

The National Election Studies

1985 PILOT STUDY

P. 495822 (208)

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ABOUT THE NATIONAL ELECTION STUDIES

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

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

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

Since 1978, the studies have been conducted under the auspices of grants made by the National Science Foundation to provide long-term support for the National Election Studies. In effect, the grant acknowledges that the Election Studies are a national resource of great value to those engaged in social science research. Because the studies have proven invaluable to so many researchers, NSF has agreed to fund the studies through 1988. The NSF and NES have encouraged, through financial support and other means, the involvement of a large number of scholars in these ventures. A

nine-person Board of Overseers drawn from the national community of social scientists exists to supervise the implementation of the grant, set priorities for future studies and link members of the social science community to present and future National Election Studies. Since 1978, the Elections Studies are best described as a collaborative venture involving the study staff, the Board of Overseers and a committee of scholars interested in electoral research.

ABOUT THE 1985 PILOT STUDY

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

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

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

The eight contributors to the 1985 Pilot Study are scholars of political science and political psychology from seven universities around the country. They brought to us "babies" they have been interested in and, in some cases, tested in other contexts. We compiled their questions and asked some Ann Arbor Telephone Facility interviewers to pretest them for

us. Those interviewers were truly wonderful -- they turned the pretest questionnaire upside down and inside out with the enthusiasm of hungry lions over a piece of meat. The Pilot questionnaire reflects heavily their experiences with the questions and their insightful suggestions for revisions (so if you don't like it, you know who to talk to...).

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

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

FIELD NOTES

SPECIAL FEATURES OF THE PILOT STUDY

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

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

respondents who are elderly, whose answers can be combined with the answers from the elderly cross-section respondents, bringing the total number of folks in the "elderly sample" to 100.

B. DESIGN: There are two "waves" ("I" and "II") of the Pilot Study, meaning that the same respondent will be interviewed twice, with at least a three week interval between interviews. For each wave, there are two "forms" ("A" and "B") so that some questions can be tested in two formats. This Instruction Book covers Wave I, Forms A and B only.

C. DATES:

Prestudy Conferences for the 1985 Pilot Study are scheduled for the large conference room in ISR on

Thursday, Nov. 7, at 5:00 p.m.

Friday, Nov. 8, at 10:00 a.m.

Interviewing on Wave I begins on Monday, Nov. 11

Interviewing on Wave II begins on Friday, Dec. 6

(We will have a second set of pre-study conferences for Wave II, dates and times to be determined)

Interviewing on Wave I ends on Thurs, Dec. 12

Interviewing on Wave II ends on Monday, Jan. 13

D. EDITING: In order to administer the Wave I questionnaire, information specific to the respondent will be pre-edited into several of the questions. Information about the respondent's sex, age, and race appear on the label on the cover sheet, and is used to complete the checkpoint on p. 12, E1. The State and Congressional District information, which also appears on the label, is used by pre-editors to determine the names of the representative and a senator entered in Section B of the questionnaire. Questionnaires you receive for production interviewing will be fully pre-edited.

E. THE PRACTICE INTERVIEW: You will be provided with a Wave I, Form A questionnaire for the purposes of the practice interview. Section B is pre-edited with the names for Michigan Congressional District 2 -- so you will need to practice on someone living in the Ann Arbor area. Questions have been added to Section E for the purposes of the practice interview only to allow you to get the respondent's age and race, and therefore complete the checkpoint at E1.

Conduct a practice interview, not with a relative, preferably with someone

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

E. LENGTH: A Wave I interview, both Forms A and B, takes about 28 minutes to administer.

G. THE QUESTION-BY-QUESTION OBJECTIVES: Writing q-by-q's for brand new questions is difficult, because objectives are usually developed from our experience with the questions. Thus, you will find the instructions we have provided "sparse," less instructions than explanations of what we hope to learn. In fact, there is so little to say at this point, that we decided not to reproduce the questionnaire in the Instruction Book, but simply provide page and question number references. We have, however, reproduced the portions of Form B which differ from Form A. Please go over these Form B pages carefully, as we will need to review them during the prestudy conference.

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

J. RESPONDENTS AREN'T TOLD ANYWHERE IN QUESTIONNAIRE THAT THERE WILL BE ANOTHER WAVE: We don't want them to know either...

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS ABOUT THE STUDY

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

What is this study all about?

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

How is this study different from the last one I was interviewed for?

In 1984, we interviewed you around the time of the election. Much of our study was necessarily devoted to the campaigns going on at the time and your evaluation of the candidates. With the current project, we are interested in how well you think America is doing on social and political issues. There is very little in this interview about candidates, politicians or elections.

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

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

Why is this study important?

This country has gone through major economic and political changes in the last several years. In order to understand those changes and their impact on the lives of Americans, we need to talk to people to find out how things are going for them now, how they feel about their government, and how they think things might change in the future.

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

What happens to my answers?

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

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

Who is doing the study?

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

Who is the study director?

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

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

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

QUESTION-BY-QUESTION OBJECTIVES

Page 1:

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

Page 2:

A2 This is a CORE question, and the following is the CORE Q-by-Q:

Here we are attempting to measure the respondent's party identification. By party identification we mean a person's feeling of attachment or belonging to a party. The question is intended to pin down the respondent's "usual" or customary general sense of party affiliation, not particularly how he/she voted in the last election.

If the R calls himself/herself a member of a party other than the Democratic or the Republican, check the "other" box rather than classifying him/her as an "Independent."

A few respondents may shy away from the question with responses such as, "I am an American." Such evasions should be probed further with something such as, "Well, a lot of us who feel that we are good Americans also think of ourselves as Democrats, Republicans, and so forth. Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself...?"

In the A2a, A2b, and A2c follow-ons concerning strength of closeness, we are again interested in R's usual party feelings. However, if R mentions any recent change in feelings toward a party, be sure to record that in the margin.

Page 3

B1 All of Section B has been pre-edited for the state and congressional district in which our respondent resided at the time of the pre-election interview in 1984. If the respondent has moved since that time, the names pre-edited into the questions may be inappropriate. We decided, therefore, that for the purposes of the Pilot we would simply skip movers (respondent who have moved from the address given on the coversheet label) out of Section B.

B2 & B3 The respondent may volunteer that he/she doesn't know anything about the Representative/Senator. Please record this and move on to the next question.

Pages 4 - 6

B4-B6 These questions could be perceived by a respondent to be a "test." We would prefer, therefore, that you not push the respondent by probing "Don't Know" responses. Please accept "don't know's" and move on. Note that in B4b and B8 if the respondent says (again) that he/she knows nothing about the Rep/Sen, further questions on that person are skipped.

Page 7

C1-C3 These questions are here to try to determine how many people have participated in "nontraditional" forms of political behavior. Obviously, not all of the "political behaviors" listed are "nontraditional." Pretesters told us that while respondents didn't seem to mind answering the questions, they were uncomfortable if they hadn't participated in at least one of the "behaviors." So, we tried to revise the questions, with something for everyone.

Page 8

C4 The question in general is a CORE question. However, the categories (C4a-C4m) are not necessarily CORE. The categories are very general on purpose. If you are asked, for example, "What do you mean by 'welfare?' Unemployment compensation? Food stamps? Welfare payments?" the correct response is "Welfare, in general." The probe, "Should federal spending on ____ be increased, decreased, or kept about the same?" should be repeated as necessary to keep the possible responses in the respondent's mind.

Pages 9 - 11

Section D This is the first experimental section. In Form A, the respondent's self-placement on issues and his/her placement of others follow each other. In Form B, we ask only for self-placement here, and then in **Section J** ask for the placement of others. As you have probably guessed, we are trying to determine whether placement of others is colored by self-placement.

Note that in both forms, D1a and D2a appear in parenthesis. This is because respondents will often tell you what they think after you've read the stem question (D1 or D2). Should that happen, mark box "1" in the stem and the correct box in D1a or D2a, and move on as directed.

Page 12

The questions above E1 concerning age and race appear only in the practice questionnaires. In the "real thing," E1 will have been pre-edited and all you have to do is follow the skip. We encourage you to cross out pages you won't be using in this series before you begin an interview -- just so you don't make a mistake in the heat of the moment and end up on the wrong page.

The section may look long, but keep in mind that there are six sets of question, only one of which (or none, if the R is a young male) the respondent is asked.

Page 13

E2 (and its fellows) In the pretest, some respondents mentioned to us that they had never worked, and therefore, literally speaking, "retired" and "a working woman/person" seemed inappropriate. However, what we're after here is how the person thinks of himself/herself -- and people who have never worked for pay often consider themselves either retired or working (but not for pay).

Page 21

F1 This series is called "citizen duty," another area for which the Pilot study is developing new measures. It is also a set of questions asked in two formats -- see Form B for the alternative wording.

Page 22

F2 This series is meant to pit what the respondent perceives the government to be doing about certain problems concerning race against what the respondent feels the government should be doing. In reading this series, it's important to help the respondent keep it mind which question, "is" or "should", he/she is answering -- and the only way to do that is with voice inflection.

Page 23

F4-F5 These questions have very slight wording variations in Form B, the purpose being to see which wording works best.

Page 24

F6 A series like this of "feeling" type words has been used successfully in other Election Studies to get respondents' feelings about the president and other candidates. Now we are experimenting with a similar series to find out how respondents feel about preferential treatment for blacks, and later, on page 26, G5, about relations between blacks and whites.

Page 25

G1 An alternative question appears in Form B.

Page 27

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

Page 31

H16 (Also see J3, Form B) This is a closing statement, which you may reword to something you are more comfortable with. The principal elements are to thank the respondent, tell him/her how important he/she is to our research, and not say anything about our calling back in three weeks.

Pilot ID *

FOR OFFICE USE

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

Project 495822
(208)
Fall, 1985



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

WAVE I, FORM B

1. Interviewer's ID number: _____

2. ID number from coversheet label, upper left corner:

3. Respondent found living at address on coversheet label?

☐ 1. YES

☐ 5. NO

4. Congressional district from coversheet label: _____

STATE CD *

5. Date of interview: _____

6. Length of interview: _____(MINUTES)

7. Time at beginning of post-editing: _____

8. Time at end of post-editing: _____

9. Total time to post-edit: _____(MINUTES)

THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT MUST BE READ TO ALL RESPONDENTS:

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

SECTION D

Now I have some questions about government policy.

D1. Some people think that the United States should become more involved in the internal affairs of Central American countries. Others believe 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. D ON'T NOW

NEXT PAGE, D2

D1a. (Do you feel that the U.S. should become more involved in Central America, become less involved in this area, or is your position somewhere in between?)

1. MORE INVOLVED

3. SOMEWHERE BETWEEN

5. LESS INVOLVED

8. DK

NEXT PAGE, D2

NEXT PAGE, D2

D1b. 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

D1c. 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

D2. Some people feel that the government in Washington should make every effort to improve the social and economic position of blacks. Others feel that the government should not make any special effort to help blacks because they should help themselves. Do you have an opinion on this issue, or haven't you thought much about this?

1. YES, HAVE AN OPINION	5. NO, HAVEN'T THOUGHT	8. DON'T KNOW
↓	GO TO D2k	

D2a. (Do you feel the government should help improve the position of blacks, that blacks should help themselves, or is your position somewhere in between?)

1. GOVT SHOULD HELP	3. SOMEWHERE BETWEEN GO TO D2k	5. BLACKS SHOULD HELP SELVES	8. DON'T KNOW GO TO D2k
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<p>D2b. Should the government help blacks to a great extent or only to some extent?</p> <table style="width: 100%; text-align: center;"> <tr> <td style="width: 33%; padding: 5px;">1. GREAT</td> <td style="width: 33%; padding: 5px;">2. SOME</td> <td style="width: 33%; padding: 5px;">8. DK</td> </tr> </table>	1. GREAT	2. SOME	8. DK	<p>D2c. Should the government make any effort at all to improve the position of blacks?</p> <table style="width: 100%; text-align: center;"> <tr> <td style="width: 33%; padding: 5px;">4. YES</td> <td style="width: 33%; padding: 5px;">5. NO</td> <td style="width: 33%; padding: 5px;">8. DK</td> </tr> </table>	4. YES	5. NO	8. DK
1. GREAT	2. SOME	8. DK					
4. YES	5. NO	8. DK					

D2k. In your opinion, does the federal government make special efforts to improve the social and economic position of blacks, or does it not?

1. YES, MAKES EFFORTS	5. NO, DOESN'T MAKE EFFORTS	8. DK
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TURN TO P. 12, SECTION E

<p>D2m. Does the government help blacks to a great extent or only to some extent?</p> <table style="width: 100%; text-align: center;"> <tr> <td style="width: 33%; padding: 5px;">1. GREAT</td> <td style="width: 33%; padding: 5px;">2. SOME</td> <td style="width: 33%; padding: 5px;">8. DK</td> </tr> </table>	1. GREAT	2. SOME	8. DK	<p>D2n. Does the government make any effort at all to improve the position of blacks?</p> <table style="width: 100%; text-align: center;"> <tr> <td style="width: 33%; padding: 5px;">4. YES</td> <td style="width: 33%; padding: 5px;">5. NO</td> <td style="width: 33%; padding: 5px;">8. DK</td> </tr> </table>	4. YES	5. NO	8. DK
1. GREAT	2. SOME	8. DK					
4. YES	5. NO	8. DK					

TURN TO P. 12, SECTION E

BLANK PAGE

SECTION F

F1. Now for something a little different...

F1a. How strong is your duty to vote in every election even when you're busy or not interested -- extremely strong, very strong, somewhat strong, or not very strong?

1. EXTREMELY
STRONG

2. VERY
STRONG

4. SOMEWHAT
STRONG

5. NOT VERY
STRONG

8. DON'T
KNOW

F1b. Like a lot of other people, would you say that you look for ways to avoid paying taxes almost always, some of the time, only now and then, or hardly ever?

1. ALMOST
ALWAYS

2. SOME OF
THE TIME

4. ONLY NOW
AND THEN

5. HARDLY
EVER

8. DON'T
KNOW

F1c. Do you obey minor laws, such as speeding and parking regulations, almost always, some of the time, only now and then, or hardly ever?

1. ALMOST
ALWAYS

2. SOME OF
THE TIME

4. ONLY NOW
AND THEN

5. HARDLY
EVER

8. DON'T
KNOW

F1d. How willing are you to make personal sacrifices for the good of the country as a whole -- extremely willing, very willing, somewhat, willing, or not very willing?

1. EXTREMELY
WILLING

2. VERY
WILLING

4. SOMEWHAT
WILLING

5. NOT VERY
WILLING

8. DON'T
KNOW

F1e. How likely is it that you would ask to be excused from jury duty if you thought that it would take more than a day or two of your time -- extremely likely, very likely, somewhat likely, or not very likely?

1. EXTREMELY
LIKELY

2. VERY
LIKELY

4. SOMEWHAT
LIKELY

5. NOT VERY
LIKELY

8. DON'T
KNOW

F3. Suppose there is a community-wide vote on a general housing issue. There are two possible laws to vote for. One law says that homeowners can decide for themselves who to sell their houses to, even if they prefer not to sell to blacks. The second law says that homeowners cannot refuse to sell to someone because of their race or color. Which law would you vote for?

**1. HOMEOWNERS
CAN DECIDE FOR
THEMSELVES**

**3. HOMEOWNERS
CANNOT REFUSE
TO SELL**

**5. VOLUNTEERED:
NEITHER**

**8. DON'T
KNOW**

F4. Some people say that because of past discrimination against blacks, preference in hiring and promotion should be given to blacks. Others say preferential hiring and promotion of blacks is wrong because it gives blacks advantages they haven't earned. What about your opinion-- are you for or against preferential hiring and promotion of blacks?

1. FOR

5. AGAINST

8. DON'T KNOW; REFUSED

GO TO F5

F4a. Do you favor preferential hiring and promotion strongly or not strongly?

1. STRONGLY

2. NOT STRONGLY

F4b. Do you oppose preferential hiring and promotion strongly or not strongly?

5. STRONGLY

4. NOT STRONGLY

F5. Some people say that because of past discrimination, it is sometimes necessary for colleges and universities to reserve openings for black students. Others oppose quotas because they say quotas give blacks advantages they haven't earned. What about your opinion -- are you for or against quotas to admit black students?

1. FOR

5. AGAINST

8. DON'T KNOW; REFUSED

NEXT PAGE, F6

F5a. Do you favor quotas strongly or not strongly?

1. STRONGLY

2. NOT STRONGLY

F5b. Do you oppose quotas strongly or not strongly?

5. STRONGLY

4. NOT STRONGLY

SECTION J

And now, a few final questions:

J1d. In your opinion, does Ronald Reagan feel that the U.S. should become more involved in Central America, become less involved in this area, or is his position somewhere in between?

1. MORE INVOLVED 3. SOMEWHERE BETWEEN 5. LESS INVOLVED 8. DK
GO TO J1g GO TO J1g

J1e. Does he think the U.S. should increase its involvement to a great extent or only to some extent?

1. GREAT 2. SOME 8. DK

J1f. Does he think the U.S. should decrease its involvement to a great extent or only to some extent?

5. GREAT 4. SOME 8. DK

J1g. In your opinion, does Ted Kennedy feel that the U.S. should become more involved in Central America, become less involved in this area, or is his position somewhere in between?

1. MORE INVOLVED 3. SOMEWHERE BETWEEN 5. LESS INVOLVED 8. DK
GO TO J1j GO TO J1j

J1h. Does he think the U.S. should increase its involvement to a great extent or only to some extent?

1. GREAT 2. SOME 8. DK

J1i. Does he think the U.S. should decrease its involvement to a great extent or only to some extent?

5. GREAT 4. SOME 8. DK

J1j. 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 3. SOMEWHAT IMPORTANT 4. NOT IMPORTANT AT ALL 8. DON'T KNOW

SECTION G

G1. Do you think that that over the past year the incomes of people around the country have generally 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 GO TO G2	5. FALLEN BEHIND	8. DON'T KNOW GO TO G2
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<p>G1a. Have they gone up <u>a lot</u> more than the cost of living or <u>a little</u> more?</p> <p>1. A LOT 2. A LITTLE 8. DK</p>	<p>G1b. Have they fallen <u>a lot</u> behind the cost of living or <u>a little</u> behind?</p> <p>5. A LOT 4. A LITTLE 8. DK</p>
--	--

G2. Some people feel that a constitutional amendment is needed to force the federal government to balance its budget. Others feel that balancing the budget is a political issue that congress and the president should work out on their own. Do you have an opinion on this issue, 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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NEXT PAGE, G3

<p>G2a. Would you <u>favor</u> or <u>oppose</u> a constitutional amendment to force the government to balance the budget?</p> <p>1. FAVOR 5. OPPOSE 8. DON'T KNOW</p> <p style="text-align: right;">NEXT PAGE, G3</p>		
<p>G2b. Would you favor such an amendment <u>strongly</u> or <u>not strongly</u>?</p> <p>1. STRONGLY 2. NOT STRONGLY</p>	<p>G2c. Would you oppose such an amendment <u>strongly</u> or <u>not strongly</u>?</p> <p>5. STRONGLY 4. NOT STRONGLY</p>	

J2d. In your opinion, does Ronald Reagan feel that the government should help improve the economic position of blacks, that blacks should help themselves, or is his position somewhere in between?

1. GOVT SHOULD HELP

3. SOMEWHERE
BETWEEN

GO TO J2g

5. BLACKS SHOULD
HELP SELVES

8. DON'T
KNOW

GO TO J2g

J2e. Does he think the government should help blacks to a great extent or only to some extent?

1. GREAT

2. SOME

8. DK

J2f. Does he think the government should make any effort at all to improve the position of blacks?

4. YES

5. NO

8. DK

J2g. In your opinion, does Ted Kennedy feel that the government should help improve the economic position of blacks, that blacks should help themselves, or is his position somewhere in between?

1. GOVT SHOULD HELP

3. SOMEWHERE
BETWEEN

GO TO J2j

5. BLACKS SHOULD
HELP SELVES

8. DON'T
KNOW

GO TO J2j

J2h. Does he think the government should help blacks to a great extent or only to some extent?

1. GREAT

2. SOME

8. DK

J2i. Does he think the government should make any effort at all to improve the position of blacks?

4. YES

5. NO

8. DK

J2j. How important is it to you that the federal government do what you think is best on the issue of blacks' social and economic position?

Is it extremely important, very important, somewhat important, or not important at all to you?

1. EXTREMELY
IMPORTANT

2. VERY
IMPORTANT

3. SOMEWHAT
IMPORTANT

4. NOT
IMPORTANT
AT ALL

8. DON'T
KNOW

EXACT TIME NOW: _____

33

J3. These are all the questions I have today. It is very important that we talk to people like you, and I appreciate the time you've spent with me and the thoughts you have contributed to our research. Are there any questions about our study that I could answer for you?

THUMBNAIL SKETCH:

Pilot ID #

FOR OFFICE USE

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

Project 495822
(208)
Fall, 1985



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

WAVE I, FORM A

1. Interviewer's ID number: _____
2. ID number from coversheet label, upper left corner:
3. Respondent found living at address on coversheet label?

☐ 1. YES☐ 5. NO
4. Congressional district from coversheet label: _____
STATE CD #
5. Date of interview: _____
6. Length of interview: _____ (MINUTES)
7. Time at beginning of post-editing: _____
8. Time at end of post-editing: _____
9. Total time to post-edit: _____ (MINUTES)

THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT MUST BE READ TO ALL RESPONDENTS:

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

EXACT TIME NOW: _____

SECTION A

In this interview we will be talking about many different things that are of interest to many people.

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

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

	1. AGREE STRONGLY	2. AGREE SOMEWHAT	3. NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE	4. DISAGREE SOMEWHAT	5. DISAGREE STRONGLY	6. DK
a. We should be more tolerant of people who choose to live according to their own moral standards, even if they are very different from our own. Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, disagree strongly, or disagree somewhat with this statement?						
b. There is too much sexual freedom and loose living today.						
c. Changes in lifestyles, such as divorce and men and women living together without being married, are signs of increasing moral decay.						
d. It's good for children to be exposed to a number of different sets of values so that they can develop their own standards.						
e. People who don't care if they have a steady job are either lazy, or spoiled, or don't want to work.						
f. Equal opportunity for blacks and whites to succeed is important but it's not really the government's job to guarantee it.						

A2. 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
A2a. Would you call yourself a strong Republican or a not very strong Republican?	A2b. Would you call yourself a strong Democrat or a not very strong Democrat?	A2c. Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party or to the Democratic Party?
1. STRONG	1. STRONG	1. CLOSER TO REPUBLICAN
5. NOT VERY STRONG	5. NOT VERY STRONG	5. CLOSER TO DEMOCRATIC
		3. NEITHER

A3. Some people prefer to participate in decisions in various parts of their lives, while others prefer the decisions be made by someone else. What about you -- do you prefer to make all the decisions in your life, most of the decisions, some of the decisions, few of the decisions, or none of the decisions in your life?

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

3
SECTION B

B1. INTERVIEWER'S CHECKPOINT:

<input type="checkbox"/>	1. R STILL LIVES AT ADDRESS ON SAMPLE LABEL	
<input type="checkbox"/>	2. R HAS MOVED FROM ADDRESS ON SAMPLE LABEL	TURN TO P. 7, SECTION C

B2. During the last year, have you contacted your U.S. Representative, that is your Representative to the U.S. Congress, or anyone in your Representative's office?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW; CAN'T RECALL

B3. How good a job would you say U.S. Representative _____
(NAME IN REP COLUMN)
does of keeping in touch with the people in your district -- does (he/she) do a very good job, fairly good, not very good, or a poor job of keeping in touch with the people in this district?

1. VERY
GOOD

2. FAIRLY
GOOD

3. NOT VERY
GOOD

4. POOR JOB

8. DON'T
KNOW

B4. How good a job would you say Senator _____ does of
(NAME IN SEN. COL)
keeping in touch with the people in your state -- does (he/she) do a very good job, fairly good, not very good, or a poor job of keeping in touch with the people in this state?

1. VERY
GOOD

2. FAIRLY
GOOD

3. NOT VERY
GOOD

4. POOR JOB

8. DON'T
KNOW

B5. Has there been any issue considered recently in Congress that is particularly important to you?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW

NEXT PAGE, B6

B5a. What issue is that? _____

B5b. Has Senator _____ taken a position on (that issue/
 (NAME IN SEN. COLUMN)
 these issues)?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW

7. VOLUNTEERED: DK
 ANYTHING ABOUT
 THE SENATOR

NEXT PAGE, B6

TURN TO P. 6, B8

B5c. Would you say that Senator _____'s position
 (NAME IN SEN. COLUMN)
 on (that issue/ these issues) is close to your own position, or not
 close to your own position?

1. CLOSE TO OWN
 POSITION

2. NOT CLOSE TO
 OWN POSITION

3. (VOLUNTEERED)
 CLOSE ON SOME
 ISSUES, NOT
 CLOSE ON OTHERS

8. DON'T
 KNOW

B6. Does _____, one of the U.S. Senators from (NAME OF
(NAME IN SEN. COLUMN)
STATE), hold any official position in Congress which makes (him/her)
an especially important senator?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW

GO TO B7

B6a. (What position is that?) (Are there any others?)

B7. Is there anything (else) that makes Senator _____
(NAME IN SEN. COLUMN)
stand out from other senators in Washington?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW

NEXT PAGE, B8

B7a. (What makes (him/her) stand out?) (Any others?)

B8. Does _____, the U.S. Representative to Congress
(NAME IN REP. COLUMN)
in Washington from your district, hold any official position in Congress
which makes (him/her) an especially important member of Congress?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW

7. VOLUNTEERED: DK
ANYTHING ABOUT
REPRESENTATIVE

GO TO B9

TURN TO P. 7, SECTION C

B8a. (What position is that?) (Are there any others?)

B9. Is there anything (else) that makes Representative _____
(NAME IN REP. COLUMN)
stand out from other members of the Congress in Washington?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW

NEXT PAGE, SECTION C

B9a. (What makes (him/her) stand out?) (Any others?)

SECTION C

Now I would like to ask you about some kinds of activities you might have been involved in.

C1. How often do you work with other people in your community to try to solve local problems:
often, sometimes, rarely or never?

1. OFTEN

2. SOMETIMES

3. RARELY

4. NEVER

8. DON'T KNOW

C2. Have you ever participated in some kind of public protest concerning:

a. either supporting or opposing prayer in schools?

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW, NOT SURE

1. YES

b. (Have you ever participated in some kind of public protest concerning)
either the right to an abortion or the "right to life?"

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW, NOT SURE

1. YES

c. restricting the distribution or requiring labelling the contents of
magazines, books, TV programs, movies or records?

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW, NOT SURE

1. YES

d. Have you ever signed a petition?

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW, NOT SURE

1. YES

e. Have you ever taken part in any of the following kinds of activities:
a public demonstration, protest march, rally or vigil?

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW, NOT SURE

1. YES

f. (Have you ever taken part in) non-union picketing or distributing
a petition about some issue?

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW, NOT SURE

1. YES

g. joining in a boycott of, for example, a product, store, company, or school?

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW, NOT SURE

1. YES

h. protesting about or withholding rent or taxes?

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW, NOT SURE

1. YES

j. a blockade, sit-in, blocking of traffic, or other forms of non-violent
civil disobedience?

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW, NOT SURE

1. YES

C3. ASK OF ALL "YES"
RESPONSES TO C2:

C3a. Have you done this
more than once?

1. YES

5. NO

GO TO C2b

C3b. 1. YES 5. NO

GO TO C2c

C3c. 1. YES 5. NO

GO TO C2d

C3d. 1. YES 5. NO

GO TO C2e

C3e. 1. YES 5. NO

GO TO C2f

C3f. 1. YES 5. NO

GO TO C2g

C3g. 1. YES 5. NO

GO TO C2h

C3h. 1. YES 5. NO

GO TO C2j

C3j. 1. YES 5. NO

NEXT PAGE, C4

NEXT PAGE, C4

C4. If you had a say in making up the federal budget this year, on which of these programs would you like to see spending increased and which decreased --

	1. INCREASED	2. SAME	3. DECREASED	8. DON'T KNOW
a. Should federal spending on defense be increased, decreased, or kept about the same?				
b. Should federal spending on helping older people be increased, decreased, or kept about the same?				
c. Improving the conditions of black Americans? (Should federal spending on improving the conditions of black Americans be increased, decreased, or kept about the same?)				
d. Dealing with crime				
e. Improving the position of women				
f. Social security				
g. Solving problems of big cities				
h. Medicare				
i. Affirmative action programs for women				
j. Government jobs for the unemployed				
k. Welfare				
m. Childcare for working women				

SECTION D

Now I have some questions about government policy.

D1. Some people think that the United States should become more involved in the internal affairs of Central American countries. Others believe 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

GO TO D1d

D1a. (Do you feel that the U.S. should become more involved in Central America, become less involved in this area, or is your position somewhere in between?)

1. MORE INVOLVED

3. SOMEWHERE BETWEEN

5. LESS INVOLVED

8. DK

GO TO D1d

GO TO D1d

D1b. 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

D1c. 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

D1d. In your opinion, does Ronald Reagan feel that the U.S. should become more involved in Central America, become less involved in this area, or is his position somewhere in between?

1. MORE INVOLVED

3. SOMEWHERE BETWEEN

5. LESS INVOLVED

8. DK

GO TO D1g

GO TO D1g

D1e. Does he think the U.S. should increase its involvement to a great extent or only to some extent?

1. GREAT

2. SOME

8. DK

D1f. Does he think the U.S. should decrease its involvement to a great extent or only to some extent?

5. GREAT

4. SOME

8. DK

D1g. In your opinion, does Ted Kennedy feel that the U.S. should become more involved in Central America, become less involved in this area, or is his position somewhere in between?

1. MORE INVOLVED

3. SOMEWHERE BETWEEN

5. LESS INVOLVED

8. DK

NEXT PAGE, D1j

NEXT PAGE, D1j

D1h. Does he think the U.S. should increase its involvement to a great extent or only to some extent?

1. GREAT

2. SOME

8. DK

D1i. Does he think the U.S. should decrease its involvement to a great extent or only to some extent?

5. GREAT

4. SOME

8. DK

D1j. 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

3. SOMEWHAT
IMPORTANT

4. NOT
IMPORTANT
AT ALL

8. DON'T
KNOW

D2. Some people feel that the government in Washington should make every effort to improve the social and economic position of blacks. Others feel that the government should not make any special effort to help blacks because they should help themselves. Do you have an opinion on this issue, or haven't you thought much about this?

1. YES, HAVE AN OPINION

5. NO, HAVEN'T THOUGHT

8. DON'T KNOW

GO TO D2d

D2a. (Do you feel the government should help improve the position of blacks, that blacks should help themselves, or is your position somewhere in between?)

1. GOYT SHOULD HELP

3. SOMEWHERE
BETWEEN

5. BLACKS SHOULD
HELP SELVES

8. DON'T
KNOW

GO TO D2d

GO TO D2d

D2b. Should the government help blacks to a great extent or only to some extent?

1. GREAT

2. SOME

8. DK

D2c. Should the government make any effort at all to improve the position of blacks?

4. YES

5. NO

8. DK

D2d. In your opinion, does Ronald Reagan feel that the government should help improve the economic position of blacks, that blacks should help themselves, or is his position somewhere in between?

1. GOYT SHOULD HELP

3. SOMEWHERE
BETWEEN

5. BLACKS SHOULD
HELP SELVES

8. DON'T
KNOW

NEXT PAGE, D2g

NEXT PAGE, D2g

D2e. Does he think the government should help blacks to a great extent or only to some extent?

1. GREAT

2. SOME

8. DK

D2f. Does he think the government should make any effort at all to improve the position of blacks?

4. YES

5. NO

8. DK

D2g. In your opinion, does Ted Kennedy feel that the government should help improve the economic position of blacks, that blacks should help themselves, or is his position somewhere in between?

1. GOVT SHOULD HELP

3. SOMEWHERE
BETWEEN

5. BLACKS SHOULD
HELP SELVES

8. DON'T
KNOW

GO TO D2j

GO TO D2j

D2h. Does he think the government should help blacks to a great extent or only to some extent?

1. GREAT

2. SOME

8. DK

D2i. Does he think the government should make any effort at all to improve the position of blacks?

4. YES

5. NO

8. DK

D2j. How important is it to you that the federal government do what you think is best on the issue of blacks' social and economic position?

Is it extremely important, very important, somewhat important, or not important at all to you?

1. EXTREMELY
IMPORTANT

2. VERY
IMPORTANT

3. SOMEWHAT
IMPORTANT

4. NOT
IMPORTANT
AT ALL

8. DON'T
KNOW

D2k. In your opinion, does the federal government make special efforts to improve the social and economic position of blacks, or does it not?

1. YES, MAKES EFFORTS

5. NO, DOESN'T MAKE EFFORTS

8. DK

TURN TO P. 12,
SECTION E

D2m. Does the government help blacks to a great extent or only to some extent?

1. GREAT

2. SOME

8. DK

D2n. Does the government make any effort at all to improve the position of blacks?

4. YES

5. NO

8. DK

SECTION E

E1. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT

A. RACE	B. SEX	C. AGE
R IS BLACK <input type="checkbox"/>	R IS FEMALE <input type="checkbox"/>	1. R IS 60 OR OLDER <input type="checkbox"/> → NEXT PAGE, E2
		2. R IS 59 OR YOUNGER <input type="checkbox"/> → TURN TO P. 17, E10
	R IS MALE <input type="checkbox"/>	3. R IS 60 OR OLDER <input type="checkbox"/> → TURN TO P. 19, E16
		4. R IS 59 OR YOUNGER <input type="checkbox"/> → TURN TO P. 21, SECTION F
R IS WHITE <input type="checkbox"/>	R IS FEMALE <input type="checkbox"/>	5. R IS 60 OR OLDER <input type="checkbox"/> → TURN TO P. 15, E6
		6. R IS 59 OR YOUNGER <input type="checkbox"/> → TURN TO P. 18, E13
	R IS MALE <input type="checkbox"/>	7. R IS 60 OR OLDER <input type="checkbox"/> → TURN TO P. 20, E18
		8. R IS 59 OR YOUNGER <input type="checkbox"/> → TURN TO P. 21, SECTION F

SERIES FOR BLACK WOMEN 60 OR OLDER

E2. People think of themselves in different ways at different times. Take age for example. Sometimes a person might think of herself as old, sometimes middle aged, sometimes young, and sometimes she might not think about her age at all. I am going to run through a list of different ways in which people have told us they sometimes think about themselves and I'd like you to tell me for each, how often, if ever, you think of yourself in that way. Lets start with "elderly." Do you think of yourself as "elderly" most of the time, some of the time, occasionally, or never?

a. ELDERLY

b. older working person (Do you think of yourself as an older working person most of the time, some of the time, occasionally, or never?)

c. retired

d. middle-aged

f. young

g. older

1. MOST OF THE TIME	2. SOME OF THE TIME	4. OCCAS- IONALLY	5. NEVER	8. DK

Sometimes a woman might think of herself as a woman, as a working woman, and sometimes as a homemaker. Do you think of yourself as "a homemaker" most of the time, some of the time, occasionally, or never?

h. A HOMEMAKER

i. a feminist

j. a working woman

k. a woman

1. MOST OF THE TIME	2. SOME OF THE TIME	4. OCCAS- IONALLY	5. NEVER	8. DK

E3. If older people were more actively involved in running the affairs of this country, do you think this would increase the respect you personally receive from others, decrease it, or wouldn't it have any effect on you?

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

GO TO E4

E3a. Would this increase the respect you personally receive a lot or just a little?

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

E4. How about if women were more actively involved in running the affairs of this country: Do you think this would increase the respect you personally receive from others, decrease it, or wouldn't it have any effect on you?

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

GO TO E5

E4a. Would this increase the respect you personally receive a lot or just a little?

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

E5. If homemakers were more actively involved in running the affairs of this country, do you think this would increase the respect you personally receive from others, decrease it, or wouldn't it have any effect on you?

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

TURN TO P. 21, SECTION F

E5a. Would this increase the respect you personally receive a lot or just a little?

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

TURN TO P. 21, SECTION F

SERIES FOR WHITE WOMEN 60 OR OLDER

E6. People think of themselves in different ways at different times. Take age for example. Sometimes a person might think of herself as old, sometimes middle aged, sometimes young, and sometimes she might not think about her age at all. I am going to run through a list of different ways in which people have told us they sometimes think about themselves and I'd like you to tell me for each, how often, if ever, you think of yourself in that way. Lets start with "elderly." Do you think of yourself as "elderly" most of the time, some of the time, occasionally, or never?

a. ELDERLY

b. older working person (Do you think of yourself as an older working person most of the time, some of the time, occasionally, or never?)

c. retired

d. middle-aged

f. young

g. older

1. MOST OF THE TIME	2. SOME OF THE TIME	4. OCCAS- IONALLY	5. NEVER	8. DK

Sometimes a woman might think of herself as a woman, as a working woman, and sometimes as a homemaker. Do you think of yourself as "a homemaker" most of the time, some of the time, occasionally, or never?

h. A HOMEMAKER

i. a feminist

j. a working woman

k. a woman

m. white

1. MOST OF THE TIME	2. SOME OF THE TIME	4. OCCAS- IONALLY	5. NEVER	8. DK

E7. If older people were more actively involved in running the affairs of this country, do you think this would increase the respect you personally receive from others, decrease it, or wouldn't it have any effect on you?

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

GO TO E8

E7a. Would this increase the respect you personally receive a lot or just a little?

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

E8. How about if women were more actively involved in running the affairs of this country: Do you think this would increase the respect you personally receive from others, decrease it, or wouldn't it have any effect on you?

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

GO TO E9

E8a. Would this increase the respect you personally receive a lot or just a little?

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

E9. If homemakers were more actively involved in running the affairs of this country, do you think this would increase the respect you personally receive from others, decrease it, or wouldn't it have any effect on you?

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

TURN TO P. 21, SECTION F

E9a. Would this increase the respect you personally receive a lot or just a little?

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

TURN TO P. 21, SECTION F

SERIES FOR BLACK WOMEN 59 OR YOUNGER

E10. People think of themselves in different ways at different times. Take women for example. Sometimes a woman might think of herself as a woman, as a working person, and sometimes as a homemaker. I am going to run through a list of different ways in which people have told us they sometimes think about themselves and I'd like you to tell me for each, how often, if ever, you think of yourself in that way. Let's start with "a homemaker." Do you think of yourself as "a homemaker" most of the time, some of the time, occasionally, or never?

h. A HOMEMAKER

i. a feminist (Do you think of yourself as a feminist most of the time, some of the time, occasionally, or never?)

j. a working woman

k. a woman

1. MOST OF THE TIME	2. SOME OF THE TIME	4. OCCAS- IONALLY	5. NEVER	8. DK

E11. How about if women were more actively involved in running the affairs of this country: Do you think this would increase the respect you personally receive from others, decrease it, or wouldn't it have any effect on you?

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

GO TO E12

E11a. Would this increase the respect you personally receive a lot or just a little?

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

E12. If homemakers were more actively involved in running the affairs of this country, do you think this would increase the respect you personally receive from others, decrease it, or wouldn't it have any effect on you?

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

TURN TO P. 21, SECTION F

E12a. Would this increase the respect you personally receive a lot or just a little?

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

TURN TO P. 21, SECTION F

SERIES FOR WHITE WOMEN 59 OR YOUNGER

E13. People think of themselves in different ways at different times. Take women for example. Sometimes a woman might think of herself as a woman, as a working person, and sometimes as a homemaker. I am going to run through a list of different ways in which people have told us they sometimes think about themselves and I'd like you to tell me for each, how often, if ever, you think of yourself in that way. Let's start with "a homemaker." Do you think of yourself as "a homemaker" most of the time, some of the time, occasionally, or never?

	1. MOST OF THE TIME	2. SOME OF THE TIME	4. OCCASIONALLY	5. NEVER	8. DK
h. A HOMEMAKER					
i. a feminist (Do you think of yourself as a feminist most of the time, some of the time, occasionally, or never?)					
j. a working woman					
k. a woman					
m. white					

E14. How about if women were more actively involved in running the affairs of this country: Do you think this would increase the respect you personally receive from others, decrease it, or wouldn't it have any effect on you?

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

↓
GO TO E15

E14a. Would this increase the respect you personally receive a lot or just a little?		
1. A LOT	2. A LITTLE	8. DON'T KNOW

E15. If homemakers were more actively involved in running the affairs of this country, do you think this would increase the respect you personally receive from others, decrease it, or wouldn't it have any effect on you?

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

↓
TURN TO P. 21, SECTION F

E15a. Would this increase the respect you personally receive a lot or just a little?		
1. A LOT	2. A LITTLE	8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 21, SECTION F

SERIES FOR BLACK MALES 60 OR OLDER

E16. People think of themselves in different ways at different times. Take age for example. Sometimes a person might think of himself as old, sometimes middle aged, sometimes young, and sometimes he might not think about his age at all. I am going to run through a list of different ways in which people have told us they sometimes think about themselves and I'd like you to tell me for each, how often, if ever, you think of yourself in that way. Lets start with "elderly." Do you think of yourself as "elderly" most of the time, some of the time, occasionally, or never?

a. ELDERLY

b. older working person (Do you think of yourself as an older working person most of the time, some of the time, occasionally, or never?)

c. retired

d. middle-aged

f. young

g. older

1. MOST OF THE TIME	2. SOME OF THE TIME	4. OCCAS- IONALLY	5. NEVER	8. DK

E17. If older people were more actively involved in running the affairs of this country, do you think this would increase the respect you personally receive from others, decrease it, or wouldn't it have any effect on you?

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

TURN TO P. 21, SECTION F

E17a. Would this increase the respect you personally receive a lot or just a little?

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

TURN TO P. 21, SECTION F

SERIES FOR WHITE MALES 60 OR OLDER

E 18. People think of themselves in different ways at different times. Take age for example. Sometimes a person might think of himself as old, sometimes middle aged, sometimes young, and sometimes he might not think about his age at all. I am going to run through a list of different ways in which people have told us they sometimes think about themselves and I'd like you to tell me for each, how often, if ever, you think of yourself in that way. Lets start with "elderly." Do you think of yourself as "elderly" most of the time, some of the time, occasionally, or never?

	1. MOST OF THE TIME	2. SOME OF THE TIME	4. OCCAS- IONALLY	5. NEVER	8. DK
a. ELDERLY					
b. older working person (Do you think of yourself as older most of the time, some of the time, occasionally, or never?)					
c. retired					
d. middle-aged					
e. white					
f. young					
g. older					

E 19. If older people were more actively involved in running the affairs of this country, do you think this would increase the respect you personally receive from others, decrease it, or wouldn't it have any effect on you?

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

TURN TO P. 21, SECTION F

E 19a. Would this increase the respect you personally receive a lot or just a little?

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

TURN TO P. 21, SECTION F

SECTION F

F1. Now I am going to read several statements people use to describe things they might do. As you did in earlier questions, after each one, please tell me whether you agree or disagree.

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

	1. AGREE STRONGLY	2. AGREE SOMEWHAT	3. NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE	4. DISAGREE SOMEWHAT	5. DISAGREE STRONGLY	8. DK
a. I feel strongly that I have a duty to vote in every election even if I am busy or not very interested. (Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, disagree strongly, or disagree somewhat with this statement?)						
b. Like a lot of other people, I look for ways to avoid paying taxes even if I'm not sure it's legal.						
c. Sometimes I disobey <u>minor laws</u> such as speeding and parking regulations.						
d. I am willing to make personal sacrifices for the good of the country as a whole.						
e. I would ask to be excused from jury duty if I thought it would take more than a day or two of my time.						

F2. People have different opinions about how much the government in Washington is doing about various things. People also differ about how much they think the government should be doing about these things.
(REPEAT THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS AS NECESSARY TO MAKE CERTAIN R UNDERSTANDS THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN "IS" AND "SHOULD BE.")

	1. A LOT	2. QUITE A BIT	4. A LITTLE	5. NOTHING	8. DON'T KNOW
a. First of all, how much do you think the government <u>is</u> doing to make sure black and white children are permitted to go to the same schools -- a lot, quite a bit, a little, or nothing at all?					
b. Now, how much do you think the government <u>should</u> be doing about this -- a lot, quite a bit, a little, or nothing at all?					
c. How much do you think the government <u>is</u> doing to make sure that blacks can buy any house on the market that they can afford? (A lot, quite a bit, a little, or nothing at all?)					
d. How much do you think it <u>should</u> be doing about this? (A lot, quite a bit, a little, or nothing at all?)					
e. How much do you think the government <u>is</u> doing to make sure blacks have the same job opportunities as whites?					
f. How much do you think it <u>should</u> be doing about this?					
g. How much do you think the government <u>is</u> doing to make sure all citizens, regardless of race, are granted equal rights?					
h. How much do you think it <u>should</u> be doing about this?					

- F3. Suppose there is a community-wide vote on a general housing issue. There are two possible laws to vote for. One law says that homeowners can decide for themselves who to sell their houses to, even if they prefer not to sell to blacks. The second law says that homeowners cannot refuse to sell to someone because of their race or color. Which law would you vote for?

1. HOMEOWNERS
CAN DECIDE FOR
THEMSELVES

3. HOMEOWNERS
CANNOT REFUSE
TO SELL

5. VOLUNTEERED:
NEITHER

8. DON'T
KNOW

- F4. Some people say that because of past discrimination against blacks, preference in hiring and promotion should be given to blacks. Others say preferential hiring and promotion of blacks is wrong because it discriminates against whites. What about your opinion -- are you for or against preferential hiring and promotion of blacks?

1. FOR

5. AGAINST

8. DON'T KNOW; REFUSED

GO TO F5

F4a. Do you favor preferential hiring and promotion strongly or not strongly?

1. STRONGLY

2. NOT STRONGLY

F4b. Do you oppose preferential hiring and promotion strongly or not strongly?

5. STRONGLY

4. NOT STRONGLY

- F5. Some people say that because of past discrimination, it is sometimes necessary for colleges and universities to reserve openings for black students. Others oppose quotas because they say quotas discriminate against whites. What about your opinion -- are you for or against quotas to admit black students?

1. FOR

5. AGAINST

8. DON'T KNOW; REFUSED

NEXT PAGE, F6

F5a. Do you favor quotas strongly or not strongly?

1. STRONGLY

2. NOT STRONGLY

F5b. Do you oppose quotas strongly or not strongly?

5. STRONGLY

4. NOT STRONGLY

F6. Please think about preferential treatment of blacks. Has this issue ever made you feel:

	1. YES	5. NO
a. angry		
b. hopeful		
c. afraid		
d. uneasy		
e. proud		
f. disgusted		
g. sympathetic		
h. infuriated		
i. happy		
j. bitter		

SECTION G

G1. Compared to a year ago, would you say that inflation is a more serious national problem now or a less serious national problem now?

1. MORE
SERIOUS

3. VOLUNTEERED:
SAME

GO TO G2

5. LESS
SERIOUS

8. DON'T
KNOW

GO TO G2

G1a. Is the problem of inflation a lot more serious or only somewhat more serious?

1. A LOT

2. SOMEWHAT

G1b. Is the problem of inflation a lot less serious or only somewhat less serious?

5. A LOT

4. SOMEWHAT

G2. Some people feel that a constitutional amendment is needed to force the federal government to balance its budget. Others feel that balancing the budget is a political issue that congress and the president should work out on their own. Do you have an opinion on this issue, or haven't you thought much about it?

1. YES, HAVE AN OPINION

5. NO, HAVEN'T THOUGHT

8. DON'T KNOW

NEXT PAGE, G3

G2a. Would you favor or oppose a constitutional amendment to force the government to balance the budget?

1. FAVOR

5. OPPOSE

8. DON'T KNOW

NEXT PAGE, G3

G2b. Would you favor such an amendment strongly or not strongly?

1. STRONGLY

2. NOT STRONGLY

G2c. Would you oppose such an amendment strongly or not strongly?

5. STRONGLY

4. NOT STRONGLY

G3. How serious a national problem do you think unemployment is at this time? Is it an extremely serious problem, fairly serious, or not a serious problem for the country as a whole right now?

**1. EXTREMELY
SERIOUS**

3. FAIRLY SERIOUS

5. NOT
SERIOUS

8. DON'T KNOW

G4. Do you favor or oppose the death penalty for persons convicted of murder?

1. FAVOR

3. VOLUNTEERED;
DEPENDS

5. OPPOSE

8. DON'T KNOW

G5. Think about the changes over the last 20 years in relations between blacks and whites in this country. Have these changes in relations ever made you feel:

	1. YES	5. NO
a. angry		
b. hopeful		
c. afraid		
d. uneasy		
e. proud		
f. disgusted		
g. sympathetic		
h. infuriated		
i. happy		
j. bitter		

SECTION H

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

1. WORKING NOW

NEXT PAGE, H2

2. TEMPORARILY LAID OFF

4. UNEMPLOYED

GO TO P. 29, H6

5. RETIRED

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

1. YES

NEXT PAGE, H2,
"WORKING NOW"

5. NO

GO TO P. 30, H11

8. DK

6. PERMANENTLY DISABLED

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

1. YES

NEXT PAGE, H2,
"WORKING NOW"

5. NO

8. DK

H1c. Have you ever done any work for pay?

1. YES

GO TO
P. 30, H11

5. NO

GO TO P. 31, H16

8. DK

7. HOMEMAKER

8. STUDENT

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

1. YES

NEXT PAGE, H2,
"WORKING NOW"

5. NO

8. DK

H1e. Have you ever done any work for pay?

1. YES

GO TO
P. 29, H6

5. NO

GO TO P. 31, H16

8. DK

WORKING NOW AND TEMPORARILY LAID OFF

H2. Since leaving school have you worked in paid employment all of the time, most of the time, some of the time, or only occasionally?

1. ALL

2. MOST

3. SOME

4. OCCASIONALLY

8. DON'T KNOW; CAN'T ANSWER (SPECIFY): _____

H3. At your main job, is there one person whom you think of as your immediate supervisor or boss -- someone who is directly over you?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW

H4. I am going to read several descriptive statements about jobs; please tell me how much each description is like your main job -- a lot like your job, somewhat, a little, or not at all like your job.

The first description is:

	1. A LOT	2. SOME- WHAT	3. A LITTLE	4. NOT AT ALL	8. DK; CAN'T ANSWER
a. a job that allows you to make a lot of decisions on your own. (Is this a lot like your job, somewhat, a little, or not at all like your job?)					
b. a job that requires you to be creative.					
c. a job that requires you to do things that are very repetitious.					
d. a job that allows you a lot of freedom as to how you do your work.					
e. a job that requires that you do a lot of planning ahead.					
f. a job that allows you to do a variety of different things.					

H5. Are you being given enough authority or not enough authority to tell certain people what to do in order for you to work your best?

1. GIVEN ENOUGH
AUTHORITY5. NOT GIVEN
ENOUGH AUTHORITY8. DON'T KNOW;
CAN'T ANSWER

TURN TO P. 31, H16

UNEMPLOYED

H6. Since leaving school have you worked in paid employment all of the time, most of the time, some of the time, or only occasionally?

1. ALL

2. MOST

3. SOME

4. OCCASIONALLY

8. DON'T KNOW; CAN'T ANSWER (SPECIFY): _____

H7. How many years and months did you work for your most recent employer?
 _____ YEARS _____ MONTHS

H8. At your most recent job, was there one person whom you thought of as your immediate supervisor or boss -- someone who was directly over you?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW

H9. I am going to read several descriptive statements about jobs; please tell me how much each description is like the job you held most recently -- a lot like your job, somewhat, a little, or not at all like your job. The first description is:

- a. a job that allowed you to make a lot of decisions on your own. (Was this a lot like your job, somewhat, a little, or not at all like your job?)
- b. a job that required you to be creative.
- c. a job that required you to do things that are very repetitious.
- d. a job that allowed you a lot of freedom: as to how you did your work.
- e. a job that required that you do a lot of planning ahead.
- f. a job that allowed you to do a variety of different things.

1. A LOT	2. SOME- WHAT	3. A LITTLE	4. NOT AT ALL	8. DK; CAN'T ANSWER

H10. On the job you most recently held, were you given enough authority or not enough authority to tell certain people what to do in order for you to work your best?

1. GIVEN ENOUGH
AUTHORITY5. NOT GIVEN
ENOUGH AUTHORITY8. DON'T KNOW;
CAN'T ANSWER

TURN TO P. 31, H16

RETIRED/PERMANENTLY DISABLED

30

H11. Between the time you left school and the time you (retired/became permanently disabled) have you worked in paid employment all of the time, most of the time, some of the time, or only occasionally?

☐ 1. ALL☐ 2. MOST☐ 3. SOME☐ 4. OCCASIONALLY

8. DON'T KNOW; CAN'T ANSWER (SPECIFY): _____

H12. How many years and months did you work for your most recent employer?

_____ YEARS _____ MONTHS

H13. At your most recent job, was there one person whom you thought of as your immediate supervisor or boss -- someone who was directly over you?

☐ 1. YES☐ 5. NO☐ 8. DON'T KNOW

H14. I am going to read several descriptive statements about jobs; please tell me how much each description is like the job you held most recently -- a lot like your job, somewhat, a little, or not at all like your job.

The first description is:

a. a job that allowed you to make a lot of decisions on your own. (Was this a lot like your job, somewhat, a little, or not at all like your job?)

b. a job that required you to be creative.

c. a job that required you to do things that are very repetitious.

d. a job that allowed you a lot of freedom as to how you did your work.

e. a job that required that you do a lot of planning ahead.

f. a job that allowed you to do a variety of different things.

1. A LOT	2. SOME- WHAT	3. A LITTLE	4. NOT AT ALL	8. DK; CAN'T ANSWER

H15. On the job you most recently held, were you given enough authority or not enough authority to tell certain people what to do in order for you to work your best?

☐ 1. GIVEN ENOUGH
AUTHORITY☐ 5. NOT GIVEN
ENOUGH AUTHORITY☐ 8. DON'T KNOW;
CAN'T ANSWER

NEXT PAGE, H16

H16. These are all the questions I have today. It is very important that we talk to people like you, and I appreciate the time you've spent with me and the thoughts you have contributed to our research. Are there any questions about our study that I could answer for you?

THUMBNAIL SKETCH:

Pilot ID *

FOR OFFICE USE

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

Project 495822
(208)
Fall, 1985



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

WAVE I, FORM B

1. Interviewer's ID number: _____
2. ID number from coversheet label, upper left corner:
3. Respondent found living at address on coversheet label?

☐ 1. YES☐ 5. NO
4. Congressional district from coversheet label: _____
STATE CD *
5. Date of interview: _____
6. Length of interview: _____(MINUTES)
7. Time at beginning of post-editing: _____
8. Time at end of post-editing: _____
9. Total time to post-edit: _____(MINUTES)

THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT MUST BE READ TO ALL RESPONDENTS:

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

EXACT TIME NOW: _____

SECTION A

In this interview we will be talking about many different things that are of interest to many people.

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

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

	1. AGREE STRONGLY	2. AGREE SOMEWHAT	3. NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE	4. DISAGREE SOMEWHAT	5. DISAGREE STRONGLY	8. DK
a. We should be more tolerant of people who choose to live according to their own moral standards, even if they are very different from our own. Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, disagree strongly, or disagree somewhat with this statement?						
b. There is too much sexual freedom and loose living today.						
c. Changes in lifestyles, such as divorce and men and women living together without being married, are signs of increasing moral decay.						
d. It's good for children to be exposed to a number of different sets of values so that they can develop their own standards.						
e. People who don't care if they have a steady job are either lazy, or spoiled, or don't want to work.						
f. Equal opportunity for blacks and whites to succeed is important but it's not really the government's job to guarantee it.						

A2. 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
A2a. Would you call yourself a strong Republican or a not very strong Republican?	A2b. Would you call yourself a strong Democrat or a not very strong Democrat?	A2c. Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party or to the Democratic Party?
1. STRONG	1. STRONG	1. CLOSER TO REPUBLICAN
5. NOT VERY STRONG	5. NOT VERY STRONG	5. CLOSER TO DEMOCRATIC
		3. NEITHER

A3. Some people prefer to participate in decisions in various parts of their lives, while others prefer the decisions be made by someone else. What about you -- do you prefer to make all the decisions in your life, most of the decisions, some of the decisions, few of the decisions, or none of the decisions in your life?

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

3
SECTION B

B1. INTERVIEWER'S CHECKPOINT:

<input type="checkbox"/>	1. R STILL LIVES AT ADDRESS ON SAMPLE LABEL
<input type="checkbox"/>	2. R HAS MOVED FROM ADDRESS ON SAMPLE LABEL →

TURN TO P. 7,
SECTION C

B2. During the last year, have you contacted your U.S. Representative, that is your Representative to the U.S. Congress, or anyone in your Representative's office?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW; CAN'T RECALL

B3. How good a job would you say U.S. Representative _____
(NAME IN REP COLUMN)
does of keeping in touch with the people in your district -- does (he/she) do a very good job, fairly good, not very good, or a poor job of keeping in touch with the people in this district?

1. VERY
GOOD

2. FAIRLY
GOOD

3. NOT VERY
GOOD

4. POOR JOB

8. DON'T
KNOW

B4. How good a job would you say Senator _____ does of
(NAME IN SEN. COL)
keeping in touch with the people in your state -- does (he/she) do a very good job, fairly good, not very good, or a poor job of keeping in touch with the people in this state?

1. VERY
GOOD

2. FAIRLY
GOOD

3. NOT VERY
GOOD

4. POOR JOB

8. DON'T
KNOW

B5. Has there been any issue considered recently in Congress that is particularly important to you?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW

NEXT PAGE, B6

B5a. What issue is that? _____

B5b. Has Senator _____ taken a position on (that issue/
 (NAME IN SEN. COLUMN)
 these issues)?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW

7. VOLUNTEERED: DK
 ANYTHING ABOUT
 THE SENATOR

NEXT PAGE, B6

TURN TO P. 6, B8

B5c. Would you say that Senator _____'s position
 (NAME IN SEN. COLUMN)
 on (that issue/ these issues) is close to your own position, or not
 close to your own position?

1. CLOSE TO OWN
 POSITION

2. NOT CLOSE TO
 OWN POSITION

3. (VOLUNTEERED)
 CLOSE ON SOME
 ISSUES, NOT
 CLOSE ON OTHERS

8. DON'T
 KNOW

B6. Does _____, one of the U.S. Senators from (NAME OF
(NAME IN SEN. COLUMN)
STATE), hold any official position in Congress which makes (him/her)
an especially important senator?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW

GO TO B7

B6a. (What position is that?) (Are there any others?)

B7. Is there anything (else) that makes Senator _____
(NAME IN SEN. COLUMN)
stand out from other senators in Washington?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW

NEXT PAGE, BB

B7a. (What makes (him/her) stand out?) (Any others?)

B8. Does _____, the U.S. Representative to Congress
(NAME IN REP. COLUMN)
in Washington from your district, hold any official position in Congress
which makes (him/her) an especially important member of Congress?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW

GO TO B9

7. VOLUNTEERED: DK
ANYTHING ABOUT
REPRESENTATIVE

TURN TO P. 7, SECTION C

B8a. (What position is that?) (Are there any others?)

B9. Is there anything (else) that makes Representative _____
(NAME IN REP. COLUMN)
stand out from other members of the Congress in Washington?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW

NEXT PAGE, SECTION C

B9a. (What makes (him/her) stand out?) (Any others?)

SECTION C

Now I would like to ask you about some kinds of activities you might have been involved in.

C1. How often do you work with other people in your community to try to solve local problems:
often, sometimes, rarely or never?

1. OFTEN

2. SOMETIMES

3. RARELY

4. NEVER

8. DON'T KNOW

C2. Have you ever participated in some kind of public protest concerning:

a. either supporting or opposing prayer in schools?

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW, NOT SURE

1. YES



b. (Have you ever participated in some kind of public protest concerning)
either the right to an abortion or the "right to life?"

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW, NOT SURE

1. YES



c. restricting the distribution or requiring labelling the contents of
magazines, books, TV programs, movies or records?

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW, NOT SURE

1. YES



d. Have you ever signed a petition?

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW, NOT SURE

1. YES



e. Have you ever taken part in any of the following kinds of activities:
a public demonstration, protest march, rally or vigil?

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW, NOT SURE

1. YES



f. (Have you ever taken part in) non-union picketing or distributing
a petition about some issue?

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW, NOT SURE

1. YES



g. joining in a boycott of, for example, a product, store, company, or school?

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW, NOT SURE

1. YES



h. protesting about or withholding rent or taxes?

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW, NOT SURE

1. YES



j. a blockade, sit-in, blocking of traffic, or other forms of non-violent
civil disobedience?

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW, NOT SURE

1. YES



NEXT PAGE, C4

C3. ASK OF ALL "YES"
RESPONSES TO C2:

C3a. Have you done this
more than once?

1. YES

5. NO

GO TO C2b

C3b. 1. YES 5. NO

GO TO C2c

C3c. 1. YES 5. NO

GO TO C2d

C3d. 1. YES 5. NO

GO TO C2e

C3e. 1. YES 5. NO

GO TO C2f

C3f. 1. YES 5. NO

GO TO C2g

C3g. 1. YES 5. NO

GO TO C2h

C3h. 1. YES 5. NO

GO TO C2j

C3j. 1. YES 5. NO

NEXT PAGE, C4

C4. If you had a say in making up the federal budget this year, on which of these programs would you like to see spending increased and which decreased --

	1. INCREASED	2. SAME	3. DECREASED	8. DON'T KNOW
a. Should federal spending on defense be increased, decreased, or kept about the same?				
b. Should federal spending on helping older people be increased, decreased, or kept about the same?				
c. Improving the conditions of black Americans? (Should federal spending on improving the conditions of black Americans be increased, decreased, or kept about the same?)				
d. Dealing with crime				
e. Improving the position of women				
f. Social security				
g. Solving problems of big cities				
h. Medicare				
i. Affirmative action programs for women				
j. Government jobs for the unemployed				
k. Welfare				
m. Childcare for working women				

SECTION D

Now I have some questions about government policy.

D1. Some people think that the United States should become more involved in the internal affairs of Central American countries. Others believe 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

NEXT PAGE, D2

D1a. (Do you feel that the U.S. should become more involved in Central America, become less involved in this area, or is your position somewhere in between?)

1. MORE INVOLVED | 3. SOMEWHERE BETWEEN | 5. LESS INVOLVED | 8. DK

NEXT PAGE, D2

NEXT PAGE, D2

D1b. 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

D1c. 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

D2. Some people feel that the government in Washington should make every effort to improve the social and economic position of blacks. Others feel that the government should not make any special effort to help blacks because they should help themselves. Do you have an opinion on this issue, or haven't you thought much about this?

1. YES, HAVE AN OPINION	5. NO, HAVEN'T THOUGHT	8. DON'T KNOW
↓	GO TO D2k	

D2a. (Do you feel the government should help improve the position of blacks, that blacks should help themselves, or is your position somewhere in between?)

1. GOVT SHOULD HELP	3. SOMEWHERE BETWEEN	5. BLACKS SHOULD HELP SELVES	8. DON'T KNOW
↓	GO TO D2k	↓	GO TO D2k

D2b. Should the government help blacks to a great extent or only to some extent? <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around; margin-top: 5px;"> 1. GREAT 2. SOME 8. DK </div>	D2c. Should the government make any effort at all to improve the position of blacks? <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around; margin-top: 5px;"> 4. YES 5. NO 8. DK </div>
--	--

D2k. In your opinion, does the federal government make special efforts to improve the social and economic position of blacks, or does it not?

1. YES, MAKES EFFORTS	5. NO, DOESN'T MAKE EFFORTS	8. DK
↓	↓	TURN TO P. 12, SECTION E

D2m. Does the government help blacks to a great extent or only to some extent? <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around; margin-top: 5px;"> 1. GREAT 2. SOME 8. DK </div>	D2n. Does the government make any effort at all to improve the position of blacks? <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around; margin-top: 5px;"> 4. YES 5. NO 8. DK </div>
--	--

TURN TO P. 12, SECTION E

BLANK PAGE

SECTION E

E1. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT

A. RACE	B. SEX	C. AGE
R IS BLACK <input type="checkbox"/>	R IS FEMALE <input type="checkbox"/>	1. R IS 60 OR OLDER <input type="checkbox"/> → NEXT PAGE, E2
		2. R IS 59 OR YOUNGER <input type="checkbox"/> → TURN TO P. 17, E10
	R IS MALE <input type="checkbox"/>	3. R IS 60 OR OLDER <input type="checkbox"/> → TURN TO P. 19, E16
		4. R IS 59 OR YOUNGER <input type="checkbox"/> → TURN TO P. 21, SECTION F
R IS WHITE <input type="checkbox"/>	R IS FEMALE <input type="checkbox"/>	5. R IS 60 OR OLDER <input type="checkbox"/> → TURN TO P. 15, E6
		6. R IS 59 OR YOUNGER <input type="checkbox"/> → TURN TO P. 18, E13
	R IS MALE <input type="checkbox"/>	7. R IS 60 OR OLDER <input type="checkbox"/> → TURN TO P. 20, E18
		8. R IS 59 OR YOUNGER <input type="checkbox"/> → TURN TO P. 21, SECTION F

SERIES FOR BLACK WOMEN 60 OR OLDER

E2. People think of themselves in different ways at different times. Take age for example. Sometimes a person might think of herself as old, sometimes middle aged, sometimes young, and sometimes she might not think about her age at all. I am going to run through a list of different ways in which people have told us they sometimes think about themselves and I'd like you to tell me for each, how often, if ever, you think of yourself in that way. Lets start with "elderly." Do you think of yourself as "elderly" most of the time, some of the time, occasionally, or never?

a. ELDERLY

b. older working person (Do you think of yourself as an older working person most of the time, some of the time, occasionally, or never?)

c. retired

d. middle-aged

f. young

g. older

1. MOST OF THE TIME	2. SOME OF THE TIME	4. OCCAS- IONALLY	5. NEVER	8. DK

Sometimes a woman might think of herself as a woman, as a working woman, and sometimes as a homemaker. Do you think of yourself as "a homemaker" most of the time, some of the time, occasionally, or never?

h. A HOMEMAKER

i. a feminist

j. a working woman

k. a woman

1. MOST OF THE TIME	2. SOME OF THE TIME	4. OCCAS- IONALLY	5. NEVER	8. DK

E3. If older people were more actively involved in running the affairs of this country, do you think this would increase the respect you personally receive from others, decrease it, or wouldn't it have any effect on you?

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

GO TO E4

E3a. Would this increase the respect you personally receive a lot or just a little?

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

E4. How about if women were more actively involved in running the affairs of this country: Do you think this would increase the respect you personally receive from others, decrease it, or wouldn't it have any effect on you?

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

GO TO E5

E4a. Would this increase the respect you personally receive a lot or just a little?

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

E5. If homemakers were more actively involved in running the affairs of this country, do you think this would increase the respect you personally receive from others, decrease it, or wouldn't it have any effect on you?

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

TURN TO P. 21, SECTION F

E5a. Would this increase the respect you personally receive a lot or just a little?

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

TURN TO P. 21, SECTION F

SERIES FOR WHITE WOMEN 60 OR OLDER

E6. People think of themselves in different ways at different times. Take age for example. Sometimes a person might think of herself as old, sometimes middle aged, sometimes young, and sometimes she might not think about her age at all. I am going to run through a list of different ways in which people have told us they sometimes think about themselves and I'd like you to tell me for each, how often, if ever, you think of yourself in that way. Lets start with "elderly." Do you think of yourself as "elderly" most of the time, some of the time, occasionally, or never?

a. ELDERLY

b. older working person (Do you think of yourself as an older working person most of the time, some of the time, occasionally, or never?)

c. retired

d. middle-aged

f. young

g. older

1. MOST OF THE TIME	2. SOME OF THE TIME	4. OCCAS- IONALLY	5. NEVER	8. DK

Sometimes a woman might think of herself as a woman, as a working woman, and sometimes as a homemaker. Do you think of yourself as "a homemaker" most of the time, some of the time, occasionally, or never?

h. A HOMEMAKER

i. a feminist

j. a working woman

k. a woman

m. white

1. MOST OF THE TIME	2. SOME OF THE TIME	4. OCCAS- IONALLY	5. NEVER	8. DK

E7. If older people were more actively involved in running the affairs of this country, do you think this would increase the respect you personally receive from others, decrease it, or wouldn't it have any effect on you?

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

GO TO E8

E7a. Would this increase the respect you personally receive a lot or just a little?

1. A LOT

2. A LITTLE

8. DON'T KNOW

E8. How about if women were more actively involved in running the affairs of this country: Do you think this would increase the respect you personally receive from others, decrease it, or wouldn't it have any effect on you?

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

GO TO E9

E8a. Would this increase the respect you personally receive a lot or just a little?

1. A LOT

2. A LITTLE

8. DON'T KNOW

E9. If homemakers were more actively involved in running the affairs of this country, do you think this would increase the respect you personally receive from others, decrease it, or wouldn't it have any effect on you?

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

TURN TO P. 21, SECTION F

E9a. Would this increase the respect you personally receive a lot or just a little?

1. A LOT

2. A LITTLE

8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 21, SECTION F

SERIES FOR BLACK WOMEN 59 OR YOUNGER

E10. People think of themselves in different ways at different times. Take women for example. Sometimes a woman might think of herself as a woman, as a working person, and sometimes as a homemaker. I am going to run through a list of different ways in which people have told us they sometimes think about themselves and I'd like you to tell me for each, how often, if ever, you think of yourself in that way. Let's start with "a homemaker." Do you think of yourself as "a homemaker" most of the time, some of the time, occasionally, or never?

h. A HOMEMAKER

i. a feminist (Do you think of yourself as a feminist most of the time, some of the time, occasionally, or never?)

j. a working woman

k. a woman

1. MOST OF THE TIME	2. SOME OF THE TIME	4. OCCAS- IONALLY	5. NEVER	8. DK

E11. How about if women were more actively involved in running the affairs of this country: Do you think this would increase the respect you personally receive from others, decrease it, or wouldn't it have any effect on you?

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

↓
GO TO E12

E11a. Would this increase the respect you personally receive a lot or just a little?

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

E12. If homemakers were more actively involved in running the affairs of this country, do you think this would increase the respect you personally receive from others, decrease it, or wouldn't it have any effect on you?

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

↓
TURN TO P. 21, SECTION F

E12a. Would this increase the respect you personally receive a lot or just a little?

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

TURN TO P. 21, SECTION F

	1. MOST OF THE TIME	2. SOME OF THE TIME	4. OCCASIONALLY	5. NEVER	8. DK
h. A HOMEMAKER					
i. a feminist (Do you think of yourself as a feminist most of the time, some of the time, occasionally, or never?)					
j. a working woman					
k. a woman					
m. white					

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

↓

GO TO E15

E14a. Would this increase the respect you personally receive a lot or just a little?

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

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

↓

TURN TO P. 21, SECTION F

E15a. Would this increase the respect you personally receive a lot just a little?

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

TURN TO P. 21, SECTION F

SERIES FOR BLACK MALES 60 OR OLDER

E16. People think of themselves in different ways at different times. Take age for example. Sometimes a person might think of himself as old, sometimes middle aged, sometimes young, and sometimes he might not think about his age at all. I am going to run through a list of different ways in which people have told us they sometimes think about themselves and I'd like you to tell me for each, how often, if ever, you think of yourself in that way. Lets start with "elderly." Do you think of yourself as "elderly" most of the time, some of the time, occasionally, or never?

a. ELDERLY

b. older working person (Do you think of yourself as an older working person most of the time, some of the time, occasionally, or never?)

c. retired

d. middle-aged

f. young

g. older

1. MOST OF THE TIME	2. SOME OF THE TIME	4. OCCAS- IONALLY	5. NEVER	8. DK

E17. If older people were more actively involved in running the affairs of this country, do you think this would increase the respect you personally receive from others, decrease it, or wouldn't it have any effect on you?

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

TURN TO P. 21, SECTION F

E17a. Would this increase the respect you personally receive a lot or just a little?

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

TURN TO P. 21, SECTION F

SERIES FOR WHITE MALES 60 OR OLDER

E18. People think of themselves in different ways at different times. Take age for example. Sometimes a person might think of himself as old, sometimes middle aged, sometimes young, and sometimes he might not think about his age at all. I am going to run through a list of different ways in which people have told us they sometimes think about themselves and I'd like you to tell me for each, how often, if ever, you think of yourself in that way. Lets start with "elderly." Do you think of yourself as "elderly" most of the time, some of the time, occasionally, or never?

a. ELDERLY

b. older working person (Do you think of yourself as older most of the time, some of the time, occasionally, or never?)

c. retired

d. middle-aged

e. white

f. young

g. older

1. MOST OF THE TIME	2. SOME OF THE TIME	4. OCCAS- IONALLY	5. NEVER	8. DK

E19. If older people were more actively involved in running the affairs of this country, do you think this would increase the respect you personally receive from others, decrease it, or wouldn't it have any effect on you?

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

TURN TO P. 21, SECTION F

E19a. Would this increase the respect you personally receive a lot or just a little?

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

TURN TO P. 21, SECTION F

SECTION F

F1. Now for something a little different...

F1a. How strong is your duty to vote in every election even when you're busy or not interested -- extremely strong, very strong, somewhat strong, or not very strong?

1. EXTREMELY
STRONG

2. VERY
STRONG

4. SOMEWHAT
STRONG

5. NOT VERY
STRONG

8. DON'T
KNOW

F1b. Like a lot of other people, would you say that you look for ways to avoid paying taxes almost always, some of the time, only now and then, or hardly ever?

1. ALMOST
ALWAYS

2. SOME OF
THE TIME

4. ONLY NOW
AND THEN

5. HARDLY
EVER

8. DON'T
KNOW

F1c. Do you obey minor laws, such as speeding and parking regulations, almost always, some of the time, only now and then, or hardly ever?

1. ALMOST
ALWAYS

2. SOME OF
THE TIME

4. ONLY NOW
AND THEN

5. HARDLY
EVER

8. DON'T
KNOW

F1d. How willing are you to make personal sacrifices for the good of the country as a whole -- extremely willing, very willing, somewhat, willing, or not very willing?

1. EXTREMELY
WILLING

2. VERY
WILLING

4. SOMEWHAT
WILLING

5. NOT VERY
WILLING

8. DON'T
KNOW

F1e. How likely is it that you would ask to be excused from jury duty if you thought that it would take more than a day or two of your time -- extremely likely, very likely, somewhat likely, or not very likely?

1. EXTREMELY
LIKELY

2. VERY
LIKELY

4. SOMEWHAT
LIKELY

5. NOT VERY
LIKELY

8. DON'T
KNOW

F2. People have different opinions about how much the government in Washington is doing about various things. People also differ about how much they think the government should be doing about these things. (REPEAT THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS AS NECESSARY TO MAKE CERTAIN R UNDERSTANDS THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN "IS" AND "SHOULD BE.")

	1. A LOT	2. QUITE A BIT	4. A LITTLE	5. NOTHING	8. DON'T KNOW
a. First of all, how much do you think the government <u>is</u> doing to make sure black and white children are permitted to go to the same schools -- a lot, quite a bit, a little, or nothing at all?					
b. Now, how much do you think the government <u>should</u> be doing about this -- a lot, quite a bit, a little, or nothing at all?					
c. How much do you think the government <u>is</u> doing to make sure that blacks can buy any house on the market that they can afford? (A lot, quite a bit, a little, or nothing at all?)					
d. How much do you think it <u>should</u> be doing about this? (A lot, quite a bit, a little, or nothing at all?)					
e. How much do you think the government <u>is</u> doing to make sure blacks have the same job opportunities as whites?					
f. How much do you think it <u>should</u> be doing about this?					
g. How much do you think the government <u>is</u> doing to make sure all citizens, regardless of race, are granted equal rights?					
h. How much do you think it <u>should</u> be doing about this?					

F3. Suppose there is a community-wide vote on a general housing issue. There are two possible laws to vote for. One law says that homeowners can decide for themselves who to sell their houses to, even if they prefer not to sell to blacks. The second law says that homeowners cannot refuse to sell to someone because of their race or color. Which law would you vote for?

1. HOMEOWNERS
CAN DECIDE FOR
THEMSELVES

3. HOMEOWNERS
CANNOT REFUSE
TO SELL

5. VOLUNTEERED:
NEITHER

8. DON'T
KNOW

F4. Some people say that because of past discrimination against blacks, preference in hiring and promotion should be given to blacks. Others say preferential hiring and promotion of blacks is wrong because it gives blacks advantages they haven't earned. What about your opinion-- are you for or against preferential hiring and promotion of blacks?

1. FOR

5. AGAINST

8. DON'T KNOW; REFUSED

GO TO F5

F4a. Do you favor preferential hiring and promotion strongly or not strongly?

1. STRONGLY

2. NOT STRONGLY

F4b. Do you oppose preferential hiring and promotion strongly or not strongly?

5. STRONGLY

4. NOT STRONGLY

F5. Some people say that because of past discrimination, it is sometimes necessary for colleges and universities to reserve openings for black students. Others oppose quotas because they say quotas give blacks advantages they haven't earned. What about your opinion -- are you for or against quotas to admit black students?

1. FOR

5. AGAINST

8. DON'T KNOW; REFUSED

NEXT PAGE, F6

F5a. Do you favor quotas strongly or not strongly?

1. STRONGLY

2. NOT STRONGLY

F5b. Do you oppose quotas strongly or not strongly?

5. STRONGLY

4. NOT STRONGLY

F6. Please think about preferential treatment of blacks. Has this issue ever made you feel:

	1. YES	5. NO
a. angry		
b. hopeful		
c. afraid		
d. uneasy		
e. proud		
f. disgusted		
g. sympathetic		
h. infuriated		
i. happy		
j. bitter		

SECTION 6

G1. Do you think that that over the past year the incomes of people around the country have generally 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 GO TO G2	5. FALLEN BEHIND	8. DON'T KNOW GO TO G2
<p>G1a. Have they gone up <u>a lot</u> more than the cost of living or <u>a little</u> more?</p> <p>1. A LOT 2. A LITTLE 8. DK</p>		<p>G1b. Have they fallen <u>a lot</u> behind the cost of living or <u>a little</u> behind?</p> <p>5. A LOT 4. A LITTLE 8. DK</p>	

G2. Some people feel that a constitutional amendment is needed to force the federal government to balance its budget. Others feel that balancing the budget is a political issue that congress and the president should work out on their own. Do you have an opinion on this issue, or haven't you thought much about it?

1. YES, HAVE AN OPINION	5. NO, HAVEN'T THOUGHT	8. DON'T KNOW
↓	NEXT PAGE, G3	
<p>G2a. Would you <u>favor</u> or <u>oppose</u> a constitutional amendment to force the government to balance the budget?</p>		
1. FAVOR	5. OPPOSE	8. DON'T KNOW
↓	NEXT PAGE, G3	
<p>G2b. Would you favor such an amendment <u>strongly</u> or <u>not strongly</u>?</p> <p>1. STRONGLY 2. NOT STRONGLY</p>	<p>G2c. Would you oppose such an amendment <u>strongly</u> or <u>not strongly</u>?</p> <p>5. STRONGLY 4. NOT STRONGLY</p>	

G3. How serious a national problem do you think unemployment is at this time? Is it an extremely serious problem, fairly serious, or not a serious problem for the country as a whole right now?

**1. EXTREMELY
SERIOUS**

3. FAIRLY SERIOUS

**5. NOT
SERIOUS**

8. DON'T KNOW

G4. Do you favor or oppose the death penalty for persons convicted of murder?

1. FAVOR

3. VOLUNTEERED; DEPENDS

5. OPPOSE

8. DON'T KNOW

G5. Think about the changes over the last 20 years in relations between blacks and whites in this country. Have these changes in relations ever made you feel:

	1. YES	5. NO
a. angry		
b. hopeful		
c. afraid		
d. uneasy		
e. proud		
f. disgusted		
g. sympathetic		
h. infuriated		
i. happy		
j. bitter		

SECTION H

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

1. WORKING NOW

NEXT PAGE, H2

2. TEMPORARILY LAID OFF

4. UNEMPLOYED

GO TO P. 29, H6

5. RETIRED

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

1. YES

5. NO

8. DK

NEXT PAGE, H2,
"WORKING NOW"

GO TO P. 30, H11

6. PERMANENTLY DISABLED

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

1. YES

5. NO

8. DK

NEXT PAGE, H2,
"WORKING NOW"

H1c. Have you ever done any work for pay?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DK

GO TO
P. 30, H11

GO TO P. 31,
SECTION J

7. HOMEMAKER

8. STUDENT

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

1. YES

5. NO

8. DK

NEXT PAGE, H2,
"WORKING NOW"

H1e. Have you ever done any work for pay?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DK

GO TO
P. 29, H6

GO TO P. 31,
SECTION J

WORKING NOW AND TEMPORARILY LAID OFF

H2. Since leaving school have you worked in paid employment all of the time, most of the time, some of the time, or only occasionally?

1. ALL

2. MOST

3. SOME

4. OCCASIONALLY

8. DON'T KNOW; CAN'T ANSWER (SPECIFY): _____

H3. At your main job, is there one person whom you think of as your immediate supervisor or boss -- someone who is directly over you?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW

H4. I am going to read several descriptive statements about jobs; please tell me how much each description is like your main job -- a lot like your job, somewhat, a little, or not at all like your job.

The first description is:

a. a job that allows you to make a lot of decisions on your own. (Is this a lot like your job, somewhat, a little, or not at all like your job?)

b. a job that requires you to be creative.

c. a job that requires you to do things that are very repetitious.

d. a job that allows you a lot of freedom as to how you do your work.

e. a job that requires that you do a lot of planning ahead.

f. a job that allows you to do a variety of different things.

1. A LOT	2. SOME- WHAT	3. A LITTLE	4. NOT AT ALL	8. DK; CAN'T ANSWER

H5. Are you being given enough authority or not enough authority to tell certain people what to do in order for you to work your best?

1. GIVEN ENOUGH
AUTHORITY5. NOT GIVEN
ENOUGH AUTHORITY8. DON'T KNOW;
CAN'T ANSWER

TURN TO P. 31, SECTION J

UNEMPLOYED

H6. Since leaving school have you worked in paid employment all of the time, most of the time, some of the time, or only occasionally?

1. ALL

2. MOST

3. SOME

4. OCCASIONALLY

8. DON'T KNOW; CAN'T ANSWER (SPECIFY): _____

H7. How many years and months did you work for your most recent employer?

_____ YEARS _____ MONTHS

H8. At your most recent job, was there one person whom you thought of as your immediate supervisor or boss -- someone who was directly over you?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW

H9. I am going to read several descriptive statements about jobs; please tell me how much each description is like the job you held most recently -- a lot like your job, somewhat, a little, or not at all like your job.

The first description is:

a. a job that allowed you to make a lot of decisions on your own. (Was this a lot like your job, somewhat, a little, or not at all like your job?)

b. a job that required you to be creative.

c. a job that required you to do things that are very repetitious.

d. a job that allowed you a lot of freedom as to how you did your work.

e. a job that required that you do a lot of planning ahead.

f. a job that allowed you to do a variety of different things.

1. A LOT	2. SOME- WHAT	3. A LITTLE	4. NOT AT ALL	8. DK; CAN'T ANSWER

H10. On the job you most recently held, were you given enough authority or not enough authority to tell certain people what to do in order for you to work your best?

1. GIVEN ENOUGH
AUTHORITY5. NOT GIVEN
ENOUGH AUTHORITY8. DON'T KNOW;
CAN'T ANSWER

TURN TO P. 31, SECTION J

RETIRED/PERMANENTLY DISABLED

H11. Between the time you left school and the time you (retired/became permanently disabled) have you worked in paid employment all of the time, most of the time, some of the time, or only occasionally?

1. ALL

2. MOST

3. SOME

4. OCCASIONALLY

8. DON'T KNOW; CAN'T ANSWER (SPECIFY): _____

H12. How many years and months did you work for your most recent employer?

_____ YEARS _____ MONTHS

H13. At your most recent job, was there one person whom you thought of as your immediate supervisor or boss -- someone who was directly over you?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW

H14. I am going to read several descriptive statements about jobs; please tell me how much each description is like the job you held most recently -- a lot like your job, somewhat, a little, or not at all like your job.

The first description is:

a. a job that allowed you to make a lot of decisions on your own. (Was this a lot like your job, somewhat, a little, or not at all like your job?)

b. a job that required you to be creative.

c. a job that required you to do things that are very repetitious.

d. a job that allowed you a lot of freedom as to how you did your work.

e. a job that required that you do a lot of planning ahead.

f. a job that allowed you to do a variety of different things.

1. A LOT	2. SOME- WHAT	3. A LITTLE	4. NOT AT ALL	8. DK; CAN'T ANSWER

H15. On the job you most recently held, were you given enough authority or not enough authority to tell certain people what to do in order for you to work your best?

1. GIVEN ENOUGH
AUTHORITY5. NOT GIVEN
ENOUGH AUTHORITY8. DON'T KNOW;
CAN'T ANSWER

NEXT PAGE, SECTION J

SECTION J

And now, a few final questions:

J1d. In your opinion, does Ronald Reagan feel that the U.S. should become more involved in Central America, become less involved in this area, or is his position somewhere in between?

1. MORE INVOLVED	3. SOMEWHERE BETWEEN	5. LESS INVOLVED	8. DK																											
GO TO J1g		GO TO J1g																												
<p>J1e. Does he think the U.S. should increase its involvement to a great extent or only to some extent?</p> <table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="width: 33%; text-align: center; padding: 5px;">1. GREAT</td> <td style="width: 33%; text-align: center; padding: 5px;">2. SOME</td> <td style="width: 33%; text-align: center; padding: 5px;">8. DK</td> </tr> </table>		1. GREAT	2. SOME	8. DK	<p>J1f. Does he think the U.S. should decrease its involvement to a great extent or only to some extent?</p> <table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="width: 33%; text-align: center; padding: 5px;">5. GREAT</td> <td style="width: 33%; text-align: center; padding: 5px;">4. SOME</td> <td style="width: 33%; text-align: center; padding: 5px;">8. DK</td> </tr> </table>		5. GREAT	4. SOME	8. DK																					
1. GREAT	2. SOME	8. DK																												
5. GREAT	4. SOME	8. DK																												
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J2d. In your opinion, does Ronald Reagan feel that the government should help improve the economic position of blacks, that blacks should help themselves, or is his position somewhere in between?

1. GOYT SHOULD HELP	3. SOMEWHERE BETWEEN GO TO J2g	5. BLACKS SHOULD HELP SELVES	8. DON'T KNOW GO TO J2g
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<p>J2e. Does he think the government should help blacks to a great extent or only to some extent?</p> <table style="width: 100%; text-align: center;"> <tr> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px 10px;">1. GREAT</td> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px 10px;">2. SOME</td> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px 10px;">8. DK</td> </tr> </table>	1. GREAT	2. SOME	8. DK	<p>J2f. Does he think the government should make any effort at all to improve the position of blacks?</p> <table style="width: 100%; text-align: center;"> <tr> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px 10px;">4. YES</td> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px 10px;">5. NO</td> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px 10px;">8. DK</td> </tr> </table>	4. YES	5. NO	8. DK
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1. GOYT SHOULD HELP	3. SOMEWHERE BETWEEN GO TO J2j	5. BLACKS SHOULD HELP SELVES	8. DON'T KNOW GO TO J2j
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J2j. How important is it to you that the federal government do what you think is best on the issue of blacks' social and economic position?
Is it extremely important, very important, somewhat important, or not important at all to you?

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EXACT TIME NOW: _____

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J3. These are all the questions I have today. It is very important that we talk to people like you, and I appreciate the time you've spent with me and the thoughts you have contributed to our research. Are there any questions about our study that I could answer for you?

THUMBNAIL SKETCH: