

For Office Use Only

1984 NATIONAL ELECTION STUDY  
ROLLING CROSS-SECTION

Project 495806  
Jan.-Nov., 1984  
Version 7 .



**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: \_\_\_\_\_



## 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

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

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

→ 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

B8b. Are you pretty certain you won't vote, or not certain?

5. CERTAIN

4. 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?

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'S CHOICE:

01. WALTER MONDALE

20. RONALD REAGAN

SOMEONE ELSE, SPECIFY:

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 political figures 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.

BLUE CARD

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

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

Versions 6-7



C2. Now let's talk about your feelings toward the political figures 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.                      998.			
R DOESN'T      DON'T KNOW			
RECOGNIZE      WHERE TO RATE;			
RATING	NAME	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 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 F

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 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.10, F3

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

F3. Did you watch any of the televised Democratic National Convention?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW; CAN'T RECALL

TURN TO P. 11, SECTION G

F3a. About how many hours (of the Democratic National Convention) did you watch? (What is your best guess?)

\_\_\_\_\_ HOURS

98. DON'T KNOW; CAN'T RECALL

## 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.	2.	3.	4.	5.	8.
A GREAT DEAL	SOMEWHAT	CAN'T DECIDE	A LITTLE	NOT AT ALL	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.					
A		3.	4.	5.	
GREAT	2.	CAN'T	A	NOT	8.
DEAL	SOMEWHAT	DECIDE	LITTLE	AT ALL	DK

**a. HARD-WORKING**

3.

[illegible]

**b. decent**

b.

c. compassionate

C.

d. commands respect

d.

**e. intelligent**

**e.**

f. moral

**f.**

**g. kind**

g.

### **h. inspiring**

## h.

**1. knowledgeable**

1.

1. sets a good example

1.

k. really cares about  
people like you

**k.**

m. provides strong leadership

**10.**

n. understands people like you

**п.**

o. fair

**O.**

P. in touch with  
ordinary people

p.

**r. religious**

**I.**

## G8. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:

☐ 1. "GARY HART" IS  
NOT CROSSED OUT

☐ 5. "GARY HART" IS  
 CROSSED OUT → TURN TO  
 P.15, G10

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.					



## G10. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:
☐ 1. "GERALDINE FERRARO" IS  
NOT CROSSED OUT

☐ 2. "GERALDINE FERRARO" IS  
 CROSSED OUT → TURN TO P. 15a,  
 SECTION H

G11. Now about Geraldine Ferraro. Would you say "hard-working" fits your impression of her: 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.						

## 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
----------------	----------------------------	----------------	---------------------------

<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, J11

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, J11

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, J11

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, J11

## J10. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:

- ☐ 1. "GERALDINE FERRARO" IS NOT CROSSED OUT
- ☐ 5. "GERALDINE FERRARO" IS CROSSED OUT → TURN TO P. 22a, SECTION K

J11. And what about Geraldine Ferraro. Do you usually think of Geraldine Ferraro as a liberal, a conservative, a moderate, or what?

1. LIBERAL

J11a. Do you think she is a strong liberal or a not-very-strong liberal?

1. STRONG

5. NOT VERY STRONG

TURN TO P. 22a, SECTION K

5. CONSERVATIVE

J11b. Do you think she is a strong conservative or a not-very-strong conservative?

1. STRONG

5. NOT VERY STRONG

TURN TO P. 22a, SECTION K

3. MODERATE

7. NONE OF THESE

8. DON'T KNOW

J11c. Do you think she is more like a liberal or more like a conservative?

1. LIBERAL

5. CONSERVATIVE

3. NEITHER

8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 22a, 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?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, K10K9. 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


## K10. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:☐1. "GERALDINE FERRARO" IS  
NOT CROSSED OUT☐5. "GERALDINE FERRARO" IS  
CROSSED OUT → TURN TO P.24a,  
SECTION LK11. And has Geraldine Ferraro (because of the kind of person she is, or because of something she has done) ever made you feel:1. YES; HAVE  
FELT5. NO; NEVER  
FELT

- a. angry toward her
- b. hopeful
- c. afraid of her
- 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

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 was 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. Who was your second choice for the Democratic nomination?

\_\_\_\_\_(NAME)

98. DON'T KNOW/  
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 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, MltMlq. 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

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

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 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 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 the 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 CORSESSED OUT☐ 5. "WALTER MONDALE" IS  
CORSESSED 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 CORSESSED OUT☐ 5. "GARY HART" IS  
CORSESSED 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

## SECTION N

N1. Now we'd like you to tell us what you think Mr. Reagan's chances of winning the presidency in 1984 are.

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.

If Ronald Reagan is nominated by the Republicans, what chance would he have of winning the 1984 Presidential election?

\_\_\_\_\_ (NUMBER)

998. DON'T KNOW



## SECTION Y

37

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, Y5Y4a. 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 gradu-  
ate 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

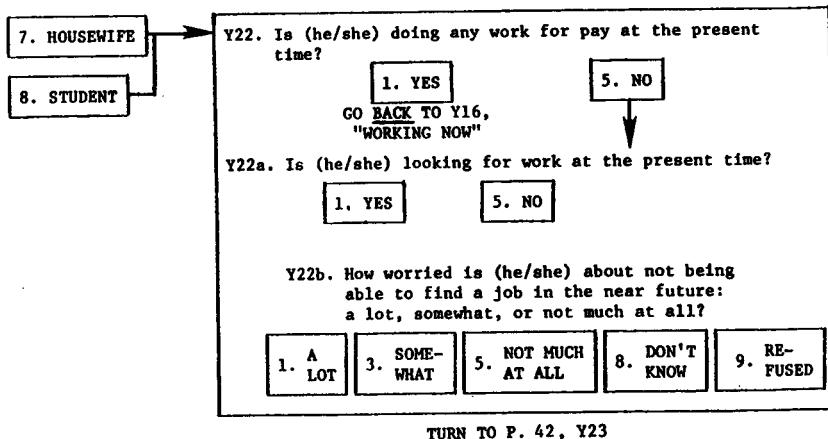
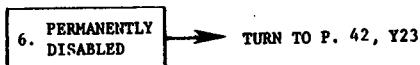
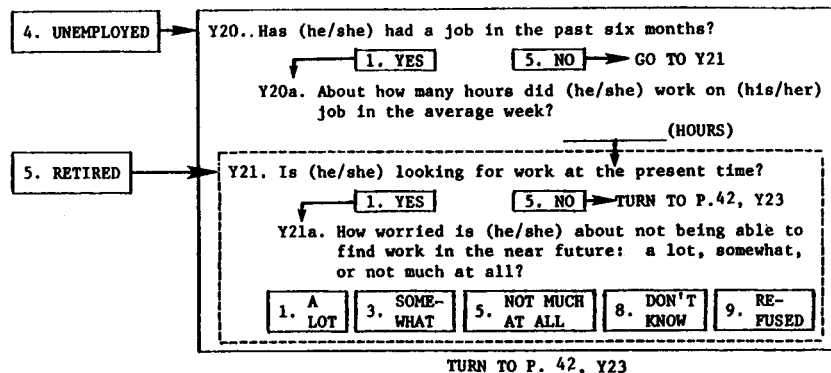
TURN TO P. 42, Y23

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. 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



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

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:





- TO BE COMPLETED IN CODING:**



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	5. MUCH WORSE
2. SOMEWHAT BETTER	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	5. FALLEN A LOT
2. A LITTLE MORE	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

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

B8b. Are you pretty certain you won't vote, or not certain?

5. CERTAIN

4. 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:

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 political figures 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  
(3-DIGIT NUMBER FROM  
LABEL ON COVER SHEET):

BLUE CARD

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
u. Geraldine Ferraro

Version 8-13



C2. Now let's talk about your feelings toward the political figures 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.		998.	
R DOESN'T RECOGNIZE NAME		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. GEORGE MCGOVERN
			o. GARY HART
			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 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 F

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 F

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

\_\_\_\_ (NUMBER OF DAYS IN WEEK)

G. 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)

H. NONE

TURN TO  
P.10, F3

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

F3. Did you watch any of the televised Democratic National Convention?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW; CAN'T RECALL

GO TO F4

F3a. About how many hours (of the Democratic National Convention) did you watch? (What is your best guess?)

\_\_\_\_\_ HOURS

98. DON'T KNOW; CAN'T RECALL

F4. Did you watch any of the televised Republican National Convention?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW; CAN'T RECALL

TURN TO P. 11, SECTION G

F4a. About how many hours (of the Republican National Convention) did you watch? (What is your best guess?)

\_\_\_\_\_ HOURS

98. DON'T KNOW; CAN'T RECALL

## 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.13,66

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, G10

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						
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						

G8. OMITTED

G9. OMITTED

## G10. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:
☐ 1. "GERALDINE FERRARO" IS  
NOT CROSSED OUT

☐ 2. "GERALDINE FERRARO" IS  
 CROSSED OUT → TURN TO P. 15,  
 SECTION H

G11. Now about Geraldine Ferraro. Would you say "hard working" fits your impression of her: 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.						



H0. Let's talk about the country as a whole. Would you say that things in the country are generally going very well, fairly well, not too well, or not well at all?

1. VERY WELL

2. FAIRLY WELL

4. NOT TOO WELL

5. NOT WELL AT ALL

8. DON'T KNOW

H1. Now, still talking 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

5. GOTTEN WORSE

8. DON'T KNOW

GO TO H2

GO TO H2

H1a. Would you say much better or somewhat better?

1. MUCH BETTER

2. SOMEWHAT BETTER

H1b. Would you say much worse or somewhat worse?

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

5. EASIER TIME

8. DON'T KNOW

GO TO H3

GO TO H3

H2a. Would you say much harder or a little harder?

1. MUCH HARDER

2. A LITTLE HARDER

H2b. Would you say much easier or a little easier?

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

5. GONE DOWN

8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 16, H4

TURN TO P. 16, H4

H3a. Have they gone up a lot or a little?

1. A LOT

2. A LITTLE

H3b. Have they gone down a lot or 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, 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, J11

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, J11

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, J11

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, J11

J9. OMITTED

J10. OMITTED

## J11. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:

☐ 1. "GERALDINE FERRARO" IS  
NOT CROSSED OUT

☐ 5. "GERALDINE FERRARO" IS  
CROSSED OUT → TURN TO P. 22,  
SECTION K

J12. And what about Geraldine Ferraro. Do you usually think of Geraldine Ferraro as a liberal, a conservative, a moderate, or what?

1. LIBERAL

J12a. Do you think she is a strong liberal or a not-very-strong liberal?

1. STRONG

5. NOT VERY STRONG

TURN TO P. 22, SECTION K

5. CONSERVATIVE

J12b. Do you think she 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

J12c. Do you think she 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 K10K7. 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. OMITTED

K9. OMITTED

## K10. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:☐ 1. "GERALDINE FERRARO" IS  
NOT CROSSED OUT☐ 5. "GERALDINE FERRARO" IS  
CROSSED OUT ➔ TURN TO P.24  
SECTION LK11. And has Geraldine Ferraro (because of the kind of person she is, or because of something she has done) ever made you feel?1. YES; HAVE 5. NO; NEVER  
FELT FELT

- a. angry toward her
- b. hopeful
- c. afraid of her
- 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

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 was 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. Who was your second choice for the Democratic nomination?

(NAME)

98. DON'T KNOW/  
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
------------	---------------	---------------------------

<p>M0a. Do you approve <u>strongly</u> or <u>not strongly</u>?</p> <p>1. STRONGLY      2. NOT STRONGLY</p>	<p>M0b. Do you disapprove <u>strongly</u> or <u>not strongly</u>?</p> <p>5. STRONGLY      4. NOT STRONGLY</p>
--	---

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

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 Mlt

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 Mlt

GO TO  
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

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-Mls. OMITTED

## Mit. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT

REFER TO BLUE CARD:

☐ 1. "JESSE JACKSON" IS  
NOT CROSSED OUT

☐ 2. "JESSE JACKSON" IS CROSSED  
OUT → TURN TO P.27, M2

Mlu. 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

TURN TO P. 27, M2

TURN TO  
P.27, M2

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

2. MODERATE

1. LARGE

8. DK

Mlw. 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. 29, 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. DON'T KNOW

GO TO M2d

GO TO 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

TURN TO P.28, M2g

TURN TO P.28, 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 M2p

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

GO TO M2p

5. MINORITIES  
HELP SELVES8. DON'T  
KNOW

GO TO M2p

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 - M2o. OMITTED

## M2p. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

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

☐ 5. "JESSE JACKSON" IS  
CROSSED OUT → TURN TO  
P.29, 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

TURN TO P.29, M3

5. MINORITIES  
HELP SELVES8. DON'T  
KNOW

TURN TO P.29, 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. 31, 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

GO TO M3d

GO TO 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

TURN TO P. 30, M3g

TURN TO P. 30, 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 M3p

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 M3p

GO TO M3p

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 - M3o. OMITTED

## M3p. INTERVIEWER'S CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:

☐ 1. "JESSE JACKSON" is  
NOT CROSSED OUT

☐ 2. "JESSE JACKSON" IS  
CROSSED OUT → TURN TO  
P.31, 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

TURN TO P. 31, M6

TURN TO P.31,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. 32, 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

GO TO M6g

GO TO 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 → TURN TO P. 32, M7

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. DK

TURN TO P. 32, M7

TURN TO  
P. 32, M7

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

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. 34, 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. 33, M8d

TURN TO  
P.33, 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 → TURN TO P. 34, M9

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

TURN TO P. 34, M9

TURN TO  
P.34,M9

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

M8f. 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

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, M10

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

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. DON'T KNOW

GO TO M9g

GO TO 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

TURN TO P. 35, M10

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. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 35, M10

TURN TO P. 35, M10

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

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## SECTION N

N1. Now we'd like you to tell us what you think Mr. Reagan's chances of winning the presidency in 1984 are.

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.

As you know, Ronald Reagan has been nominated by the Republicans. What chance do you think he has of winning the 1984 Presidential election?

\_\_\_\_\_ (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:

☐ 1. R ONLY ADULT IN HOUSEHOLD OR LIVES ALONE → TURN TO P. 42, Y23

☐ 5. R LIVES WITH OTHER ADULTS IN HOUSEHOLD

Y14a. ☐ 1. R MARRIED & 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

2. TEMPORARILY  
LAID OFF

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.)

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
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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. 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 2

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:







**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: \_\_\_\_\_



## 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 TURN TO P. 2, A4	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

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

→ 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 political figures 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

Versions 8-13

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
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 F
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 F

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

(NUMBER OF DAYS IN WEEK)

G. 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.10, F3

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

F3. Did you watch any of the televised Democratic National Convention?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW; CAN'T RECALL

GO TO F4

F3a. About how many hours (of the Democratic National Convention) did you watch? (What is your best guess?)

\_\_\_\_\_ HOURS

98. DON'T KNOW; CAN'T RECALL

F4. Did you watch any of the televised Republican National Convention?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW; CAN'T RECALL

TURN TO P. 10a, F5

F4a. About how many hours (of the Republican National Convention) did you watch? (What is your best guess?)

\_\_\_\_\_ HOURS

98. DON'T KNOW; CAN'T RECALL

F5. Did you watch the first televised presidential debate held on October 7 between Ronald Reagan and Walter Mondale?

1. YES

5. NO

7. R VOLUNTEERS: LISTENED  
TO DEBATE ON RADIO

8. DON'T KNOW;  
CAN'T RECALL

F5a. Did you (watch/listen to) the entire debate or just part of it?

1. ENTIRE

5. PART

7. R VOLUNTEERS:  
INTERRUPTION DUE TO  
CIRCUMSTANCES OTHER  
THAN PERSONAL CHOICE

8. DON'T KNOW;  
CAN'T RECALL

F6. OMITTED

F7. OMITTED

10b

THIS IS A BLANK PAGE

## 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
- 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, G10

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.					
n. understands people like you	n.					
o. fair	o.					
p. in touch with ordinary people	p.					
r. religious	r.					

G8. OMITTED

G9. OMITTED

## G10. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:
☐ 1. "GERALDINE FERRARO" IS  
NOT CROSSED OUT

☐ 2. "GERALDINE FERRARO" IS  
 CROSSED OUT → TURN TO P. 15,  
 SECTION H

G11. Now about Geraldine Ferraro. Would you say "hard working" fits your impression of her: 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

H0. Let's talk about the country as a whole. Would you say that things in the country are generally going very well, fairly well, not too well, or not well at all?

1. VERY WELL

2. FAIRLY WELL

4. NOT TOO WELL

5. NOT WELL AT ALL

8. DON'T KNOW

H1. Now, still talking 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

5. GOTTEN WORSE

8. DON'T KNOW

GO TO H2

GO TO H2

H1a. Would you say much better or somewhat better?

1. MUCH BETTER

2. SOMEWHAT BETTER

H1b. Would you say much worse or somewhat worse?

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

5. EASIER TIME

8. DON'T KNOW

GO TO H3

GO TO H3

H2a. Would you say much harder or a little harder?

1. MUCH HARDER

2. A LITTLE HARDER

H2b. Would you say much easier or a little easier?

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

5. GONE DOWN

8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 16, H4

TURN TO P. 16, H4

H3a. Have they gone up a lot or a little?

1. A LOT

2. A LITTLE

H3b. Have they gone down a lot or 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  
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, J5

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, J5

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, 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, J11

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, J11

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, J11

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, J11



J9. OMITTED

J10. OMITTED

## J11. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:
☐ 1. "GERALDINE FERRARO" IS  
NOT CROSSED OUT

☐ 5. "GERALDINE FERRARO" IS  
 CROSSED OUT → TURN TO P.22,  
 SECTION K

J12. And what about Geraldine Ferraro. Do you usually think of Geraldine Ferraro as a liberal, a conservative, a moderate, or what?

1. LIBERAL

J12a. Do you think she is a strong liberal or a not-very-strong liberal?

1. STRONG

5. NOT VERY STRONG

TURN TO P. 22, SECTION K

5. CONSERVATIVE

J12b. Do you think she 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

J12c. Do you think she 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 K10

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. OMITTED

K9. OMITTED

## K10. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:

☐ 1. "GERALDINE FERRARO" IS  
NOT CROSSED OUT

☐ 5. "GERALDINE FERRARO" IS  
CROSSED OUT — TURN TO P.24  
SECTION I

K11. And has Geraldine Ferraro (because of the kind of person she is, or because of something she has done) ever made you feel:

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

- a. angry toward her  
b. hopeful  
c. afraid of her  
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

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 was 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. Who was your second choice for the Democratic nomination?

\_\_\_\_\_  
(NAME)

98. DON'T KNOW/  
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 strongly or not strongly?

1. STRONGLY

2. NOT STRONGLY

M0b. 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 Mlt

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 Mlt

GO TO  
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

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-Mls. OMITTED

## Mlt. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:

☐ 1. "JESSE JACKSON" IS  
NOT CROSSED OUT

☐ 2. "JESSE JACKSON" IS CROSSED  
OUT → TURN TO P.27, M2

Mlu. 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

TURN TO P. 27, M2

TURN TO  
P.27, M2

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

2. MODERATE

1. LARGE

8. DK

Mlw. 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. 29, 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. GOV'T SHOULD HELP

3. SOMEWHERE BETWEEN

5. MINORITIES  
HELP SELVES

8. DON'T KNOW

GO TO M2d

GO TO 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. GOV'T SHOULD HELP

3. SOMEWHERE BETWEEN

5. MINORITIES  
HELP SELVES

8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P.28, M2g

TURN TO P.28, 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

## M2b. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:

☐ 1. "WALTER MONDALE" IS  
NOT CROSSED OUT

☐ 5. "WALTER MONDALE" IS  
CROSSED OUT → GO TO M2p

M2b. 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 SELVES8. DON'T  
KNOW

GO TO M2p

GO TO M2p

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 - M2o. OMITTED

## M2p. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:

☐ 1. "JESSE JACKSON" IS  
NOT CROSSED OUT

☐ 5. "JESSE JACKSON" IS  
CROSSED OUT → TURN TO  
P.29, 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 SELVES8. DON'T  
KNOW

TURN TO P.29, M3

TURN TO P.29, 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. 31, 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

GO TO M3d

GO TO 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

TURN TO P. 30, M3g

TURN TO P. 30, 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 M3p

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 M3p

GO TO M3p

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 - M3o. OMITTED

## M3p. INTERVIEWER'S CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:

☐ 1. "JESSE JACKSON" IS  
NOT CROSSED OUT

☐ 2. "JESSE JACKSON" IS  
CROSSED OUT → TURN TO  
P. 31, 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

TURN TO P. 31, M6

TURN TO P. 31, 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. 32, 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

GO TO M6g

GO TO 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

TURN TO P.32, M7

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. DK

TURN TO P.32, M7

TURN TO  
P.32, M7

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

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. 34, 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. 33, M8d

TURN TO  
P.33, 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 → TURN TO P. 34, M9

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

TURN TO P. 34, M9

TURN TO  
P. 34, M9

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

M8f. 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

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, M10

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

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. DON'T KNOW

GO TO M9g

GO TO 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 → TURN TO P. 35, M10

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. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 35, M10

TURN TO P. 35, M10

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

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## SECTION N

N1. Now we'd like you to tell us what you think Mr. Reagan's chances of winning the presidency in 1984 are.

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.

As you know, Ronald Reagan has been nominated by the Republicans. What chance do you think he has of winning the 1984 Presidential election?

\_\_\_\_\_(NUMBER)

998. DON'T KNOW



## SECTION Y

37

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, Y5Y4a. 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 gradu-  
ate 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

GO BACK TO Y5a,  
"WORKING NOW"

5. NO

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	

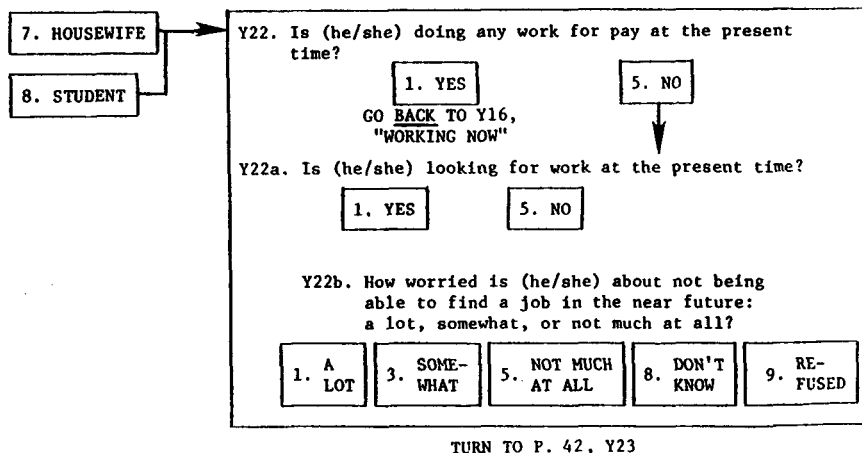
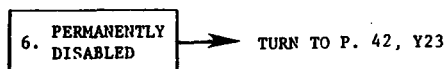
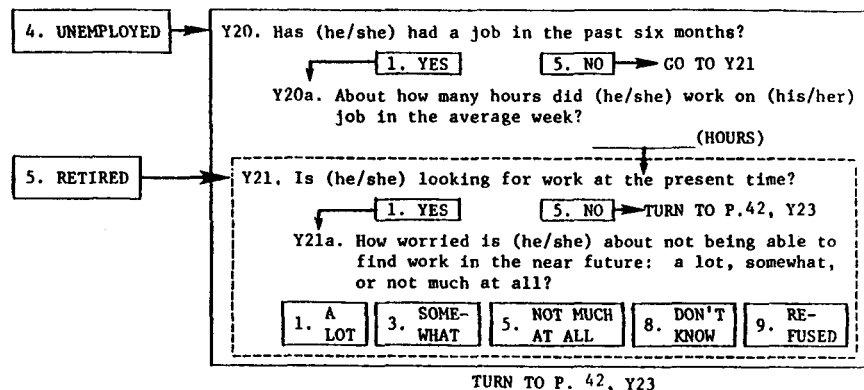
Y14b. We'd like to talk about the person in your household who provides the major share of financial support -- the main breadwinner. Who is this person? (What is his/her relationship to you?)

RELATIONSHIP TO R	RESPONDENT
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	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?					
	<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>	1. A LOT	3. SOMEWHAT	5. NOT MUCH AT ALL	8. DON'T KNOW	9. REFUSED
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?					
	<table border="1"> <tr> <td>1. YES</td> <td>5. NO</td> </tr> </table>	1. YES	5. NO			
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?					
	<table border="1"> <tr> <td>1. YES</td> <td>5. NO</td> </tr> </table>	1. YES	5. NO			
1. YES	5. NO					

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 10



**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 a <u>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 a <u>lot</u> more or a <u>little</u> more?		A3b. Has it fallen behind a <u>lot</u> or a <u>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

A41. 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 political figures 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  
(3-DIGIT NUMBER FROM  
LABEL ON COVER SHEET):

BLUE CARD

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  
 u. Geraldine Ferraro

Versions 8-13

C2. Now let's talk about your feelings toward the political figures 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 NAME	998. DON'T KNOW WHERE TO RATE; CAN'T JUDGE	
RATING			
			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
			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 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 F

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 F

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

\_\_\_\_ (NUMBER OF DAYS IN WEEK)

6. 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.10, F3

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

F3. Did you watch any of the televised Democratic National Convention?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW; CAN'T RECALL

GO TO F4

F3a. About how many hours (of the Democratic National Convention) did you watch? (What is your best guess?)

\_\_\_\_\_ HOURS

98. DON'T KNOW; CAN'T RECALL

F4. Did you watch any of the televised Republican National Convention?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW; CAN'T RECALL

TURN TO P. 10a, F5

F4a. About how many hours (of the Republican National Convention) did you watch? (What is your best guess?)

\_\_\_\_\_ HOURS

98. DON'T KNOW; CAN'T RECALL

F5. Did you watch the first televised presidential debate held on October 7 between Ronald Reagan and Walter Mondale?

1. YES

5. NO  
GO TO F7

7. R VOLUNTEERS: LISTENED  
TO DEBATE ON RADIO

8. DON'T KNOW;  
CAN'T RECALL  
GO TO F7

F5a. Did you (watch/listen to) the entire debate or just part of it?

1. ENTIRE

5. PART

7. R VOLUNTEERS:  
INTERRUPTION DUE TO  
CIRCUMSTANCES OTHER  
THAN PERSONAL CHOICE

8. DON'T KNOW;  
CAN'T RECALL

F6. OMITTED

F7. Did you watch the televised vice-presidential debate held on October 11 between George Bush and Geraldine Ferraro?

1. YES

5. NO  
TURN TO P. 11,  
SECTION G

7. R VOLUNTEERS: LISTENED  
TO DEBATE ON RADIO

8. DON'T KNOW;  
CAN'T RECALL

TURN TO P. 11,  
SECTION G

F7a. Did you (watch/listen to) the entire debate or just part of it?

1. ENTIRE

5. PART

7. R VOLUNTEERS:  
INTERRUPTION DUE TO  
CIRCUMSTANCES OTHER  
THAN PERSONAL CHOICE

8. DON'T KNOW;  
CAN'T RECALL

10b

THIS IS A BLANK PAGE





## 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, G10

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.					
n. understands people like you	n.					
o. fair	o.					
p. in touch with ordinary people	p.					
r. religious	r.					

G8. OMITTED

G9. OMITTED

## G10. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:

☐ 1. "GERALDINE FERRARO" IS  
NOT CROSSED OUT

☐ 2. "GERALDINE FERRARO" IS  
CROSSED OUT → TURN TO P. 15,  
SECTION H

G11. Now about Geraldine Ferraro. Would you say "hard working" fits your impression of her: 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

H0. Let's talk about the country as a whole. Would you say that things in the country are generally going very well, fairly well, not too well, or not well at all?

1. VERY WELL

2. FAIRLY WELL

4. NOT TOO WELL

5. NOT WELL AT ALL

8. DON'T KNOW

H1. Now, still talking 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

5. GOTTEN WORSE

8. DON'T KNOW

GO TO H2

GO TO H2

H1a. Would you say much better or somewhat better?

1. MUCH BETTER

2. SOMEWHAT BETTER

H1b. Would you say much worse or somewhat worse?

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

5. EASIER TIME

8. DON'T KNOW

GO TO H3

GO TO H3

H2a. Would you say much harder or a little harder?

1. MUCH HARDER

2. A LITTLE HARDER

H2b. Would you say much easier or a little easier?

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

5. GONE DOWN

8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 16, H4

TURN TO P. 16, H4

H3a. Have they gone up a lot or a little?

1. A LOT

2. A LITTLE

H3b. Have they gone down a lot or 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, J5

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, J5

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, 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, J11

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, J11

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, J11

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, J11

J9. OMITTED

J10. OMITTED

## J11. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:
☐ 1. "GERALDINE FERRARO" IS  
NOT CROSSED OUT

☐ 5. "GERALDINE FERRARO" IS  
 CROSSED OUT → TURN TO P. 22,  
 SECTION K

J12. And what about Geraldine Ferraro. Do you usually think of Geraldine Ferraro as a liberal, a conservative, a moderate, or what?

1. LIBERAL

J12a. Do you think she is a strong liberal or a not-very-strong liberal?

1. STRONG

5. NOT VERY STRONG

TURN TO P. 22, SECTION K

5. CONSERVATIVE

J12b. Do you think she 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

J12c. Do you think she 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 K10K7. 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  
FELT5. NO; NEVER  
FELT

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


K8. OMITTED

K9. OMITTED

## K10. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:☐ 1. "GERALDINE FERRARO" IS  
NOT CROSSED OUT☐ 5. "GERALDINE FERRARO" IS  
CROSSED OUT → TURN TO P.24  
SECTION LK11. And has Geraldine Ferraro (because of the kind of person she is, or because of something she has done) ever made you feel?1. YES; HAVE  
FELT5. NO; NEVER  
FELT

- a. angry toward her
- b. hopeful
- c. afraid of her
- 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>
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- L2. Who was 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. Who was your second choice for the Democratic nomination?

\_\_\_\_\_  
(NAME)

98. DON'T KNOW/  
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
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<p>M0a. 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>M0b. 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				

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
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<p>M1b. Would you prefer a moderate reduction in spending and services, or a large reduction?</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td>2. MODERATE</td> <td>1. LARGE</td> <td>8. DK</td> </tr> </table>	2. MODERATE	1. LARGE	8. DK	<p>M1c. Would you prefer a moderate increase in spending and services, or a large increase?</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td>4. MODERATE</td> <td>5. LARGE</td> <td>8. DK</td> </tr> </table>	4. MODERATE	5. LARGE	8. DK
2. MODERATE	1. LARGE	8. DK					
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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<p>M1e. Do you think he would prefer a moderate reduction in spending and services, or a large reduction?</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td>2. MODERATE</td> <td>1. LARGE</td> <td>8. DK</td> </tr> </table>	2. MODERATE	1. LARGE	8. DK	<p>M1f. Do you think he would prefer a moderate increase in spending and services, or a large increase?</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td>4. MODERATE</td> <td>5. LARGE</td> <td>8. DK</td> </tr> </table>	4. MODERATE	5. LARGE	8. DK
2. MODERATE	1. LARGE	8. DK					
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 Mlt

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 Mlt

GO TO  
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

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-Mls. OMITTED

## Mlt. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT

REFER TO BLUE CARD:

☐ 1. "JESSE JACKSON" IS  
NOT CROSSED OUT

☐ 2. "JESSE JACKSON" IS CROSSED  
OUT → TURN TO P.27, M2

Mlu. 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

TURN TO P. 27, M2

TURN TO  
P.27, M2

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

2. MODERATE

1. LARGE

8. DK

Mlw. 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. 29, 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. DON'T KNOW

GO TO M2d

GO TO 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

TURN TO P.28, M2g

TURN TO P.28, 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 M2p

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 SELVES8. DON'T  
KNOW

GO TO M2p

GO TO M2p

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 - M2o. OMITTED

## M2p. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:

☐ 1. "JESSE JACKSON" IS  
NOT CROSSED OUT

☐ 5. "JESSE JACKSON" IS  
CROSSED OUT → TURN TO  
P.29, 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. GOVT SHOULD HELP

3. SOMEWHERE BETWEEN

5. MINORITIES  
HELP SELVES8. DON'T  
KNOW

TURN TO P.29, M3

TURN TO P.29, 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. 31, 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

GO TO M3d

GO TO 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

TURN TO P. 30, M3g

TURN TO P. 30, 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 M3p

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 M3p

GO TO M3p

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 - M3o. OMITTED

## M3p. INTERVIEWER'S CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:

☐ 1. "JESSE JACKSON" is  
NOT CROSSED OUT

☐ 2. "JESSE JACKSON" IS  
CROSSED OUT → TURN TO  
P. 31, 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

TURN TO P. 31, M6

TURN TO P. 31, 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. 32, 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

GO TO M6g

GO TO 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 → TURN TO P.32, M7

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. DK

TURN TO P.32, M7

TURN TO  
P.32, M7

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

- 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. 34, 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. 33, M8d

TURN TO  
P. 33, 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 → TURN TO P. 34, M9

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

TURN TO P. 34, M9

TURN TO  
P. 34, M9

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

M8f. 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

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, M10

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

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. DON'T KNOW

GO TO M9g

GO TO 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 → TURN TO P. 35, M10

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. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 35, M10

TURN TO P. 35, M10

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



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## SECTION N

N1. Now we'd like you to tell us what you think Mr. Reagan's chances of winning the presidency in 1984 are.

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.

As you know, Ronald Reagan has been nominated by the Republicans.  
What chance do you think he has of winning the 1984 Presidential election?

\_\_\_\_\_ (NUMBER)

998. DON'T KNOW
-----------------

## SECTION Y

37

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. SEPARATED	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+
----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	-----

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

8. STUDENT →

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 &amp; LIVING WITH SPOUSE</u>	<input type="checkbox"/> 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
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	→	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
----------	-------------	--------------------	---------------	------------

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

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:







## 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
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	5. FALLEN BEHIND	8. DON'T KNOW
TURN TO P. 2, A4		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

→ 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 political figures 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

versions 8-13

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
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 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 F

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 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.10, F3

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

F3. Did you watch any of the televised Democratic National Convention?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW; CAN'T RECALL

GO TO F4

F3a. About how many hours (of the Democratic National Convention) did you watch? (What is your best guess?)

\_\_\_\_\_ HOURS

98. DON'T KNOW; CAN'T RECALL

F4. Did you watch any of the televised Republican National Convention?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW; CAN'T RECALL

TURN TO P. 10a, F5

F4a. About how many hours (of the Republican National Convention) did you watch? (What is your best guess?)

\_\_\_\_\_ HOURS

98. DON'T KNOW; CAN'T RECALL



F5. Did you watch the first televised presidential debate held on October 7 between Ronald Reagan and Walter Mondale?

1. YES

5. NO

GO TO F6

7. R VOLUNTEERS: LISTENED  
TO DEBATE ON RADIO

8. DON'T KNOW;  
CAN'T RECALL

GO TO F6

F5a. Did you (watch/listen to) the entire debate or just part of it?

1. ENTIRE

5. PART

7. R VOLUNTEERS:  
INTERRUPTION DUE TO  
CIRCUMSTANCES OTHER  
THAN PERSONAL CHOICE

8. DON'T KNOW;  
CAN'T RECALL

F6. Did you watch the second televised presidential debate held on October 21 between Ronald Reagan and Walter Mondale?

1. YES

5. NO

GO TO F7

7. R VOLUNTEERS: LISTENED  
TO DEBATE ON RADIO

8. DON'T KNOW;  
CAN'T RECALL

GO TO F7

F6a. Did you (watch/listen to) the entire debate or just part of it?

1. ENTIRE

5. PART

7. R VOLUNTEERS:  
INTERRUPTION DUE TO  
CIRCUMSTANCES OTHER  
THAN PERSONAL CHOICE

8. DON'T KNOW;  
CAN'T RECALL

F7. Did you watch the televised vice-presidential debate held on October 11 between George Bush and Geraldine Ferraro?

1. YES

5. NO

TURN TO P. 11,  
SECTION G

7. R VOLUNTEERS: LISTENED  
TO DEBATE ON RADIO

8. DON'T KNOW;  
CAN'T RECALL

TURN TO P. 11,  
SECTION G

F7a. Did you (watch/listen to) the entire debate or just part of it?

1. ENTIRE

5. PART

7. R VOLUNTEERS:  
INTERRUPTION DUE TO  
CIRCUMSTANCES OTHER  
THAN PERSONAL CHOICE

8. DON'T KNOW;  
CAN'T RECALL

10b

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## 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	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.13,66

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, G10

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.					
n. understands people like you	n.					
o. fair	o.					
p. in touch with ordinary people	p.					
r. religious	r.					

G8. OMITTED

G9. OMITTED

## G10. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:
☐ 1. "GERALDINE FERRARO" IS  
NOT CROSSED OUT

☐ 2. "GERALDINE FERRARO" IS  
 CROSSED OUT → TURN TO P. 15,  
 SECTION H

G11. Now about Geraldine Ferraro. Would you say "hard working" fits your impression of her: 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

H0. Let's talk about the country as a whole. Would you say that things in the country are generally going very well, fairly well, not too well, or not well at all?

1. VERY WELL

2. FAIRLY WELL

4. NOT TOO WELL

5. NOT WELL AT ALL

8. DON'T KNOW

H1. Now, still talking 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

5. GOTTEN WORSE

8. DON'T KNOW

GO TO H2

GO TO H2

H1a. Would you say much better or somewhat better?

1. MUCH BETTER

2. SOMEWHAT BETTER

H1b. Would you say much worse or somewhat worse?

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

5. EASIER TIME

8. DON'T KNOW

GO TO H3

GO TO H3

H2a. Would you say much harder or a little harder?

1. MUCH HARDER

2. A LITTLE HARDER

H2b. Would you say much easier or a little easier?

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

5. GONE DOWN

8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 16, H4

TURN TO P. 16, H4

H3a. Have they gone up a lot or a little?

1. A LOT

2. A LITTLE

H3b. Have they gone down a lot or 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, J11

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, J11

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, J11

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, J11

J9. OMITTED

J10. OMITTED

## J11. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:

☐ 1. "GERALDINE FERRARO" IS  
NOT CROSSED OUT

☐ 5. "GERALDINE FERRARO" IS  
 CROSSED OUT → TURN TO P.22,  
 SECTION K

J12. And what about Geraldine Ferraro. Do you usually think of Geraldine Ferraro as a liberal, a conservative, a moderate, or what?

1. LIBERAL

J12a. Do you think she is a strong liberal or a not-very-strong liberal?

1. STRONG

5. NOT VERY STRONG

TURN TO P. 22, SECTION K

5. CONSERVATIVE

J12b. Do you think she 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

J12c. Do you think she 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 K10

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      5. NO; NEVER  
                   FELT                    FELT

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


K8. OMITTED

K9. OMITTED

## K10. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:
☐ 1. "GERALDINE FERRARO" IS  
NOT CROSSED OUT

☐ 5. "GERALDINE FERRARO" IS  
 CROSSED OUT —▶ TURN TO P.24  
 SECTION L

K11. And has Geraldine Ferraro (because of the kind of person she is, or because of something she has done) ever made you feel:

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

- a. angry toward her  
 b. hopeful  
 c. afraid of her  
 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
L1a. Would you call yourself a <u>strong</u> Republican or a <u>not very strong</u> Republican?	L1b. Would you call yourself a <u>strong</u> Democrat or a <u>not very strong</u> Democrat?	L1c. Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party or to the Democratic Party?
1. STRONG 5. NOT VERY STRONG	1. STRONG 5. NOT VERY STRONG	1. CLOSER TO REPUBLICAN 5. CLOSER TO DEMOCRATIC 3. NEITHER

L2. Who was 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. Who was your second choice for the Democratic nomination?

\_\_\_\_\_ (NAME)

98. DON'T KNOW/  
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 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
--------------------	--	------------------	-----------------------------

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 M1t

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 M1t

GO TO  
M1t

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-Mls. OMITTED

## Mlt. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:

☐ 1. "JESSE JACKSON" IS  
NOT CROSSED OUT

☐ 2. "JESSE JACKSON" IS CROSSED  
OUT → TURN TO P.27, M2

Mlu. 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

TURN TO P. 27, M2

TURN TO  
P.27, M2

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

2. MODERATE

1. LARGE

8. DK

Mlw. 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. 29, 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. DON'T KNOW

GO TO M2d

GO TO 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

TURN TO P.28, M2g

TURN TO P.28,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 M2p

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 SELVES8. DON'T  
KNOW

GO TO M2p

GO TO M2p

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 - M2o. OMITTED

## M2p. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:

☐ 1. "JESSE JACKSON" IS  
NOT CROSSED OUT

☐ 5. "JESSE JACKSON" IS  
CROSSED OUT → TURN TO  
P.29, 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. GOVT SHOULD HELP

3. SOMEWHERE BETWEEN

5. MINORITIES  
HELP SELVES8. DON'T  
KNOW

TURN TO P.29, M3

TURN TO P.29, 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. 31, 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

GO TO M3d

GO TO 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

TURN TO P. 30, M3g

TURN TO P. 30, 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 M3p

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 M3p

GO TO M3p

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 - M3o. OMITTED

## M3p. INTERVIEWER'S CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:

- ☐ 1. "JESSE JACKSON" is NOT CROSSED OUT
- ☐ 2. "JESSE JACKSON" IS CROSSED OUT → TURN TO P.31, 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

TURN TO P. 31, M6

TURN TO P.31,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. 32, 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

GO TO M6g

GO TO 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 → TURN TO P.32, M7

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. DK

TURN TO P.32, M7

TURN TO  
P.32, M7

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

- 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. 34, 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. 33, M8d

TURN TO  
P.33, 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 → TURN TO P. 34, M9

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

TURN TO P. 34, M9

TURN TO  
P. 34, M9

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

M8f. 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

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, M10

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

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. DON'T KNOW

GO TO M9g

GO TO 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 → TURN TO P. 35, M10

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. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 35, M10

TURN TO P. 35, M10

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

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## SECTION N

N1. Now we'd like you to tell us what you think Mr. Reagan's chances of winning the presidency in 1984 are.

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.

As you know, Ronald Reagan has been nominated by the Republicans. What chance do you think he has of winning the 1984 Presidential election?

\_\_\_\_\_ (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

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?					
	<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>	1. A LOT	3. SOMEWHAT	5. NOT MUCH AT ALL	8. DON'T KNOW	9. REFUSED
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?					
	<table border="1"> <tr> <td>1. YES</td> <td>5. NO</td> </tr> </table>	1. YES	5. NO			
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?					
	<table border="1"> <tr> <td>1. YES</td> <td>5. NO</td> </tr> </table>	1. YES	5. NO			
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
----------	-------------	--------------------	---------------	------------

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

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

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

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

## SECTION 2

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:



Project 495806  
Jan.-Nov., 1984  
Version 12+13

**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.

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

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

TURN TO P. 2, A4

5. FALLEN BEHIND

8. DON'T KNOW

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 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. Were you 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. Did you personally care a good deal which party won the presidential election in the fall of 1984, or didn't you care very much which party won?

1. CARED A GOOD DEAL

3. DIDN'T CARE VERY MUCH

8. DON'T KNOW

B4. Did anyone call you up or come around and talk to you about supporting a candidate for president?

1. YES

5. NO

B5. Did anyone call you up or come around to talk to you about registering to vote?

1. YES

5. NO

B6. This year did you talk to anyone and try to show them why they should support one of the candidates for president?

1. YES

5. NO

B7. OMITTED.

B8. OMITTED.

B9. In talking to people about elections, we often find that a lot of people were not able to vote because they weren't registered, they were sick, or they just didn't have time. How about you -- did you vote in the elections this November?

1. YES, DID VOTE

5. NO, DIDN'T VOTE

8. DON'T KNOW

B9a. How about the election for President? Did you vote for a candidate for President?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 6,  
SECTION C

B9b. Who did you vote for?

1. REAGAN

2. MONDALE

7. OTHER, SPECIFY: \_\_\_\_\_

B9c. Would you say that your preference for this candidate was strong or not strong?

1. STRONG

5. NOT STRONG

8. DON'T KNOW

B1c. How about the election for President? Did you prefer one of the candidates for President?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 6,  
SECTION C

B9d. Who did you prefer?

1. REAGAN

2. MONDALE

7. OTHER, SPECIFY: \_\_\_\_\_

## SECTION C

INTERVIEWER INSTRUCTION: USE BLUE CARD TO RECORD ANSWERS TO C1

- C1. I'm going to read a list with names of political figures 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
f. John Anderson
g. Ernest Hollings
i. Jesse Jackson
j. George Bush
k. Howard Baker
m. George McGovern
o. Gary Hart
u. Geraldine Ferraro

Versions 8-13



## 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 F
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 F

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

\_\_\_\_ (NUMBER OF DAYS IN WEEK)

G. 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)

O. NONE

TURN TO  
P.10, F3

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

F3. Did you watch any of the televised Democratic National Convention?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW; CAN'T RECALL

GO TO F4

F3a. About how many hours (of the Democratic National Convention) did you watch? (What is your best guess?)

\_\_\_\_\_ HOURS

98. DON'T KNOW; CAN'T RECALL

F4. Did you watch any of the televised Republican National Convention?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW; CAN'T RECALL

TURN TO P. 10a, F5

F4a. About how many hours (of the Republican National Convention) did you watch? (What is your best guess?)

\_\_\_\_\_ HOURS

98. DON'T KNOW; CAN'T RECALL

F5. Did you watch the first televised presidential debate held on October 7 between Ronald Reagan and Walter Mondale?

1. YES

5. NO

GO TO F6

7. R VOLUNTEERS: LISTENED  
TO DEBATE ON RADIO

8. DON'T KNOW;  
CAN'T RECALL

GO TO F6

F5a. Did you (watch/listen to) the entire debate or just part of it?

1. ENTIRE

5. PART

7. R VOLUNTEERS:  
INTERRUPTION DUE TO  
CIRCUMSTANCES OTHER  
THAN PERSONAL CHOICE

8. DON'T KNOW;  
CAN'T RECALL

F6. Did you watch the second televised presidential debate held on October 21 between Ronald Reagan and Walter Mondale?

1. YES

5. NO

GO TO F7

7. R VOLUNTEERS: LISTENED  
TO DEBATE ON RADIO

8. DON'T KNOW;  
CAN'T RECALL

GO TO F7

F6a. Did you (watch/listen to) the entire debate or just part of it?

1. ENTIRE

5. PART

7. R VOLUNTEERS:  
INTERRUPTION DUE TO  
CIRCUMSTANCES OTHER  
THAN PERSONAL CHOICE

8. DON'T KNOW;  
CAN'T RECALL

F7. Did you watch the televised vice-presidential debate held on October 11 between George Bush and Geraldine Ferraro?

1. YES

5. NO

TURN TO P. 11,  
SECTION G

7. R VOLUNTEERS: LISTENED  
TO DEBATE ON RADIO

8. DON'T KNOW;  
CAN'T RECALL

TURN TO P. 11,  
SECTION G

F7a. Did you (watch/listen to) the entire debate or just part of it?

1. ENTIRE

5. PART

7. R VOLUNTEERS:  
INTERRUPTION DUE TO  
CIRCUMSTANCES OTHER  
THAN PERSONAL CHOICE

8. DON'T KNOW;  
CAN'T RECALL

THIS IS A BLANK PAGE

## 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	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, G10

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.					
n. understands people like you	n.					
o. fair	o.					
p. in touch with ordinary people	p.					
r. religious	r.					

G8. OMITTED

G9. OMITTED

## G10. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:
☐ 1. "GERALDINE FERRARO" IS  
NOT CROSSED OUT

☐ 2. "GERALDINE FERRARO" IS  
 CROSSED OUT → TURN TO P. 15,  
 SECTION H

G11. Now about Geraldine Ferraro. Would you say "hard working" fits your impression of her: 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

H0. Let's talk about the country as a whole. Would you say that things in the country are generally going very well, fairly well, not too well, or not well at all?

1. VERY WELL

2. FAIRLY WELL

4. NOT TOO WELL

5. NOT WELL AT ALL

8. DON'T KNOW

H1. Now, still talking 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

5. GOTTEN WORSE

8. DON'T KNOW

GO TO H2

GO TO H2

H1a. Would you say much better or somewhat better?

1. MUCH BETTER

2. SOMEWHAT BETTER

H1b. Would you say much worse or somewhat worse?

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

5. EASIER TIME

8. DON'T KNOW

GO TO H3

GO TO H3

H2a. Would you say much harder or a little harder?

1. MUCH HARDER

2. A LITTLE HARDER

H2b. Would you say much easier or a little easier?

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

5. GONE DOWN

8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 16, H4

TURN TO P. 16, H4

H3a. Have they gone up a lot or a little?

1. A LOT

2. A LITTLE

H3b. Have they gone down a lot or 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  
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, J11

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, J11

☐ 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, J11

☐ 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, J11

J9. OMITTED

J10. OMITTED

## J11. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:
☐ 1. "GERALDINE FERRARO" IS  
NOT CROSSED OUT

☐ 5. "GERALDINE FERRARO" IS  
 CROSSED OUT → TURN TO P.22,  
 SECTION K

J12. And what about Geraldine Ferraro. Do you usually think of Geraldine Ferraro as a liberal, a conservative, a moderate, or what?

1. LIBERAL

J12a. Do you think she is a strong liberal or a not-very-strong liberal?

1. STRONG

5. NOT VERY STRONG

TURN TO P. 22, SECTION K

5. CONSERVATIVE

J12b. Do you think she 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

J12c. Do you think she 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 K10K7. 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


K8. OMITTED

K9. OMITTED

## K10. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:☐ 1. "GERALDINE FERRARO" IS  
NOT CROSSED OUT☐ 5. "GERALDINE FERRARO" IS  
CROSSED OUT → TURN TO P.24  
SECTION LK11. And has Geraldine Ferraro (because of the kind of person she is, or because of something she has done) ever made you feel?

a. angry toward her

b. hopeful

c. afraid of her

d. proud

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 was 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. Who was your second choice for the Democratic nomination?

\_\_\_\_\_  
(NAME)

98. DON'T KNOW/  
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 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
--------------------	--	------------------	-----------------------------

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 MltMlh. 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 Mlt

GO TO  
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

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-Mls. OMITTED

## Mlt. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT

REFER TO BLUE CARD:

☐ 1. "JESSE JACKSON" IS  
NOT CROSSED OUT☐ 2. "JESSE JACKSON" IS CROSSED  
OUT → TURN TO P.27, M2Mlu. 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

TURN TO P. 27, M2

TURN TO  
P.27, M2

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

2. MODERATE

1. LARGE

8. DK

Mlw. 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. 29, 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. DON'T KNOW

GO TO M2d

GO TO 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

TURN TO P. 28, M2g

TURN TO P. 28, 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 M2p

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

GO TO M2p

5. MINORITIES  
HELP SELVES8. DON'T  
KNOW

GO TO M2p

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 - M2o. OMITTED

## M2p. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:

☐ 1. "JESSE JACKSON" IS  
NOT CROSSED OUT

☐ 5. "JESSE JACKSON" IS  
CROSSED OUT → TURN TO  
P.29, 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

TURN TO P.29, M3

5. MINORITIES  
HELP SELVES8. DON'T  
KNOW

TURN TO P.29, 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. 31, 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

GO TO M3d

GO TO 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

TURN TO P. 30, M3g

TURN TO P. 30, 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 M3p

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 M3p

GO TO M3p

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 - M3o. OMITTED

## M3p. INTERVIEWER'S CHECKPOINT:

REFER TO BLUE CARD:

- ☐ 1. "JESSE JACKSON" is NOT CROSSED OUT
- ☐ 2. "JESSE JACKSON" IS CROSSED OUT → TURN TO P. 31, 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

TURN TO P. 31, M6

TURN TO P. 31, 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. 32, 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

GO TO M6g

GO TO 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 OUT5. "WALTER MONDALE" IS  
CROSSED OUT → TURN TO P. 32, M7

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. DK

TURN TO P. 32, M7

TURN TO  
P. 32, M7

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

- 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. 34, 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. 33, M8d

TURN TO  
P. 33, 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 → TURN TO P. 34, M9

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

TURN TO P. 34, M9

TURN TO  
P.34,M9

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

M8f. 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

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, M10

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

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. DON'T KNOW

GO TO M9g

GO TO 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 → TURN TO P. 35, M10

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. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 35, M10

TURN TO P. 35, M10

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

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## SECTION N

N1. Now we'd like you to tell us what you think Mr. Reagan's chances of winning the presidency in 1984 are.

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.

As you know, Ronald Reagan has been nominated by the Republicans. What chance do you think he has of winning the 1984 Presidential election?

\_\_\_\_\_ (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 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+

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:

☐

1. R ONLY ADULT IN HOUSEHOLD OR LIVES ALONE → TURN TO P. 42, Y23

☐

5. R LIVES WITH OTHER ADULTS IN HOUSEHOLD

Y14a.

☐

1. R MARRIED &amp; 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?)

RESPONDENT

RELATIONSHIP TO R

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

2. TEMPORARILY  
LAID OFF

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.)

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. 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
----------	-------------	--------------------	---------------	------------

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

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: