themselves. Do you have an opinion on this issue, or haven't you thought much about it?

1. YES, HAVE OPINION

5. NO, HAVEN'T THOUGHT

8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 33, M9

M8a. (Do you feel that the government should help improve the position of women, that women should help themselves, or is your position somewhere in between?)

1. GOVT SHOULD HELP

3. SOMEWHERE BETWEEN

5. WOMEN
HELP SELVES

8. DK

TURN TO P. 32, M8d

TURN TO
P.32, M8d

M8b. Should the government help women to a great extent or only to some extent?

1. GREAT

2. SOME

8. DK

M8c. Should the government leave women alone to help themselves to a great extent or only to some extent?

5. GREAT

4. SOME

8. DK

M8d. In your opinion, does Ronald Reagan feel that the government should help improve the position of women, that women should help themselves, or is his position somewhere in between?

1. GOVT SHOULD HELP

3. SOMEWHERE BETWEEN

5. WOMEN HELP SELVES

8. DK

GO TO M8g

GO TO M8g

M8e. Does Ronald Reagan feel that the government should help women to a great extent or only to some extent?

1. GREAT

2. SOME

8. DK

M8f. Does Ronald Reagan feel that the government should leave women alone to help themselves to a great extent or only to some extent?

5. GREAT

2. SOME

8. DK

M8g. INTERVIEWER'S CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:

☐

1. "WALTER MONDALE" IS NOT CROSSED OUT

☐

5. "WALTER MONDALE" IS CROSSED OUT → GO TO M8k

M8h. In your opinion does Walter Mondale feel that the government should help improve the position of women, that women should help themselves, or is his position somewhere in between?

1. GOVT SHOULD HELP

3. SOMEWHERE BETWEEN

5. WOMEN HELP SELVES

8. DK

GO TO M8k

GO TO M8k

M8i. Does Walter Mondale feel that the government should help women to a great extent or only to some extent?

1. GREAT

2. SOME

8. DK

M8j. Does Walter Mondale feel that the government should leave women alone to help themselves to a great extent or only to some extent?

5. GREAT

2. SOME

8. DK

M8k. INTERVIEWER'S CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:

☐

1. "GARY HART" IS NOT CROSSED OUT

☐

5. "GARY HART" IS CROSSED OUT → TURN TO P. 33, M9

M8m. In your opinion does Gary Hart feel that the government should help improve the position of women, that women should help themselves, or is his position somewhere in between?

1. GOVT SHOULD HELP

3. SOMEWHERE BETWEEN

5. WOMEN HELP SELVES

8. DK

TURN TO P. 33, M9

TURN TO P. 33, M9

M8n. Does Gary Hart feel that government should help women to a great extent or only to some extent?

1. GREAT

2. SOME

8. DK

M8o. Does Gary Hart feel that the government should leave women alone to help themselves to a great extent or only to some extent?

5. GREAT

2. SOME

8. DK

M9. Some people feel it is important for us to try to cooperate more with Russia, while others believe we should be much tougher in our dealings with Russia. Do you have an opinion on this, or haven't you thought much about it?

1. YES, HAVE OPINION

5. NO, HAVEN'T THOUGHT

8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 35, SECTION N

M9a. (Do you feel that we should try to cooperate more with Russia, get tougher in our dealings with Russia, or is your opinion somewhere in between?)

1. COOPERATE

3. SOMEWHERE BETWEEN

5. GET TOGETHER

8. DK

GO TO M9d

GO TO M9d

M9b. Should we try to cooperate a lot more or somewhat more?

1. A LOT

2. SOMEWHAT

8. DK

M9c. Should we get a lot tougher, or only somewhat tougher?

5. A LOT

4. SOMEWHAT

8. DK

M9d. In your opinion, does Ronald Reagan feel that we should try to cooperate more with Russia, get tougher in our dealings with Russia, or is his opinion somewhere in between?

1. COOPERATE

3. SOMEWHERE BETWEEN

5. GET TOUGH

8. DK

TURN TO P. 34, M9g

TURN TO
P. 34, M9g

M9e. Does Ronald Reagan feel we should try to cooperate a lot more or somewhat more?

1. A LOT

2. SOMEWHAT

8. DK

M9f. Does Ronald Reagan feel we should get a lot tougher, or only somewhat tougher?

5. A LOT

4. SOMEWHAT

8. DK

M9g. INTERVIEWER'S CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:

☐ 1. "WALTER MONDALE" IS
NOT CORSESSED OUT☐ 5. "WALTER MONDALE" IS
CROSSED OUT → GO TO M9k

M9h. In your opinion, does Walter Mondale feel that we should try to cooperate more with Russia, get tougher in our dealings with Russia, or is his opinion somewhere in between?

1. COOPERATE

3. SOMEWHERE BETWEEN

5. GET TOUGHER

8. DK

GO TO M9k

GO TO M9k

M9i. Does Walter Mondale feel we should try to cooperate a lot more or somewhat more?

1. A LOT

2. SOMEWHAT

8. DK

M9j. Does Walter Mondale feel we should get a lot tougher, or only somewhat tougher?

5. A LOT

4. SOMEWHAT

8. DK

M9k. INTERVIEWER'S CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:

☐ 1. "GARY HART" IS
NOT CROSSED OUT☐ 5. "GARY HART" IS
CROSSED OUT → TURN TO P. 35,
SECTION N

M9m. In your opinion does Gary Hart feel that we should try to cooperate more with Russia, get tougher in our dealings with Russia, or is his opinion somewhere in between?

1. COOPERATE

3. SOMEWHERE BETWEEN

5. GET TOUGHER

8. DK

TURN TO P.35, SECTION N

TURN TO P.35,
SECTION N

M9n. Does Gary Hart feel we should try to cooperate a lot more or somewhat more?

1. A LOT

2. SOMEWHAT

8. DK

M9o. Does Gary Hart feel we should get a lot tougher, or only somewhat tougher?

5. A LOT

4. SOMEWHAT

8. DK

N1. Now we'd like you to tell us about some of the candidate's chances of winning the presidency in 1984.

As before, we will use a scale that runs from 0 to 100, where 0 represents no chance of winning the presidency, 50 represents an even chance, and 100 represents certain victory.

First, what if Ronald Reagan is nominated by the Republicans. What chance would he have of winning the 1984 Presidential election?

_____(NUMBER)

998. DON'T KNOW

INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD --

IS NAME CROSSED OUT?

WALTER MONDALE

YES

NO

N1a. What if Walter Mondale is nominated by Democrats. What chance would he have of winning the 1984 Presidential election against Ronald Reagan?

_____(NUMBER)

998. DON'T KNOW

N1b. OMITTED

N1c. OMITTED

JESSE JACKSON

YES

NO

N1d. (What if Jesse Jackson is nominated by Democrats.) What chance would Jesse Jackson have of winning the 1984 Presidential election against Ronald Reagan?

_____(NUMBER)

998. DON'T KNOW

TED KENNEDY

YES

NO

N1e. (What if Ted Kennedy is nominated by Democrats.) What chance would Ted Kennedy have of winning the 1984 Presidential election against Ronald Reagan?

_____(NUMBER)

998. DON'T KNOW

GARY HART

YES

NO

N1f. (What if Gary Hart is nominated by Democrats.) What chance would Gary Hart have of winning the 1984 Presidential election against Ronald Reagan?

_____(NUMBER)

998. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P.37,
SECTION Y

Now for a few questions about you.

Y1. As far as you know, are you currently registered to vote?

1. YES

5. NO

6. NOT REQUIRED TO
REGISTER IN STATE

8. DON'T KNOW

9. REFUSED

GO TO Y2

Y1a. Are you registered as a Republican, a Democrat, an independent, or something else?

R VOLUNTEERS:

1. DEMOCRAT

5. NOT REQUIRED TO DECLARE
PARTY TO REGISTER

2. INDEPENDENT

6. NOT REQUIRED TO REGISTER

3. REPUBLICAN

7. "I AM NOT REGISTERED."

4. OTHER PARTY, SPECIFY:

8. DON'T KNOW

Y2. What is the month, day, and year of your birth?

_____(MONTH) _____(DAY) _____(YEAR)

Y3. Are you married now and living with your (husband/wife) -- or are you widowed, divorced, separated, or have you never been married?

**MARRIED AND
LIVING WITH**1. SPOUSE (OR
SPOUSE IN
SERVICE

5. WIDOWED

3. DIVORCED

4. SEPAR-
ATED2. NEVER
MARRIEDPARTNERS;
7. NOT
MARRIED

Y4. What is the highest grade of school or year of college you have completed?

00 01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08 09 10 11 12 13 14 15 16+

TURN TO
P. 38, Y5

Y4a. Did you get a high school diploma or pass a high school equivalency test?

1. YES

5. NO

TURN TO P. 38, Y5

Y4b. Did you graduate from a four-year college or university?

1. YES

5. NO

TURN TO P. 38, Y5

Y5. We'd like to know if you are working now, or are you unemployed, retired, (a housewife), (a student), or what? (RESPONSES APPEAR ON PAGES 38 AND 39)

1. WORKING
NOW

2. TEMPORARILY
LAID OFF

Y5a. What is your main occupation? (What sort of work do you do?)
(IF NOT CLEAR: Tell me a little more about what you do.)

Y5b. What kind of (business/industry) is that?

Y6. How worried are you about losing your job in the near future:
a lot, somewhat, or not much at all?

1. A
LOT

3. SOME-
WHAT

5. NOT MUCH
AT ALL

8. DON'T
KNOW

9. REFUSED

Y7. Were you out of work or laid off at any time during the last six months?

1. YES

5. NO

Y8. Have you had to reduce your work hours or take a cut in pay
at any time during the last six months?

1. YES

5. NO

TURN TO P. 40, Y14

4. UNEMPLOYED

Y9. Have you had a job in the past six months?

1. YES

5. NO

GO TO Y10

Y9a. About how many hours did you work on your job in the
average week?

(HOURS)

5. RETIRED

Y10. Are you looking for work at the present time?

1. YES

5. NO

TURN TO
P. 40, Y14

Y11. How worried are you about not being able to find
work in the near future: a lot, somewhat, or not
much at all?

1. A
LOT

3. SOME-
WHAT

5. NOT MUCH
AT ALL

8. DON'T
KNOW

9. RE-
FUSED

TURN TO P. 40, Y14

6. PERMANENTLY
DISABLED → TURN TO P. 40, Y14

7. HOUSEWIFE	<p>Y12. Are you doing any work for pay at the present time?</p> <p>1. YES 5. NO</p> <p>GO BACK TO Y5a, "WORKING NOW"</p> <p>↓</p> <p>Y13. Are you looking for work at the present time?</p> <p>1. YES 5. NO</p> <p>Y13a. How worried are you about not being able to find a job in the near future; a lot, some- what, or not much at all?</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td>1. A LOT</td> <td>3. SOME- WHAT</td> <td>5. NOT MUCH AT ALL</td> <td>8. DON'T KNOW</td> <td>9. RE- FUSED</td> </tr> </table>	1. A LOT	3. SOME- WHAT	5. NOT MUCH AT ALL	8. DON'T KNOW	9. RE- FUSED
1. A LOT		3. SOME- WHAT	5. NOT MUCH AT ALL	8. DON'T KNOW	9. RE- FUSED	
8. STUDENT						

TURN TO P. 40, Y14

Y14. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

<input type="checkbox"/>	1. R <u>ONLY ADULT</u> IN HOUSEHOLD OR <u>LIVES ALONE</u> → TURN TO P. 42, Y23
<input type="checkbox"/>	5. R LIVES WITH <u>OTHER ADULTS</u> IN HOUSEHOLD
Y14a. <input type="checkbox"/>	1. R <u>MARRIED</u> & LIVING WITH SPOUSE
	2. ALL OTHERS
GO TO Y15. ASK Y15-Y22b ABOUT R's SPOUSE	

Y14b. We'd like to talk about the person in your household who provides the major share of financial support -- the main breadwinner. Who is this person? (What is his/her relationship to you?)

RELATIONSHIP TO R

RESPONDENT

TURN TO P. 42, Y23

GO TO Y15. ASK Y15-Y22b
ABOUT PERSON NAMED IN Y14b

Y15. We'd like to know about (your husband/ your wife/ PERSON NAMED IN Y14b). Is (he/she) working now, unemployed, retired, (a housewife), (a student), or what? (RESPONSES APPEAR ON PAGES 40 AND 41.)

1. WORKING NOW	→	Y16. What is (his/her) main occupation? (What sort of work does (he/she) do?) (IF NOT CLEAR: Tell me a little more about what (he/she) does.)
2. TEMPORARILY LAID OFF		
Y16a. What kind of (business/industry) is that?		
Y17. How worried is (he/she) about losing (his/her) job in the near future: a lot, somewhat, or not much at all?		
1. A LOT	3. SOMEWHAT	5. NOT MUCH AT ALL
		8. DON'T KNOW
		9. REFUSED
Y18. Was (he/she) out of work or laid off at any time during the last six months?		
1. YES		
5. NO		
Y19. Has (he/she) had to reduce (his/her) hours or take a cut in pay at any time during the last six months?		
1. YES		
5. NO		

TURN TO P. 42, Y23

4. UNEMPLOYED → Y20. Has (he/she) had a job in the past six months?

1. YES 5. NO → GO TO Y21

Y20a. About how many hours did (he/she) work on (his/her) job in the average week? _____ (HOURS)

5. RETIRED → Y21. Is (he/she) looking for work at the present time?

1. YES 5. NO → TURN TO P. 42, Y23

Y21a. How worried is (he/she) about not being able to find work in the near future: a lot, somewhat, or not much at all?

1. A LOT	3. SOMEWHAT	5. NOT MUCH AT ALL	8. DON'T KNOW	9. REFUSED
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TURN TO P. 42, Y23

6. PERMANENTLY DISABLED → TURN TO P. 42, Y23

7. HOUSEWIFE → Y22. Is (he/she) doing any work for pay at the present time?

1. YES 5. NO

GO BACK TO Y16, "WORKING NOW"

8. STUDENT → Y22a. Is (he/she) looking for work at the present time?

1. YES 5. NO

Y22b. How worried is (he/she) about not being able to find a job in the near future: a lot, somewhat, or not much at all?

1. A LOT	3. SOMEWHAT	5. NOT MUCH AT ALL	8. DON'T KNOW	9. REFUSED
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TURN TO P. 42, Y23

Y23. Does anyone in this household belong to a labor union?

1. YES

5. NO

GO TO Y24

Y23a. Who is it that belongs? (CHECK AS MANY AS APPLICABLE)

1. RESPONDENT

3. OTHER FAMILY MEMBER

2. RESPONDENT'S SPOUSE

4. SOMEONE ELSE

Y24. We would like to know the general range of your family income, that is the family living with you, for 1983 before taxes. This figure should include salaries, wages, pensions, dividends, interest, and all other income. Was it under \$20,000 or over \$20,000?

(IF UNCERTAIN: What do you think it was?)

1. UNDER
\$20,000

3. \$20,000
EXACTLY

5. MORE THAN
\$20,000

8. DON'T
KNOW

7. REFUSED

TURN TO
P.43, Y25

TURN TO P. 43, Y25

Y24a. Was it under \$10,000 or over \$10,000?

1. UNDER

3. \$10,000
EXACTLY

5. OVER

8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 43, Y25

Y24b. Was it under \$30,000 or over \$30,000?

1. UNDER

3. \$30,000
EXACTLY

5. OVER

8. DK

TURN TO P.43, Y25

TURN TO
P.43, Y25

Y24c. Was it under \$40,000 or over \$40,000?

1. UNDER

5. \$40,000
OR MORE

8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 43, Y25

Y25. Is your religious preference Protestant, Roman Catholic, Jewish, or something else?

PROTESTANT	200. ROMAN CATHOLIC	300. JEWISH	OTHER (SPECIFY): _____	998. NONE; NO PREFERENCE GO TO Y27
GO TO Y26				999. REFUSED GO TO Y27

Y25a. What church or denomination is that?

Y25b. (IF BAPTIST:) Is that Southern Baptist or something else?

Y26. (IF ANY RELIGIOUS PREFERENCE) Would you say you go to (church/synagogue) every week, almost every week, once or twice a month, a few times a year, or never?

1. EVERY WEEK	2. ALMOST EVERY WEEK	3. ONCE OR TWICE A MONTH	4. A FEW TIMES A YEAR	5. NEVER
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Y27. How long have you lived in your city or town? (IF NECESSARY: How long have you lived in your county?)

90. ALL OF LIFE	_____ YEARS	OR	_____ MONTHS IF LESS THAN TWO YEARS
-----------------	-------------	----	-------------------------------------

Y28. How long have you lived at your present address?

90. ALL OF LIFE	_____ YEARS	OR	_____ MONTHS IF LESS THAN TWO YEARS
-----------------	-------------	----	-------------------------------------

Y29. Would you mind telling me your race? Are you white, black, American Indian or Alaskan native, Asian or Pacific Islander?

1. WHITE

2. BLACK

3. AMERICAN INDIAN OR
ALASKAN NATIVE4. ASIAN OR
PACIFIC ISLANDER

Y30. And is your ethnic origin Hispanic, that is, are you Mexican-American or Chicano, Puerto Rican, Cuban, or some other Hispanic origin?

5. NO

1. YES, MEXICAN-
AMERICAN/CHICANO2. YES, PUERTO
RICAN3. YES,
CUBAN4. YES, OTHER
HISPANIC

Y31. How many telephones, counting extensions, do you have in your home?

1. ONE

NUMBER MORE
THAN ONE8. DON'T KNOW;
NOT SURE

9. REFUSED

GO TO Y32

GO TO Y32

Y31a. Do (both/all) telephones have the same number?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW

9. REFUSED

GO TO Y32

GO TO Y32

Y31b. How many different numbers are there?

NUMBER OF DIFFERENT
TELEPHONE NUMBERS

8. DON'T KNOW

9. REFUSED

GO TO Y32

Y31c. Are any of the numbers for business use only?

1. YES

5. NO

GO TO Y32

Y31d. How many are used only for business?

NUMBER OF PHONE
NUMBERS USED ONLY
FOR BUSINESS

8. DON'T KNOW

9. REFUSED

Y32. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

Time Now: _____

Date: _____

TURN TO P. 4 OF COVER SHEET

SECTION Z

Z1. SEX OF RESPONDENT:

☐ 1. MALE☐ 5. FEMALE

Z2. IN A4 ON PAGE 2, THE CHECKBOX, INDICATING THAT THE DEFINITION OF "GROUPS" WAS READ, IS "Xed":

☐ 1. YES, BOX "Xed"☐ 5. NO, BOX HAS NO "X"

Z3. INTERVIEWER'S THUMBNAIL SKETCH: