

For Office Use Only

COVER SHEET  
PRE-ELECTION SURVEY  
1984 NATIONAL ELECTION STUDIES

Project 49  
(495811)  
Fall 1984

0. This cover sheet describes:

- ☐ An HU structure added to ASP Listing Sheet and selected for this study  
☐ An added HU found at a listed and selected ASP line

The sample ID is:   -   -     -

2. INTERVIEWER'S LABEL

1. SAMPLE ADDRESS: a. Quarter Code

b. State

c. Congressional District

d. Segment  Line

e. (Unique) Address or Description:

f. Sample Location

3. Your Iw Number

4. Date of Iw

5. Length of Iw  (Minutes)

6. Length of Post-Edit  (Minutes)

7. THE ADDRESS OR DESCRIPTION PRINTED ON THE SAMPLE LABEL ABOVE WAS FOUND TO HAVE: (CHECK ONE)

1 HU

2 HU's

3 HU's

4 HU's

5 OR MORE HU's

Do not attempt any interviews. Obtain HU locations within the structure and call your supervisor.

HU 1 is uniquely described by adding the following description about the location of HU 1 in the structure to the sample address on the label:

The unique and complete address or description for each of the additional HU's is (use street address/description and location of HU in the structure).

	SAMPLE ID:	QUARTER CODE
HU2: <input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> - <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> - <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>
HU3: <input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> - <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> - <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>
HU4: <input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> - <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> - <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>

Make out a cover sheet for each of the additional HU's. Attempt an interview at HU 1 and at each of the additional HU's.

Call your supervisor later to obtain sample ID's and quarter verification for each of the additional HU's. Record the ID's on the respective lines above. Enter the ID in Box 0 of the cover sheet(s) for each added HU(s).

8. Hello, my name is , and I work for The University of Michigan's Survey Research Center. Here is my identification (SHOW ID). The University is conducting a study throughout the nation, asking the American people about their feelings on a variety of topics, things like feelings about the economy, the upcoming presidential election, and some of the important issues facing the country these days. This address was selected as part of the study's national sample, and I would like to interview a member of this household.  
TURN TO P. 4, #10, HOUSEHOLD LISTING

9. CALL RECORD

Call Number	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Date								
Day of Week								
Time of Day								
Result								
Iwer ID No.								

- R1. Thank you for this interview. We value people like you who are willing to contribute their opinions to our research. Our office in Ann Arbor, Michigan, may wish to get in touch with you by phone or mail to verify this interview. Also, in the future we may want to contact you again to arrange another opportunity to talk just as we did, about a number of different topics. For these reasons, I would like to have your name, address and phone number. (BE CERTAIN THAT FOR WOMEN YOU OBTAIN THEIR FIRST NAME, NOT THEIR HUSBAND'S FIRST NAME.)

**MR**    **MRS**

FIRST NAME / MIDDLE INITIAL / LAST NAME

**MISS**    **MS**

STREET ADDRESS

**DR**

CITY STATE ZIP

Telephone number  
for verification:

R REFUSES NO. R HAS NO PHONE

GO TO R2

- Q1a. Is your phone number listed in the current telephone directory?**

1. YES, LISTED  
↓  
5. NO, NOT LISTED  
8. NOT SURE, DON'T KNOW  
GO TO R2

- Rlb. Is your phone listed in your name?**

1. YES      5. NO → Ric. In whose name is the phone listed?

- R2. Is this your only place of residence?**

1. YES

5. NO → We may wish to contact you at your other residence. May I have the address and phone number?

STREET ADDRESS

CITY

STATE

ZIP

TELEPHONE NUMBER:

NO PHONE

- R3. If for any reason we should have difficulty contacting you, could you give me the name, address and telephone number of a close friend or relative who will know how to get in touch with you?

NAME: \_\_\_\_\_  
ADDRESS: \_\_\_\_\_  
TELEPHONE: \_\_\_\_\_

- R4. Which days of the week and times of the day are generally good if we should wish to reach you at home?

	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY	SUNDAY
TIME							

- R5. INTERVIEWER:** 1. R HAS PHONE AND GIVEN THE NUMBER

5. R HAS NO PHONE OR HAS REFUSED  
NUMBER

END OF FORM

- R5a. Is there a reason (e.g., hearing problem, illness) why we should not conduct the Post-Election interview with this R by phone?

**1. YES**                      **5. NO** → END OF FORM

- RSb. What is the reason?

## 3

[illegible]

- 10(a) - (c). In order to determine who to interview, I need to know who lives here at this address--not their names, just their ages and their relationship to you and whether any of the persons is not an American citizen. Let's start with you--how old are you?

Now I'd like the sex and age and relationship to you of each of the other members of this household who are 17 years of age or older.

- 10(d). (IF 17 YEARS OR AGE) Will (PERSON) be 18 years old on or before November 6, 1984?

- 10(e). Are all of these people U.S. citizens? (Who is not a U.S. citizen?)

	(a) Household Members Relationship to Informant	(b) Age	(c) Sex	(d) 18 by Nov. 6? YES/NO	(e) U.S. Citizen YES/NO	(f) Eligible Person "/"	(g) Person Number	(h) Selected Respondent "R"
PERSONS 17 YEARS OLD OR OLDER	M		M					
	A		M					
	L		M					
	E		M					
	S		M					
			M					
	F		F					
	E		F					
	M		F					
	A		F					
L		F						
E		F						
S		F						

11. Now I'd like the sex and age and relationship to you of each of the members of this household who are 16 years of age or younger.

	(a) Household Members	(b) Age	(c) Sex
PERSONS 16 YEARS OR YOUNGER			

SELECTION TABLE D	
If the number of eligible persons is:	Interview the person numbered:
1	1
2	2
3	2
4	3
5	4
6 or more	4

FOR OFFICE USE	
<input type="checkbox"/>	# Persons
<input type="checkbox"/>	Household Composition
<input type="checkbox"/>	# Eligible Adults (✓)
# Children:	
<input type="checkbox"/> ≤ 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 10-13
<input type="checkbox"/> 6-9	<input type="checkbox"/> 14-17

12. You've said there are (REPEAT LISTING); does that include everyone living here at the present time? (IF NO, CORRECT ABOVE.) [Now, I will use a selection procedure--I'm going to number the persons in this household to determine whom we need to interview--(it will take a second....)]

13. ☐ NO ELIGIBLE RESPONDENT (NO ADULTS 18 BY NOV. 6 OR NO U.S. CITIZENS) → SEND IN COVER SHEET WITHOUT NONINTERVIEW FORM. CODE RESULT "NER".

#### SELECTING RESPONDENT

- 10f. Enter a check mark (✓) in column (f) for each person eligible for selection. Eligible persons are U.S. citizens who will be 18 on or before Nov. 6, 1984. In other words, if (d) is "no" and/or (e) is "no", do not enter a check mark in (f).
- 10g. In column (g) assign a sequential number to each eligible person checked in column (f). First number checked MALES from oldest to youngest and then continue the numbering with checked FEMALES, again from oldest to youngest.
- 10h. Use the selection table above to select a respondent. In the first column circle the total number of eligible persons (the highest number assigned in column (g)). The corresponding number in the second column of the selection table denotes the person selected to be interviewed. Enter "R" in column (h) for this person.

14. IF NO INTERVIEW WAS OBTAINED AND THE HU IS OCCUPIED: Were you able to list all adults (18 years or older) residing in this household?

1. YES, ALL ADULTS LISTED

2. YES, PROBABLY ALL ADULTS LISTED

3. NO, ADULT LIST IS INCOMPLETE OR DON'T KNOW

# 1984 PRE-ELECTION STUDY NONINTERVIEW FORM

**PROJ.**  
**49**

☐ 51. REF (R)  
☐ 52. REF (O)  
☐ 53. REF (U)

☐ 61. NOC (RD)  
☐ 62. NOC (RU)  
☐ 63. NIP (DR)  
☐ 67. NIO (UR)

☐ 71. HV  
☐ 72. SV, SORE  
☐ 73. ORE  
☐ 81. SLIP  
☐ 83. VTS

DO NOT WRITE ABOVE THIS LINE ↑

FOLLOW-UP INTERVIEWER'S LABEL

ORIGINAL INTERVIEWER'S LABEL

NR1. SAMPLE ID (FROM SAS) \_\_\_\_\_ NR2. STATE \_\_\_\_\_ NR3. SEGMENT NO. \_\_\_\_\_  
ASP LINE NO. \_\_\_\_\_

NR4. Is this listing line inside the segment boundary?

1. YES, INSIDE BOUNDARY

5. NO, OUTSIDE BOUNDARY

TURN TO P. 3, NR15 AND  
CHECK BOX 81

NR5. Does the listing address (or description) describe a housing unit (HU)?

1. YES, DESCRIBES A HU

5. NO, DOES NOT DESCRIBE A HU

TURN TO P. 3, NR15 AND  
CHECK BOX 81

NR6. Is public access to this HU restricted in any way?

1. YES

5. NO → TURN TO P. 2, NR7

NR6a. DESCRIBE: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

NR7. Is this HU occupied?

1. DEFINITELY OCCUPIED	2. PROBABLY OCCUPIED	4. NO INDICATION OF OCCUPANCY, BUT NOT DEFINITELY VACANT	5. DEFINITELY VACANT	7. OTHER
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TURN TO P. 3, NR15

NR8. Were you ever able to talk with someone at this HU (need not be resident)?

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

NR8a. On any calls were there people in the HU who did not answer the door (or intercom)?

1. YES, DEFINITELY	3. SUSPECT SO	5. NO REASON TO THINK SO
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NR8b. Were all adult occupants of this HU residing elsewhere at a different HU?

5. NO	1. YES
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TURN TO P. 3, NR15 (CHECK BOX 72 OR BOX 73)

NR9. Were you able to identify the respondent in this housing unit?

1. YES, R IDENTIFIED IN ITEM 10, P. 4 OF COVER SHEET	5. NO, HOUSEHOLD LISTING MAY BE OR IS INCOMPLETE
--	--

TURN TO P. 3, NR15

NR10. Age of R: \_\_\_\_\_ (approximate if necessary)

NR11. Sex of R: 

1. MALE
---------

2. FEMALE
-----------

NR12. What is the estimated income of R's household?

1. UNDER \$10,000	2. \$10,000-\$30,000	3. \$30,000 \$500,00	4. \$50,000 OR MORE	8. IMPOSSIBLE TO ESTIMATE
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NR13. Respondent's Race: 

DEFINITELY
------------

PROBABLY
----------

8. DON'T KNOW	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	1. WHITE
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	2. BLACK
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	3. AMERICAN INDIAN OR ALASKAN NATIVE
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	4. ASIAN OR PACIFIC ISLANDER

NR14. Is R of Hispanic Origin?

5. NO	1. YES, MEXICAN-AMERICAN OR CHICANO	2. YES, PUERTO RICAN	3. YES, OTHER HISPANIC	8. DON'T KNOW
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NR15. What is the reason an interview was not taken at this address?

- ☐ 51. REF-R--refusal by the selected respondent
- ☐ 52. REF-O--refusal by someone other than the selected respondent
- ☐ 53. REF-U--refusal-respondent undetermined (refusal before the HU could be listed and the respondent could be selected)
- ☐ 61. NOC-RD--no contact with the determined (selected) respondent (the HU was listed and the respondent selected but R could never be contacted)
- ☐ 62. NOC-RU--no contact; the respondent was undetermined (household listing was never obtained)
- ☐ 63. NIP--noninterview due to a permanent condition
  - NR15a. What is the permanent condition?
    - ☐ 1. R DECEASED AFTER LISTING → END OF FORM
    - ☐ 2. LANGUAGE (What language? \_\_\_\_\_) → END OF FORM
    - ☐ 3. MENTAL OR PHYSICAL CONDITION (Describe in NR16)
    - ☐ 4. MOVED OUT OF RANGE AFTER OCCUPANCY DETERMINED (Enter new address, if known, in NR16)
    - ☐ 7. OTHER PERMANENT CONDITION (Describe in NR16)
- ☐ 67. NIO--noninterview for other reasons (Describe in NR16)
- ☐ 71. HV--housing unit is vacant
- ☐ 72. SV/SORE--seasonal vacant; or seasonal and all adult occupants are residing elsewhere
- ☐ 73. ORE--all adult occupants are residing elsewhere
- ☐ 81. SLIP--sample listing isn't proper; listing does not describe a housing unit or the listing is outside the segment boundary
- ☐ 83. VTS--vacant trailer space

TURN TO  
P. 4, NR16

NR16. Describe in detail the reasons an interview was not taken. Give dates for the activities and events you describe. Examples of the kind of information we are seeking appear below.

*IF LISTING DESCRIBES SOMETHING WHICH IS NOT AN HU OR WHICH IS LOCATED OUTSIDE THIS SAMPLE SEGMENT* indicate what you found.

*IF UNABLE TO GAIN ACCESS* what attempts were made? (Try to obtain names, addresses, and phone numbers of persons to contact re: gaining access.)

*IF REFUSAL*, indicate who refused and reasons (either given or suspected) and what efforts (including letters) were made at persuasion.

*IF "BUSY," "SICK," ETC.*, indicate whether you think this is simply an excuse or a genuine difficulty.

*IF R AWAY* check the Sampling Manual to be sure that (he/she) should be listed. If so, state when R will return, and if R could be interviewed elsewhere.

*IF YOU HAVE BEEN UNABLE TO DETERMINE WHETHER AN HU WAS OCCUPIED OR VACANT*, describe the situation: State what inquiries and other attempts you have made to determine occupancy status.

*IF ALL ADULT OCCUPANTS ARE RESIDING ELSEWHERE* describe situation giving location of other residence, expected length of stay and reason for absence.

DATE

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1984 NATIONAL ELECTION STUDIES

Project 49  
(495811)  
Fall 1984

PRE-ELECTION SURVEY



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

1. INTERVIEWER'S LABEL

2. ID Number from Sample Label  
on cover sheet or item 0 on  
cover sheet:

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

3. Quarter Code from Sample Label  
or item 1 on cover sheet:

1	2	3	4
---	---	---	---

4. Congressional District from  
Sample Label or item 1 on  
cover sheet:

STATE NUMBER

5. Primary Area: \_\_\_\_\_

6. Your Interview Number: \_\_\_\_\_

7. Date Interview Completed: \_\_\_\_\_

8. Length of Interview: \_\_\_\_\_ (Minutes)

9. Time at the beginning  
of post-interview editing: \_\_\_\_\_

10. Time at the end of  
post-interview editing: \_\_\_\_\_

11. Total Time to post-  
interview edit: \_\_\_\_\_ (Minutes)

THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT MUST BE READ TO ALL RESPONDENTS:

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

REVIEWED BY:

☐ SUPERVISOR \_\_\_\_\_ (DATE)

☐ FIELD OFFICE \_\_\_\_\_ (DATE)



## SECTION A

- A1. Some people don't pay much attention to political campaigns. How about you? Would you say that you have been very much interested, somewhat interested, or not much interested in the political campaigns so far this year?

☐ 1. VERY MUCH INTERESTED☐ 3. SOMEWHAT INTERESTED☐ 5. NOT MUCH INTERESTED

- A2. Who do you think will be elected President in November?

☐ 1. REAGAN☐ 2. MONDALE☐ 7. OTHER, SPECIFY: \_\_\_\_\_☐ 8. DON'T KNOW

A2a. Do you think the Presidential race will be close, or will (NAME GIVEN IN A2) win by quite a bit?

☐

1. CLOSE RACE

☐

3. WIN BY QUITE A BIT

☐

8. DON'T KNOW

A2b. Do you think the presidential race will be close or will one candidate win by quite a bit?

☐

1. CLOSE RACE

☐

3. WIN BY QUITE A BIT

☐

8. DON'T KNOW

A3. How about here in (R's STATE)? Which candidate for president do you think will carry this state? (IF NECESSARY: Which candidate will win in this state?)

1. REAGAN

8. DON'T KNOW

2. MONDALE

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

A3a. Do you think the Presidential race will be close here in (R's STATE) or will (NAME GIVEN IN A3) win by quite a bit?

☐

1. CLOSE RACE

☐

3. WIN BY QUITE A BIT

☐

8. DON'T KNOW

A3b. Do you think the Presidential race will be close here in (R'S STATE) or will one candidate win by quite a bit?

☐

1. CLOSE RACE

☐

3. WIN BY QUITE A BIT

☐

8. DON'T KNOW

A4. Generally speaking, would you say that you personally care a good deal which party wins the presidential election this fall, 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

81. Now I'd like to ask you about the good and bad points of the two major candidates for president. Is there anything in particular about Mr. Reagan that might make you want to vote for him?

**1. YES**

5. NO

## 8. DON'T KNOW

**TURN TO P.4,B2**

**Bla. What is that?**

**Bib. Anything else?**

**B2b. Anything else?**

B3. Is there anything in particular about Mr. Mondale that might make you want to vote for him?

1. YES

5. NO

**B. DON'T KNOW**

**TURN TO P.6, B4**

**B3a. What is that?**

**B3b. Anything else?**

5. NO

**8. DON'T KNOW**

**TURN TO P. 7, SECTION C**

**B4a. What is that?**

**B4b. Anything else?**



## SECTION C

C1. Do you ever discuss politics with your family or friends?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW

GO TO C2

C1a. (R.B., P. 1) How often do you discuss politics with your family or friends — every day, 3 or 4 times a week, once or twice a week, or less often than that?

1. EVERY DAY

2. 3 OR 4 TIMES

3. ONCE OR TWICE

4. LESS OFTEN

5. R VOLUNTEERS: NEVER

8. DK

GO TO C2

GO TO C2

C1b. How many days in the past week did you talk about politics with your family or friends?

NUMBER OF DAYS

0. NONE

8. DON'T KNOW

C2. How often do you watch the national network news on TV -- every day, 3 or 4 times a week, once or twice a week, or less often?

1. EVERY DAY

2. 3 OR 4 TIMES

3. ONCE OR TWICE

4. LESS OFTEN

5. R VOLUNTEERS: NEVER WATCHES NEWS ON TV

8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 8, C3

C2a. When you watch the news on TV, do you pay a great deal of attention to news about government and politics, do you pay some attention, or don't you pay much attention to news about government and politics?

5. PAY A GREAT DEAL OF ATTENTION

3. PAY SOME ATTENTION

1. DON'T PAY MUCH ATTENTION

8. DON'T KNOW

C2b. How many days in the past week did you watch national news on TV?

NUMBER OF DAYS

0. NONE

8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 8, C3

C2c. (R. B., p. 2) How much attention did you pay to news on TV 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

8. DK

**B. DON'T KNOW**

**GO TO C4**

C3a. Which paper or papers did you read? (GET FULL TITLE AND CITY WHERE PUBLISHED.) (Any others?)

CITY WHERE PUBLISHED

C3b. (R. B., still p. 2) How much attention did you pay to newspaper articles about the campaign for president--a great deal, quite a bit, some, very little, or none?

**8. DK**

C4. During the past week did you read a weekly news magazine such as Time, Newsweek, U.S. News & World Report, or some other weekly news magazine?

**B. DK**

**TURN TO P.9, SECTION D**

C4b. (R. B., still p. 2) How much attention did you pay to magazine articles about the campaign for president--a great deal, quite a bit, some, very little, or none?

8. DMC

## SECTION D

D1. In general, when it comes to politics, do you usually think of yourself as a liberal, a conservative, a moderate, or what?

1. YES, LIBERAL

D1a. Do you think of yourself as a strong liberal or a not very strong liberal?

1. STRONG

5. NOT VERY STRONG

8. DK

TURN TO P.10, D2

5. YES, CONSERVATIVE

D1b. Do you think of yourself as a strong conservative or a not very strong conservative?

1. STRONG

5. NOT VERY STRONG

8. DK

TURN TO P.10, D2

3. YES, MODERATE  
(MIDDLE OF THE ROAD)

7. NO, NEVER  
(NO PREFERENCE)

8. DON'T KNOW

D1c. Do you think of yourself as more like a liberal or more like a conservative?

1. LIBERAL

5. CONSERVATIVE

3. NEITHER, R REFUSES TO CHOOSE

8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P.10, D2

0. R INSISTS (HE/SHE) HAS ABSOLUTELY NO UNDERSTANDING OF TERMS "LIBERAL" AND "CONSERVATIVE"

→ TURN TO P. 14  
SECTION E

D2. What about Ronald Reagan? Do you usually think of Ronald Reagan as a liberal, a conservative, a moderate, or what?

1. YES, LIBERAL

D2a. Do you think he is a strong liberal or a not very strong liberal?

1. STRONG

5. NOT VERY STRONG

8. DK

TURN TO P.11, D3

5. YES, CONSERVATIVE

D2b. Do you think he is a strong conservative or a not very strong conservative?

1. STRONG

5. NOT VERY STRONG

8. DK

TURN TO P.11, D3

3. YES, MODERATE  
(MIDDLE OF THE ROAD)

7. NO, NEVER  
(NO PREFERENCE)

8. DON'T KNOW

D2c. 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.11, D3

D3. What about Walter Mondale? Do you usually think of Walter Mondale as a liberal, a conservative, a moderate, or what?

1. YES, LIBERAL

D3a. Do you think he is a strong liberal or a not very strong liberal?

1. STRONG

5. NOT VERY STRONG

8. DK

TURN TO P.12, D4

5. YES, CONSERVATIVE

D3b. Do you think he is a strong conservative or a not very strong conservative?

1. STRONG

5. NOT VERY STRONG

8. DK

TURN TO P.12, D4

3. YES, MODERATE  
(MIDDLE OF THE ROAD)

7. NO, NEVER  
(NO PREFERENCE)

8. DON'T KNOW

D3c. 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.12,D4

D4. What about the Democratic Party? Do you usually think of the Democratic Party as liberal, conservative, moderate, or what?

1. YES, LIBERAL

D4a. Do you think of the Democratic party as very liberal or not very liberal?

1. VERY  
LIBERAL

5. NOT VERY  
LIBERAL

8. DK

TURN TO P.13, D5

5. YES, CONSERVATIVE

D4b. Do you think of the Democratic party as very conservative or not very conservative?

1. VERY  
CONSERVATIVE

5. NOT VERY  
CONSERVATIVE

8. DK

TURN TO P.13, D5

3. YES, MODERATE  
(MIDDLE OF THE ROAD)

7. NO, NEVER  
(NO PREFERENCE)

8. DON'T KNOW

D4c. Do you think the Democratic party is more liberal or more conservative?

1. LIBERAL

5. CONSERVATIVE

3. NEITHER

8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P.13,D5

D5. What about the Republican Party? Do you usually think of the Republican Party as liberal, conservative, moderate, or what?

1. YES, LIBERAL

D5a. Do you think of the Republican party as very liberal or not very liberal?

1. VERY  
LIBERAL

5. NOT VERY  
LIBERAL

8. DK

TURN TO P.14, SECTION E

5. YES, CONSERVATIVE

D5b. Do you think of the Republican party as very conservative or not very conservative?

1. VERY  
CONSERVATIVE

5. NOT VERY  
CONSERVATIVE

8. DK

TURN TO P.14, SECTION E

3. YES, MODERATE  
(MIDDLE OF THE ROAD)

7. NO, NEVER  
(NO PREFERENCE)

8. DON'T KNOW

D5c. Do you think the Republican party is more liberal or more conservative?

1. LIBERAL

5. CONSERVATIVE

3. NEITHER

8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P.14, SECTION E

## SECTION 2

- E1. We are interested in how people are getting along financially these days. Would you say that you (and your family living here) are better off or worse off financially than you were a year ago?

1. BETTER OFF

3. SAME

5. WORSE OFF

8. DON'T  
KNOWTURN TO  
P.15, E2E1a. Is that much better off or  
somewhat better off?1. MUCH  
BETTER2. SOMEWHAT  
BETTERE1b. Is that much worse off  
or somewhat worse off?5. MUCH  
WORSE6. SOMEWHAT  
WORSEE1c. Why do you think  
this happened?E1d. Why do you think things  
have stayed the same?E1e. Why do you think  
this happened?



- E2. Now looking ahead--do you think that a year from now you (and your family living here) will be better off financially, or worse off, or just about the same as now?

1. BETTER YEAR FROM NOW

3. SAME

5. WORSE YEAR FROM NOW

8. DON'T KNOW

- E3. This past year, have you (and your family living here) had to watch your budget more closely than the year before?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW

GO TO E4

E3a. Is that much more closely or a little more closely?

1. MUCH MORE CLOSELY

5. A LITTLE MORE CLOSELY

8. DK

- E4. 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  
MORE3. STAYED  
ABOUT EVEN5. FALLEN  
BEHIND8. DON'T  
KNOW

GO TO E5

GO TO E5

E4a. Has it gone up a lot more  
or a little more?

1. A LOT

2. A LITTLE

E4b. Has it fallen behind  
a lot or a little?

5. A LOT

4. A LITTLE

- E5. During the past year have you (and your family living here) been able to buy most of the things you needed and planned on, or have you had to put off buying these things?

1. BEEN ABLE TO BUY

5. HAD TO PUT OFF BUYING

8. DON'T KNOW

- E6. In the past year did you (or anyone in your family living here) put off medical or dental treatment because you didn't have the money?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW

- E7. This past year did (any of) you borrow money from a bank, a lending institution, or from relatives or friends in order to make ends meet?

<p>1. YES</p> <p>↓</p> <p><b>E7a. Did you have to borrow <u>more</u>, money, the <u>same</u> amount, or <u>less</u> money than the year before or didn't you have to borrow money then?</b></p> <p>1. MORE    3. SAME    5. LESS</p> <p>7. DIDN'T BORROW THEN</p> <p>8. DON'T KNOW</p>	<p>5. NO    8. DON'T KNOW</p> <p>GO TO E8</p> <p>↓</p> <p><b>E7b. How about the year before last? Did you borrow any money then to make ends meet?</b></p> <p>1. YES    5. NO    8. DON'T KNOW</p>
--	--

- E8. In the past year have you (and your family) had to use your savings to make ends meet?

<p>1. YES</p> <p>↓</p> <p><b>3. R VOLUNTEERS: HAS NO SAVINGS</b></p> <p>TURN TO P.17, E9</p> <p>↓</p> <p><b>E8a. Did you use <u>more</u> of your savings, the <u>same</u>, or <u>less</u> of your savings than the year before, or didn't you have to use your savings then?</b></p> <p>1. MORE    3. SAME    5. LESS</p> <p>7. DIDN'T USE SAVINGS THEN</p> <p>8. DON'T KNOW</p>	<p>5. NO    8. DON'T KNOW</p> <p>TURN TO P.17, E9</p> <p>↓</p> <p><b>E8b. Over the past year have you (and your family) been able to save any money?</b></p> <p>1. YES    5. NO    8. DON'T KNOW</p> <p>TURN TO P.17, E9</p> <p>↓</p> <p><b>E8c. Have you been able to save <u>more</u>, money, the <u>same</u> amount, or <u>less</u> money than the year before?</b></p> <p>1. MORE    3. SAME    5. LESS    8. DK</p>
--	--

- E9. This past year have you (or anyone in your family living here) fallen behind in rent or house payments?

☐ 1. YES

☐ 5. NO

☐ 8. DON'T KNOW

- E10. In the past year have (any of) you looked for a new job, or looked for a second job, or tried to work more hours at your present job in order to make ends meet?

☐ 1. YES

☐ 5. NO

☐ 8. DON'T KNOW

- E11. Would you say that the economic policies of the federal government have made you (and your family living here) better off, worse off, or haven't they made much of a difference either way?

☐ 1. BETTER OFF

☐ 3. HAVEN'T MADE MUCH DIFFERENCE

☐ 5. WORSE

☐ 8. DON'T KNOW

GO TO E12

GO TO E12

 E11a. Is that much better off or somewhat better off?

☐ 1. MUCH BETTER

☐ 2. SOMEWHAT BETTER

 E11b. Is that much worse off or somewhat worse off?

☐ 5. MUCH WORSE

☐ 4. SOMEWHAT WORSE

- E12. 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.)

R DOESN'T MENTION ANY GROUPS

TURN TO P.18, E13

 TURN TO P.19, E18  
(ASK E18-E22)

## E13. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

<input type="checkbox"/> 1. R NAMED MORE THAN ONE GROUP IN E12	<input type="checkbox"/> 2. R NAMED ONLY ONE GROUP IN E12
--	---

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

BELOW, CHECK A BOX FOR THE GROUP NAMES IN E13, OR ENTER GROUP IN BOX FOR "OTHER"

10. WOMEN

20. BLACKS

30. ELDERLY (SENIOR CITIZENS)

40. THE POOR

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

OTHER (SPECIFY):

E13a.

E14. Would you say that over the past year the economic position of GROUP FROM E13a has gotten better, stayed about the same, or gotten worse?

1. GOTTEN BETTER

2. STAYED THE SAME

3. GOTTEN WORSE

4. DK

TURN TO  
P.19, E15E14a. Would you say MUCH better or SOMEWHAT better?

1. MUCH

2. SOMEWHAT

E14b. Would you say MUCH worse or SOMEWHAT worse?

3. MUCH

4. SOMEWHAT

E14c. Why do you think this happened?

E14d. Why do you think things have stayed the same?

E14e. Why do you think this happened?

E15. Would you say that over the past year the incomes of GROUP FROM E13a 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
GO TO E16			
E15a. Have they gone up a <u>lot</u> or a <u>little</u> ?		E15b. Have they fallen behind a <u>lot</u> or a <u>little</u> ?	
1. A LOT	2. A LITTLE	5. A LOT	4. A LITTLE

E16. Would you say that the economic policies of the federal government have made GROUP FROM E13a better off, worse off, or haven't they made much of a difference?

1. BETTER	3. HAVEN'T MADE MUCH DIFFERENCE	5. WORSE	8. DON'T KNOW
GO TO E16c			
E16a. Is that <u>much</u> better off or <u>somewhat</u> better off?		E16b. Is that <u>much</u> worse off or <u>somewhat</u> worse off?	
1. MUCH	2. SOMEWHAT	5. MUCH	4. SOMEWHAT

E16c. Would you say that over the past year GROUP FROM E13a have had a harder time finding work, an easier time, or have things stayed about the same?

1. HARDER	3. ABOUT THE SAME	5. EASIER TIME	8. DK
GO TO E17			
E16d. Have they had a <u>much</u> harder time or a <u>little</u> harder time?		E16e. Have they had a <u>much</u> easier time or a <u>little</u> easier time?	
1. MUCH	2. A LITTLE	5. MUCH	4. A LITTLE

#### E17. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT

<input type="checkbox"/> 1. IN E13a 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 E13a:	<input type="checkbox"/> 5. IN E13a NONE OF THE CHECK BOXES 10-50 HAS BEEN "Xed"
<b>WOMEN:</b> MENTIONED → NOT MENTIONED →	E18. 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
<b>BLACKS:</b> MENTIONED → NOT MENTIONED →	E19. 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
<b>THE ELDERLY (SENIOR CITIZENS):</b> MENTIONED → NOT MENTIONED →	E20. (And what about) the elderly? 1. BETTER 3. SAME 5. WORSE 8. DK
<b>THE POOR:</b> MENTIONED → NOT MENTIONED →	E21. (And what about) the poor? 1. BETTER 3. SAME 5. WORSE 8. DK
<b>THE MIDDLE CLASS (INCLUDING UPPER/LOWER MIDDLE):</b> MENTIONED → NOT MENTIONED →	E22. (And what about) the middle class? 1. BETTER 3. SAME 5. WORSE 8. DK
GO TO P.20, F1	

## SECTION F

F1. (R.B., P. 3) I am going to read several statements. After each one, I would like you to tell me whether you agree strongly with the statement, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly. You can just give me the number of your choice from the booklet. The first statement is . . .

	1. AGREE STRONGLY	2. AGREE SOMEWHAT	3. NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE	4. DISAGREE SOMEWHAT	5. DISAGREE STRONGLY	6. DON'T KNOW
a. Our society should do whatever is necessary to make sure that everyone has an equal opportunity to succeed.						
b. Most people who don't get ahead should not blame the system; they have only themselves to blame.						
c. We have gone too far in pushing equal rights in this country.						
d. Hard work offers little guarantee of success.						
e. One of the big problems in this country is that we don't give everyone an equal chance.						
f. If people work hard they almost always get what they want.						
g. Men are just better cut out than women for important positions in society.						

F2. (R. B., p. 4) Here is a list of candidates who ran for the Democratic nomination for president this year. Who, out of that group did you want most to see win the Democratic nomination?

96. R VOLUNTEERS: DIDN'T LIKE  
ANY DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE

(NAME OF CANDIDATE)

98. DON'T KNOW, OR R VOLUNTEERS:  
DIDN'T CARE



## SECTION G

- G1. 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

6. DON'T KNOW

- G2. How about the economy. 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. DK

TURN TO  
P.23,G3

G2a. Would you say much better or somewhat better ?

1. MUCH BETTER

2. SOMEWHAT BETTER

G2b. Would you say much worse or somewhat worse ?

5. MUCH WORSE

4. SOMEWHAT WORSE

G2c. Why do you think this happened?

G2d. Why do you think things have stayed the same?

G2e. Why do you think this happened?



- G3. 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 G4

<p>G3a. 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>G3b. 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				

- G4. 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
------------	----------------	--------------	---------------

GO TO G5

<p>G4a. 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>G4b. 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				

- G5. What about the next 12 months? Do you expect the economy to get better, get worse, or stay about the same?

1. GET BETTER	3. STAY SAME	5. GET WORSE	8. DON'T KNOW
---------------	--------------	--------------	---------------

- G6. Would you say that the economic policies of the federal government have made the nation's economy better, worse, or haven't they made much of a difference either way?

1. BETTER	3. HAVEN'T MADE MUCH DIFFERENCE	5. WORSE	8. DON'T KNOW
-----------	---------------------------------	----------	---------------

TURN TO P. 24, G7

<p>G6a. 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>G6b. 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				

- G7. 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

- G8. 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

- G9. 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

- G10. Looking ahead, do you think the problem of keeping out of war would be handled better in the next four years by the Republicans, or by the Democrats, or about the same by both?

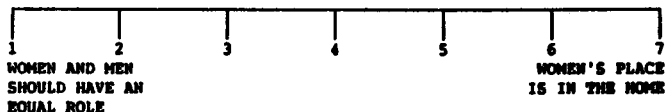
5. BETTER BY REPUBLICANS

3. SAME BY BOTH

1. BETTER BY DEMOCRATS

8. DK

- G11. (R. B., P. 5) Recently there has been a lot of talk about women's rights. Some people feel that women should have an equal role with men in running business, industry, and government. Suppose these people are at one end of the scale at point number 1. Others feel that women's place is in the home. Suppose these people are at the other end at point 7. And, of course, some people have opinions somewhere in between at points 2, 3, 4, 5, or 6.



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

RATING

8. DON'T KNOW

0. HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH

- J1. (R.B., P. 6) Now I am going to read several statements, as I did before. After each one, I would like you to tell me whether you agree strongly with the statement, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly. As before, you can just give me the number of your choice from the booklet. The first statement is. . .

	1. AGREE STRONGLY	2. AGREE SOMEWHAT	3. NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE	4. DISAGREE SOMEWHAT	5. DISAGREE STRONGLY	6. DON'T KNOW
a. This country would be better off if we worried less about how equal people are.						
b. Most people who do not get ahead in life probably work as hard as people who do.						
c. If people were treated more equally in this country we would have many fewer problems.						
d. Any person who is willing to work hard has a good chance of succeeding.						
e. It is not really that big of a problem if some people have more of a chance in life than others.						
f. Even if people try hard they often cannot reach their goals.						
g. Most men are better suited emotionally for politics than are most women.						

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- J2. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling his job as president?

1. APPROVE	5. DISAPPROVE	6. DON'T KNOW
		GO TO J3
<p>J2a. Do you approve <u>strongly</u> or <u>not strongly</u>?</p> <p>1. STRONGLY    2. NOT STRONGLY</p>		<p>J2b. Do you disapprove <u>strongly</u> or <u>not strongly</u>?</p> <p>5. STRONGLY    4. NOT STRONGLY</p>

- J3. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling the economy?

1. APPROVE	5. DISAPPROVE	6. DON'T KNOW
		GO TO J4
<p>J3a. Do you approve <u>strongly</u> or <u>not strongly</u>?</p> <p>1. STRONGLY    2. NOT STRONGLY</p>		<p>J3b. Do you disapprove <u>strongly</u> or <u>not strongly</u>?</p> <p>5. STRONGLY    4. NOT STRONGLY</p>

- J4. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling the balancing of the national budget?

1. APPROVE	5. DISAPPROVE	6. DON'T KNOW
		GO TO J5
<p>J4a. Do you approve <u>strongly</u> or <u>not strongly</u>?</p> <p>1. STRONGLY    2. NOT STRONGLY</p>		<p>J4b. Do you disapprove <u>strongly</u> or <u>not strongly</u>?</p> <p>5. STRONGLY    4. NOT STRONGLY</p>

- J5. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling our relations with foreign countries?

1. APPROVE	5. DISAPPROVE	6. DON'T KNOW
		TURN TO P. 28, SECTION K
<p>J5a. Do you approve <u>strongly</u> or <u>not strongly</u>?</p> <p>1. STRONGLY    2. NOT STRONGLY</p>		<p>J5b. Do you disapprove <u>strongly</u> or <u>not strongly</u>?</p> <p>5. STRONGLY    4. NOT STRONGLY</p>

## SECTION K

K1. I'd like to ask you what you think are the good and bad points about the two national parties. Is there anything in particular that you like about the Democratic Party?

**1. YES**

**5. NO**

**8. DON'T KNOW**

**TURN TO P.29,K2**

**Kla. What is that?**

**K1b. Anything else?**

K2. Is there anything in particular that you don't like about the Democratic Party?

**1. YES**

S. NO

8. DON'T KNOW

**TURN TO P. 30, K3**

**K2a. What is that?**

**K2b. Anything else?**

K3. Is there anything in particular that you like about the Republican Party?

**1. YES**

5. NO

### 8. DON'T KNOW

**TURN TO P.31, K4**

K3a. What is that?

**K3b. Anything else?**





- K5. (R. B., P.7) I'd like to get your feelings toward some of our political leaders and other people who are in the news these days. I will use something we call the feeling thermometer and here is how it works:

I'll read the name of a person and I'd like you to rate that person using the feeling thermometer. Ratings between 50 degrees and 100 degrees mean that you feel favorable and warm toward the person. Ratings between 0 degrees and 50 degrees mean that you don't feel favorable toward the person and that you don't care too much for that person.

If we come to a person whose name you don't recognize, you don't need to rate that person. Just tell me and we'll move on to the next one.

If you do recognize the name, but you 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 the thermometer?

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

R DOESN'T RECOGNIZE NAME 997.	DK WHERE TO RATE; CAN'T JUDGE 998.
--	---

**RATING:**

- a. RONALD REAGAN \_\_\_\_\_
- b. Howard Baker \_\_\_\_\_
- c. George Bush \_\_\_\_\_
- d. Jimmy Carter \_\_\_\_\_
- e. Robert Dole \_\_\_\_\_
- f. Gerald Ford \_\_\_\_\_
- g. John Glenn \_\_\_\_\_
- h. Gary Hart \_\_\_\_\_
- i. Jesse Jackson \_\_\_\_\_
- j. Ted Kennedy \_\_\_\_\_
- k. George McGovern \_\_\_\_\_
- m. Walter Mondale \_\_\_\_\_
- n. Richard Nixon \_\_\_\_\_
- o. Tip O'Neill \_\_\_\_\_
- p. Geraldine Ferraro \_\_\_\_\_

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

q. the Democratic party

RATING:

r. the Republican party

s. people who call themselves  
political independents

t. political parties, in general

R DOESN'T RECOGNIZE NAME 997.	DK WHERE TO RATE; CAN'T JUDGE 998.

K6. How much do you feel that having elections makes the government pay attention to what the people think -- a good deal, some, or not much?

1. A GOOD DEAL

3. SOME

5. NOT MUCH

8. DON'T KNOW

K7. Over the years, how much attention do you feel the government pays to what people think when it decides what to do -- a good deal, some, or not much?

1. A GOOD DEAL

3. SOME

5. NOT MUCH

8. DON'T KNOW

K8. Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with each of these statements:

	1. AGREE	5. DISAGREE
K8a. If a person doesn't care how an election comes out, then that person shouldn't vote in it.		
K8b. People like me don't have any say about what the government does.		
K8c. I don't think public officials care much what people like me think.		
K8d. Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on.		

K9. 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

K9a. Would you call yourself a strong Republican or a not very strong Republican?

1. STRONG

5. NOT VERY STRONG

K9b. Would you call yourself a strong Democrat or a not very strong Democrat?

1. STRONG

5. NOT VERY STRONG

K9c. 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

- Think about Ronald Reagan. The first phrase is "hard-working". In your opinion does the phrase "hard-working" describe Reagan extremely well, quite well, not too well, or not well at all? You can just tell me the number of your choice.

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
EXTREMELY	QUITE	NOT TOO	NOT WELL	DON'T
WELL	WELL	WELL	AT ALL	KNOW

- 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







- M4. (R. B., still P.9) Think about Geraldine Ferraro. The first phrase is "hard-working". In your opinion does the phrase "hard-working" describe Ferraro extremely well, quite well, not too well, or not well at all? (You can just tell me the number of your choice.)

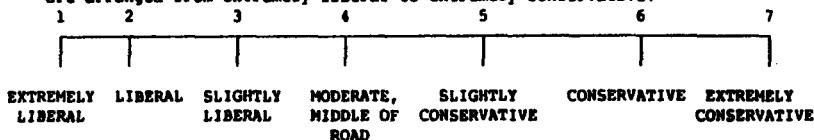
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
EXTREMELY	QUITE	NOT TOO	NOT WELL	DON'T
WELL	WELL	WELL	AT ALL	KNOW

- a. HARD-WORKING
- c. compassionate
- f. moral
- h. inspiring
- i. knowledgeable
- j. sets a good example
- k. really cares about people like you
- m. provides strong leadership
- p. in touch with ordinary people

[illegible]

## SECTION N

N1. (R.B., P.10) We hear a lot of talk these days about liberals and conservatives. Here is a seven-point scale on which the political views that people might hold are arranged from extremely liberal to extremely conservative.



N1a. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?

RATING	8. DON'T KNOW	9. HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH				
	<p>N1aa. If you had to choose, would you consider yourself a liberal or a conservative?</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td>1. LIBERAL</td> <td>3. MODERATE, MIDDLE OF ROAD</td> <td>5. CONSERVATIVE</td> <td>7. R REFUSES TO CHOOSE</td> <td>8. DK</td> </tr> </table> <p>TURN TO P.41, N2</p>		1. LIBERAL	3. MODERATE, MIDDLE OF ROAD	5. CONSERVATIVE	7. R REFUSES TO CHOOSE
1. LIBERAL	3. MODERATE, MIDDLE OF ROAD	5. CONSERVATIVE	7. R REFUSES TO CHOOSE	8. DK		

N1b. Where would you place Ronald Reagan on this scale?

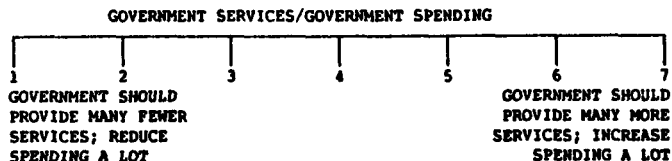
N1c. (Where would you place) Walter Mondale?

N1d. (Where would you place) the Democratic Party?

N1e. (Where would you place) the Republican Party?

RATING	8. DON'T KNOW

- N2. (R.B., P.11) Some people think the government should provide fewer services, even in areas such as health and education, in order to reduce spending. Suppose these people are at one end of the scale at point number 1. Other people feel it is important for the government to provide many more services even if it means an increase in spending. Suppose these people are at the other end, at point 7. And, of course, some other people have opinions somewhere in between at points 2, 3, 4, 5, or 6.



- N2a. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?

<p>RATING</p> <p>↓</p>	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">8. DON'T KNOW</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block; margin-left: 10px;">0. HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH</div>	
	<div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 150px; height: 10px; margin: 0 auto;"></div> <p>TURN TO P. 42, N4</p>	

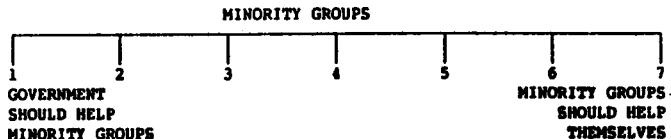
- b. Where would you place Ronald Reagan on this scale?
- c. (Where would you place) Walter Mondale (on this scale)?
- d. the Democratic Party?
- e. the Republican Party?
- z. Where would you place what the federal government is doing at the present time?

RATING	8. DON'T KNOW

- N3. How important is it to you that the federal government do what you think is best on this issue of spending and services? Is it extremely important, very important, somewhat important, or not important at all to you?

1. EXTREMELY IMPORTANT	2. VERY IMPORTANT	4. SOMEWHAT IMPORTANT	5. NOT IMPORTANT AT ALL	6. DON'T KNOW
---------------------------	----------------------	--------------------------	----------------------------	------------------

- N4. (R.B., P.12) 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. (Suppose these people are at one end of the scale at point number 1.) Others feel that the government should not make any special effort to help minorities because they should help themselves. (Suppose these people are at the other end at point 7. And of course, some other people have opinions somewhere in between at points 2, 3, 4, 5, or 6.)



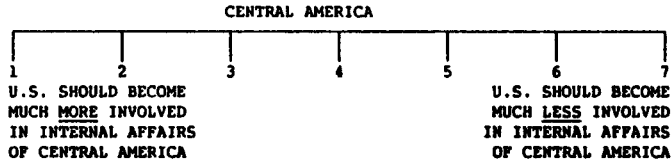
- a. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?

<p style="text-align: center;">RATING</p> <p style="text-align: center;">↓</p>	8. DON'T KNOW	9. HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH	
	TURN TO P. 43, N5		

- b. Where would you place Ronald Reagan on this scale?
- c. (Where would you place) Walter Mondale (on this scale)?
- d. the Democratic Party?
- e. the Republican Party?
- z. Where would you place what the federal government is doing at the present time?

RATING	8. DON'T KNOW	

- N5. (R.B., P.13) Some people think that the United States should become much more involved in the internal affairs of Central American countries. Others believe that the U.S. should become much less involved in this area.



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

<p style="text-align: center;">RATING</p> <p style="text-align: center;">↓</p>	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">8. DON'T KNOW</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block; margin-left: 20px;">9. HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH</div>	
	<div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 150px; height: 15px; margin: 0 auto;"></div>	
	TURN TO P. 44, N7	

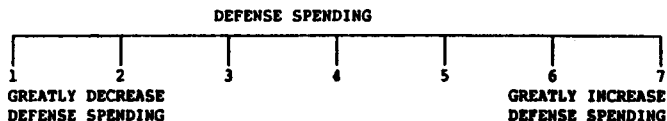
- b. Where would you place Ronald Reagan on this scale?
- c. (Where would you place) Walter Mondale (on this scale)?
- d. the Democratic Party?
- e. the Republican Party?
- z. Where would you place what the federal government is doing at the present time?

RATING		8. DON'T KNOW

- N6. How important is it to you that the federal government do what you think is best on this issue of involvement in Central American countries? Is it extremely important, very important, somewhat important, or not important at all to you?

1. EXTREMELY IMPORTANT	2. VERY IMPORTANT	4. SOMEWHAT IMPORTANT	5. NOT IMPORT- ANT AT ALL	8. DON'T KNOW
---------------------------	----------------------	--------------------------	------------------------------	------------------

- N7. (R.B., P. 14) Some people believe that we should spend much less money for defense. Others feel that defense spending should be greatly increased.



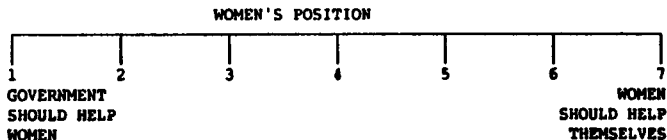
- a. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?

<p>—RATING</p> <p>↓</p>	8. DON'T KNOW	0. HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH
	TURN TO P. 45, N8	

- b. Where would you place Ronald Reagan on this scale?
- c. (Where would you place) Walter Mondale (on this scale)?
- d. the Democratic Party?
- e. the Republican Party?
- z. Where would you place what the federal government is doing at the present time?

RATING		8. DON'T KNOW

- N8. (R.B., P. 15) 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.



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

RATING ↓	8. DON'T KNOW	9. HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH
	TURN TO P. 46, N10	

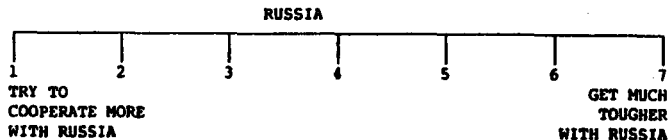
- b. Where would you place Ronald Reagan on this scale?
- c. (Where would you place) Walter Mondale (on this scale)?
- d. the Democratic Party?
- e. the Republican Party?
- z. Where would you place what the federal government is doing at the present time?

RATING	8. DON'T KNOW

- N9. How important is it to you that the federal government do what you think is best on this issue of women's economic and social position? Is it extremely important, very important, somewhat important, or not important at all to you?

1. EXTREMELY IMPORTANT	2. VERY IMPORTANT	4. SOMEWHAT IMPORTANT	5. NOT IMPORT- ANT AT ALL	8. DON'T KNOW
---------------------------	----------------------	--------------------------	------------------------------	------------------

N10. (R.B., P. 16) 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.



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

RATING	8. DON'T KNOW	9. HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH
↓	TURN TO P. 47, N11	

b. Where would you place Ronald Reagan on this scale?

c. (Where would you place) Walter Mondale (on this scale)?

d. the Democratic Party?

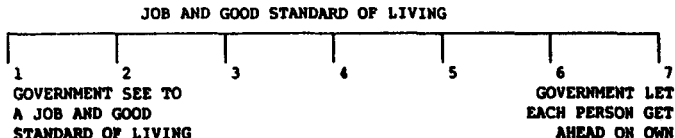
e. the Republican Party?

z. Where would you place what the federal government is doing at the present time?

RATING 8. DON'T KNOW




- N11. (R.B., P. 17) Some people feel the government in Washington should see to it that every person has a job and a good standard of living. Others think the government should just let each person get ahead on their own.



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

<p>RATING</p> <p>↓</p>	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">8. DON'T KNOW</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block; margin-left: 10px;">0. HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH</div>													
GO TO N13														
<p>b. Where would you place Ronald Reagan on this scale?</p> <p>c. (Where would you place) Walter Mondale (on this scale)?</p> <p>d. the Democratic Party?</p> <p>e. the Republican Party?</p> <p>z. Where would you place what the federal government is doing at the present time?</p>	<table style="border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <th style="border: none; padding: 5px;">RATING</th> <th style="border: none; padding: 5px;">8. DON'T KNOW</th> </tr> <tr><td style="border: 1px solid black; height: 30px;"></td><td style="border: 1px solid black; height: 30px;"></td></tr> <tr><td style="border: 1px solid black; height: 30px;"></td><td style="border: 1px solid black; height: 30px;"></td></tr> <tr><td style="border: 1px solid black; height: 30px;"></td><td style="border: 1px solid black; height: 30px;"></td></tr> <tr><td style="border: 1px solid black; height: 30px;"></td><td style="border: 1px solid black; height: 30px;"></td></tr> <tr><td style="border: 1px solid black; height: 30px;"></td><td style="border: 1px solid black; height: 30px;"></td></tr> </table>	RATING	8. DON'T KNOW											
RATING	8. DON'T KNOW													

- N12. How important is it to you that the federal government do what you think is best on this issue of jobs and standard of living? Is it extremely important, very important, somewhat important, or not important at all to you?

1. EXTREMELY IMPORTANT	2. VERY IMPORTANT	4. SOMEWHAT IMPORTANT	5. NOT IMPORT- TANT AT ALL	8. DON'T KNOW
---------------------------	----------------------	--------------------------	-------------------------------	------------------

- N13. Do you ever think of yourself as a political independent, or not?

<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">1. YES</div>	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">5. NO</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block; margin-left: 10px;">8. DON'T KNOW</div>															
TURN TO P. 48, N14																
<p>N13a. (R.B., P. 18) On this scale from 1 to 7 (where 1 means "not very strongly," and 7 means "very strongly"), please choose the number that describes <u>how strongly</u> independent in politics you feel.</p> <table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse; margin-top: 10px;"> <tr> <td style="width: 12.5%; text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="width: 12.5%; text-align: center;">2</td> <td style="width: 12.5%; text-align: center;">3</td> <td style="width: 12.5%; text-align: center;">4</td> <td style="width: 12.5%; text-align: center;">5</td> <td style="width: 12.5%; text-align: center;">6</td> <td style="width: 12.5%; text-align: center;">7</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="text-align: center;">NOT VERY STRONGLY</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td style="text-align: center;">VERY STRONGLY</td> </tr> </table> <div style="margin-top: 10px;"> <p style="text-align: center;">_____ RATING</p> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block; margin-left: 100px;">8. DON'T KNOW</div> </div>			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	NOT VERY STRONGLY						VERY STRONGLY
1	2	3	4	5	6	7										
NOT VERY STRONGLY						VERY STRONGLY										

TURN TO P. 48, N14

N14. (R.B., P. 19) There has been some discussion about abortion during recent years. Which one of the opinions on this page best agrees with your view? You can just tell me the number of the opinion you choose.

☐

1. BY LAW, ABORTION SHOULD NEVER BE PERMITTED.

☐

2. THE LAW SHOULD PERMIT ABORTION ONLY IN CASE OF RAPE, INCEST OR WHEN THE WOMAN'S LIFE IS IN DANGER.

☐

3. THE LAW SHOULD PERMIT ABORTION FOR REASONS OTHER THAN RAPE, INCEST, OR DANGER TO THE WOMAN'S LIFE, BUT ONLY AFTER THE NEED FOR THE ABORTION HAS BEEN CLEARLY ESTABLISHED.

☐

4. BY LAW, A WOMAN SHOULD ALWAYS BE ABLE TO OBTAIN AN ABORTION AS A MATTER OF PERSONAL CHOICE.

☐

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

\_\_\_\_\_

☐

8. DON'T KNOW

## SECTION R

R1. So far as you know now, do you expect to vote in the national elections this coming November or not?

☐ 1. YES. WILL VOTE

☐ 5. NO. WILL NOT VOTE

☐ 8. DON'T KNOW

R1a. Who do you think you will vote for in the election for President?  
(PROBE: We all know the election is sometime away and that people are not certain at this point who they will vote for. Still, who do you think you will vote for in the election for President?)

☐

5. RONALD REAGAN

☐

1. WALTER MONDALE

☐

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

☐

8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 50,  
SECTION Y

R1b. Would you say that your preference for this candidate is strong or not strong?

☐ 1. STRONG

☐ 5. NOT STRONG

☐ 8. DK

R1c. If you were going to vote--who do you think you would vote for in the election for President? (PROBE: We all know that the election is sometime away and that people are not certain at this point who they might vote for. Still, who do you think you would vote for in the election for President?)

☐

5. RONALD REAGAN

☐

1. WALTER MONDALE

☐

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

☐

8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 50,  
SECTION Y

R1d. Would you say that your preference for this candidate is strong or not strong?

☐ 1. STRONG

☐ 5. NOT STRONG

☐ 8. DK

## SECTION Y

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

\_\_\_\_\_  
MONTH\_\_\_\_\_  
DAY\_\_\_\_\_  
YEAR

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

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

5. WIDOWED

3. DIVORCED

4. SEPAR-  
ATED

2. NEVER  
MARRIED

7. PARTNERS;  
NOT  
MARRIED

Y3. What is the highest grade of school or year of college you have completed?

GRADES OF SCHOOL												
00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12

COLLEGE				
13	14	15	16	17+

Y3a. Did you get a high school diploma or pass a high school equivalency test?

1. YES

5. NO

Y3b. Do you have a college degree?

1. YES

5. NO

Y3g. Have you had any other schooling?

1. YES

5. NO

→TURN TO P.52,Y3j

Y3h. What kind? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Y3c. What was the last college you attended? (COMPLETE NAME)  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Y3d. Where is it located?  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

TURN TO P. 52, Y3j

TURN TO P. 52, Y3j

Y3e. What is the highest degree that you have earned?  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Y3f. From what college is that and where is it located? (COMPLETE NAME)  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

TURN TO P. 52, Y3j.

## EDUCATION SEQUENCE FOR HEAD/SPOUSE OF HOUSEHOLD

## Y3j. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT

<input type="checkbox"/>	1. R IS FAMILY HEAD; NO SPOUSE IN FAMILY → TURN TO P. 53, Y4
<input type="checkbox"/>	2. R IS FAMILY HEAD, LIVING WITH SPOUSE - ASK Y3K ABOUT SPOUSE
<input type="checkbox"/>	3. R IS NOT FAMILY HEAD - ASK Y3K ABOUT FAMILY HEAD

Y3k. What is the highest grade of school or year of college (the head of your family/your husband/your wife) has completed?

GRADES OF SCHOOL												
00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12

COLLEGE				
13	14	15	16	17+

Y3m. Did (he/she) get a high school diploma or pass a high school equivalency test?

1. YES      5. NO

Y3n. Does (he/she) have a college degree?

1. YES      5. NO

Y3o. Has (he/she) had any other schooling?

1. YES      5. NO → TURN TO P. 53, Y4

Y3t. What kind?

---



---



---



---

TURN TO P. 53, Y4

Y3p. What was the last college (he/she) attended? (COMPLETE NAME)

---



---

Y3p. Where is it located?

---



---



---

TURN TO P. 53, Y4

Y3q. What is the highest degree that (he/she) has earned?

---

Y3r. From what college is that and where is it located? (COMPLETE NAME)

---



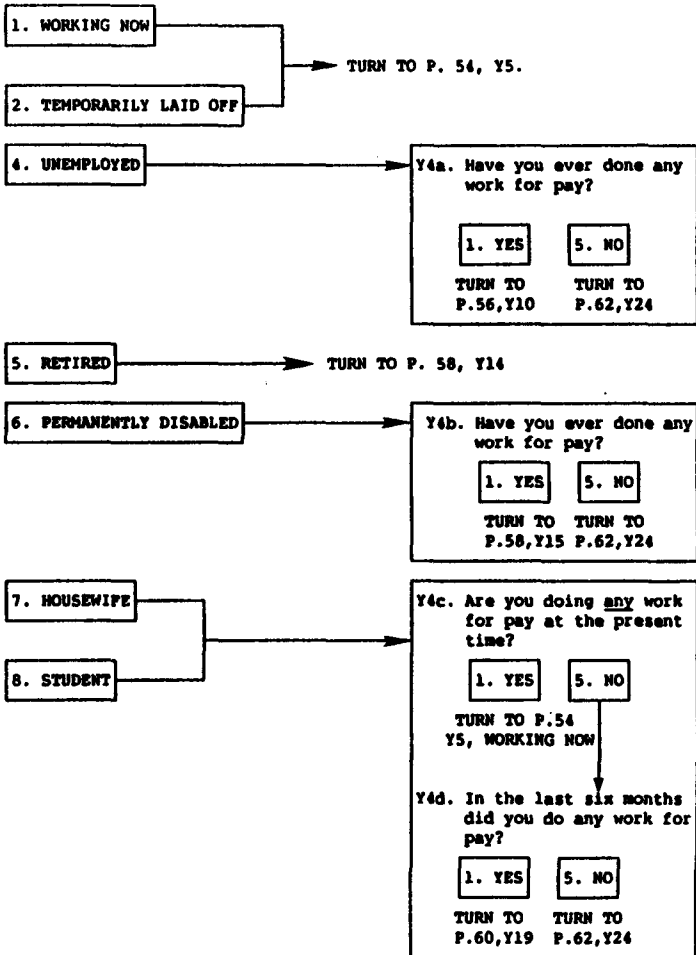
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TURN TO P. 53, Y4

Y4. (R. B., p. 20) We'd like to know if you are working now, temporarily laid off, or are you unemployed, retired, permanently disabled, (a housewife), (a student), or what? \*



## WORKING NOW OR TEMPORARILY LAID OFF

Y5. What is your main occupation? (What sort of work do you do?)

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

Y5a. What kind of (business/industry) is that?

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

Y6. Do you work for someone else, are you self-employed, or what?

1. SOMEONE ELSE

2. BOTH SOMEONE ELSE AND SELF

3. SELF ONLY

Y6a. Do you supervise any workers or employees as part of your job?

1. YES

5. NO

Y6c. Are you employed by the government, by a business, or by a not-for-profit agency such as a hospital, school or social service agency?

1. GOVT

GO TO Y6g

2. BUSINESS

3. NOT-FOR-PROFIT AGENCY

5. NONE OF THESE

8. DON'T KNOW

Y6e. Is most of your employer's business with the government?

1. YES

5. NO

8. OK

TURN TO P.55, Y7

Y6b. Are there any people who work for you and are paid by you?

1. YES

5. NO

Y6d. Is your business or company a profit-making business, or a not-for-profit agency such as a hospital, school or social service agency?

2. PROFIT-MAKING BUSINESS/COMPANY

3. NOT-FOR-PROFIT AGENCY

5. NEITHER OF THESE

Y6f. Is most of your business with the government?

1. YES

5. NO

TURN TO P.55, Y7

Y6g. Is that primarily the federal government, or the state or local government?

1. FEDERAL

3. STATE

5. LOCAL

7. OTHER, SPECIFY:

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_



Y7. About how many hours do you work on your job in the average week?  
\_\_\_\_\_

HOURS A WEEK

Y7a. Is that more hours than you want to work, fewer hours than you want to work, or generally about right?

5. MORE

1. FEWER

3. ABOUT RIGHT

Y8. How worried are you about losing your 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, REFUSED

ASK ONLY IF R IS WORKING NOW:

Y9. Were you out of work or laid off at any time during the last six months?

1. YES

5. NO

Y9a. During the last six months, have you had a reduction in your work hours or had to take a cut in pay at any time for reasons other than illness or personal choice?

1. YES

5. NO

TURN TO P. 62, Y24

## UNEMPLOYED

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

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

Y10a. What kind of (business/industry) was that?

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

Y11. Did you work for someone else, were you self-employed, or what?

1. SOMEONE ELSE

2. BOTH SOMEONE ELSE AND SELF

3. SELF ONLY

Y11a. Did you supervise any workers or employees as part of your job?

1. YES

5. NO

Y11c. Were you employed by a government, by a business, or by a not-for-profit agency such as a hospital, school or social service agency?

1. GOVT

GO TO Y11g

2. BUSINESS

3. NOT-FOR-PROFIT AGENCY

5. NONE OF THESE

6. DON'T KNOW

Y11e. Was most of your employer's business with the government?

1. YES

5. NO

6. DK

TURN TO P. 57, Y12

Y11b. Were there any people who worked for you and were paid by you?

1. YES

5. NO

Y11d. Was your business or company a profit-making business, or a not-for-profit agency such as a hospital, school or social service agency?

2. PROFIT-MAKING BUSINESS/COMPANY

3. NOT-FOR-PROFIT AGENCY

5. NEITHER OF THESE

Y11f. Was most of your business with the government?

1. YES

5. NO

TURN TO P. 57, Y12

Y11g. Was that primarily the federal government, or the state or local government?

1. FEDERAL

3. STATE

5. LOCAL

7. OTHER, SPECIFY:

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

Y12. Have you had a job in the past six months?

1. YES

5. NO

GO TO Y13

Y12a. About how many hours do you work on your job in the average week?  
HOURS A WEEK  
\_\_\_\_\_

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, somewhat, or not much at all?

1. A LOT

3. SOMEWHAT

5. NOT MUCH AT ALL

8. DON'T KNOW, REFUSED

TURN TO P. 62, Y24

## RETIRED

Y14. When did you retire?

\_\_\_\_\_

(YEAR)

**RETIRED AND  
PERMANENTLY DISABLED**

Y15. What kind of work did you do on your last regular job? (What was your occupation?)

\_\_\_\_\_

Y15a. What kind of (business/industry) was that?

\_\_\_\_\_

Y16. Did you work for someone else, were you self-employed, or what?

1. SOMEONE ELSE

2. BOTH SOMEONE ELSE AND SELF

3. SELF ONLY

Y16a. Did you supervise any workers or employees as part of your job?

1. YES 2. NO

Y16c. Were you employed by a government, by a business, or by a not-for-profit agency such as a hospital, school or social service agency?

1. GOVT  
GO TO  
Y16g

2. BUSINESS

3. NOT-FOR-PROFIT  
AGENCY

4. NONE OF THESE

5. DON'T KNOW

Y16e. Was most of your employer's business with the government?

1. YES 2. NO 3. DK

TURN TO P. 59, Y17

Y16b. Were there any people who worked for you and were paid by you?

1. YES 2. NO

Y16d. Was your business or company a profit-making business, or a not-for-profit agency such as a hospital, school or social service agency?

2. PROFIT-MAKING  
BUSINESS/COMPANY

3. NOT-FOR-PROFIT  
AGENCY

5. NEITHER OF THESE

Y16f. Was most of your business with the government?

1. YES 2. NO

TURN TO P. 59,  
Y17

Y16g. Was that primarily the federal government, or the state or local government?

1. FEDERAL 3. STATE 5. LOCAL

7. OTHER, SPECIFY:

\_\_\_\_\_

Y17. Have you had a job in the past six months?

1. YES

5. NO

→ GO TO Y18

Y17a. About how many hours did you work on your job in the average week?  
HOURS A WEEK  
\_\_\_\_\_

Y18. Are you looking for work at the present time?

1. YES

5. NO

Y18a. How worried are you 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, REFUSED

TURN TO P. 62, Y24

## HOUSEWIFE OR STUDENT:

Y19. What kind of work did you do on your last regular job? (What was your occupation?)

Y20. What kind of (business/industry) was that?

Y21. Did you work for someone else, were you self-employed, or what?

1. SOMEONE ELSE

2. BOTH SOMEONE ELSE AND SELF

3. SELF ONLY

Y21a. Did you supervise any workers or employees as part of your job?

1. YES

5. NO

Y21c. Were you employed by a government, by a business, or by a not-for-profit agency such as a hospital, school or social service agency?

1. GOVT

GO TO Y21g

2. BUSINESS

3. NOT-FOR-PROFIT AGENCY

5. NONE OF THESE

8. DON'T KNOW

Y21e. Was most of your employer's business with the government?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DK

TURN TO P. 61, Y22

Y21b. Were there any people who worked for you and were paid by you?

1. YES

5. NO

Y21d. Was your business or company a profit-making business, or a not-for-profit agency such as a hospital, school or social service agency?

2. PROFIT-MAKING BUSINESS/COMPANY

3. NOT-FOR-PROFIT AGENCY

5. NEITHER OF THESE

Y21f. Was most of your business with the government?

1. YES

5. NO

TURN TO P. 61, Y22

Y21g. Was that primarily the federal government, or the state or local government?

1. FEDERAL

3. STATE

5. LOCAL

7. OTHER, SPECIFY:

\_\_\_\_\_

Y22. About how many hours did you work on your job in the average week?  
HOURS A WEEK  
\_\_\_\_\_

Y23. Are you looking for work at the present time?

1. YES

5. NO

Y23a. How worried are you 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, REFUSED

TURN TO P. 62, Y24

## Y24. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT

☐ 1. R IS FAMILY HEAD: NO SPOUSE IN FAMILY → TURN TO P. 71, Y45

☐ 2. R IS FAMILY HEAD: LIVING WITH SPOUSE ---- ASK Y25 ABOUT SPOUSE

☐ 3. R IS NOT FAMILY HEAD ---- ASK Y25 ABOUT FAMILY HEAD

Y25. (R. 8., still p. 20) We'd like to know about (the head of your family/your husband/your wife). Is (he/she) working now, unemployed, temporarily laid off, retired, permanently disabled, (a housewife), (a student) or what?

1. WORKING NOW → TURN TO P. 63, Y26

2. TEMPORARILY LAID OFF → TURN TO P. 63, Y26

4. UNEMPLOYED → Y25a. Has (he/she) ever done any work for pay?

Y25a. Has (he/she) ever done any work for pay?

☐ 1. YES → TURN TO P. 65, Y31

☐ 5. NO → TURN TO P. 71, Y45

5. RETIRED → TURN TO P. 67, Y35

6. PERMANENTLY DISABLED → Y25b. Has (he/she) ever done any work for pay?

Y25b. Has (he/she) ever done any work for pay?

☐ 1. YES → TURN TO P. 67, Y36

☐ 5. NO → TURN TO P. 71, Y45

7. HOUSEWIFE → Y25c. Is (he/she) doing ANY work for pay at the present time?

8. STUDENT → Y25c. Is (he/she) doing ANY work for pay at the present time?

Y25c. Is (he/she) doing ANY work for pay at the present time?

☐ 1. YES → TURN TO P. 63, Y26, WORKING NOW

☐ 5. NO → Y25d. In the last six months did (he/she) do any work for pay?

Y25d. In the last six months did (he/she) do any work for pay?

☐ 1. YES → TURN TO P. 60, Y40

☐ 5. NO → TURN TO P. 71, Y45



## WORKING NOW OR TEMPORARILY LAID OFF

Y26. What is (his/her) main occupation? (What sort of work does (he/she) do?)

Y26a. What kind of (business/industry) is that?

Y27. Does (he/she) work for someone else, is (he/she) self-employed, or what?

1. SOMEONE ELSE

2. BOTH SOMEONE ELSE AND SELF

3. SELF ONLY

Y27a. Does (he/she) supervise any workers or employees as part of (his/her) job?

1. YES

5. NO

Y27c. Is (he/she) employed by a government, by a business, or by a not-for-profit agency such as a hospital, school or social service agency?

1. GOVT

GO TO Y27g

2. BUSINESS

3. NOT-FOR-PROFIT AGENCY

5. NONE OF THESE

8. DON'T KNOW

Y27e. Is most of (his/her) employer's business with the government?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DK

TURN TO P.64, Y28

Y27b. Are there any people who work for (him/her) and are paid by (him/her)?

1. YES

5. NO

Y27d. Is (his/her) business or company a profit-making business, or a not-for-profit agency such as a hospital, school or social service agency?

2. PROFIT-MAKING BUSINESS/COMPANY

3. NOT-FOR-PROFIT AGENCY

5. NEITHER OF THESE

Y27f. Is most of (his/her) business with the government?

1. YES

5. NO

TURN TO P.64, Y28

Y27g. Is that primarily the federal government, or the state or local government?

1. FEDERAL

3. STATE

5. LOCAL

7. OTHER, SPECIFY:

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Y28. About how many hours does (he/she) work on (his/her) job in the average week?  
HOURS A WEEK

\_\_\_\_\_

Y28a. Is that more hours than (he/she) wants to work, fewer hours than (he/she) wants to work, or generally about right?

5. MORE

1. FEWER

3. ABOUT RIGHT

Y29. 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, REFUSED

ASK ONLY IF (HEAD/SPOUSE) IS WORKING NOW:

Y30. Was (he/she) out of work or laid off at any time during the last six months?

1. YES

5. NO

Y30a. During the last six months, has (he/she) had a reduction in (his/her) work hours or had to take a cut in pay at any time for reasons other than illness or personal choice?

1. YES

5. NO

TURN TO P. 71, Y45

Y31. What kind of work did (he/she) do on (his/her) last regular job?  
(What was (his/her) occupation?)

Y31a. What kind of (business/industry) was that?

Y32. Did (he/she) work for someone else, was (he/she) self-employed, or what?

1. SOMEONE ELSE

2. BOTH SOMEONE ELSE AND SELF

3. SELF ONLY

Y32a. Did (he/she) supervise any workers or employees as part of (his/her) job?

1. YES

5. NO

Y32c. Was (he/she) employed by a government, by a business, or by a not-for-profit agency such as a hospital, school or social service agency?

1. GOVT

GO TO Y32g

2. BUSINESS

3. NOT-FOR-PROFIT AGENCY

5. NONE OF THESE

6. DON'T KNOW

Y32e. Was most of (his/her) employer's business with the government?

1. YES

5. NO

6. DK

TURN TO P. 66, Y33

Y32b. Were there any people who worked for (him/her) and were paid by (him/her)?

1. YES

5. NO

Y32d. Was (his/her) business or company a profit-making business, or a not-for-profit agency such as a hospital, school or service agency?

2. PROFIT-MAKING BUSINESS/COMPANY

3. NOT-FOR-PROFIT AGENCY

5. NEITHER OF THESE

Y32f. Was most of (his/her) business with the government?

1. YES

5. NO

TURN TO P. 66, Y33

Y32g. Was that primarily the federal government, or the state or local government?

1. FEDERAL

3. STATE

5. LOCAL

7. OTHER, SPECIFY:

\_\_\_\_\_

Y33. Has (he/she) had a job in the past six months?

1. YES

5. NO

GO TO Y34

Y33a. About how many hours did (he/she) work on (his/her) job in the average week?

HOURS A WEEK

Y34. Is (he/she) looking for work at the present time?

1. YES

5. NO

Y34a. 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, REFUSED

TURN TO P. 71, Y45

## RETIRED

Y35. When did (he/she) retire?

(YEAR)

RETIRED AND  
PERMANENTLY DISABLEDY36. What kind of work did (he/she) do on (his/her) last regular job?  
(What was (his/her) occupation?)

Y36a. What kind of (business/industry) was that?

Y37. Did (he/she) work for someone else, was (he/she) self-employed, or what?

1. SOMEONE ELSE

2. BOTH SOMEONE ELSE AND SELF

3. SELF ONLY

Y37a. Did (he/she) supervise any workers or employees as part of (his/her) job?

1. YES

5. NO

Y37c. Was (he/she) employed by a government, by a business, or by a not-for-profit agency such as a hospital, school or social service agency?

1. GOVT

2. BUSINESS

3. NOT-FOR-PROFIT AGENCY

5. NONE OF THESE

6. DON'T KNOW

GO TO Y37g

Y37e. Was most of (his/her) employer's business with the government?

1. YES

5. NO

6. DK

TURN TO P. 68, Y38

Y37b. Were there any people who worked for (him/her) and were paid by (him/her)?

1. YES

5. NO

Y37d. Was (his/her) business or company a profit-making business, or a not-for-profit agency such as a hospital, school or social service agency?

2. PROFIT-MAKING BUSINESS/COMPANY

3. NOT-FOR-PROFIT AGENCY

5. NEITHER OF THESE

Y37f. Was most of (his/her) business with the government?

1. YES

5. NO

TURN TO P. 68, Y38

Y37g. Was that primarily the federal government, or the state or local government?

1. FEDERAL

3. STATE

5. LOCAL

7. OTHER, SPECIFY:

Y38. Has (he/she) had a job in the past six months?

1. YES

5. NO

GO TO Y39

Y38a. About how many hours did (he/she) work on (his/her) job in the average week?

HOURS A WEEK

\_\_\_\_\_

Y39. Is (he/she) looking for work at the present time?

1. YES

5. NO

Y39a. 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, REFUSED

TURN TO P. 71, Y45

## HOUSEWIFE OR STUDENT

Y40. What kind of work did (he/she) do on (his/her) last regular job?  
(What was (his/her) occupation?)

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

Y41. What kind of (business/industry) was that?

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

Y42. Did (he/she) work for someone else, was (he/she) self-employed, or what?

1. SOMEONE ELSE

2. BOTH SOMEONE ELSE AND SELF

3. SELF ONLY

Y42a. Did (he/she) supervise any workers or employees as part of (his/her) job?

1. YES

5. NO

Y42c. Was (he/she) employed by a government, by a business, or by a not-for-profit agency such as a hospital, school or social service agency?

1. GOVT

GO TO Y42g

2. BUSINESS

3. NOT-FOR-PROFIT AGENCY

5. NONE OF THESE

8. DON'T KNOW

Y42e. Was most of (his/her) employer's business with the government?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DK

TURN TO P.70, Y43

Y42b. Were there any people who worked for (his/her) and were paid by (him/her)?

1. YES

5. NO

Y42d. Was (his/her) business or company a profit-making business or a not-for-profit agency such as a hospital, school, or social service agency?

2. PROFIT-MAKING BUSINESS/COMPANY

3. NOT-FOR-PROFIT AGENCY

5. NEITHER OF THESE

Y42f. Was most of (his/her) business with the government?

1. YES

5. NO

TURN TO P.70, Y43

Y42g. Was that primarily the federal government, or the state or local government?

1. FEDERAL

3. STATE

5. LOCAL

7. OTHER, SPECIFY:

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

Y43. About how many hours did (he/she) work on (his/her) job in the average week?  
HOURS A WEEK

---

Y44. Is (he/she) looking for work at the present time?

1. YES

5. NO

Y44a. 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

6. DON'T KNOW, REFUSED

TURN TO P. 71, Y45



Y45. Does anyone in this household belong to a labor union?

☐ 1. YES

☐ 5. NO

→ TURN TO P. 72, Y46

Y45a. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

☐

1. R IS HEAD OF FAMILY

☐

5. R IS NOT HEAD OF FAMILY

Y45b. Who is it that belongs?

☐ A. RESPONDENT

☐ B. WIFE OF  
RESPONDENT

☐ E. SOMEONE ELSE

Y45c. Who is it that belongs?

☐ C. RESPONDENT

☐ D. HEAD

☐ E. SOMEONE ELSE

## Y46. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

<input type="checkbox"/>	1 R ONLY FAMILY MEMBER AGE 14 OR OLDER	→ TURN TO P. 73, Y46
<input type="checkbox"/>	2 R LIVES WITH OTHER FAMILY MEMBERS AGE 14 OR OLDER	

Y47. (R.B., P. 21) Please look at this page and tell me the letter of the income group that includes the income of all members of your family living here in 1983 before taxes. This figure should include salaries, wages, pensions, dividends, interest, and all other income. (IF UNCERTAIN: What would be your best guess?)

98 R REFUSED TO ANSWER

→ TURN TO P. 74, Y48

A. NONE OR LESS THAN \$2,999	01	N. \$17,000 - \$19,999	12
B. \$3,000 - \$4,999	02	P. \$20,000 - \$21,999	13
C. \$5,000 - \$6,999	03	Q. \$22,000 - \$24,999	14
D. \$7,000 - \$8,999	04	R. \$25,000 - \$29,999	15
E. \$9,000 - \$9,999	05	S. \$30,000 - \$34,999	16
F. \$10,000 - \$10,999	06	T. \$35,000 - \$39,999	17
G. \$11,000 - \$11,999	07	U. \$40,000 - \$44,999	18
H. \$12,000 - \$12,999	08	V. \$45,000 - \$49,999	19
J. \$13,000 - \$13,999	09	W. \$50,000 - \$59,999	20
K. \$14,000 - \$14,999	10	X. \$60,000 - \$74,999	21
M. \$15,000 - \$16,999	11	Z. \$75,000 AND OVER	22

Y47a. (R.B., still P. 21) Now we are interested in the income that you yourself received in 1983, not including any of the income received by (your SPOUSE and) the rest of your family. Please look at this page and tell me the income group that includes the income you yourself had in 1983 before taxes.

(LETTER)

98. R REFUSED TO ANSWER

TURN TO P. 74, Y49

R ONLY FAMILY MEMBER AGE 14 OR OLDER

Y48. (R.B., P. 21) Please look at this page and tell me the income group that includes the income you had in 1983 before taxes. This figure should include salaries, wages, pensions, dividends, interest and all other income.

98. R REFUSED TO ANSWER → TURN TO P. 74, Y49

A. NONE OR LESS THAN \$2,999 01	N. \$17,000 - \$19,999 12
B. \$3,000 - \$4,999 02	P. \$20,000 - \$21,999 13
C. \$5,000 - \$6,999 03	Q. \$22,000 - \$24,999 14
D. \$7,000 - \$8,999 04	R. \$25,000 - \$29,999 15
E. \$9,000 - \$9,999 05	S. \$30,000 - \$34,999 16
F. \$10,000 - \$10,999 06	T. \$35,000 - \$39,999 17
G. \$11,000 - \$11,999 07	U. \$40,000 - \$44,999 18
H. \$12,000 - \$12,999 08	V. \$45,000 - \$49,999 19
J. \$13,000 - \$13,999 09	W. \$50,000 - \$59,999 20
K. \$14,000 - \$14,999 10	X. \$60,000 - \$74,999 21
M. \$15,000 - \$16,999 11	Z. \$75,000 AND OVER 22

Y49. There's been some talk these days about different social classes. Most people say they belong either to the middle class or the working class. Do you ever think of yourself as belonging in one of these classes?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW

7. OTHER (SPECIFY): \_\_\_\_\_

Y49a. Which one?  
(RECORD BELOW)

Y49b. Well, if you had to make a choice, would you call yourself middle class or working class?  
(RECORD BELOW)

1. MIDDLE CLASS

2. WORKING CLASS

7. OTHER (SPECIFY): \_\_\_\_\_

TURN TO P. 75, Y50

Y49c. Would you say that you are about average middle class, or that you are in the upper part of the middle class?

4. AVERAGE  
MIDDLE6. UPPER  
MIDDLE

Y49d. Would you say you feel pretty close to middle class people, or that you don't feel much closer to them than to people in other classes?

1. CLOSE

4. NOT CLOSER

Y49e. Would you say that you are about average working class, or that you are in the upper part of the working class?

1. AVERAGE  
WORKING3. UPPER  
WORKING

Y49f. Would you say you feel pretty close to working class people, or that you don't feel much closer to them than to people in other classes?

2. CLOSE

5. NOT CLOSER

Y50. Is your religious preference Protestant, Roman Catholic, Jewish, or something else?

PROTESTANT

200. ROMAN  
CATHOLIC

300. JEWISH

OTHER (SPECIFY):  
\_\_\_\_\_

998. NONE, NO  
PREFERENCE

TURN TO P.76,Y52

GO TO Y51

Y50a. What church or denomination is that?

\_\_\_\_\_

Y50b. (IF BAPTIST): Is that Southern Baptist or something else?

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

**IF ANY RELIGIOUS PREFERENCE**

Y51. 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

Y52. In addition to being American, what do you consider your main ethnic group or nationality group?

00. NONE

GO TO Y53

Y52a. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT

1. ONE GROUP MENTIONED IN Y52

2. MORE THAN ONE GROUP  
MENTIONED IN Y52

Y52b. With which of these groups do you  
most closely identify?

90. NONE, NEITHER

Y53. Were both your parents born in this country?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW

Y54. What kind of work did you father (OR FATHER SUBSTITUTE) do for a living while you were growing up? (What was his main occupation?)

Y54a. What kind of (business/industry) was that?

Y55. Other than being a housewife, did your mother (OR MOTHER SUBSTITUTE) have a job while you were growing up?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW

GO TO Y56

Y55a. What kind of work did she do while you were growing up? (What was her main occupation?)

---

---

Y55b. What kind of (business/industry) was that?

---

---

Y56. Where were you born? (IF UNITED STATES) Which state?

---

Y57. Where was it that you grew up? (IF UNITED STATES) Which state or states?

---

Y58. (R.B., P. 22) Looking at this list, please tell me, where you were mostly brought up?

☐

1. ON A FARM

☐

2. IN THE COUNTRY, NOT ON A FARM

☐

3. IN A SMALL CITY OR TOWN (UNDER 50,000 PEOPLE)

☐

4. IN A MEDIUM-SIZED CITY (50,000 - 100,000)

☐

5. IN A LARGE CITY (100,000 - 500,000)

☐

6. IN A SUBURB OF A LARGE CITY

☐

7. IN A VERY LARGE CITY (OVER 500,000)

☐

8. IN A SUBURB OF A VERY LARGE CITY

Y58a. Where did you live when you were about 14 years old

\_\_\_\_\_(CITY)\_\_\_\_\_(STATE)

FOREIGN COUNTRY: SPECIFY: \_\_\_\_\_

Y59. How long have you lived in this (CITY,TOWN,STATE)?

90. ALL OF LIFE

TURN TO P. 79, Y60

\_\_\_\_ YEARS OR

MONTHS IF LESS  
THAN TWO  
YEARS

Y59a. Where did you live before you moved here?

\_\_\_\_\_(CITY)\_\_\_\_\_(STATE)

FOREIGN COUNTRY: SPECIFY: \_\_\_\_\_



Y60. How long have you lived in this (house/apartment)?

90. ALL OF LIFE

\_\_\_\_ YEARS OR

MONTHS IF LESS  
THAN TWO YEARS

Y61. (Do you/Does your family) own your home, pay rent, or what?

1. OWN

2. RENT

7. OTHER (SPECIFY) \_\_\_\_\_

EXACT TIME NOW: \_\_\_\_\_

TURN TO COVER SHEET,  
PAGE 2 FOR "RECONTACT INFORMATION"

## INTERVIEWER'S SUPPLEMENT

21. Respondent's sex is:

1. MALE

2. FEMALE

22. Respondent's race is:

1. WHITE

2. BLACK

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

23. Is R of Hispanic Origin?

5. NO

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

8. DK

24. Relationship of R to head:

1. R IS HEAD

2. R IS WIFE

OTHER: \_\_\_\_\_

25. Other persons present at interview were: (CHECK MORE THAN ONE BOX IF NECESSARY)

NONE

CHILDREN  
UNDER 6

OLDER CHILDREN

SPOUSE

OTHER  
RELATIVES

OTHER ADULTS

26. Respondent's cooperation was:

1. VERY GOOD

2. GOOD

3. FAIR

4. POOR

5. VERY POOR

27. Respondent's general level of information about politics and public affairs seemed:

1. VERY HIGH

2. FAIRLY HIGH

3. AVERAGE

4. FAIRLY LOW

5. VERY LOW

28. Rate R's apparent intelligence:

1. VERY HIGH

2. ABOVE AVERAGE

3. AVERAGE

4. BELOW AVERAGE

5. VERY LOW

29. How suspicious did R seem to be about the study, before the interview?

1. NOT AT ALL SUSPICIOUS

3. SOMEWHAT SUSPICIOUS

5. VERY SUSPICIOUS

Z10. Overall, how great was R's interest in the interview?

1. VERY HIGH

2. ABOVE AVERAGE

3. AVERAGE

4. BELOW AVERAGE

5. VERY LOW

Z11. How sincere did R seem to be in (his/her) answers?

1. COMPLETELY  
SINCERE

2. USUALLY  
SINCERE

3. OFTEN SEEMED TO  
BE INSINCERE

GO TO Z13

Z12. Were there any particular parts of the interview for which you doubted R's sincerity? If so, name them by section or question numbers.

Z13. Do you feel R reported income correctly?

1. YES, THINK R  
REPORTED  
CORRECTLY

2. NO, THINK R  
REPORTED  
INCORRECTLY

5. NO, THINK R  
REPORTED  
DISHONESTLY

3. R REFUSED  
INCOME  
QUESTIONS

GO TO Z14

Z13a. If possible, give a reasonable estimate of what R's family income is:

\$ \_\_\_\_\_ BEFORE TAXES IN 1983

Z14. Was this interview conducted entirely in English, or was it necessary to translate some (or all) questions into another language?

1. INTERVIEW CONDUCTED  
ENTIRELY IN ENGLISH

2. SOME (OR ALL) QUESTIONS  
TRANSLATED INTO  
ANOTHER LANGUAGE

TURN TO P. 82,  
THUMBNAIL SKETCH

Z14a. What language?

TURN TO P. 82,  
THUMBNAIL SKETCH

## THUMBNAİL SKETCH