

2000 NES Pre-election Questionnaire w/ QxQ and Final Variable Nos.

FTF and RDD (*telephone in bold italics with flag T*)

orange underlined – highlighted on laptop screen

⇒ Surveycraft QxQ text

** see note at end

RELEASE VARIABLE NUMBER

SECTION A

A1-A2 - CURRENT CAMPAIGN/ELECTION

A1.

Spec: **130__**

V000301

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

- 1 VERY MUCH INTERESTED
- 3 SOMEWHAT INTERESTED
- 5 NOT MUCH INTERESTED
- 8 DON'T KNOW

A2.

Spec: **131__**

V000302

Generally speaking, would you say that you personally care a good deal who wins the presidential election this fall, or that you don't care very much who wins?

- 1 CARE A GOOD DEAL
- 3 DON'T CARE VERY MUCH
- 8 DON'T KNOW

A3 - LAST PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

A3.

Spec: **132__**

V000303

In 1996 Bill Clinton ran on the Democratic ticket against Bob Dole for the Republicans, and Ross Perot as an independent candidate. Do you remember for sure whether or not you voted in that election?

[DO NOT PROBE 'DK' RESPONSE]

- 1 YES, VOTED
- 5 NO, DIDN'T VOTE →SKIP TO A4/A5
- 8 DON'T KNOW -->SKIP A4/A5

⇒ Do not probe DON'T KNOW responses on either A3 or A3a

A3a.

Spec: **133__**

V000304

(IF YES)

Which one did you vote for? [DO NOT PROBE 'DK' RESPONSE]

- 1 BILL CLINTON
- 3 BOB DOLE
- 5 ROSS PEROT
- 7 OTHER (SPECIFY)
- 8 DON'T KNOW

⇒ Do not probe DON'T KNOW responses on either A3 or A3a

A4-A5 - PRES. CAND LIKES-DISLIKES

A4. (Now I'd like to ask you about the good and bad points of the major candidates for President.)

RANDOMIZE ORDER OF A4A-A4D SERIES / A5A-A5D SERIES

A4a.

Spec: 138__

V000305

Is there anything in particular about Vice President Al Gore that might make you want to vote for him?

1 YES, →SKIP TO A4c
5 NO, -->SKIP TO A4c
8 DON'T KNOW -->SKIP TO A4c

⇒ Here, we want to get as complete a picture as possible of what R feels are the positive and negative characteristics of the major party candidates for the presidency. Therefore, if R mentions only one thing, probe "Anything else?", and continue probing until R says "NO." This probe is written into the questions.
⇒ Specificity probes are also particularly important for this set of questions. You are likely to get responses such as: "I like his stand on issues" – we want to know what issues and what stands; "He is a better candidate" – but why is he better?; or "He favors certain interests" – which interests?
We'd also like you to probe a little behind the standard adjectives, clichés, and slogans that are used. When R gives such response as "He is more progressive" or "It's time for a change" use such probes as: "Can you give me some examples of what you mean?" [Record this probe "GE".], etc. We recognize the necessity, however, of not forcing R to respond beyond the point at which s/he has something meaningful to say. It is very important to set the tone here. Also, the probing should not be carried to the point of being offensive and irritating to the R who cannot provide more particulars.
⇒ A4 is R's first experience with an open-ended question, and therefore will be the most difficult for both you and the R. Nail R down on this one, get him/her to give you what you need to know on this question, and the rest will be much easier – the respondent will have learned how to answer the question and what kind of information you need.

**A4b.
(IF YES)**

Spec: 139__

V000306-0310

(What is that?) (Probe: Anything else? Until R says "NO")

OPENEND

A4c.

Spec: 140__

V000311

Is there anything in particular about Al Gore that might make you want to vote against him?

1 YES, →SKIP TO A5a or A6
5 NO, -->SKIP TO A5a or A6
8 DON'T KNOW -->SKIP TO A5a or A6

⇒ Here, we want to get as complete a picture as possible of what R feels are the positive and negative characteristics of the major party candidates for the presidency. Therefore, if R mentions only one thing, probe "Anything else?", and continue probing until R says "NO." This probe is written into the questions.
⇒ Specificity probes are also particularly important for this set of questions. You are likely to get responses such as: "I like his stand on issues" – we want to know what issues and what stands; "He is a better candidate" – but why is he better?; or "He favors certain interests" – which interests?
We'd also like you to probe a little behind the standard adjectives, clichés, and slogans that are used. When R gives such response as "He is more progressive" or "It's time for a change" use such probes as: "Can you give me some examples of what you mean?" [Record this probe "GE".], etc. We recognize the necessity, however, of not forcing R to respond beyond the point at which s/he has something meaningful to say. It is

very important to set the tone here. Also, the probing should not be carried to the point of being offensive and irritating to the R who cannot provide more particulars.

⇒ A4 is R's first experience with an open-ended question, and therefore will be the most difficult for both you and the R. Nail R down on this one, get him/her to give you what you need to know on this question, and the rest will be much easier – the respondent will have learned how to answer the question and what kind of information you need.

A4d.

(IF YES)

(What is that?) (Probe: Anything else? Until R says “NO”)

OPENEND

Spec: 141__

V000312-0316

A5a.

Is there anything in particular about Texas Governor George W. Bush that might make you want to vote for him?

1 YES, →SKIP TO A5c
5 NO, -->SKIP TO A5c
8 DON'T KNOW -->SKIP TO A5c

Spec: 143__

V000317

⇒ Here, we want to get as complete a picture as possible of what R feels are the positive and negative characteristics of the major party candidates for the presidency. Therefore, if R mentions only one thing, probe “Anything else?”, and continue probing until R says “NO.” This probe is written into the questions.

⇒ Specificity probes are also particularly important for this set of questions. You are likely to get responses such as: “I like his stand on issues” – we want to know what issues and what stands; “He is a better candidate” – but why is he better?; or “He favors certain interests” – which interests?

We'd also like you to probe a little behind the standard adjectives, clichés, and slogans that are used. When R gives such response as “He is more progressive” or “It's time for a change” use such probes as: “Can you give me some examples of what you mean?” [Record this probe “GE”.], etc. We recognize the necessity, however, of not forcing R to respond beyond the point at which s/he has something meaningful to say. It is very important to set the tone here. Also, the probing should not be carried to the point of being offensive and irritating to the R who cannot provide more particulars.

⇒ A4 is R's first experience with an open-ended question, and therefore will be the most difficult for both you and the R. Nail R down on this one, get him/her to give you what you need to know on this question, and the rest will be much easier – the respondent will have learned how to answer the question and what kind of information you need.

A5b.

(IF YES)

(What is that?) (Probe: Anything else? Until R says “NO”)

OPENEND

Spec: 144__

V000318-0322

A5c.

Is there anything in particular about George W. Bush that might make you want to vote against him?

1 YES, →SKIP TO A4a or A6
5 NO, -->SKIP TO A4a or A6
8 DON'T KNOW -->SKIP TO A4a or A6

Spec: 145__

V000323

A5d.

(IF YES)

(What is that?) (Probe: Anything else? Until R says “NO”)

OPENEND

Spec: 146__

V000324-0328

A6.

Spec: 149__

V000329

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

- 0 NONE → SKIP TO A7
- 1 ONE DAY
- 2 TWO DAYS
- 3 THREE DAYS
- 4 FOUR DAYS
- 5 FIVE DAYS
- 6 SIX DAYS
- 7 EVERY DAY
- 8 DON'T KNOW

⇒ These are traditional items regarding R's attention to – and potential influence by – the media. The questions ask for number of days, not number of times.
⇒ We are interested in full-length national programs (not "News Break")
Response options include numbers, use 7 for EVERY DAY.

A6a.

Spec: 150__

V000330

(IF ANY DAYS/DK)

Please look at page 1 of the booklet.

How much attention do you pay to news on national news shows about the campaign for President – a great deal, quite a bit, some, very little, or none?

T

A6a.T

(IF ANY DAYS/DK)

How much attention do you pay to news on national news shows about the campaign for President – a great deal, quite a bit, some, very little, or none?

- 1 A GREAT DEAL
- 2 QUITE A BIT
- 3 SOME
- 4 VERY LITTLE
- 5 NONE
- 8 DON'T KNOW

A7.

Spec: 151__

V000331

How many days in the past week did you watch the local TV news shows such as "Eyewitness News" or "Action News" in the late afternoon or early-evening?

- 0 NONE
- 1 ONE DAY
- 2 TWO DAYS
- 3 THREE DAYS
- 4 FOUR DAYS
- 5 FIVE DAYS
- 6 SIX DAYS
- 7 EVERY DAY
- 8 DON'T KNOW

⇒ These are traditional items regarding R's attention to – and potential influence by – the media. The questions ask for number of days, not number of times.
⇒ Full-length local (city/town at or near R) news is what is being asked about. The question text refers to two common names for local news shows.
⇒ An important component of this question is to get a measure of what time they are sitting in front of the TV. However, the terms "early" and "late" evening are relative to the respondent; early evening

means whatever it means to the respondent.

A8.

Spec: 152__

V000332

How many days in the past week did you watch the local TV news shows in the late evening?

- 0 NONE
- 1 ONE DAY
- 2 TWO DAYS
- 3 THREE DAYS
- 4 FOUR DAYS
- 5 FIVE DAYS
- 6 SIX DAYS
- 7 EVERY DAY
- 8 DON'T KNOW

⇒ These are traditional items regarding R's attention to – and potential influence by – the media. The questions ask for number of days, not number of times.

⇒ Full-length local (city/town at or near R) news is what is being asked about. The question text refers to two common names for local news shows.

An important component of this question is to get a measure of what time they are sitting in front of the TV. However, the terms “early” and “late” evening are relative to the respondent; early evening means whatever it means to the respondent.

A8a.

Spec: 153__

V000333

(IF NUMBER OF DAYS WATCHED IS NOT 0 FOR BOTH EARLY AND LATE LOCAL NEWS)

Please look at page 1 of the booklet. How much attention do you pay to news on local news shows about the campaign for President -- a great deal, quite a bit, some, very little, or none?

A8a. T

(IF NUMBER OF DAYS WATCHED IS NOT 0 FOR BOTH EARLY AND LATE LOCAL NEWS)

How much attention do you pay to news on local news shows about the campaign for President – a great deal, quite a bit, some, very little, or none?

- 1 A GREAT DEAL
- 2 QUITE A BIT
- 3 SOME
- 4 VERY LITTLE
- 5 NONE
- 8 DON'T KNOW

A9.

Spec: 154__

V000334

Do you have either cable or satellite television?

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

⇒ Satellite can refer to the small disk (DBS=direct broadcast satellite) as well as large free standing ones. Cable service is where the television is connected to a wire that comes into the house from a utility pole and the resident pays a monthly fee to the company that provides the cable. It doesn't necessarily mean that R gets cable channels like HBO or CNN. Some people only get cable so that the signal from the local broadcast television stations comes in more clearly.

A10.

Spec: 155__

V000335

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

- 0 NONE →SKIP TO A11
- 1 ONE DAY
- 2 TWO DAYS

- 3 THREE DAYS
- 4 FOUR DAYS
- 5 FIVE DAYS
- 6 SIX DAYS
- 7 EVERY DAY
- 8 DON'T KNOW

⇒ These are traditional items regarding R's attention to – and potential influence by – the media. The questions ask for number of days, not number of times.

⇒ We are asking about the number of days R reads a newspaper, not the number of papers. We're interested in daily newspapers, as opposed to weekly papers.

A10a.
(IF ANY DAYS/DK)

Spec: 156__

V000336

Did you read about the campaign in any newspaper?

- 1 YES
- 5 NO -->SKIP TO A11
- 8 DON'T KNOW -->SKIP TO A11

⇒ We mean the campaign in general, not just last week.

A10b.
(IF YES)

Spec: 157__

V000337

(Please look at page 1 of the booklet.) How much attention do you pay to newspaper articles about the campaign for President -- a great deal, quite a bit, some, very little, or none?

A10b.T
(IF YES)

How much attention do you pay to newspaper articles about the campaign for President – a great deal, quite a bit, some, very little, or none?

- 1 A GREAT DEAL
- 2 QUITE A BIT
- 3 SOME
- 4 VERY LITTLE
- 5 NONE
- 8 DON'T KNOW

A11.

Spec: 158__

V000338

Do you recall seeing any ads for political candidates on television this fall?

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

⇒ We're thinking of THIS year's campaign.

A12 - APPROVE PRESIDENT

A12.

Spec: 159__

V000339

Do you approve or disapprove of the way Bill Clinton is handling his job as president?

- 1 APPROVE
- 5 DISAPPROVE
- 8 DON'T KNOW -->SKIP TO B1

⇒ The format of these questions is identical to that used in the Gallup Polls. Therefore, we want to use the present format to ensure comparability with Gallup. Respondents may want to know if "approve" means the same as "satisfied" (Answer: "Whatever it means to you"), or whether they can choose a

middle category (Answer: "Well, in general, which is closer to the way you feel?" Repeat question).

A12a.

(IF ANSWER IS NOT DK/REF)

Strongly or not strongly?

- 1 STRONGLY
- 5 NOT STRONGLY
- 8 DK

Spec: 160__

V000340

[V000341 SUMMARY](#)

SECTION B

B1-B3 - CANDIDATE RECALL

B1.

As you know, representatives to Congress in Washington are being chosen in this election from congressional districts all around the country. How much would you say that you personally care about the way the election to the U.S. House of Representatives comes out: do you care very much, pretty much, not very much or not at all?

- 1 VERY MUCH
- 2 PRETTY MUCH
- 3 NOT VERY MUCH
- 4 NOT AT ALL
- 8 DK

Spec: 171__

V000342

B2.

Do you happen to remember the names of the candidates for Congress -- that is, for the House of Representatives in Washington -- who are running in the November election from this district?

- 1 YES
- 5 NO → SKIP TO B3
- 8 DK → SKIP TO B3

Spec: 172__

V000343

⇒ If a respondent remembers the name of just one candidate, that still qualifies as a "YES" response. Probe the response.

B2a., B2b., B2c.

(IF YES)

Who are they? (PROBE: Any others?)

OPENEND

⇒ Enter name, then probe, if needed, for party. Probe for additional names until R says she/he can't think of more. Accept any name R gives you, even if you know it to be a "wrong" answer. If R gives a party other than Democrat or Republican for a candidate, use the F2 comment key while in the Democrat response option to enter the name of the other party. When you press enter to continue, you will see a "note" symbol in the Democrat response option.

Spec:173,175,177

V000344,0348,0352

B2a1., B2b1, B2c1.

(IF YES)

(ASK FOR EACH NAME GIVEN) What is [NAME'S] party?

- 1 DEMOCRAT
- 2 REPUBLICAN

Spec:174,176,178

V000345,0349,0353

7 OTHER PARTY; SPECIFY
8 DK

[V000346,0350,0354](#) [party]
[V000347,0351,0355](#) [accuracy]

B3.

Do you approve or disapprove of the way the U.S. Congress has been handling its job?

Spec: 180_

V000356

1 APPROVE
5 DISAPPROVE
8 DON'T KNOW -->SKIP TO C1

B3a.

(IF B3 NOT DK/REF)

Strongly or not strongly?

1 STRONGLY
5 NOT STRONGLY
8 DK

Spec: 181__

V000357

[V000358](#) SUMMARY

SECTION C

C1-C2 - THERMOMETERS

ADMINISTER C1A FIRST. NEXT, RANDOMIZE AND ADMINISTER C1B-C1E, THEN RANDOMIZE AND ADMINISTER C1F-C1G, THEN RANDOMIZE AND ADMINISTER C1H-C1J, THEN ADMINISTER C1K. NEXT, RANDOMIZE AND ADMINISTER C2A-C2C. FINALLY, ADMINISTER C2D.

C1.

Please look at page 2 of the booklet. I'd like to get your feelings toward some of our political leaders and other people who are in the news these days. I'll read the name of a person and I'd like you to rate that person using something we call the feeling thermometer. Ratings between 50 degrees and 100 degrees mean that you feel favorable and warm toward the person. Ratings between 0 degrees and 50 degrees mean that you don't feel favorable toward the person and that you don't care too much for that person. You would rate the person at the 50 degree mark if you don't feel particularly warm or cold toward the person. If we come to a person whose name you don't recognize, you don't need to rate that person. Just tell me and we'll move on to the next one.

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

T C1.T

I'd like to get your feelings toward some of our political leaders and other people who are in the news these days. I'll read the name of a person and I'd like you to rate that person using something we call the feeling thermometer. The feeling thermometer can rate people from 0 to 100 degrees.

Ratings between 50 degrees and 100 degrees mean that you feel favorable and warm toward the person. Ratings between 0 degrees and 50 degrees mean that you don't feel favorable toward the person. Rating the person at the midpoint, the 50 degree mark, means you don't feel particularly warm or cold toward the person. If we come to a person whose name you don't recognize, you don't need to rate that person. Just tell me and we'll move on to the next one.

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

C1a.

(Looking at page 2 of the booklet) (How would you rate:
Bill Clinton

Spec: 196_1

V000359

T C1a.T

The first person is
Bill Clinton
Where on that feeling thermometer would you rate Bill Clinton?

C1b.

(Looking at page 2 of the booklet) (How would you rate:
Al Gore

Spec: 196_2

V000360

T C1b.T

The next person is
Al Gore
(Where on that feeling thermometer would you rate him?)

C1c.

(Looking at page 2 of the booklet) (How would you rate:
George W. Bush

Spec: 196_3

V000361

T C1c.T

The next person is
George W. Bush
(Where on that feeling thermometer would you rate him?)

C1d.

(Looking at page 2 of the booklet) (How would you rate:
Pat Buchanan

Spec: 196_4

V000362

T C1d.T

The next person is
Pat Buchanan
(Where on that feeling thermometer would you rate him?)

C1e.

(Looking at page 2 of the booklet) (How would you rate:
Ralph Nader

Spec: 196_5

V000363

<p>T C1e.T The next person is Ralph Nader (Where on that feeling thermometer would you rate him?)</p>	<p>Spec: 196_6</p>	<p>V000364</p>
<p>C1f. (Looking at page 2 of the booklet) (How would you rate:) John McCain</p>		
<p>T C1f.T The next person is John McCain (Where on that feeling thermometer would you rate him?)</p>		
<p>C1g. (Looking at page 2 of the booklet) (How would you rate:) Bill Bradley</p>	<p>Spec: 196_7</p>	<p>V000365</p>
<p>T C1g.T The next person is Bill Bradley (Where on that feeling thermometer would you rate him?)</p>		
<p>C1h. (Looking at page 2 of the booklet) (How would you rate:) Joseph Lieberman</p>	<p>Spec: 196_8</p>	<p>V000366</p>
<p>T C1hT The next person is Joseph Lieberman (Where on that feeling thermometer would you rate him?)</p>		
<p>C1j. (Looking at page 2 of the booklet) (How would you rate:) Dick Cheney</p>	<p>Spec: 196_9</p>	<p>V000367</p>
<p>T C1j.T The next person is Dick Cheney (Where on that feeling thermometer would you rate him?)</p>		
<p>C1k. (Looking at page 2 of the booklet) (How would you rate:) Hillary Clinton</p>	<p>Spec: 196_10</p>	<p>V000368</p>

T C1k.T

The next person is

Hillary Clinton

(Where on that feeling thermometer would you rate her?)

0-100
997 DON'T RECOGNIZE
998 DK WHERE TO RATE

- ⇒ In this study we are using the feeling thermometer to measure R's feeling toward important political figures. The list of political figures includes the Democrat and Republican congressional and senatorial candidates, some possible future candidates, and some other national figures.
- ⇒ Make sure that warmth of feeling is not equated with anger. In order to avoid such a mix-up, make sure that R understand that warm or favorable is the same as "liking" someone and cold means "disliking."
- ⇒ If R asks what capacity (NAME) is to be rated on (e.g., his personality? His performance in office?), we mean "In general..."
- ⇒ We want the rating entered in degrees in the SurveyCraft questionnaire. If R wants to select a degree level that is not pictured on the feeling thermometer in the Respondent Booklet (for example, 93 degrees) in order to indicate more accurately his/her feeling toward a person, by all means let him/her do so and record this response to the exact degree. The marks in the RB are merely anchors.
- ⇒ Any whole number from 0 to 100 is acceptable. Answers outside the 0 to 100 scale are not acceptable. If a respondent wants to select a range, you can inform him or her that the computer will only accept a whole number.

C2.

Still using the thermometer, how would you rate:

C2a.

the Democratic Party

Spec: 201_1 V000369

C2b.

the Republican Party

Spec: 201_2 V000370

C2c.

the Reform Party

Spec: 201_3 V000371

C2d.

Political parties in general

Spec: 201_4 V000372

0-100
997 DON'T RECOGNIZE
998 DK WHERE TO RATE

SECTION D

D1-D4 - PARTY LIKES-DISLIKES

**RANDOMIZE ORDER OF THE TWO SERIES (D1-D2 SERIES AND D3-D4 SERIES),
'DISLIKE' QUESTION ALWAYS FOLLOWS THE 'LIKE' QUESTION IN EACH SERIES.**

D0.

I'd like to ask you what you think are the good and bad points about the two national parties.

D1.

Spec: 217__

V000373

Is there anything in particular that you like about the Democratic party?

1 YES,
 5 NO, →SKIP TO D2
 8 DON'T KNOW -->SKIP TO D2

⇒ Here we want to get as complete a picture as possible of what R feels are the positive and negative characteristics of the two parties. Probe “Anything else (you like about the Democratic Party)?” until R tells you “no.”

⇒ Specificity probes are also particularly important for this set of questions. You are likely to get responses such as: “I like the party’s stand on issues” – we want to know what issues and what stands; “It is a better party” – but why? [Use the “GE” probe.]

D1a.

Spec: 218__

V000374-0378

(IF YES)

(IF NECESSARY: What is that?) (PROBE: “Anything else you like about the Democratic party?” UNTIL R SAYS “NO.”)

OPENEND

D2.

Spec: 219__

V000379

Is there anything in particular that you don’t like about the Democratic party?

1 YES,
 5 NO, →SKIP TO D3 or D5
 8 DON'T KNOW -->SKIP TO D3 or D5

⇒ Here we want to get as complete a picture as possible of what R feels are the positive and negative characteristics of the two parties. Probe “Anything else (you like about the Democratic Party)?” until R tells you “no.”

⇒ Specificity probes are also particularly important for this set of questions. You are likely to get responses such as: “I like the party’s stand on issues” – we want to know what issues and what stands; “It is a better party” – but why? [Use the “GE” probe.]

D2a.

Spec: 220__

V000380-0384

(IF YES)

(IF NECESSARY: What is that?) (PROBE: “Anything else you don’t like about the Democratic party?” UNTIL R SAYS “NO.”)

OPENEND

D3.

Spec: 222__

V000385

Is there anything in particular that you like about the Republican party?

1 YES,
 5 NO, →SKIP TO D4
 8 DON'T KNOW -->SKIP TO D4

⇒ Here we want to get as complete a picture as possible of what R feels are the positive and negative characteristics of the two parties. Probe “Anything else (you like about the Democratic Party)?” until R tells you “no.”

⇒ Specificity probes are also particularly important for this set of questions. You are likely to get responses such as: “I like the party’s stand on issues” – we want to know what issues and what stands; “It is a better party” – but why? [Use the “GE” probe.]

D3a.
(IF YES)

(IF NECESSARY: What is that?) (PROBE: “Anything else you like about the Republican party?” UNTIL R SAYS “NO.”)

OPENEND

Spec: 223__

V000386-0390

D4.

Is there anything in particular that you don’t like about the Republican party?

- 1 YES, →SKIP TO D1 or D5
- 5 NO, -->SKIP TO D1 or D5
- 8 DON’T KNOW -->SKIP TO D1 or D5

⇒ Here we want to get as complete a picture as possible of what R feels are the positive and negative characteristics of the two parties. Probe “Anything else (you like about the Democratic Party)?” until R tells you “no.”

⇒ Specificity probes are also particularly important for this set of questions. You are likely to get responses such as: “I like the party’s stand on issues” – we want to know what issues and what stands; “It is a better party” – but why? [Use the “GE” probe.]

Spec: 224__

V000391

D4a.
(IF YES)

(IF NECESSARY: What is that?) (PROBE: “Anything else you don’t like about the Republican party?” UNTIL R SAYS “NO.”)

OPENEND

Spec: 225__

V000392-0396

D5 - PARTY CONTROL

D5.

Do you think it is better when one party controls both the presidency and Congress, better when control is split between the Democrats and Republicans, or doesn’t it matter?

- 1 BETTER WHEN ONE PARTY CONTROLS BOTH
- 3 BETTER WHEN CONTROL IS SPLIT
- 5 IT DOESN’T MATTER
- 8 DK

Spec: 227__

V000397

SECTION E

E1-E3 - R’S FINANCIAL SITUATION

RESPONDENT IS RANDOMLY SELECTED TO GET SECTION E IN PRE OR POST.

E1.

We are interested in how people are getting along financially these days. Would you say that you (and your are better off, worse off, or just about the same financially as you were [a year ago](#)?

Spec: 241__

V000398

T E1.T

We are interested in how people are getting along financially these days. Would you say that you (and your family) are better off, worse off, or just about the same financially as you were a year ago?

- 1 BETTER
- 3 WORSE Skip to →E1b
- 5 THE SAME Skip to →E2
- 8 DK Skip to E2

⇒ We think economics is an extremely powerful factor in how people assess issues, candidates, and the government. These questions have to do with R's personal economics -- how things are going for R and R's family.

⇒ If R says they are "better off" in some respects and "worse off" in others, probe by asking, "Overall, would you say..." Remember, this series is about circumstances particular to the R and need not be linked to national economic trends and events.

⇒ R's loss of a job, the sale of some property -- these are quite appropriate for R to be thinking about at this point. However, we do not need to have all of R's spoken mental calculations recorded. It's what he/she decides that is important, not how he/she got there (unless you have strong reason to believe that s/he has misunderstood the questions).

E1a.

(IF BETTER)

Much better or somewhat better?

- 1 MUCH BETTER SKIP to →E2
- 5 SOMEWHAT BETTER SKIP to →E2
- 8 DK Skip to E2

Spec: 242__

V000399

E1b.

(IF WORSE)

Much worse or somewhat worse?

- 1 MUCH WORSE
- 5 SOMEWHAT WORSE
- 8 DK

Spec: 243__

V000400

V000401 SUMMARY

E2.

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

Spec: 244__

V000402

T E2.T

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

- 1 YES,
- 5 NO,
- 8 DK

E3.

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

Spec: 245__

V000403

T E3.T

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

1 BETTER
3 WORSE Skip to →E3B
5 THE SAME Skip to →F1
8 DK Skip to F1

⇒ Here we want to know what R actually expects financially in the coming year. Responses in terms of what R "hopes" will happen are not acceptable. If you get a "hopes" response, repeat the question, emphasizing the word "think."

E3a.
(IF BETTER)

Much better off or somewhat better off?

1 MUCH BETTER SKIP to →F1
5 SOMEWHAT BETTER SKIP to →F1
8 DK SKIP to F1

Spec: 246__

V000404

E3b.
(IF WORSE)

Much worse off or somewhat worse off?

1 MUCH WORSE
5 SOMEWHAT WORSE

Spec: 247__

V000405

8 DK

[V000406 SUMMARY](#)

SECTION F

F1-F3 - PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE AFFECTS

THE ORDER OF THE 3 'AFFECTS' SERIES --F1 (GORE), F2 (BUSH), AND F3 (BUCHANAN) -- WILL BE RANDOMIZED BUT EACH CANDIDATE'S COMPLETE SET OF AFFECT QUESTIONS ARE ADMINISTERED BEFORE THE NEXT SET BEGINS. WITHIN EACH SET THE LIST OF AFFECTS FOR THAT CANDIDATE WILL APPEAR IN RANDOM ORDER (FOLLOW-ONS WILL STAY WITH THE CORRESPONDING AFFECT).

F0.

Now we would like to know something about the feelings you have toward the candidates for President. I am going to name a candidate, and I want you to tell me whether something about that person, or something he has done, has made you have certain feelings like anger or pride.

F1.

(Think about Al Gore.) Has Al Gore (because of the kind of person he is, or because of something he has done) -- ever made you feel:

F1a.

Angry

1 YES
5 NO SKIP→to next F1 in randomization
8 DK SKIP→ to next F1 in randomization

Spec: 254_1

V000407

⇒ These questions measure in depth people's evaluations of individuals who aspire to political leadership. Respondents tend to enjoy them.
⇒ If R says they can't answer, code it as DK.

F1aa.

(IF YES, GORE HAS MADE R ANGRY)

How often would you say you've felt angry -- very often, fairly often, occasionally, or rarely?

- 1 VERY OFTEN
- 2 FAIRLY OFTEN
- 3 OCCASIONALLY
- 4 RARELY
- 8 DK

Spec: 255_1

V000408

F1b.

Hopeful

- 1 YES
- 5 NO SKIP→ to next F1 in randomization
- 8 DK SKIP→ to next F1 in randomization

Spec: 254_2

V000409

F1bb.

(IF YES, GORE HAS MADE R HOPEFUL)

How often would you say you've felt hopeful -- very often, fairly often, occasionally, or rarely?

- 1 VERY OFTEN
- 2 FAIRLY OFTEN
- 3 OCCASIONALLY
- 4 RARELY
- 8 DK

Spec: 255_2

V000410

F1c.

Afraid

- 1 YES
- 5 NO SKIP→ to next F1 in randomization
- 8 DK SKIP→ to next F1 in randomization

Spec: 254_3

V000411

F1cc.

(IF YES, GORE HAS MADE R AFRAID)

How often would you say you've felt afraid -- very often, fairly often, occasionally, or rarely?

- 1 VERY OFTEN
- 2 FAIRLY OFTEN
- 3 OCCASIONALLY
- 4 RARELY
- 8 DK

Spec: 255_3

V000412

F1d.

Proud

- 1 YES
- 5 NO SKIP→ to next F1 in randomization
- 8 DK SKIP→ to next F1 in randomization

Spec: 254_4

V000413

F1dd.

(IF YES, GORE HAS MADE R PROUD)

How often would you say you've felt proud -- very often, fairly often, occasionally, or rarely?

Spec: 255_4

V000414

- 1 VERY OFTEN
- 2 FAIRLY OFTEN
- 3 OCCASIONALLY
- 4 RARELY
- 8 DK

F2.
 (Think about George W. Bush.) Has George W. Bush (because of the kind of person he is, or because of something he has done --) ever made you feel:

F2a. Spec: 259_1 V000415

- Angry
- 1 YES
 - 5 NO SKIP → to next F2 in randomization
 - 8 DK SKIP → to next F2 in randomization

⇒ These questions measure in depth people's evaluations of individuals who aspire to political leadership. Respondents tend to enjoy them.
 ⇒ If R says they can't answer, code it as DK.

F2aa. Spec: 260_1 V000416
(IF YES, GEORGE W. BUSH HAS MADE R ANGRY)

How often would you say you've felt angry -- very often, fairly often, occasionally, or rarely?

- 1 VERY OFTEN
- 2 FAIRLY OFTEN
- 3 OCCASIONALLY
- 4 RARELY
- 8 DK

F2b. Spec: 259_2 V000417

- Hopeful
- 1 YES
 - 5 NO SKIP → to next F2 in randomization
 - 8 DK SKIP → to next F2 in randomization

F2bb. Spec: 260_2 V000418
(IF YES, GEORGE W. BUSH HAS MADE R HOPEFUL)

How often would you say you've felt hopeful -- very often, fairly often, occasionally, or rarely?

- 1 VERY OFTEN
- 2 FAIRLY OFTEN
- 3 OCCASIONALLY
- 4 RARELY
- 8 DK

F2c. Spec: 259_3 V000419

- Afraid
- 1 YES
 - 5 NO SKIP → to next F2 in randomization
 - 8 DK SKIP → to next F2 in randomization

F2cc. Spec: 260_3 V000420
(IF YES, GEORGE W. BUSH HAS MADE R AFRAID)

How often would you say you've felt afraid -- very often, fairly often, occasionally, or rarely?

- 1 VERY OFTEN
- 2 FAIRLY OFTEN
- 3 OCCASIONALLY
- 4 RARELY
- 8 DK

F2d.

Proud

- 1 YES
- 5 NO SKIP→ to next F2 in randomization
- 8 DK SKIP→ to next F2 in randomization

Spec: 259_4

V000421

F2dd.

(IF YES, GEORGE W. BUSH HAS MADE R PROUD)

How often would you say you've felt proud -- very often, fairly often, occasionally, or rarely?

- 1 VERY OFTEN
- 2 FAIRLY OFTEN
- 3 OCCASIONALLY
- 4 RARELY
- 8 DK

Spec: 260_4

V000422

(MAY TURN F3 QUESTIONS OFF UNLESS BUCHANAN GETS HOT :)

F3.

(Think about Pat Buchanan.) Has Pat Buchanan (because of the kind of person he is, or because of something he has done --) ever made you feel:

F3a.

Angry

- 1 YES
- 5 NO SKIP→to next F3 in randomization
- 8 DK SKIP→ to next F3 in randomization

Spec: 264_1

V000423

⇒ These questions measure in depth people's evaluations of individuals who aspire to political leadership. Respondents tend to enjoy them.
 ⇒ If R says they can't answer, code it as DK.

F3aa.

(IF YES, BUCHANAN HAS MADE R ANGRY)

How often would you say you've felt angry -- very often, fairly often, occasionally, or rarely?

- 1 VERY OFTEN
- 2 FAIRLY OFTEN
- 3 OCCASIONALLY
- 4 RARELY
- 8 DK

Spec: 265_1

V000424

F3b.

Hopeful

- 1 YES
- 5 NO SKIP→ to next F3 in randomization
- 8 DK SKIP→ to next F3 in randomization

Spec: 264_2

V000425

F3bb.
(IF YES, BUCHANAN HAS MADE R HOPEFUL)

Spec: 265_2

V000426

How often would you say you've felt hopeful -- very often, fairly often, occasionally, or rarely?

- 1 VERY OFTEN
- 2 FAIRLY OFTEN
- 3 OCCASIONALLY
- 4 RARELY
- 8 DK

F3c.

Afraid

Spec: 264_3

V000427

- 1 YES
- 5 NO SKIP→ to next F3 in randomization
- 8 DK SKIP→ to next F3 in randomization

F3cc.
(IF YES, BUCHANAN HAS MADE R AFRAID)

Spec: 265_3

V000428

How often would you say you've felt afraid -- very often, fairly often, occasionally, or rarely?

- 1 VERY OFTEN
- 2 FAIRLY OFTEN
- 3 OCCASIONALLY
- 4 RARELY
- 8 DK

F3d.

Proud

Spec: 264_4

V000429

- 1 YES
- 5 NO SKIP→ to next F3 in randomization
- 8 DK SKIP→ to next F3 in randomization

F3dd.
(IF YES, BUCHANAN HAS MADE R PROUD)

Spec: 265_4

V000430

How often would you say you've felt proud -- very often, fairly often, occasionally, or rarely?

- 1 VERY OFTEN
- 2 FAIRLY OFTEN
- 3 OCCASIONALLY
- 4 RARELY
- 8 DK

F6-F9 – MOST IMPORTANT PROBLEM(S)

F6-F9 ADMINISTERED TO RANDOMLY SELECTED HALF SAMPLE

F6.

Spec: 268__

V000431-0434

What do you think are the most important problems facing this country?
[PROBE: Any other important problems facing the country? UNTIL R SAYS NONE]

OPENEND

F6x.

Spec: 269__

V000435

INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT: NUMBER OF IMPORTANT PROBLEMS MENTIONED BY R
[IF UNSURE WHETHER ONE PROBLEM OR MORE THAN ONE PROBLEM CODE MORE THAN 1]

- 0 R HAS NOT MENTIONED ANY PROBLEMS →G1/G1.E
- 1 R HAS MENTIONED ONLY ONE PROBLEM →F8
- 2 R HAS MENTIONED 2 OR MORE PROBLEMS →F7

F7.

(IF R HAS MENTIONED 2 OR MORE PROBLEMS)

Of those you've mentioned, what would you say is the single most important problem the country faces?

OPENEND

Spec: 270__

V000436

F8.

(IF R HAS MENTIONED ANY PROBLEM)

How good a job is the government in Washington doing in dealing with this problem – a good job, only fair, or a poor job?

- 1 A GOOD JOB
- 3 ONLY FAIR
- 5 A POOR JOB
- 8 DK

Spec: 271__

V000437

F9.

(IF R HAS MENTIONED ANY PROBLEM)

Which political party do you think would be most likely to get the government to do a better job in dealing with this problem – the Republicans, the Democrats, or wouldn't there be much difference between them?

- 1 REPUBLICANS
- 3 DEMOCRATS
- 5 THERE WOULDN'T BE MUCH DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THEM
- 7 NEITHER PARTY [VOL]
- 8 DK

Spec: 272__

V000438

SECTION G

G1-G10 - LIBERAL-CONSERVATIVE

RESPONDENTS SHOULD BE RANDOMLY SELECTED TO RECEIVE EITHER THE G1/G1.T SERIES OR THE G6. E SERIES.

G1.

Please look at page 3 of the booklet. We hear a lot of talk these days about liberals and conservatives. Here is a seven-point scale on which the political views that people might hold are arranged from extremely liberal to extremely conservative.

T G1.T

We hear a lot of talk these days about liberals and conservatives.

G1a.

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

Spec: 282__

V000439

T G1a.T

When it comes to politics, do you usually think of yourself as extremely liberal, liberal, slightly liberal; moderate or middle of the road, slightly conservative, conservative, extremely conservative, or haven't you thought much about this?

Spec: 283__

V000439a

- 1 EXTREMELY LIBERAL Skip to G2
- 2 LIBERAL Skip to G2
- 3 SLIGHTLY LIBERAL Skip to G2
- 4 MODERATE; MIDDLE OF THE ROAD → G1b
- 5 SLIGHTLY CONSERVATIVE Skip to G2
- 6 CONSERVATIVE Skip to G2
- 7 EXTREMELY CONSERVATIVE Skip to G2
- 8 DK →G1b
- 0 HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH [DO NOT PROBE] →G1b

⇒ If you've worked on election studies before, you're familiar with this "proximity format" for determining where R stands on issues in relation to where he/she thinks political leaders and groups stand. We realize that these questions are demanding of both you and R; however, much valuable research information has already been derived from this technique.

⇒ Our first task for the respondent is to place himself/herself on the scale. Note that if R responds with DK, MODERATE, NEITHER, or HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH ABOUT THIS with regard to his/her own placement on the scale at G1a, you do not probe, but go directly to G1b, asking R, "If you had to choose..." If R still responds DK, the skip leads to where he/she would place the presidential candidates. We are interested in knowing whether respondents who have trouble figuring out where they stand may nevertheless have a good idea where political figures stand.

⇒ It is important that R understands that he/she should place the groups and the political leaders on the scale in terms of where he/she thinks they stand now, NOT in terms of where he/she would like them to be. If you get a response with all 1's or all 7's, R may be falling into the trap of putting the leaders or groups where he/she wants them to be and not where he/she thinks they are.

⇒ Whenever such confusion becomes apparent to you, please try to get R to think in terms of where he/she thinks the leader or party position is now. (Needless to say, it is possible that R does think everyone is at 1 or 7, and that's a legitimate answer--just make sure that that is what you are getting before you go on.)

⇒ Definitely try to get R to specify his/her response in terms of a number on the scale. If R gives a range (e.g. 5-7), record this in a F2 comment, but also ask R to give, if possible, a single number within that range. "Which would you say is closest to the way you feel?" A "Don't Know" answer for any of the groups or political leaders is a perfectly acceptable response to be handled by pausing to be sure the R doesn't want to change his/her mind, and then entering the DK and moving on to the next group or person on the list.

⇒ In other words, DO NOT PROBE "DON'T KNOW" responses here or on any other part of their "placements" throughout the interview. To do so probably invites R to guess, and often elicits "random" responses.

▶ Finally, you may find that people have different interpretations of what liberal or conservative entails. That's fine, that's part of what we're trying to get at. DO NOT DEFINE THE TERM FOR THEM. We want them to use their understanding of the terminology.

V000440 COMBINED FTF/PH

G1b.

(IF MODERATE, DK OR HAVEN'T THOUGHT)

If you had to choose, would you consider yourself a liberal or a conservative?

Spec: 284__

V000441

- 1 LIBERAL
- 3 CONSERVATIVE
- 5 MODERATE
- 7 R REFUSES TO CHOOSE
- 8 DK

G2.

Where would you place Bill Clinton on this scale? [DO NOT PROBE 'DK']

Spec: 287_1

V000448

T G2.T

What about Bill Clinton? Do you think he is extremely liberal, liberal, slightly liberal, moderate or middle of the road, slightly conservative, conservative, or extremely conservative? [DO NOT PROBE 'DK']

Spec: 291_1

V000448a

- 1 EXTREMELY LIBERAL
- 2 LIBERAL
- 3 SLIGHTLY LIBERAL
- 4 MODERATE; MIDDLE OF THE ROAD
- 5 SLIGHTLY CONSERVATIVE
- 6 CONSERVATIVE
- 7 EXTREMELY CONSERVATIVE
- 8 DK

- ⇒ If you've worked on election studies before, you're familiar with this "proximity format" for determining where R stands on issues in relation to where he/she thinks political leaders and groups stand. We realize that these questions are demanding of both you and R; however, much valuable research information has already been derived from this technique.
- ⇒ Our first task for the respondent is to place himself/herself on the scale. Note that if R responds with DK, MODERATE, NEITHER, or HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH ABOUT THIS with regard to his/her own placement on the scale at G1a, you do not probe, but go directly to G1b, asking R, "If you had to choose..." If R still responds DK, the skip leads to where he/she would place the presidential candidates. We are interested in knowing whether respondents who have trouble figuring out where they stand may nevertheless have a good idea where political figures stand.
- ⇒ It is important that R understands that he/she should place the groups and the political leaders on the scale in terms of where he/she thinks they stand now, NOT in terms of where he/she would like them to be. If you get a response with all 1's or all 7's, R may be falling into the trap of putting the leaders or groups where he/she wants them to be and not where he/she thinks they are.
- ⇒ Whenever such confusion becomes apparent to you, please try to get R to think in terms of where he/she thinks the leader or party position is now. (Needless to say, it is possible that R does think everyone is at 1 or 7, and that's a legitimate answer--just make sure that that is what you are getting before you go on.)
- ⇒ Definitely try to get R to specify his/her response in terms of a number on the scale. If R gives a range (e.g. 5-7), record this in a F2 comment, but also ask R to give, if possible, a single number within that range. "Which would you say is closest to the way you feel?" A "Don't Know" answer for any of the groups or political leaders is a perfectly acceptable response to be handled by pausing to be sure the R doesn't want to change his/her mind, and then entering the DK and moving on to the next group or person on the list.
- ⇒ In other words, DO NOT PROBE "DON'T KNOW" responses here or on any other part of their "placements" throughout the interview. To do so probably invites R to guess, and often elicits "random" responses.
- Ⓟ Finally, you may find that people have different interpretations of what liberal or conservative entails. That's fine, that's part of what we're trying to get at. DO NOT DEFINE THE TERM FOR THEM. We want them to use their understanding of the terminology.

FTF: G3, G4, AND G5 ARE RANDOMIZED

TELEPHONE: G3.T, G4.T, AND G5.T ARE RANDOMIZED

G3.

Where would you place Al Gore on this scale? [DO NOT PROBE 'DK']

Spec: 287_2

V000455

T G3.T

Spec: 291_2

V000455a

What about Al Gore? (Do you think he is extremely liberal, liberal, slightly liberal, moderate or middle of the road, slightly conservative, conservative, or extremely conservative?) [DO NOT PROBE 'DK']

- 1 EXTREMELY LIBERAL
- 2 LIBERAL
- 3 SLIGHTLY LIBERAL
- 4 MODERATE; MIDDLE OF THE ROAD
- 5 SLIGHTLY CONSERVATIVE
- 6 CONSERVATIVE
- 7 EXTREMELY CONSERVATIVE
- 8 DK →SKIP TO NEXT PRES. CAND OR G11

⇒ If you've worked on election studies before, you're familiar with this "proximity format" for determining where R stands on issues in relation to where he/she thinks political leaders and groups stand. We realize that these questions are demanding of both you and R; however, much valuable research information has already been derived from this technique.

⇒ Our first task for the respondent is to place himself/herself on the scale. Note that if R responds with DK, MODERATE, NEITHER, or HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH ABOUT THIS with regard to his/her own placement on the scale at G1a, you do not probe, but go directly to G1b, asking R, "If you had to choose..." If R still responds DK, the skip leads to where he/she would place the presidential candidates. We are interested in knowing whether respondents who have trouble figuring out where they stand may nevertheless have a good idea where political figures stand.

⇒ It is important that R understands that he/she should place the groups and the political leaders on the scale in terms of where he/she thinks they stand now, NOT in terms of where he/she would like them to be. If you get a response with all 1's or all 7's, R may be falling into the trap of putting the leaders or groups where he/she wants them to be and not where he/she thinks they are.

⇒ Whenever such confusion becomes apparent to you, please try to get R to think in terms of where he/she thinks the leader or party position is now. (Needless to say, it is possible that R does think everyone is at 1 or 7, and that's a legitimate answer--just make sure that that is what you are getting before you go on.)

⇒ Definitely try to get R to specify his/her response in terms of a number on the scale. If R gives a range (e.g. 5-7), record this in a F2 comment, but also ask R to give, if possible, a single number within that range. "Which would you say is closest to the way you feel?" A "Don't Know" answer for any of the groups or political leaders is a perfectly acceptable response to be handled by pausing to be sure the R doesn't want to change his/her mind, and then entering the DK and moving on to the next group or person on the list.

⇒ In other words, DO NOT PROBE "DON'T KNOW" responses here or on any other part of their "placements" throughout the interview. To do so probably invites R to guess, and often elicits "random" responses.

► Finally, you may find that people have different interpretations of what liberal or conservative entails. That's fine, that's part of what we're trying to get at. DO NOT DEFINE THE TERM FOR THEM. We want them to use their understanding of the terminology.

V000456 COMBINED FTF/PH

T

G3a.

G3a.T

(IF NOT DK)

How certain are you of this? Very certain, pretty certain or not very certain?

- 1 VERY CERTAIN → NEXT PRES. CANDIDATE OR G11
- 3 PRETTY CERTAIN → NEXT PRES. CANDIDATE OR G11
- 5 NOT VERY CERTAIN → NEXT PRES. CANDIDATE OR G11
- 8 DK → NEXT PRES. CANDIDATE OR G11

Spec: 288_2

Spec: 292_2

V000457

V000458

G4.

Where would you place George W. Bush on this scale? [DO NOT PROBE 'DK']

Spec: 287_3

V000465

T G4.T

Spec: 291_3

V000465a

What about George W. Bush? (Do you think he is extremely liberal, liberal, slightly liberal, moderate or middle of the road, slightly conservative, conservative, or extremely conservative?) [DO NOT PROBE 'DK']

- 1 EXTREMELY LIBERAL
- 2 LIBERAL
- 3 SLIGHTLY LIBERAL
- 4 MODERATE; MIDDLE OF THE ROAD
- 5 SLIGHTLY CONSERVATIVE
- 6 CONSERVATIVE
- 7 EXTREMELY CONSERVATIVE
- 8 DK →SKIP TO NEXT PRES CAND OR G11

⇒ If you've worked on election studies before, you're familiar with this "proximity format" for determining where R stands on issues in relation to where he/she thinks political leaders and groups stand. We realize that these questions are demanding of both you and R; however, much valuable research information has already been derived from this technique.

⇒ Our first task for the respondent is to place himself/herself on the scale. Note that if R responds with DK, MODERATE, NEITHER, or HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH ABOUT THIS with regard to his/her own placement on the scale at G1a, you do not probe, but go directly to G1b, asking R, "If you had to choose..." If R still responds DK, the skip leads to where he/she would place the presidential candidates. We are interested in knowing whether respondents who have trouble figuring out where they stand may nevertheless have a good idea where political figures stand.

⇒ It is important that R understands that he/she should place the groups and the political leaders on the scale in terms of where he/she thinks they stand now, NOT in terms of where he/she would like them to be. If you get a response with all 1's or all 7's, R may be falling into the trap of putting the leaders or groups where he/she wants them to be and not where he/she thinks they are.

⇒ Whenever such confusion becomes apparent to you, please try to get R to think in terms of where he/she thinks the leader or party position is now. (Needless to say, it is possible that R does think everyone is at 1 or 7, and that's a legitimate answer--just make sure that that is what you are getting before you go on.)

⇒ Definitely try to get R to specify his/her response in terms of a number on the scale. If R gives a range (e.g. 5-7), record this in a F2 comment, but also ask R to give, if possible, a single number within that range. "Which would you say is closest to the way you feel?" A "Don't Know" answer for any of the groups or political leaders is a perfectly acceptable response to be handled by pausing to be sure the R doesn't want to change his/her mind, and then entering the DK and moving on to the next group or person on the list.

⇒ In other words, DO NOT PROBE "DON'T KNOW" responses here or on any other part of their "placements" throughout the interview. To do so probably invites R to guess, and often elicits "random" responses.

► Finally, you may find that people have different interpretations of what liberal or conservative entails. That's fine, that's part of what we're trying to get at. DO NOT DEFINE THE TERM FOR THEM. We want them to use their understanding of the terminology.

V000466 COMBINED FTF/PH

T

G4a.

G4a.T

(IF NOT DK)

How certain are you of this? Very certain, pretty certain or not very certain?

- 1 VERY CERTAIN → NEXT PRES. CANDIDATE OR G11
- 3 PRETTY CERTAIN → NEXT PRES. CANDIDATE OR G11
- 5 NOT VERY CERTAIN → NEXT PRES. CANDIDATE OR G11
- 8 DK → NEXT PRES. CANDIDATE OR G11

Spec: 288_3

Spec: 292_3

V000467

V000468

G5.

Where would you place Pat Buchanan on this scale? [DO NOT PROBE 'DK']

Spec: 287_4

V000475

T G5.T

What about Pat Buchanan? (Do you think he is extremely liberal, liberal, slightly liberal, moderate or middle of the road, slightly conservative, conservative, or extremely conservative?) [DO NOT PROBE 'DK']

Spec: 291_4

V000475a

- 1 EXTREMELY LIBERAL
- 2 LIBERAL
- 3 SLIGHTLY LIBERAL
- 4 MODERATE; MIDDLE OF THE ROAD
- 5 SLIGHTLY CONSERVATIVE
- 6 CONSERVATIVE
- 7 EXTREMELY CONSERVATIVE
- 8 DK -->SKIP TO NEXT PRES CAND OR G11

⇒ If you've worked on election studies before, you're familiar with this "proximity format" for determining where R stands on issues in relation to where he/she thinks political leaders and groups stand. We realize that these questions are demanding of both you and R; however, much valuable research information has already been derived from this technique.

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⇒ It is important that R understands that he/she should place the groups and the political leaders on the scale in terms of where he/she thinks they stand now, NOT in terms of where he/she would like them to be. If you get a response with all 1's or all 7's, R may be falling into the trap of putting the leaders or groups where he/she wants them to be and not where he/she thinks they are.

⇒ Whenever such confusion becomes apparent to you, please try to get R to think in terms of where he/she thinks the leader or party position is now. (Needless to say, it is possible that R does think everyone is at 1 or 7, and that's a legitimate answer--just make sure that that is what you are getting before you go on.)

⇒ Definitely try to get R to specify his/her response in terms of a number on the scale. If R gives a range (e.g. 5-7), record this in a F2 comment, but also ask R to give, if possible, a single number within that range. "Which would you say is closest to the way you feel?" A "Don't Know" answer for any of the groups or political leaders is a perfectly acceptable response to be handled by pausing to be sure the R doesn't want to change his/her mind, and then entering the DK and moving on to the next group or person on the list.

⇒ In other words, DO NOT PROBE "DON'T KNOW" responses here or on any other part of their "placements" throughout the interview. To do so probably invites R to guess, and often elicits "random" responses.

▮ Finally, you may find that people have different interpretations of what liberal or conservative entails. That's fine, that's part of what we're trying to get at. DO NOT DEFINE THE TERM FOR THEM. We want them to use their understanding of the terminology.

V000476 COMBINED FTF/PH

G5a.

G5a.T

(IF NOT DK)

How certain are you of this? Very certain, pretty certain or not very certain?

- 1 VERY CERTAIN → NEXT PRES. CANDIDATE OR G11
- 3 PRETTY CERTAIN → NEXT PRES. CANDIDATE OR G11
- 5 NOT VERY CERTAIN → NEXT PRES. CANDIDATE OR G11
- 8 DK → NEXT PRES. CANDIDATE OR G11

Spec: 288_4

V000477

Spec: 292_4

V000478

T

G6.E

Spec: 295__

V000442

We hear a lot of talk these days about liberals and conservatives. When it comes to politics, do you usually think of yourself as a liberal, a conservative, a moderate, or haven't you thought much about this?

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|----------------|
| 1 A LIBERAL | →SKIP TO G6b.E |
| 3 A CONSERVATIVE →SKIP TO | →SKIP TO G6c.E |
| 5 A MODERATE | →G6a.E |
| 7 NEITHER [VOL] | →G6a.E |
| 8 DK | →G6a.E |
| 0 HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH [DO NOT PROBE] | →G6a.E |

⇒ This battery of questions is slightly different from those in G1. Rather than start with the full 7-point scale, it starts with a 3 point scale, then fills in the remaining points with skip sequences.

As with G1, it is important that we get the respondent to place himself/herself on the scale. Again, note that if R responds with DK, MODERATE, NEITHER, or HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH ABOUT THIS with regard to his/her own placement on the scale at G1E, do not probe. Instead, go directly to G1Ea, asking R, "If you had to choose...".

G6a.E

Spec: 296__

V000443

(IF DK, HTM, NEITHER, OR MODERATE)

If you had to choose, would you consider yourself a liberal or a conservative?

- | | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------|
| 1 LIBERAL | →SKIP TO G7.E |
| 3 CONSERVATIVE | →SKIP TO G7.E |
| 5 MODERATE[VOL] | →SKIP TO G7.E |
| 7 R REFUSES TO CHOOSE [VOL] | -->SKIP TO G7.E |
| 8 DON'T KNOW | -->SKIP TO G7.E |

G6b.E

Spec: 297__

V000444

(IF LIBERAL)

Would you call yourself a strong liberal or a not very strong liberal?

- | | |
|---------------------------|-----------------|
| 1 STRONG LIBERAL | -->SKIP TO G7.E |
| 5 NOT VERY STRONG LIBERAL | -->SKIP TO G7.E |
| 8 DK | -->SKIP TO G7.E |

G6c.E

Spec: 298__

V000445

(IF CONSERVATIVE)

Would you call yourself a strong conservative or a not very strong conservative?

- | |
|--------------------------------|
| 1 STRONG CONSERVATIVE |
| 5 NOT VERY STRONG CONSERVATIVE |
| 8 DK |

[V000446 5-PT BR SUMMARY](#)
[V000447 COMB.7PT/BR SUMM](#)

G7.E

Spec: 300_1

V000450

What about Bill Clinton? Is Bill Clinton a liberal, a conservative, or a moderate? [DO NOT PROBE 'DK']

- | | |
|----------------|--|
| 1 LIBERAL | →G7a.E |
| 2 CONSERVATIVE | →SKIP TO G7b.E |
| 3 MODERATE | →SKIP TO RANDOMIZED G8.E, G9.E, OR G10.E |
| 8 DON'T KNOW | →SKIP TO RANDOMIZED G8.E, G9.E, OR G10.E |

G7a.E

Spec: 301_1

V000451

(IF LIBERAL)

Would you call Bill Clinton a strong liberal or a not very strong liberal?

1 STRONG LIBERAL →SKIP TO G8.E, G9.E, OR G10.E
5 NOT VERY STRONG LIBERAL →SKIP TO G8.E, G9.E, OR G10.E
8 DK → SKIP TO G8.E, G9.E OR G10.E

G7b.E

(IF CONSERVATIVE)

Would you call Bill Clinton a strong conservative or a not very strong conservative?

1 STRONG CONSERVATIVE
5 NOT VERY STRONG CONSERVATIVE
8 DK

Spec: 302_1

V000452

[V000453 5-PT BR SUMMARY](#)
[V000454 COMB.7PT/BR SUMM](#)

G8E, G9E, AND G10E ARE RANDOMIZED

G8.E

What about Al Gore? (Is Al Gore a liberal, a conservative, or a moderate?) [DO NOT PROBE 'DK']

1 LIBERAL →G8a.E
2 CONSERVATIVE →SKIP TO G8b.E
3 MODERATE →SKIP TO G8c.E
8 DON'T KNOW →SKIP TO NEXT NAME IN RANDOMIZATION

Spec: 300_2

V000459

G8a.E

(IF LIBERAL)

Would you call Al Gore a strong liberal or a not very strong liberal?

1 STRONG LIBERAL →SKIP TO G8c.E
5 NOT VERY STRONG LIBERAL →SKIP TO G8c.E
8 DON'T KNOW -->SKIP TO NEXT NAME IN RANDOMIZATION

Spec: 301_2

V000460

G8b.E

(IF CONSERVATIVE)

Would you call Al Gore a strong conservative or a not very strong conservative?

1 STRONG CONSERVATIVE →G8c.E
5 NOT VERY STRONG CONSERVATIVE →G8c.E
8 DON'T KNOW →SKIP TO NEXT NAME IN RANDOMIZATION

Spec: 302_2

V000461

[V000462 5-PT BR SUMMARY](#)
[V000463 COMB.7PT/BR SUMM](#)

G8c.E

(IF GORE IS MODERATE) OR

(IF ANSWER FOR STRONG OR NOT STRONG LIBERAL/CONSERVATIVE IS NOT DK)

How certain are you of this? Very certain, pretty certain or not very certain?

1 VERY CERTAIN → NEXT PRES. CANDIDATE OR G11
3 PRETTY CERTAIN → NEXT PRES. CANDIDATE OR G11
5 NOT VERY CERTAIN → NEXT PRES. CANDIDATE OR G11
8 DK → NEXT PRES. CANDIDATE OR G11

Spec: 303_2

V000464

[V000464a COMB 7PT/BR SUMM](#)

G9. E

What about George W. Bush? (Is George W. Bush a liberal, a conservative, or a moderate?) [DO NOT PROBE 'DK']

Spec: 300_3

V000469

1 LIBERAL →G9a.E
2 CONSERVATIVE →SKIP TO G9b.E
3 MODERATE →SKIP TO G9c.E
8 DON'T KNOW →SKIP TO NEXT NAME IN RANDOMIZATION

G9a.E
(IF LIBERAL)

Would you call George W. Bush a strong liberal or a not very strong liberal?

1 STRONG LIBERAL →SKIP TO G9c.E
5 NOT VERY STRONG LIBERAL →SKIP TO G9c.E
8 DON'T KNOW →SKIP TO NEXT NAME IN RANDOMIZATION

Spec: 301_3

V000470

G9b.E
(IF CONSERVATIVE)

Would you call George W. Bush a strong conservative or a not very strong conservative?

1 STRONG CONSERVATIVE →G9c.E
5 NOT VERY STRONG CONSERVATIVE →G9c.E
8 DON'T KNOW →SKIP TO NEXT NAME IN RANDOMIZATION

Spec: 302_3

V000471

[V000472 5-PT BR SUMMARY](#)
[V000473 COMB.7PT/BR SUMM](#)

G9c. E
(IF GEORGE W. BUSH IS MODERATE) OR
(IF ANSWER FOR STRONG OR NOT STRONG LIBERAL/CONSERVATIVE IS NOT DK)

How certain are you of this? Very certain, pretty certain or not very certain?

1 VERY CERTAIN → NEXT PRES. CANDIDATE OR G11
3 PRETTY CERTAIN → NEXT PRES. CANDIDATE OR G11
5 NOT VERY CERTAIN → NEXT PRES. CANDIDATE OR G11
8 DK → NEXT PRES. CANDIDATE OR G11

Spec: 303_3

V000474
[V000474a COMB 7PT/BR SUMM](#)

G10. E

What about Pat Buchanan? (Is Pat Buchanan a liberal, a conservative, or a moderate?) [DO NOT PROBE 'DK']

1 LIBERAL →G10a.E
2 CONSERVATIVE →SKIP TO G10b.E
3 MODERATE →SKIP TO G10c.E
8 DON'T KNOW →SKIP TO NEXT NAME IN RANDOMIZATION

Spec: 300_4

V000479

G10a. E
(IF LIBERAL)

Would you call Pat Buchanan a strong liberal or a not very strong liberal?

1 STRONG LIBERAL →SKIP TO G10c.E
5 NOT VERY STRONG LIBERAL →SKIP TO G10c.E
8 DON'T KNOW →SKIP TO next NAME in randomization

Spec: 301_4

V000480

G10b. E
(IF CONSERVATIVE)

Would you call Pat Buchanan a strong conservative or a not very strong conservative?

1 STRONG CONSERVATIVE → G10c.E
5 NOT VERY STRONG CONSERVATIVE → G10c.E
8 DON'T KNOW →SKIP TO NEXT NAME IN RANDOMIZATION

Spec: 302_4

V000481

[V000482 5-PT BR SUMMARY](#)
[V000483 COMB.7PT/BR SUMM](#)

G10c. E

Spec: 303_4

V000484

V000484a COMB 7PT/BR SUMM

**(IF BUCHANAN IS MODERATE) OR
(IF ANSWER FOR STRONG OR NOT STRONG LIBERAL/CONSERVATIVE IS NOT DK)**

How certain are you of this? Very certain, pretty certain or not very certain?

- 1 VERY CERTAIN → NEXT PRES. CANDIDATE OR G11
- 3 PRETTY CERTAIN → NEXT PRES. CANDIDATE OR G11
- 5 NOT VERY CERTAIN → NEXT PRES. CANDIDATE OR G11
- 8 DK → NEXT PRES. CANDIDATE OR G11

G11 - ANTICIPATED OUTCOME OF NOVEMBER ELECTION

G11.

Spec: 305__

V000485

Who do you think will be elected President in November?

- 1 AL GORE
- 3 GEORGE W. BUSH
- 5 PAT BUCHANAN
- 6 RALPH NADER
- 7 OTHER (SPECIFY) [VOL]
- 8 DK SKIP to →G11b

⇒ Obviously, we are interested in their prediction, not their knowledge of who is going to win.

G11a.

Spec: 306__

V000486

(IF NAME GIVEN)

Do you think the Presidential race will be close or will [NAME GIVEN] win by quite a bit?

- 1 WILL BE CLOSE SKIP to →H1 or H1.E
- 5 WIN BY QUITE A BIT SKIP to → H1 or H1.E
- 8 DK SKIP to → H1 or H1.E

G11b.

Spec: 307__

V000487

(IF DON'T KNOW)

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

- 1 WILL BE CLOSE
- 5 WIN BY QUITE A BIT
- 8 DK

SECTION H

H1-H4 - NATIONAL ECONOMY

H1, H2, & H4 SHOULD EACH BE ADMINISTERED TO AN INDEPENDENT RANDOM SELECTION OF HALF THE SAMPLE AND H1.E, H2.E, & H4.E SHOULD EACH BE ADMINISTERED TO THE REMAINING HALVES, FOLLOWING UP WHERE APPROPRIATE TO EITHER VERSION

H1.

Spec: 315__

V000488a

Now thinking about the economy in the country as a whole, would you say that OVER THE PAST YEAR the nation's economy has gotten better, stayed about the same, or gotten worse?

- | | |
|-------------------------|---------------|
| 1 GOTTEN BETTER | →SKIP TO H1a. |
| 3 STAYED ABOUT THE SAME | →SKIP TO H2 |
| 5 GOTTEN WORSE | →SKIP TO H1b |
| 8 DK | →SKIP TO H2 |

⇒ Throughout these questions, we are interested in R's "perceptions" as opposed to knowledge on different economic topics.

In this series, the respondent is likely to "catch on" after H1 and start answering "MUCH BETTER" or "SOMEWHAT BETTER", "MUCH WORSE", or "SOMEWHAT WORSE" to the stem. You do not need to read the follow-up question in this case, but please make sure you enter the appropriate answers in both the stem and follow-up question before moving on to the next question.

H1. E

Spec: 316__

V000488b

Now thinking about the economy in the country as a whole, would you say that OVER THE PAST YEAR the nation's economy has gotten worse, stayed about the same, or gotten better?

- | | |
|-------------------------|--------------|
| 1 GOTTEN WORSE. | →SKIP TO H1b |
| 3 STAYED ABOUT THE SAME | →SKIP TO H2 |
| 5 GOTTEN BETTER | |
| 8 DK | →SKIP TO H2 |

H1a.**(IF BETTER)**

Much better or somewhat better?

- | | |
|-------------------|-------------|
| 1 MUCH BETTER | →SKIP TO H2 |
| 5 SOMEWHAT BETTER | →SKIP TO H2 |
| 8 DK | →SKIP TO H2 |

Spec: 317__

V000489

H1b.**(IF WORSE)**

Much worse or somewhat worse?

- | |
|------------------|
| 1 SOMEWHAT WORSE |
| 5 MUCH WORSE |
| 8 DK |

Spec: 318__

V000490

[V000491 SUMMARY](#)**H2.**

Spec: 320__

V000492a

Would you say that OVER THE PAST YEAR, it has gotten harder for people across the country to find enough work, stayed about the same, or gotten easier for people to find enough work?

- | | |
|--------------------|--------------|
| 1. GOTTEN HARDER | →SKIP TO H2a |
| 3. STAYED THE SAME | →SKIP TO H4 |
| 5. GOTTEN EASIER | →SKIP TO H2b |
| 8. DK | →SKIP TO H4 |

⇒ Throughout these questions, we are interested in R's "perceptions" as opposed to knowledge on different economic topics.

In this series, the respondent is likely to "catch on" after H1 and start answering "MUCH BETTER" or "SOMEWHAT BETTER", "MUCH WORSE", or "SOMEWHAT WORSE" to the stem. You do not need to read the follow-up question in this case, but please make sure you enter the appropriate answers in both the stem and follow-up question before moving on to the next question.

⇒ By people we mean people in general.

H2. E Spec: 321__ V000492b

Would you say that OVER THE PAST YEAR, it has gotten easier for people across the country to find enough work, stayed about the same, or gotten harder for people to find enough work?

- 1. GOTTEN EASIER →SKIP TO H2b
- 3. ABOUT THE SAME →SKIP TO H4
- 5. GOTTEN HARDER
- 8. DK →SKIP TO H4

⇒ By people we mean people in general.

H2a. (IF HARDER) Spec: 322__ V000493

Much harder or a little harder?

- 1 MUCH HARDER →H4
- 5 A LITTLE HARDER →H4
- 8 DK →H4

H2b. (IF EASIER) Spec: 323__ V000494

Much easier or a little easier?

- 1 MUCH EASIER
- 5 A LITTLE EASIER
- 8 DK

[V000495 SUMMARY](#)

H4. Spec: 330__ V000496a

What about THE NEXT 12 MONTHS? Do you expect the economy, in the country as a whole, to get better, stay about the same, or get worse?

- 1 GET BETTER →SKIP TO H4a
- 3 STAY ABOUT THE SAME →SKIP TO H5
- 5 GET WORSE →SKIP TO H4b
- 8 DK →SKIP TO H5

⇒ Throughout these questions, we are interested in R's "perceptions" as opposed to knowledge on different economic topics.

In this series, the respondent is likely to "catch on" after H1 and start answering "MUCH BETTER" or "SOMEWHAT BETTER", "MUCH WORSE", or "SOMEWHAT WORSE" to the stem. You do not need to read the follow-up question in this case, but please make sure you enter the appropriate answers in both the stem and follow-up question before moving on to the next question.

H4. E Spec: 331__ V000496b

What about THE NEXT 12 MONTHS? Do you expect the economy, in the country as a whole, to get worse, stay about the same, or get better?

- 1 GET WORSE →SKIP TO H4b
- 3 STAY ABOUT THE SAME →SKIP TO H5
- 5 GET BETTER
- 8 DK →SKIP TO H5

H4a. (IF BETTER) Spec: 332__ V000497

Much better or somewhat better?

- 1 MUCH BETTER →SKIP TO H5
- 5 SOMEWHAT BETTER →SKIP TO H5
- 8 DK →SKIP TO H5

H4b.
(IF WORSE)

Much worse or somewhat worse?
1 MUCH WORSE
5 SOMEWHAT WORSE
8 DK

Spec: 333__

V000498

[V000499 SUMMARY](#)

H5 - APPROVE PRESIDENT HANDLING OF ECONOMY

H5.

Do you approve or disapprove of the way Bill Clinton is handling the economy?

1 APPROVE
5 DISAPPROVE SKIP to →H5b
8 DK SKIP to →H6

Spec: 335__

V000500

⇒ The format of this question is identical to that used in the Gallup Polls. Therefore, we want to use the present format to ensure comparability with Gallup. Respondents may want to know if "approve" means the same as "satisfied" (Answer: "Whatever it means to you"), or whether they can choose a middle category (Answer: "Well, in general, which is closer to the way you feel?" Repeat question.)
⇒ If R asks about time period, "Do you mean overall or just in the last few months?" Repeat the question and emphasize "is handling." The time period for the question is right now.

H5a.
(IF APPROVE)

Do you approve strongly or not strongly?
1 STRONGLY SKIP to →H7
5 NOT STRONGLY SKIP to →H7
8 DK SKIP to →H7

Spec: 336__

V000501

H5b.
(IF DISAPPROVE)

Do you disapprove strongly or not strongly?
1 STRONGLY
5 NOT STRONGLY
8 DK

Spec: 337__

V000502

[V000503 SUMMARY](#)

H6.

Do you personally, or jointly with a spouse, have any money invested in the stock market right now – either in an individual stock or in a mutual fund?

1 YES
5 NO
8 DK

Spec: 338__

V000504

H7-H8 - PARTY PERFORMANCE

H7. Which party do you think would do a better job of handling the nation's economy..., the Democrats, the Republicans, or wouldn't there be much difference between them? [IF 'DK' OR 'NEITHER PARTY' IS VOLUNTEERED, DO NOT PROBE]

Spec: 341__

V000505

- 1 DEMOCRATS
- 3 REPUBLICANS
- 5 WOULDN'T BE MUCH DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THEM/NO DIFFERENCE
- 7 NEITHER PARTY [VOL]
- 8 DK

H8. Looking ahead, do you think the problem of keeping out of war would be handled better IN THE NEXT FOUR YEARS by the Democrats, the Republicans, or about the same by both? [IF 'DK' OR 'NEITHER PARTY' IS VOLUNTEERED, DO NOT PROBE]

Spec: 342__

V000506

- 1 DEMOCRATS
- 3 REPUBLICANS
- 5 ABOUT THE SAME BY BOTH
- 7 NEITHER PARTY [VOL]
- 8 DK

H9-H12 - NATION : STRENGTH, IMMIGRATION, IMPORTS, ISOLATION

H9. Turning to some other types of issues facing the country. **during the past year**, would you say that the United States' position in the world has grown weaker, stayed about the same, or has it grown stronger?

Spec: 343__

V000507

- 1 WEAKER
- 3 STAYED ABOUT THE SAME
- 5 STRONGER
- 8 DK

⇒ Respondents may want to know what we mean by "position" – Militarily? Economically?
Answer: "Whatever position means to you."

H10. Do you think the number of immigrants from foreign countries who are permitted to come to the United States to live should be increased, decreased, or left the same as it is now?

Spec: 344__

V000508

- 1 INCREASED
- 3 DECREASED
- 5 LEFT THE SAME AS IT IS NOW →SKIP TO H11 OR H11.E
- 8 DONT KNOW -->SKIP TO H11 OR H11.E

⇒ Respondents may want you to specify which immigrants. Here you can re-read the question, stressing "foreign countries", meaning any country other than the United States.

H10a.
(IF INCREASED OR DECREASED)

Spec: 345__

V000509

- A little or a lot?
- 1 A LITTLE
 - 5 A LOT
 - 8 DK

V000510 SUMMARY

H11 SHOULD BE ADMINISTERED TO HALF THE SAMPLE AND H11.E SHOULD BE ADMINISTERED TO THE OTHER HALF

H11.

Spec: 348__

V000511a

Some people have suggested placing new limits on foreign imports in order to protect American jobs. Others say that such limits would raise consumer prices and hurt American exports. Do you favor or oppose placing new limits on imports, or haven't you thought much about this?

1 FAVOR → SKIP TO H12
5 OPPOSE → SKIP TO H12
7 HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH ABOUT THIS → SKIP TO H12
8 DK → SKIP TO H12

H11. E

Spec: 349__

V000511b

Some people have suggested placing new limits on foreign imports in order to protect American jobs. Others say that such limits would raise consumer prices and hurt American exports. Do you favor or oppose placing new limits on imports?

1 FAVOR
5 OPPOSE
8 DK

[V000512 COMBINED VERSIONS](#)

H12 SHOULD BE ADMINISTERED TO HALF THE SAMPLE AND H12E SHOULD BE ADMINISTERED TO THE OTHER HALF

H12.

Spec: 351__

V000513a

Do you agree or disagree with this statement:

This country would be better off if we just stayed home and did not concern ourselves with problems in other parts of the world.

1 AGREE SKIP to →H13
5 DISAGREE SKIP to →H13
8 DK SKIP to →H13

H12. E

Spec: 352__

V000513b

Do you think this country would be better off if we just stayed home and did not concern ourselves with problems in other parts of the world, or do you think that this country would be better off trying to solve some problems in other parts of the world?

1 BETTER OFF IF WE JUST STAYED HOME
5 BETTER OFF TRYING TO SOLVE SOME PROBLEMS
8 DK

[V000514 COMBINED VERSIONS](#)

H13 - APPROVE PRESIDENT HANDLING OF FOREIGN RELATIONS

H13.

Spec: 353__

V000515

Do you approve or disapprove of the way Bill Clinton is handling our relations with foreign countries?

1 APPROVE
5 DISAPPROVE SKIP to →H13b
8 DK SKIP to →K1

H13a.

Spec: 354__

V000516

(IF APPROVE)

Do you approve strongly or not strongly?

1 STRONGLY →SKIP TO K1
5 NOT STRONGLY →SKIP TO K1
8 DK SKIP to K1

H13b.

Spec: 355__

V000517

(IF DISAPPROVE)

Do you disapprove strongly or not strongly?

1 STRONGLY
5 NOT STRONGLY
8 DK

[V000518 SUMMARY](#)

SECTION K

K1 - PARTY ID

K1.

Spec: 375__

V000519

Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or what?

1 DEMOCRAT
2 REPUBLICAN →SKIP TO K1b
3 INDEPENDENT →SKIP TO K1c
4 OTHER PARTY [SPECIFY] →SKIP TO K1c
5 NO PREFERENCE →SKIP TO K1c
8 DK →SKIP TO K1c

⇒ Here we are attempting to measure the respondent's party identification. By party identification, we mean a person's feeling of attachment of 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 election. This means that a response such as, "Oh, I have been a Democrat but I really don't know about this year" classifies the R as a Democrat (probably, when R responds to K1a, a "not very strong" Democrat), and not as an Independent. The people who are deviating from a usual party preference are identified by questions on vote choice. At this point, we want to know if they have a usual party.

⇒ If the R calls himself/herself a member of a party other than the Democratic or the Republican, enter "other" 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 K1a, K1b, and K1c probes concerning strength and closeness, we are again interested in R's usual party feelings. However, if R mentions any change in his/her feeling toward a party, be sure to

enter that in as an F2 comment.

**K1a.
(IF DEMOCRAT)**

Spec: 376__

V000520

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

- 1 STRONG →SKIP TO K2, K3, OR K4
- 5 NOT VERY STRONG →SKIP TO K2, K3, OR K4
- 8 DK →SKIP TO K2, K3, OR K4

**K1b.
(IF REPUBLICAN)**

Spec: 377__

V000521

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

- 1 STRONG →SKIP TO K2, K3, OR K4
- 5 NOT VERY STRONG →SKIP TO K2, K3, OR K4
- 8 DK →SKIP TO K2, K3, OR K4

**K1c.
(IF INDEPENDENT, NO PREFERENCE, OTHER OR DK)**

Spec: 378__

V000522

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

- 1 CLOSER TO REPUBLICAN
- 3 NEITHER [VOL]
- 5 CLOSER TO DEMOCRATIC
- 8 DK

[V000523 PARTY ID SUMMARY](#)

K2-K4 – PRES. CANDIDATE TRAITS

THE ORDER IN WHICH THE 3 SERIES K2, K3, AND K4 ARE ADMINISTERED WILL BE RANDOMIZED.
WITHIN EACH SERIES, THE ORDER OF THE TRAITS ABOUT THAT CANDIDATE WILL BE RANDOMIZED.

K1z.

Please look at page 4 of the booklet. I am going to read a list of words and phrases people may use to describe political figures. For each, tell me whether the word or phrase describes the candidate I name.

T K1z.T

I am going to read a list of words and phrases people may use to describe political figures. For each, please tell me whether the word or phrase describes the candidate I name.

K2.

Think about **Al Gore**.

In your opinion, does the phrase 'he is K2' describe Al Gore extremely well, quite well, not too well, or not well at all?

(What about <trait>? [Does this phrase describe Gore extremely well, quite well, not too well, or not well at all?]) [DO NOT PROBE "DK"]

K2a. MORAL	Spec: 383_1	V000524
K2b. REALLY CARES ABOUT PEOPLE LIKE YOU	Spec: 383_2	V000525
K2c. KNOWLEDGEABLE	Spec: 383_3	V000526
K2d. PROVIDES STRONG LEADERSHIP	Spec: 383_4	V000527
K2e. DISHONEST	Spec: 383_5	V000528
K2f. INTELLIGENT	Spec: 383_6	V000529
K2g. OUT OF TOUCH WITH ORDINARY PEOPLE	Spec: 383_7	V000530

1 EXTREMELY WELL
2 QUITE WELL
3 NOT TOO WELL
4 NOT WELL AT ALL
8 DK

⇒ In this section we are asking R to evaluation the major candidate according to a list of qualities that reflect aspects of political leadership. Please pay attention to the aspect being evaluated, as the word "is" may not always be appropriate. We expect you to make the appropriate adjustments to the question.

⇒ If respondents say they don't know or can't decide, pause to let them think about it. If they don't change their response, accept the "don't know" or "can't decide," and move on.

⇒ If you need to, you may remind R (by rereading the stem and stressing "your") that we are interested in his/her opinion, and not what others might think.

K3.

Think about **George W. Bush**.

In your opinion, does the phrase 'he is K3' describe George W. Bush extremely well, quite well, not too well, or not well at all?

(What about <trait>? [Does this phrase describe George W. Bush extremely well, quite well, not too well, or not well at all?])

K3a. MORAL	Spec: 383_8	V000531
K3b. REALLY CARES ABOUT PEOPLE LIKE YOU	Spec: 383_9	V000532
K3c. KNOWLEDGEABLE	Spec: 383_10	V000533
K3d. PROVIDES STRONG LEADERSHIP	Spec: 383_11	V000534
K3e. DISHONEST	Spec: 383_12	V000535
K3f. INTELLIGENT	Spec: 383_13	V000536

K3g.

OUT OF TOUCH WITH ORDINARY PEOPLE

- 1 EXTREMELY WELL
- 2 QUITE WELL
- 3 NOT TOO WELL
- 4 NOT WELL AT ALL
- 8 DK

⇒ In this section we are asking R to evaluate the major candidate according to a list of qualities that reflect aspects of political leadership. Please pay attention to the aspect being evaluated, as the word "is" may not always be appropriate. We expect you to make the appropriate adjustments to the question.

⇒ If respondents say they don't know or can't decide, pause to let them think about it. If they don't change their response, accept the "don't know" or "can't decide," and move on.

⇒ If you need to, you may remind R (by rereading the stem and stressing "your") that we are interested in his/her opinion, and not what others might think.

Spec: 383_14

V000537

K4.Think about **Pat Buchanan**.

In your opinion, does the phrase 'he is K4' describe Pat Buchanan extremely well, quite well, not too well, or not well at all?

(What about <trait>? [Does this phrase describe Buchanan extremely well, quite well, not too well, or not well at all?])) [DO NOT PROBE "DK"]

K4a.

MORAL

Spec: 383_15

V000538

K4b.

REALLY CARES ABOUT PEOPLE LIKE YOU

Spec: 383_16

V000539

K4c.

KNOWLEDGEABLE

Spec: 383_17

V000540

K4d.

PROVIDES STRONG LEADERSHIP

Spec: 383_18

V000541

K4e.

DISHONEST

Spec: 383_19

V000542

K4f.

INTELLIGENT

Spec: 383_20

V000543

K4g.

OUT OF TOUCH WITH ORDINARY PEOPLE

- 1 EXTREMELY WELL
- 2 QUITE WELL
- 3 NOT TOO WELL
- 4 NOT WELL AT ALL
- 8 DK

⇒ In this section we are asking R to evaluate the major candidate according to a list of qualities that reflect aspects of political leadership. Please pay attention to the aspect being evaluated, as the word "is" may not always be appropriate. We expect you to make the appropriate adjustments to the question.

⇒ If respondents say they don't know or can't decide, pause to let them think about it. If they don't change their response, accept the "don't know" or "can't decide," and move on.

⇒ If you need to, you may remind R (by rereading the stem and stressing "your") that we are interested in his/her opinion, and not what others might think.

Spec: 383_21

V000544

SECTION L

L1 - SERVICES/SPENDING TRADEOFF

L1.

Please look at page 5 of the booklet.

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

L1a.

Spec: 400__

V000545

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

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7	
GOVERNMENT SHOULD PROVIDE MANY FEWER SERVICES; REDUCE SPENDING A LOT	GOVERNMENT SHOULD PROVIDE MANY MORE SERVICES; INCREASE SPENDING A LOT
1 GOVT SHOULD PROVIDE MANY FEWER SERVICES	→L1b
2	→L1b
3	→L1b
4	→L1b
5	→L1b
6	→L1b
7 GOVT. SHOULD PROVIDE MANY MORE SERVICES	→L1b
0 HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH ABOUT THIS	→L1b
8 DK	→L1b

⇒ Read this question slowly and allow time for the respondent to digest the information. The question poses a complicated trade-off situation. It's not just a matter of whether government should provide more or fewer services, but whether the government should do one or the other in light of what happens to spending. Thus, people may feel that 7 is the preferred answer for the desired amount of government services, yet come down to settling for point 5 because they feel government spending must be curtailed.

⇒ Again, we feel that R's who can't decide to place themselves may possibly have a pretty good idea of where the Democratic and Republican parties stand on this issue.

T L1.T

Some people think the government should provide fewer services even in areas such as health and education in order to reduce spending. Other people feel it is important for the government to provide many more services even if it means an increase in spending.

T L1a.T

Spec: 391__

V000546

Which is closer to the way you feel or haven't you thought much about this?

1 FEWER SERVICES; REDUCE SPENDING	→L1a1.T
5 MORE SERVICES; INCREASE SPENDING	→L2.T
7 SHOULD STAY THE SAME AS IT IS NOW [VOL]	→L1b.T
0 HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH ABOUT THIS	→L1b.T
8 DK	→L1b.T

T

L1a1.T

Spec: 392__

V000547

(IF REDUCE SERVICES AND SPENDING)

Should the government reduce services and spending a great deal or (reduce services and spending) only some?

T *L1a2.T*
(IF MORE SERVICES AND SPENDING)

Spec: 393_

V000548

Should the government increase services and spending a great deal or (increase services and spending) only some?

- 1 A GREAT DEAL →L1b.T
- 5 ONLY SOME →L1b.T
- 8 DK →L1b.T

[V000549 5-PT BR SUMMARY](#)
[V000550 COMB.5PT/BR SUMM](#)

FTF: L1B IS ADMINISTERED FIRST, THEN L1C AND L1D ARE RANDOMLY ADMINISTERED AS THE 2ND OR 3RD NAMES. L1E AND L1F ARE THEN RANDOMLY ADMINISTERED AS THE 4TH OR 5TH NAMES.

L1b.

Where would you place Bill Clinton on this issue? [DO NOT PROBE DK]

Spec: 404_1

V000551

L1c.

Where would you place Al Gore (on this issue)? [DO NOT PROBE DK]

Spec: 404_2

V000557

L1d.

Where would you place George W. Bush (on this issue)? [DO NOT PROBE DK]

Spec: 404_3

V000563

L1e.

Where would you place the Democratic Party (on this issue)? [DO NOT PROBE DK]

Spec: 404_4

V000569

L1f.

Where would you place the Republican Party (on this issue)? [DO NOT PROBE DK]

Spec: 404_5

V000575

- 1 GOVT SHOULD PROVIDE MANY FEWER SERVICES →NEXT NAME /PARTY OR →L2
- 2 →NEXT NAME /PARTY OR →L2
- 3 →NEXT NAME /PARTY OR →L2
- 4 →NEXT NAME /PARTY OR →L2
- 5 →NEXT NAME /PARTY OR →L2
- 6 →NEXT NAME /PARTY OR →L2
- 7 GOVT. SHOULD PROVIDE MANY MORE SERVICES →NEXT NAME /PARTY OR →L2
- 8 DK →NEXT NAME /PARTY OR →L2

⇒ If the Respondents reply that they "Haven't thought much about this", enter it as "Don't Know".

TELEPHONE: L1B.T IS ADMINISTERED FIRST, THEN L1C.T AND L1D.T ARE RANDOMLY ADMINISTERED AS THE 2ND OR 3RD NAMES. L1E.T AND L1F.T ARE THEN RANDOMLY ADMINISTERED AS THE 4TH OR 5TH NAMES.

T *L1b.T*

Spec: 396_1

V000552

What about Bill Clinton? Do you think he would like the government to provide fewer services in order to reduce spending or provide more services even if it means an increase in spending? [DO NOT PROBE DK]

- 1 FEWER SERVICES; REDUCE SPENDING →L1b1.T
- 5 MORE SERVICES; INCREASE SPENDING →L1b2.T
- 7 SHOULD STAY THE SAME AS IT IS NOW [VOL] →NEXT NAME
- 8 DK →NEXT NAME

T ***L1b1.T*** **Spec: 397_1** **V000553**
(IF CLINTON WOULD LIKE TO REDUCE SERVICES AND SPENDING)
(Do you think he would like to) reduce services and spending a great deal or (reduce services and spending) only some?

T ***L1b2.T*** **Spec: 398_1** **V000554**
(IF CLINTON WOULD LIKE TO INCREASE SERVICES AND SPENDING)
(Do you think he would like to) increase services and spending a great deal or (increase services and spending) only some?
1 A GREAT DEAL →NEXT NAME
5 ONLY SOME →NEXT NAME
8 DK →NEXT NAME

[V000555 5-PT BR SUMMARY](#)
[V000556 COMB.5PT/BR SUMM](#)

T ***L1c.T*** **Spec: 396_2** **V000558**
What about Al Gore? (Do you think he would like the government to provide fewer services in order to reduce spending or provide more services even if it means an increase in spending?) [DO NOT PROBE DK]
1 FEWER SERVICES; REDUCE SPENDING→L1c1.T
5 MORE SERVICES; INCREASE SPENDING →L1c2.T
7 SHOULD STAY THE SAME AS IT IS NOW [VOL] →NEXT NAME /PARTY OR →L2.T
8 DK →NEXT NAME /PARTY OR →L2.T

T ***L1c1.T*** **Spec: 397_2** **V000559**
(IF GORE WOULD LIKE TO REDUCE SERVICES AND SPENDING)
(Do you think he would like to) reduce services and spending a great deal or (reduce services and spending) only some?

T ***L1c2.T*** **Spec: 398_2** **V000560**
(IF GORE WOULD LIKE TO INCREASE SERVICES AND SPENDING)
(Do you think he would like to) increase services and spending a great deal or (increase services and spending) only some?
1 A GREAT DEAL →NEXT NAME /PARTY OR →L2.T
5 ONLY SOME →NEXT NAME /PARTY OR →L2.T
8 DK →NEXT NAME /PARTY OR →L2.T

[V000561 5-PT BR SUMMARY](#)
[V000562 COMB.5PT/BR SUMM](#)

T ***L1d.T*** **Spec: 396_3** **V000564**
What about George W. Bush? (Do you think he would like the government to provide fewer services in order to reduce spending or provide more services even if it means an increase in spending?) [DO NOT PROBE DK]
1 FEWER SERVICES; REDUCE SPENDING→L1d1.T
5 MORE SERVICES; INCREASE SPENDING →L1d2.T
7 SHOULD STAY THE SAME AS IT IS NOW [VOL] →NEXT NAME /PARTY OR →L2.T
8 DK →NEXT NAME /PARTY OR →L2.T

T *L1d1.T* **Spec: 397_3** **V000565**
 (IF GEORGE W. BUSH WOULD LIKE TO REDUCE SERVICES AND SPENDING)
 (Do you think he would like to) reduce services and spending a great deal or (reduce services and spending) only some?

T *L1d2.T* **Spec: 398_3** **V000566**
 (IF GEORGE W. BUSH WOULD LIKE TO INCREASE SERVICES AND SPENDING)
 (Do you think he would like to) increase services and spending a great deal or (increase services and spending) only some?
 1 A GREAT DEAL →NEXT NAME /PARTY OR →L2.T
 5 ONLY SOME →NEXT NAME /PARTY OR →L2.T
 8 DK →NEXT NAME /PARTY OR →L2.T

[V000567 5-PT BR SUMMARY](#)
[V000568 COMB.5PT/BR SUMM](#)

T *L1e.T* **Spec: 396_4** **V000570**
 What about the Democratic Party? (Do you think they would like the government to provide fewer services in order to reduce spending or provide more services even if it means an increase in spending?) [DO NOT PROBE DK]
 1 FEWER SERVICES; REDUCE SPENDING→L1e1.T
 5 MORE SERVICES; INCREASE SPENDING →L1e2.T
 7 SHOULD STAY THE SAME AS IT IS NOW [VOL] →NEXT PARTY OR →L2.T
 8 DK →NEXT PARTY OR →L2.T

T *L1e1.T* **Spec: 397_4** **V000571**
 (IF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY WOULD LIKE TO REDUCE SERVICES AND SPENDING)
 (Do you think they would like to) reduce services and spending a great deal or (reduce services and spending) only some?

T *L1e2.T* **Spec: 398_4** **V000572**
 (IF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY WOULD LIKE TO INCREASE SERVICES AND SPENDING)
 (Do you think they would like to) increase services and spending a great deal or (increase services and spending) only some?
 1 A GREAT DEAL →NEXT PARTY OR →L2.T
 5 ONLY SOME →NEXT PARTY OR →L2.T
 8 DK →NEXT PARTY OR →L2.T

[V000573 5-PT BR SUMMARY](#)
[V000574 COMB.5PT/BR SUMM](#)

T *L1f.T* **Spec: 396_5** **V000576**
 What about the Republican Party? (Do you think they would like the government to provide fewer services in order to reduce spending or provide more services even if it means an increase in spending?) [DO NOT PROBE DK]
 1 FEWER SERVICES; REDUCE SPENDING→L1f1.T
 5 MORE SERVICES; INCREASE SPENDING →L1f2.T
 7 SHOULD STAY THE SAME AS IT IS NOW [VOL] →NEXT PARTY OR →L2.T
 8 DK →NEXT PARTY OR →L2.T

T *L1f1.T* **Spec: 397_5** **V000577**
 (IF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY WOULD LIKE TO REDUCE SERVICES AND SPENDING)
 (Do you think they would like to) reduce services and spending a great deal or (reduce services and spending) only some?

T *L1f2.T* **Spec: 398_5** **V000578**
 (IF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY WOULD LIKE TO INCREASE SERVICES AND SPENDING)
 (Do you think they would like to) increase services and spending a great deal or (increase services and spending) only some?
 1 A GREAT DEAL →NEXT PARTY OR →L2.T
 5 ONLY SOME →NEXT PARTY OR →L2.T
 8 DK →NEXT PARTY OR →L2.T

[V000579 5-PT BR SUMMARY](#)
[V000580 COMB.5PT/BR SUMM](#)

L2 - DEFENSE SPENDING

L2.

Please look at page 6 of the booklet.
 Some people believe that we should spend much less money for defense. Suppose these people are at one end of a scale, at point 1. Others feel that defense spending should be greatly increased. Suppose these people are at the other end, at point 7. And, of course, some other people have opinions somewhere in between, at points 2,3,4,5 or 6.

L2a.

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

Spec: 416_ **V000581**

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7
 GREATLY DECREASE GREATLY INCREASE
 DEFENSE SPENDING DEFENSE SPENDING
 1 GOVT SHOULD DECREASE DEFENSE SPENDING →L2b
 2 →L2b
 3 →L2b
 4 →L2b
 5 →L2b
 6 →L2b
 7 GOVT. SHOULD INCREASE DEFENSE SPENDING →L2b
 0 HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH ABOUT THIS →L2b
 8 DK →L2b

T *L2.T*
 Some people believe that we should spend much less money for defense. Others feel that defense spending should be greatly increased.

T *L2a.T* **Spec: 407_** **V000582**

Do you have an opinion on this issue or haven't you thought much about this?
 1 YES, HAVE AN OPINION
 5 NO, NO OPINION (HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH) →L2b.T
 8 DK →L2b.T

T **L2a1.T**
(IF R HAS AN OPINION)
Do you feel the government should decrease defense spending, increase defense spending, or is the government spending on defense about the right amount now?
 1 DECREASE DEFENSE SPENDING →L2a1a.T
 3 INCREASE DEFENSE SPENDING →L2a1b.T
 5 ABOUT THE RIGHT AMOUNT →L2b.T/L2c.T
 8 DK →L2b.T/L2c.T

Spec: 408_ V000583

T **L2a1a.T**
(IF DECREASE DEFENSE SPENDING)
Should the government reduce defense spending a lot or a little?
 1 A LOT →L2bT/L2c.T
 5 A LITTLE →L2b.T/L2c.T
 8 DK →L2b.T/L2c.T

Spec: 409_ V000584

T **L2a1b.T**
(IF INCREASE DEFENSE SPENDING)
Should the government increase defense spending a lot or a little?
 1 A LOT →L2b.T/L2c.T
 5 A LITTLE →L2b.T/L2c.T
 8 DK →L2b.T/L2c.T

Spec: 410_ V000585

[V000586 5-PT BR SUMMARY](#)
[V000587 COMB.5PT/BR SUMM](#)

FTF: L2B AND L2C ARE RANDOMLY ADMINISTERED AS THE 1ST OR 2ND NAMES.
L2E AND L2F ARE THEN RANDOMLY ADMINISTERED AS THE 3RD OR 4TH NAMES.

L2b.
 (Still looking at Page 6).
 Where would you place Al Gore on this issue? [DO NOT PROBE DK]

Spec: 420_1 V000588

L2c.
 (Still looking at Page 6).
 Where would you place George W. Bush (on this issue)? [DO NOT PROBE DK]

Spec: 420_2 V000593

L2d.
 (Still looking at Page 6).
 Where would you place the Democratic Party (on this issue)? [DO NOT PROBE DK]

Spec: 420_3 V000598

L2e.
 (Still looking at Page 6).
 Where would you place the Republican Party (on this issue)? [DO NOT PROBE DK]

Spec: 420_4 V000603

1 GOVT SHOULD DECREASE DEFENSE SPENDING →NEXT NAME/PARTY OR → L3
 2 →NEXT NAME/PARTY OR → L3
 3 →NEXT NAME/PARTY OR → L3
 4 →NEXT NAME/PARTY OR → L3
 5 →NEXT NAME/PARTY OR → L3
 6 →NEXT NAME/PARTY OR → L3
 7 GOVT. SHOULD INCREASE DEFENSE SPENDING →NEXT NAME/PARTY OR → L3
 8 DK →NEXT NAME/PARTY OR → L3

⇒ If the Respondents reply that they "Haven't thought much about this", enter it as a "Don't Know" with an F2 note specifying their response.

**TELEPHONE: L2B.T AND L2C.T ARE RANDOMLY ADMINISTERED AS 1ST OR 2ND NAMES.
L2D.T AND L2E.T ARE THEN RANDOMLY ADMINISTERED AS 3RD OR 4TH NAMES.**

T L2b.T Spec: 413_1 V000589

What about Al Gore? Do you think he believes we should decrease defense spending, increase defense spending, or that Government spending on defense is about the right amount now? [DO NOT PROBE DK]

1 DECREASE DEFENSE SPENDING	→L2b1.T
3 INCREASE DEFENSE SPENDING	→L2b1.T
5 ABOUT THE RIGHT AMOUNT	→NEXT NAME/PARTY
8 DK	→NEXT NAME/PARTY

T L2b1.T Spec: 414_1 V000590

(IF DECREASE/INCREASE DEFENSE SPENDING)

A lot or a little?

1 A LOT	→NEXT NAME/PARTY OR →L3.T
5 A LITTLE	→NEXT NAME/PARTY OR →L3.T
8 DK	→NEXT NAME/PARTY OR →L3.T

[V000591 5-PT BR SUMMARY](#)
[V000592 COMB.5PT/BR SUMM](#)

T L2c.T Spec: 413_2 V000594

What about George W. Bush? (Do you think he believes we should decrease defense spending, increase defense spending, or that Government spending on defense is about the right amount now?) [DO NOT PROBE DK]

1 DECREASE DEFENSE SPENDING	→L2c1.T
3 INCREASE DEFENSE SPENDING	→L2c1.T
5 ABOUT THE RIGHT AMOUNT	→NEXT NAME/PARTY OR →L3.T
8 DK	→NEXT NAME/PARTY OR →L3.T

T L2c1.T Spec: 414_2 V000595

(IF DECREASE/INCREASE DEFENSE SPENDING)

A lot or a little?

1 A LOT	→NEXT NAME/PARTY OR →L3.T
5 A LITTLE	→NEXT NAME/PARTY OR →L3.T
8 DK	→NEXT NAME/PARTY OR →L3.T

[V000596 5-PT BR SUMMARY](#)
[V000597 COMB.5PT/BR SUMM](#)

T L2d.T Spec: 413_3 V000599

What about the Democratic Party? (Do you think they believe we should decrease defense spending, increase defense spending, or that Government spending on defense is about the right amount now? [DO NOT PROBE DK])

1 DECREASE DEFENSE SPENDING	→L2d1.T
3 INCREASE DEFENSE SPENDING	→L2d1.T
5 ABOUT THE RIGHT AMOUNT	→NEXT PARTY OR →L3.T
8 DK	→NEXT PARTY OR →L3.T

T **L2d1.T**
(IF DECREASE/INCREASE DEFENSE SPENDING)

Spec: 414_3

V000600

A lot or a little?

1 A LOT	→NEXT PARTY OR →L3.T
5 A LITTLE	→NEXT PARTY OR →L3.T
8 DK	→NEXT PARTY OR →L3.T

[V000601 5-PT BR SUMMARY](#)
[V000602 COMB.5PT/BR SUMM](#)

T **L2e.T**
What about the Republican Party? (Do you think they believes we should decrease defense spending, increase defense spending, or that Government spending on defense is about the right amount now?)
[DO NOT PROBE DK]

Spec: 413_4

V000604

1 DECREASE DEFENSE SPENDING	→L2e1.T
3 INCREASE DEFENSE SPENDING	→L2e1.T
5 ABOUT THE RIGHT AMOUNT	→NEXT PARTY OR →L3.T
8 DK	→NEXT PARTY OR →L3.T

T **L2e1.T**
(IF DECREASE/INCREASE DEFENSE SPENDING)

Spec: 414_4

V000605

A lot or a little?

1 A LOT	→NEXT PARTY OR L3.T
5 A LITTLE	→NEXT PARTY OR L3.T
8 DK	→NEXT PARTY OR L3.T

[V000606 5-PT BR SUMMARY](#)
[V000607 COMB.5PT/BR SUMM](#)

L3 - GOVERNMENT MEDICAL INSURANCE

FTF: **L3 SHOULD BE ADMINISTERED TO HALF THE SAMPLE AND L3.E SHOULD BE ADMINISTERED TO THE OTHER HALF**

TELEPHONE: **L3.T SHOULD BE ADMINISTERED TO HALF THE SAMPLE AND L3.TE SHOULD BE ADMINISTERED TO THE OTHER HALF**

[V000608 CKPT: FTF/Ph, reg/exp.](#)

L3.

Please look at page 7 of the booklet.

There is much concern about the rapid rise in medical and hospital costs. Some people feel there should be a government insurance plan which would cover all medical and hospital expenses for everyone. Suppose these people are at one end of a scale, at point 1. Others feel that all medical expenses should be paid by

individuals through private insurance plans like Blue Cross or other company paid plans. Suppose these people are at the other end, at point 7. And, of course, some other people have opinions somewhere in between, at points 2,3,4,5, or 6.

L3a.

Spec: 425__

V000608a

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

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7	
GOVERNMENT INSURANCE PLAN	PRIVATE INSURANCE PLAN
1 GOVT INSURANCE PLAN	→ SKIP TO L4
2	→ SKIP TO L4
3	→ SKIP TO L4
4	→ SKIP TO L4
5	→ SKIP TO L4
6	→ SKIP TO L4
7 PRIVATE INSURANCE PLAN	→ SKIP TO L4
0 HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH ABOUT THIS	→ SKIP TO L4
8 DK	→ SKIP TO L4

L3. E

Please look at page 8 of the booklet.

There is much concern about the rapid rise in medical and hospital costs. Some people feel that all medical expenses should be paid by individuals through private insurance plans like Blue Cross or other company paid plans. Suppose these people are at one end of a scale, at point 1. Others feel there should be a government insurance plan which would cover all medical and hospital expenses for everyone. Suppose these people are at the other end, at point 7. And, of course, some other people have opinions somewhere in between, at points 2,3,4,5, or 6.

L3a.E

Spec: 426__

V000608b

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

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7	
PRIVATE INSURANCE PLAN	GOVERNMENT INSURANCE PLAN
1 PRIVATE INSURANCE PLAN	→L4
2	→L4
3	→L4
4	→L4
5	→L4
6	→L4
7 GOVT INSURANCE PLAN	→L4
0 HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH ABOUT THIS	→L4
8 DK	→L4

V000609 COMB. FTF VERSIONS

T L3.T

There is much concern about the rapid rise in medical and hospital costs. Some people feel there should be a government insurance plan which would cover all medical and hospital expenses for everyone. Others feel that all medical expenses should be paid by individuals through private insurance plans like Blue Cross or other company paid plans.

T L3a.T Spec: 422__ V000610a

Which is closer to the way you feel or haven't you thought much about this?

- 1 SHOULD BE A GOVT INSURANCE PLAN → SKIP TO L3a1.T
- 5 INDIVIDUALS SHOULD PAY MEDICAL EXPENSES THROUGH PRIVATE INSURANCE PLAN → SKIP TO L3a2.T
- 7 SHOULD STAY THE SAME AS IT IS NOW [VOL] → SKIP TO L4
- 0 HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH ABOUT THIS → SKIP TO L4.T
- 8 DK → SKIP TO L4.T

T L3.TE
There is much concern about the rapid rise in medical and hospital costs. Some people feel that all medical expenses should be paid by individuals through private insurance plans like Blue Cross or other company paid plans. Others feel there should be a government insurance plan which would cover all medical and hospital expenses for everyone.

T L3a.TE Spec: 423__ V000610b

Which is closer to the way you feel or haven't you thought much about this?

- 1 INDIVIDUALS SHOULD PAY MEDICAL EXPENSES THROUGH PRIVATE INSURANCE PLAN →L3a2.T
- 5 SHOULD BE A GOVT INSURANCE PLAN →L3a1.T
- 7 SHOULD STAY THE SAME AS IT IS NOW →L4.T
- 0 HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH ABOUT THIS →L4.T
- 8 DK →L4.T

[V000611 COMB. PH VERSIONS](#)

T L3a1.T Spec: 424__ V000612

(IF GOVERNMENT INSURANCE PLAN)

Do you feel strongly or not strongly that there should be a government insurance plan?

L3a2.T

(IF PRIVATE INSURANCE PLAN)

Do you feel strongly or not strongly that individuals should pay through private insurance plan?

- 1 STRONGLY → L4.T
- 5 NOT STRONGLY → L4.T
- 8 DK → L4.T

[V000613 5-PT BR SUMMARY](#)
[V000614 COMB.5PT/BR SUMM](#)

L4 - GUARANTEED JOB/STANDARD OF LIVING

L4.
Please look at page 9 of the booklet.
Some people feel the government in Washington should see to it that every person has a job and a good standard of living. Suppose these people are at one end of a scale, at point 1. Others think the government should just let each person get ahead on their own. Suppose these people are at the other end, at point 7. And, of course, some other people have opinions somewhere in between, at points 2,3,4,5, or 6.

L4a.

Spec: 437__

V000615

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

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7	
GOVERNMENT SHOULD SEE TO A JOB AND GOOD STANDARD OF LIVING	GOVERNMENT SHOULD LET EACH PERSON GET AHEAD ON OWN
1 GOVT SHOULD SEE TO JOBS AND STANDARD OF LIVING	→L4b.
2	→L4b.
3	→L4b.
4	→L4b.
5	→L4b.
6	→L4b.
7 GOVT. SHOULD LET EACH PERSON GET AHEAD ON OWN	→L4b.
0 HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH ABOUT THIS	→L4b.
8 DK	→L4b.

T L4.T

Some people feel the government in Washington should see to it that every person has a job and a good standard of living. Others think the government should just let each person get ahead on their own.

T L4a.T

Spec: 429__

V000616

Which is closer to the way you feel or haven't you thought much about this?

1 GOVT SHOULD SEE TO JOBS AND STANDARD OF LIVING	→L4a1.T
5 GOVT. SHOULD LET EACH PERSON GET AHEAD ON OWN	→L4a2.T
7 OTHER, IT DEPENDS, NEITHER [VOL]	→L4b.T / L4c.T
0 HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH ABOUT THIS	→L4b.T / L4c.T
8 DK	→L4b.T / L4c.T

T

L4a1.T

(IFGOVT SHOULD SEE TO JOBS AND STANDARD OF LIVING)

Do you feel strongly that the government should see to it that every person has a job and a good standard of living, or not so strongly?

1 STRONGLY	→ L4b.T/L4c.T
5 NOT STRONGLY	→ L4b.T/ L4c.T
8 DK	→ L4b.T/ L4c.T

Spec: 430_

V000617

T

L4a2T

(IFGOVT SHOULD LET EACH PERSON GET AHEAD ON OWN)

Do you feel strongly that the government should just let each person get ahead on their own, or not so strongly?

1 STRONGLY	→ L4b.T/L4c.T
5 NOT STRONGLY	→ L4b.T/L4c.T
8 DK	→ L4b.T/L4c.T

Spec: 431_____

V000618

[V000619 5-PT BR SUMMARY](#)
[V000620 COMB.5PT/BR SUMM](#)

FTF: L4B AND L4C ARE RANDOMLY ADMINISTERED AS THE 1ST OR 2ND NAMES. L4E AND L4F ARE THEN RANDOMLY ADMINISTERED AS THE 3RD OR 4TH NAMES.

L4b.

(Still looking at Page 9)

Where would you place Al Gore on this issue? [DO NOT PROBE DK]

Spec: 441_1

V000621

L4c.

(Still looking at Page 9)

Where would you place George W. Bush (on this issue)? [DO NOT PROBE DK]

Spec: 441_2

V000626

L4d.

(Still looking at Page 9)

Where would you place the Democratic Party (on this issue)? [DO NOT PROBE DK]

Spec: 441_3

V000631

L4e.

(Still looking at Page 9)

Where would you place the Republican Party (on this issue)? [DO NOT PROBE DK]

Spec: 441_4

V000636

- 1 GOVT SHOULD SEE TO JOBS AND STANDARD OF LIVING →NEXT NAME/PARTY OR →L5.
- 2 →NEXT NAME/PARTY OR →L5.
- 3 →NEXT NAME/PARTY OR →L5
- 4 →NEXT NAME/PARTY OR →L5
- 5 →NEXT NAME/PARTY OR →L5
- 6 →NEXT NAME/PARTY OR →L5
- 7 GOVT. SHOULD LET EACH PERSON GET AHEAD ON OWN →NEXT NAME/PARTY OR →L5
- 8 DK →NEXT NAME/PARTY OR →L5

⇒ If the Respondents reply that they "Haven't thought much about this", enter it as a "Don't Know" with an F2 note specifying their response.

TELEPHONE: L4B.T AND L4C.T ARE RANDOMLY ADMINISTERED AS THE 1ST OR 2ND NAMES.

L4E.T AND L4F.T ARE THEN RANDOMLY ADMINISTERED AS THE 3RD OR 4TH NAMES.

T L4b.T

What about Al Gore? Do you think he feels government should see to it that every person has a job and a good standard of living, or that government should just let each person get ahead on their own?

[DO NOT PROBE DK]

- 1 GOVT SHOULD SEE TO JOBS AND STANDARD OF LIVING →L4b1.T
- 5 GOVT. SHOULD LET EACH PERSON GET AHEAD ON OWN → L4b2T
- 7 OTHER/ITDEPENDS/NEITHER [VOL] → NEXT NAME/PARTY OR →L5.T
- 8 DK →NEXT NAME/PARTY OR →L5.T

Spec: 434_1

V000622

T L4b1.T

(IF GORE POSITION IS THAT GOVT SHOULD SEE TO JOB AND STANDARD OF LIVING)

Do you think he feels strongly or not strongly that the government should see to jobs and a good standard of living?

L4b2.T

T (IF GORE POSITION IS THAT GOVT SHOULD LET EACH ON OWN)

Do you think he feels strongly or not strongly that the government should just let each person get ahead on their own?

- 1 STRONGLY →NEXT NAME/PARTY OR →L5.T
- 5 NOT STRONGLY →NEXT NAME/PARTY OR →L5.T
- 8 DK →NEXT NAME.PARTY OR →L5.T

Spec: 435_1

V000623

V000624 5-PT BR SUMMARY
V000625 COMB.5PT/BR SUMM

T L4c.T Spec: 434_2 V000627

What about George W. Bush? (Do you think he feels government should see to it that every person has a job and a good standard of living, or that government should just let each person get ahead on their own?)

[DO NOT PROBE DK]

1 GOVT SHOULD SEE TO JOBS AND STANDARD OF LIVING →L4c1.T
5 GOVT. SHOULD LET EACH PERSON GET AHEAD ON OWN → L4c1.T
7 OTHER/ITDEPENDS/NEITHER [VOL] → NEXT NAME/PARTY OR →L5.T
8 DK →NEXT NAME/PARTY OR →L5.T

T L4c1.T Spec: 435_2 V000628

(IF GEORGE W. BUSH POSITION IS THAT GOVT SHOULD SEE TO JOB AND STANDARD OF LIVING)

Do you think he feels strongly or not strongly that the government should see to jobs and a good standard of living?

T L4c2.T
(hF GEORGE W. BUSH POSITION IS THAT GOVT SHOULD LET EACH ON OWN)

Do you think he feels strongly or not strongly that the government should just let each person get ahead on their own ?

1 STRONGLY →NEXT NAME/PARTY OR →L5.T
5 NOT STRONGLY →NEXT NAME/PARTY OR →L5.T
8 DK →NEXT NAME.PARTY OR →L5.T

[V000629 5-PT BR SUMMARY](#)
[V000630 COMB.5PT/BR SUMM](#)

T L4d.T Spec: 434_3 V000632

What about the Democratic Party? (Do you think they feel government should see to it that every person has a job and a good standard of living, or that government should just let each person get ahead on their own?) [DO NOT PROBE DK]

1 GOVT SHOULD SEE TO JOBS AND STANDARD OF LIVING →L4d1.T
5 GOVT. SHOULD LET EACH PERSON GET AHEAD ON OWN → L4d1.T
7 OTHER/ITDEPENDS/NEITHER [VOL] → NEXT PARTY OR →L5.T
8 DK →NEXT PARTY OR →L5.T

T L4d1.T Spec: 435_3 V000633

(IF DEM PARTY POSITION IS THAT GOVT SHOULD SEE TO JOB AND STANDARD OF LIVING

Do you think they feel strongly or not strongly that the government should see to jobs and a good standard of living?

T L4d2.T
(IF DEM PARTY POSITION IS THAT GOVT SHOULD LET EACH ON OWN)

Do you think they feel strongly or not strongly that the government should just let each person get ahead on their own ?

1 STRONGLY →NEXT PARTY OR →L5.T
5 NOT STRONGLY →NEXT PARTY OR →L5.T
8 DK →NEXT PARTY OR →L5.T

[V000634 5-PT BR SUMMARY](#)
[V000635 COMB.5PT/BR SUMM](#)

T L4e.T Spec: 434_4 V000637

What about the Republican Party? (Do you think they feel government should see to it that every person has a job and a good standard of living, or that government should just let each person get ahead on their own?) [DO NOT PROBE DK]

1 GOVT SHOULD SEE TO JOBS AND STANDARD OF LIVING →L4e1.T
 5 GOVT. SHOULD LET EACH PERSON GET AHEAD ON OWN →NEXT PARTY OR →L5.T
 7 OTHER/ITDEPENDS/NEITHER [VOL] →L4e1.T
 8 DK →NEXT PARTY OR →L5.T

T L4e1.T Spec: 435_4 V000638

(IF REPUB PARTY POSITION IS THAT GOVT SHOULD SEE TO JOB AND STANDARD OF LIVING Do you think they feel strongly or not strongly that the government should see to jobs and a good standard of living?

T L4e2.T
(IF REPUB PARTY POSITION IS THAT GOVT SHOULD LET EACH ON OWN) Do you think they feel strongly or not strongly that the government should just let each person get ahead on their own ?

1 STRONGLY →NEXT PARTY OR L5.T
 5 NOT STRONGLY →NEXT PARTY OR L5.T
 8 DK →NEXT PARTY OR L5.T

[V000639 5-PT BR SUMMARY](#)
[V000640 COMB.5PT/BR SUMM](#)

L5 - AID TO BLACKS

L5.
 Please look at page 10 of the booklet.
 Some people feel that the government in Washington should make every effort to improve the social and economic position of blacks. (Suppose these people are at one end of a scale, at point 1.) Others feel that the government should not make any special effort to help blacks because they should help themselves. (Suppose these people are at the other end, at point 7.) And, of course, some other people have opinions somewhere in between, at points 2,3,4,5, or 6.

L5a.
 Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?

Spec: 455__ V000641

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7	
GOVERNMENT SHOULD HELP BLACKS	BLACKS SHOULD HELP THEMSELVES
1 GOVT SHOULD HELP BLACKS	→L5b.
2	→L5b.
3	→L5b.
4	→L5b.
5	→L5b.
6	→L5b.
7 BLACKS SHOULD HELP THEMSELVES	→L5b.
0 HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH ABOUT THIS	→L5b.
8 DK	→L5b.

T L5.T

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.

T L5a.T

Spec: 443__ V000642

Which is closer to the way you feel, or haven't you thought much about this?

- 1 GOVT SHOULD HELP BLACKS →L5a1.T
- 5 BLACKS SHOULD HELP THEMSELVES →L5a1.T
- 7 OTHER, IT DEPENDS, NEITHER [VOL] →L5b.T
- 0 HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH ABOUT THIS →L5b.T
- 8 DK →L5b.T

T L5a1.T

Spec: 444__ V000643

(IF OPINION IS THAT GOVT SHOULD HELP BLACKS)

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

L5a2.T

(IF OPINION IS THAT BLACKS SHOULD HELP THEMSELVES)

Should blacks have to help themselves to a great extent or only to some extent?

- 1 GREAT EXTENT → L5b.T
- 5 ONLY SOME → L5b.T
- 8 DK → L5b.T

[V000644 5-PT BR SUMMARY](#)
[V000645 COMB.5PT/BR SUMM](#)

FTF: L5B IS ADMINISTERED FIRST, THEN L5C AND L5D ARE RANDOMLY ADMINISTERED AS THE 2ND OR 3RD NAMES. L5E AND L5F ARE THEN RANDOMLY ADMINISTERED AS THE 4TH OR 5TH NAMES.

L5b.

(Still looking at page 10)

Where would you place Bill Clinton on this issue? [DO NOT PROBE DK]

Spec: 459_1 V000646

L5c.

(Still looking at page 10)

Where would you place Al Gore (on this issue)? [DO NOT PROBE DK]

Spec: 459_2 V000651

L5d.

(Still looking at page 10)

Where would you place George W. Bush (on this issue)? [DO NOT PROBE DK]

Spec: 459_3 V000656

L5e.

(Still looking at page 10)

Where would you place the Democratic Party (on this issue)? [DO NOT PROBE DK]

Spec: 459_4 V000661

L5f.

(Still looking at page 10)

Where would you place the Republican Party (on this issue)? [DO NOT PROBE DK]

Spec: 459_5 V000666

- 1 GOVT SHOULD HELP BLACKS →NEXT NAME/PARTY OR →L6.
- 2 →NEXT NAME/PARTY OR →L6.
- 3 →NEXT NAME/PARTY OR →L6.
- 4 →NEXT NAME/PARTY OR →L6.

5 →NEXT NAME/PARTY OR →L6.
 6 →NEXT NAME/PARTY OR →L6.
 7 BLACKS SHOULD HELP THEMSELVES →NEXT NAME/PARTY OR →L6.
 8 DK →NEXT NAME/PARTY OR →L6.

⇒ If the Respondents reply that they "Haven't thought much about this", enter it as a "Don't Know" with an F2 note specifying their response.

TELEPHONE: L5B.T IS ADMINISTERED FIRST, THEN L5C.T AND L5D.T ARE RANDOMLY ADMINISTERED AS THE 2ND OR 3RD NAMES. L5E.T AND L5F.T ARE THEN RANDOMLY ADMINISTERED AS THE 4TH OR 5TH NAMES.

T L5b.T Spec: 447_1 [V000647](#)
What about Bill Clinton? (Do you think he feels that government should make every effort to improve the social and economic position of blacks, or that government should not make any special effort to help blacks because they should help themselves?) [DO NOT PROBE DK]

1 GOVT SHOULD HELP BLACKS →L5b1.T
 5 BLACKS SHOULD HELP THEMSELVES →L5b1.T
 7 OTHER/ITDEPENDS/NEITHER [VOL] →NEXT NAME
 8 DK →NEXT NAME

T L5b1.T Spec: 448_1 [V000648](#)
*(IF CLINTON THINKS GOVT SHOULD HELP BLACKS)
 (Do you think he feels the government should) help blacks to a great extent or only to some extent?*

T L5b2.T
*(IF CLINTON THINKS BLACKS SHOULD HELP THEMSELVES)
 (Do you think he feels blacks should have to) help themselves to a great extent or only to some extent?*

1 GREAT EXTENT →NEXT NAME
 5 ONLY SOME →NEXT NAME
 8 DK →NEXT NAME

[V000649 5-PT BR SUMMARY](#)
[V000650 COMB.5PT/BR SUMM](#)

T L5c.T Spec: 447_2 [V000652](#)
What about Al Gore? (Do you think he feels that government should make every effort to improve the social and economic position of blacks, or that government should not make any special effort to help blacks because they should help themselves?) [DO NOT PROBE DK]

1 GOVT SHOULD HELP BLACKS →L5c1.T
 5 BLACKS SHOULD HELP THEMSELVES →L5c1.T
 7 OTHER/ITDEPENDS/NEITHER [VOL] →NEXT NAME./PARTY
 8 DK →NEXT NAME./PARTY

T L5c1.T Spec: 448_2 [V000653](#)
*(IF GORE THINKS GOVT SHOULD HELP BLACKS)
 (Do you think he feels the government should) help blacks to a great extent or only to some extent?*

T

L5c2.T

(IF GORE THINKS BLACKS SHOULD HELP THEMSELVES)

(Do you think he feels blacks should have to) help themselves to a great extent or only to some extent?

- 1 GREAT EXTENT →NEXT NAME./PARTY
- 5 ONLY SOME →NEXT NAME./PARTY
- 8 DK →NEXT NAME./PARTY

[V000654 5-PT BR SUMMARY](#)
[V000655 COMB.5PT/BR SUMM](#)

T L5d.T

What about George W. Bush? (Do you think he feels that government should make every effort to improve the social and economic position of blacks, or that government should not make any special effort to help blacks because they should help themselves?) [DO NOT PROBE DK]

- 1 GOVT SHOULD HELP BLACKS →L5d1.T
- 5 BLACKS SHOULD HELP THEMSELVES →L5d1.T
- 7 OTHER/ITDEPENDS/NEITHER [VOL] →NEXT NAME/PARTY.
- 8 DK →NEXT NAME/PARTY

Spec: 447_3

V000657

T

L5d1.T

(IF GEORGE W. BUSH THINKS GOVT SHOULD HELP BLACKS)

(Do you think he feels the government should) help blacks to a great extent or only to some extent?

Spec: 448_3

V000658

T

L5d2.T

(IF GEORGE W. BUSH THINKS BLACKS SHOULD HELP THEMSELVES)

(Do you think he feels blacks should have to) help themselves to a great extent or only to some extent?

- 1 GREAT EXTENT →NEXT NAME/PARTY
- 5 ONLY SOME →NEXT NAME/PARTY
- 8 DK →NEXT NAME.PARTY

[V000659 5-PT BR SUMMARY](#)
[V000660 COMB.5PT/BR SUMM](#)

T L5e.T

What about the Democratic Party? (Do you think they feel that government should make every effort to improve the social and economic position of blacks, or that government should not make any special effort to help blacks because they should help themselves?) [DO NOT PROBE DK]

- 1 GOVT SHOULD HELP BLACKS →L5e1.T
- 5 BLACKS SHOULD HELP THEMSELVES →L5e1.T
- 7 OTHER/ITDEPENDS/NEITHER [VOL] →NEXT PARTY OR → L6.
- 8 DK →NEXT PARTY OR →L6.

Spec: 447_4

V000662

T

L5e1.T

(IF DEMOCRATIC PARTY THINKS GOVT SHOULD HELP BLACKS)

(Do you think they feel the government should) help blacks to a great extent or only to some extent?

Spec: 448_4

V000663

T

L5e2.T

(IF DEMOCRATIC PARTY THINKS BLACKS SHOULD HELP THEMSELVES)

(Do you think they feel blacks should have to) help themselves to a great extent or only to some extent?

1 GREAT EXTENT →NEXT PARTY OR →L6.
 5 ONLY SOME →NEXT PARTY OR →L6.
 8 DK →NEXT PARTY OR →L6.

[V000664 5-PT BR SUMMARY](#)
[V000665 COMB.5PT/BR SUMM](#)

T L5f.T

Spec: 447_5

V000667

What about the Republican Party? (Do you think they feel that government should make every effort to improve the social and economic position of blacks, or that government should not make any special effort to help blacks because they should help themselves?) [DO NOT PROBE DK]

1 GOVT SHOULD HELP BLACKS →L5f1.T
 5 BLACKS SHOULD HELP THEMSELVES →L5f1.T
 7 OTHER/ITDEPENDS/NEITHER [VOL] →NEXT PARTY OR → L6.
 8 DK →NEXT PARTY OR →L6.

T L5f1.T

Spec: 448_5

V000668

(IF REPUBLICAN PARTY THINKS GOVT SHOULD HELP BLACKS)

(Do you think they feel the government should) help blacks to a great extent or only to some extent?

T L5f2.T

(IF REPUBLICAN PARTY THINKS BLACKS SHOULD HELP THEMSELVES)

(Do you think they feel blacks should have to) help themselves to a great extent or only to some extent?

1 GREAT EXTENT →NEXT PARTY OR L6.
 5 ONLY SOME →NEXT PARTY OR L6.
 8 DK →NEXT PARTY OR L6.

[V000669 5-PT BR SUMMARY](#)
[V000670 COMB.5PT/BR SUMM](#)

L6 - AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

L6 SHOULD BE ADMINISTERED TO HALF THE SAMPLE AND L6.E SHOULD BE ADMINISTERED TO THE OTHER HALF

L6.

Spec: 466__

V000671a

Some people think that if a company has a history of discriminating against blacks when making hiring decisions, then they should be required to have an affirmative action program that gives blacks preference in hiring. What do you think? Should companies that have discriminated against blacks have to have an affirmative action program?

1 YES, THEY SHOULD HAVE TO HAVE AFFIRMATIVE ACTION →GOTO L6a
 5 NO, THEY SHOULD NOT HAVE TO HAVE AFFIRMATIVE ACTION →GOTO L6b
 7 OTHER (SPECIFY) [VOL] →GOTO L7
 8 DK →GO TO L7

L6. E

Some people think that if a company has a history of discriminating against blacks when making hiring decisions, then they should be required to have an affirmative action program that gives blacks preference in hiring. What do you think? Should companies that have discriminated against blacks have to have an affirmative action program or should companies not have to have an affirmative action program?

Spec: 467__

V000671b

- 1 YES, THEY SHOULD HAVE TO HAVE AFFIRMATIVE ACTION GOTO L6a
- 5 NO, THEY SHOULD NOT HAVE TO HAVE AFFIRMATIVE ACTION GOTO L6b
- 7 OTHER (SPECIFY) [VOL] GOTO L7
- 8 DK GOTO L7

L6a.

(IF SHOULD HAVE TO HAVE)

Do you feel strongly or not strongly (that they should have to have affirmative action)?

- 1 STRONGLY →GOTO L7
- 5 NOT STRONGLY →GOTO L7
- 8 DK →GOTO L7

Spec: 468__

V000672

L6b.

(IF SHOULD NOT HAVE TO HAVE)

Do you feel strongly or not strongly (that they should not have to have affirmative action)?

- 1 STRONGLY
- 5 NOT STRONGLY
- 8 DK

Spec: 469__

V000673

V000674 SUMMARY

L7-L9 - FEDERAL BUDGET

L7.

Next I am going to read you a list of federal programs. For each one, I would like you to tell me whether you would like to see spending increased or decreased. The first program is :

L7a.

Building and repairing highways.

If you had a say in making up the federal budget this year, should federal spending on BUILDING AND REPAIRING HIGHWAYS be increased decreased or kept about the same?)

Spec: 470__

V000675

- 1 INCREASED
- 3 DECREASED
- 5 KEPT ABOUT THE SAME
- 7 CUT OUT ENTIRELY
- 8 DK

⇒ We have printed the stem of the question (“Should federal spending on _____ be increased, decreased, or kept about the same?”) in the first two questions (L7 and L7b). Please repeat it as often as necessary to keep the answer categories in the respondent’s mind.

⇒ These are specific government programs. If R asks what these are, the answer is “whatever it means to you.”

⇒ The “cut-out entirely” response is always a volunteered one, and never read to R.

L7B-L7P RANDOMIZED

What about <L7b-L7p>? (Should federal spending on <L7b-L7p> be increased, decreased, or kept about the same?)

L7b. WELFARE PROGRAMS?	Spec: 473_1	V000676
L7c. SPENDING ON AIDS RESEARCH?	Spec: 473_2	V000677
L7d. FOREIGN AID	Spec: 473_3	V000678
L7e. FOOD STAMPS	Spec: 473_4	V000679
L7f. AID TO POOR PEOPLE	Spec: 473_5	V000680
L7g. SOCIAL SECURITY	Spec: 473_6	V000681
L7h. ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION	Spec: 473_7	V000682
L7j. PUBLIC SCHOOLS	Spec: 473_8	V000683
L7k. DEALING WITH CRIME	Spec: 473_9	V000684
L7m. CHILD CARE	Spec: 473_10	V000685
L7n. TIGHTENING BORDER SECURITY TO PREVENT ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION	Spec: 473_11	V000686
L7p. AID TO BLACKS	Spec: 473_12	V000687

1 INCREASED
3 DECREASED
5 KEPT ABOUT THE SAME
7 CUT OUT ENTIRELY [VOL]
8 DK

L8. Recently, there has been a lot of talk about how to spend the extra money the federal government is likely to have in the near future. Some people have proposed that most of the expected federal budget surplus should be used to cut taxes. Do you approve or disapprove of this proposal?	Spec: 479__	V000688
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1 APPROVE
5 DISAPPROVE
8 DON'T KNOW →SKIP TO L9

L8a. (IF APPROVE) Do you approve of this proposal strongly or not strongly?	Spec: 480__	V000689
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1 STRONGLY
5 NOT STRONGLY
8 DK

L8b.

(IF DISAPPROVE)

Do you disapprove of this proposal strongly or not strongly?

1 STRONGLY
5 NOT STRONGLY
8 DK

[V000690 SUMMARY](#)

L9.

Some people have proposed that most of the expected federal budget surplus should go to protecting social security and Medicare. Do you approve or disapprove of this proposal?

1 APPROVE
5 DISAPPROVE
8 DON'T KNOW →SKIP TO M1

Spec: 481__

V000691

L9a.

(IF APPROVE)

Do you approve of this proposal strongly or not strongly?

1 STRONGLY
5 NOT STRONGLY
8 DK

Spec: 482__

V000692

L9b.

(IF DISAPPROVE)

Do you approve of this proposal strongly or not strongly?

1 STRONGLY
5 NOT STRONGLY
8 DK

[V000693 SUMMARY](#)

SECTION M

M1-M3 - ABORTION

M1.

Please look at page 11 of the booklet.

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

Spec: 491__

V000694

T M1.T

There has been some discussion about abortion during recent years. I am going to read you a short list of opinions. Please tell me which one of the opinions best agrees with your view? You can just tell me the number of the opinion you choose.

1. BY LAW, ABORTION SHOULD NEVER BE PERMITTED.
- 2 THE LAW SHOULD PERMIT ABORTION ONLY IN CASE OF RAPE, INCEST, OR WHEN THE WOMAN'S LIFE IS IN DANGER.
- 3 THE LAW SHOULD PERMIT ABORTION FOR REASONS OTHER THAN RAPE, INCEST, OR DANGER TO THE WOMAN'S LIFE, BUT ONLYAFTER THE NEED FOR THE ABORTION HAS BEEN CLEARLY ESTABLISHED.

4 BY LAW, A WOMAN SHOULD ALWAYS BE ABLE TO OBTAIN AN ABORTION AS A MATTER OF PERSONAL CHOICE.
7 OTHER (SPECIFY) [VOL]
8 DK

⇒ The respondent reads the response options to this question. Give R plenty of time to think this one over. People usually have strong feelings on the subject, but it takes them a while to match their feelings with one of the response options.
⇒ If R says, "none of these agrees with my view," enter "OTHER, SPECIFY" and PROBE for R's view. (Try not to let a digression develop – a one sentence equivalent of the other alternatives is just fine.)

M1a.

Spec: 492__ V000695

How important is this issue to you personally? Not at all important, not too important, somewhat important, very important, or extremely important?

- 1 NOT AT ALL IMPORTANT
- 2 NOT TOO IMPORTANT
- 3 SOMEWHAT IMPORTANT
- 4 VERY IMPORTANT
- 5 EXTREMELY IMPORTANT

THE ORDER IN WHICH ABORTION ITEMS M1B/M1B.T AND M1C/M1C.T ARE ADMINISTERED FOR PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES IS RANDOMIZED (WITH M1B1 AND M1C1 FOLLOW-UPS ALWAYS IMMEDIATELY TIED TO APPROPRIATE LEAD-IN)

M1b.

Spec: 494_1 V000696

Where would you place Al Gore on abortion? [DO NOT PROBE DK]

T M1b.T

What about Al Gore (on abortion)? Which opinion best agrees with his views? [DO NOT PROBE DK]

- 1. BY LAW, ABORTION SHOULD NEVER BE PERMITTED.
 - 2 THE LAW SHOULD PERMIT ABORTION ONLY IN CASE OF RAPE, INCEST, OR WHEN THE WOMAN'S LIFE IS IN DANGER.
 - 3 THE LAW SHOULD PERMIT ABORTION FOR REASONS OTHER THAN RAPE, INCEST, OR DANGER TO THE WOMAN'S LIFE, BUT ONLY AFTER THE NEED FOR THE ABORTION HAS BEEN CLEARLY ESTABLISHED.
 - 4 BY LAW, A WOMAN SHOULD ALWAYS BE ABLE TO OBTAIN AN ABORTION AS A MATTER OF PERSONAL CHOICE.
 - 7 OTHER (SPECIFY) [VOL]
 - 8 DK
- SKIP TO M1c OR M2

**M1b1.
(IF NOT DK/REF)**

Spec: 495_1 V000697

How certain are you of Al Gore's position? Very certain, pretty certain, or not very certain?

- 1 VERY CERTAIN
- 3 PRETTY CERTAIN
- 5 NOT VERY CERTAIN
- 8 DK

M1c.

Spec: 494_2 V000698

Where would you place George W. Bush (on abortion)? [DO NOT PROBE DK]

T M1c.T

What about George W. Bush (on abortion)? Which opinion best agrees with his views? [DO NOT PROBE DK]

- 1. BY LAW, ABORTION SHOULD NEVER BE PERMITTED.
- 2 THE LAW SHOULD PERMIT ABORTION ONLY IN CASE OF RAPE, INCEST, OR WHEN THE WOMAN'S LIFE IS IN DANGER.
- 3 THE LAW SHOULD PERMIT ABORTION FOR REASONS OTHER THAN RAPE, INCEST, OR DANGER TO THE WOMAN'S LIFE, BUT ONLY AFTER THE NEED FOR THE ABORTION HAS BEEN CLEARLY ESTABLISHED.

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

7 OTHER (SPECIFY) [VOL]

8 DK → SKIP TO M1b OR M2

⇒ We think R's will answer these placements on the abortion question easily. Don't probe DON'T KNOW. If Respondent says DON'T KNOW, enter alt-D.

M1c1.

(IF NOT DK/REF)

How certain are you of George W. Bush's position? Very certain, pretty certain, or not very certain?

- 1 VERY CERTAIN
- 3 PRETTY CERTAIN
- 5 NOT VERY CERTAIN
- 8 DK

Spec: 495_2

V000699

M2.

Would you favor or oppose a law in your state that would require a teenage girl under age 18 to receive her parent's permission before she could obtain an abortion?

- 1 FAVOR
- 5 OPPOSE
- 8 DK

Spec: 497__

V000700

M2a.

(IF NOT DK/REF)

Strongly or not strongly?

- 1 STRONGLY
- 5 NOT STRONGLY
- 8 DK

Spec: 498__

V000701

[V000702 SUMMARY](#)

M3.

There has been discussion recently about a proposed law to ban certain types of late-term abortions, sometimes called partial birth abortions. Do you favor or oppose a law that would make these types of abortions illegal?

- 1 FAVOR
- 5 OPPOSE
- 8 DK

Spec: 499__

V000703

M3a.

(IF NOT DK/REF)

Do you strongly or not strongly favor a law that would that would make these types of abortions illegal?

M3b.

Do you strongly or not strongly oppose a law that would that would make these types of abortions illegal?

- 1 STRONGLY
- 5 NOT STRONGLY
- 8 DK

Spec: 500__

V000704

[V000705 SUMMARY](#)

M4 - PROTECT ENVIRONMENT

FTF: M4 SHOULD BE ADMINISTERED TO HALF THE SAMPLE AND M4.E SHOULD BE ADMINISTERED TO THE OTHER HALF (M4 PRECEDES BOTH).

TELEPHONE: M4.T SHOULD BE ADMINISTERED TO HALF THE SAMPLE AND M4.TE SHOULD BE ADMINISTERED TO THE OTHER HALF.

[V000706 CKPT: FTF/Ph, reg/exp.](#)

M4.

Please look at page 12 of the booklet

Some people think it is important to protect the environment even if it costs some jobs or otherwise reduces our standard of living. (Suppose these people are at one end of the scale, at point number 1) Other people think that protecting the environment is not as important as maintaining jobs and our standard of living. (Suppose these people are at the other end of the scale, at point number 7. And of course, some other people have opinions somewhere in between, at points 2,3,4,5, or 6)

M4a.

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

Spec: 512__

V000707a

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7	
PROTECT ENVIRONMENT EVEN IF IT COSTS JOBS & STANDARD OF LIVING	JOBS & STANDARD OF LIVING MORE IMPORTANT THAN ENVIRONMENT
1 PROTECT ENVIRONMENT, EVEN IF IT COSTS JOB & STANDARD OF LIVING	→ SKIP TO M4b
2	→ SKIP TO M4b
3	→ SKIP TO M4b
4	→ SKIP TO M4b
5	→ SKIP TO M4b
6	→ SKIP TO M4b
7 JOBS & STANDARD OF LIVING MORE IMPORTANT THAN ENVIRONMENT	→ SKIP TO M4b
0 HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH ABOUT THIS	→ SKIP TO M4b
8 DK	→ SKIP TO M4b

M4a.E.

Where would you place yourself on this scale?

Spec: 513__

V000707b

1 PROTECT ENVIRONMENT, EVEN IF IT COSTS JOB & STANDARD OF LIVING	→ SKIP TO M4b
2	→ SKIP TO M4b
3	→ SKIP TO M4b
4	→ SKIP TO M4b
5	→ SKIP TO M4b
6	→ SKIP TO M4b
7 JOBS & STANDARD OF LIVING MORE IMPORTANT THAN ENVIRONMENT	→ SKIP TO M4b
8 DK	→ SKIP TO M4b

[V000708 COMB. FTF VERSIONS](#)

T M4.T

Some people think it is important to protect the environment even if it costs some jobs or otherwise reduces our standard of living. Other people think that protecting the environment is not as important as maintaining jobs and our standard of living.

T M4a.T

Which is closer to the way you feel, or haven't you thought much about this?

Spec: 504__

V000709a

1 PROTECT ENVIRONMENT, EVEN IF IT COSTS JOB & STANDARD OF LIVING	→ M4a1.T/
5 JOBS & STANDARD OF LIVING MORE IMPORTANT THAN ENVIRONMENT	→ M4a1.T
7 OTHER, IT DEPENDS, NEITHER [VOL]	→ SKIP TO M4b/M4c.T
0 HAVEN' THROUGH MUCH ABOUT IT	→ SKIP TO M4b/M4c.T
8 DK	→ SKIP TO M4b/M4c.T

T M4a.TE

Spec: 505__

V000709b

Which is closer to the way you feel?

1 PROTECT ENVIRONMENT, EVEN IF IT COSTS JOB & STANDARD OF LIVING	→ M4a1.T/
5 JOBS & STANDARD OF LIVING MORE IMPORTANT THAN ENVIRONMENT	→ M4a1.T
7 OTHER, IT DEPENDS, NEITHER [VOL]	→ SKIP TO M4b/M4c.T
8 DK	→ SKIP TO M4b/M4c.T

[V000710 COMB. Ph VERSIONS](#)

T M4a1.T

Spec: 506__

V000711

(IF PROTECTING ENVIRONMENT IS MORE IMPORTANT)

Is protecting the environment much more important (than maintaining jobs and standard of living) or only somewhat more important?

T M4a2.T

(IF MAINTAINING JOBS AND STANDARD OF LIVING ARE MORE IMPORTANT)

Are maintaining jobs and standard of living much more important (than protecting the environment) or only somewhat more important?

1 MUCH MORE IMPORTANT	→ M4b.T/M4c.T
5 ONLY SOMEWHAT MORE IMPORTANT	→ M4b.T/M4c.T
8 DK	→ M4b.T/M4c.T

[V000712 5-PT BR SUMMARY](#)
[V000713 COMB.5PT/BR SUMM](#)

FTF: M4B AND M4C ARE ADMINISTERED IN RANDOM ORDER.

M4b.

Spec: 517_1

V000714

Where would you place Al Gore on this issue? [DO NOT PROBE DK]

1 PROTECT ENVIRONMENT, EVEN IF IT COSTS JOB & STANDARD OF LIVING	→ M4c. OR M5.
2	→ M4c. OR M5.
3	→ M4c. OR M5.
4	→ M4c. OR M5.
5	→ M4c. OR M5.
6	→ M4c. OR M5.
7 JOBS & STANDARD OF LIVING MORE IMPORTANT THAN ENVIRONMENT	→ M4c. OR M5.
8 DK	→ M4c. OR M5.

M4c.

Spec: 517_2

V000719

Where would you place George W. Bush (on this issue)? [DO NOT PROBE DK]

1 PROTECT ENVIRONMENT, EVEN IF IT COSTS JOB & STANDARD OF LIVING	→ M4b. OR M5.
2	→ M4b. OR M5.
3	→ M4b. OR M5.
4	→ M4b. OR M5.
5	→ M4b. OR M5.
6	→ M4b. OR M5.
7 JOBS & STANDARD OF LIVING MORE IMPORTANT THAN ENVIRONMENT	→ M4b. OR M5.
8 DK	→ M4b. OR M5.

TELEPHONE: M4B.T AND M4C.T ARE ADMINISTERED IN RANDOM ORDER.

T M4b.T Spec: 508_1 V000715

What about Al Gore? Do you think he thinks it is important to protect the environment even if it costs some jobs, OR that protecting the environment is not as important as maintaining jobs and our standard of living? [DO NOT PROBE DK]

1 PROTECT ENVIRONMENT, EVEN IF IT COSTS JOB & STANDARD OF LIVING → SKIP TO M4c.T OR →M5.
5 JOBS & STANDARD OF LIVING MORE IMPORTANT THAN ENVIRONMENT → SKIP TO M4c.T OR →M5.
7 OTHER, IT DEPENDS, NEITHER [VOL] → SKIP TO M4c.T OR →M5.
8 DK → SKIP TO M4c.T OR →M5.

T M4b1.T Spec: 509_1 V000716

(IF GORE THINKS PROTECTING ENVIRONMENT IS MORE IMPORTANT)

Does he think protecting the environment much more important (than maintaining jobs and standard of living) or only somewhat more important?

T M4b2.T Spec: 508_2 V000720

(IF GORE THINKS MAINTAINING JOBS AND STANDARD OF LIVING ARE MORE IMPORTANT)

Does he think maintaining jobs and standard of living much more important (than protecting the environment) or only somewhat more important?

1 MUCH MORE IMPORTANT
5 SOMEWHAT MORE IMPORTANT
8 DK

[V000717 5-PT BR SUMMARY](#)
[V000718 COMB.5PT/BR SUMM](#)

M4c.T Spec: 509_2 V000721

What about George W. Bush? Do you think he thinks it is important to protect the environment even if it costs some jobs, OR that protecting the environment is not as important as maintaining jobs and our standard of living? [DO NOT PROBE DK]

1 PROTECT ENVIRONMENT, EVEN IF IT COSTS JOB & STANDARD OF LIVING → SKIP TO M4b.T OR →M5.
5 JOBS & STANDARD OF LIVING MORE IMPORTANT THAN ENVIRONMENT → SKIP TO M4b.T OR →M5.
7 OTHER, IT DEPENDS, NEITHER [VOL] → SKIP TO M4b.T OR →M5.
8 DK → SKIP TO M4b.T OR →M5.

T M4c1.T Spec: 508_2 V000720

(IF GEORGE W. BUSH THINKS PROTECTING ENVIRONMENT IS MORE IMPORTANT)

Does he think protecting the environment much more important (than maintaining jobs and standard of living) or only somewhat more important?

T M4c2.T Spec: 509_2 V000721

(IF GEORGE W. BUSH THINKS MAINTAINING JOBS AND STANDARD OF LIVING ARE MORE IMPORTANT)

Does he think maintaining jobs and standard of living much more important (than protecting the environment) or only somewhat more important?

1 MUCH MORE IMPORTANT
5 SOMEWHAT MORE IMPORTANT
8 DK

M5 – HOMOSEXUALS IN THE ARMED FORCES

M5.
Do you think homosexuals should be allowed to serve in the United States Armed Forces or don't you think so?

Spec: 520__

V000724

1 HOMOSEXUALS SHOULD BE ALLOWED TO SERVE → M5a
5 HOMOSEXUALS SHOULD NOT BE ALLOWED TO SERVE → M5b
8 DK → M6a

M5a.
(IF SHOULD BE ALLOWED TO SERVE)

Do you feel strongly or not strongly that homosexuals should be allowed to serve?

1 STRONGLY → M6a
5 NOT STRONGLY → M6a
8 DK → M6a

Spec: 521__

V000725

M5b.
(IF SHOULD NOT BE ALLOWED TO SERVE)

Do you feel strongly or not strongly that homosexuals should not be allowed to serve?

1 STRONGLY
5 NOT STRONGLY
8 DK

Spec: 522__

V000726

[V000727 SUMMARY](#)

M6 - GUN CONTROL

M6a.
Do you think the federal government should make it more difficult for people to buy a gun than it is now, make it easier for people to buy a gun, or keep these rules about the same as they are now?

Spec: 525__

V000728

1 MORE DIFFICULT SKIP TO → M6a1
3 MAKE IT EASIER SKIP TO → M6a2
5 KEEP THESE RULES ABOUT THE SAME SKIP TO → M6a3
8 DK SKIP TO → M6a3

⇒ Here the R may want you to specify the rules. Again, re-read the question. If the R is still unclear, answer "Whatever you think the rules are now."

M6a1.
(IF MORE DIFFICULT)

A lot more difficult or somewhat more difficult?

1 A LOT MORE DIFFICULT → SKIP TO M6a3
5 SOMEWHAT MORE DIFFICULT → SKIP TO M6a3
8 DK → SKIP TO M6a3

Spec: 526__

V000729

M6a2.
(IF EASIER)

A lot easier or somewhat easier?
1 A LOT EASIER
5 SOMEWHAT EASIER
8 DK

Spec: 527__

V000730

[V000731 SUMMARY](#)

M6a3.
(ALL RESPONDENTS)

How important is this issue to you personally? Not at all important, not too important, somewhat important, very important, or extremely important?
1 NOT AT ALL IMPORTANT
2 NOT TOO IMPORTANT
3 SOMEWHAT IMPORTANT
4 VERY IMPORTANT
5 EXTREMELY IMPORTANT
8 DK

Spec: 528__

V000732

M6B AND M6C ARE ADMINISTERED IN RANDOM ORDER (STRENGTH, CERTAINTY FOLLOWING APPROPRIATELY).

M6b.

Where would you place Al Gore? Do you think he would like to make it more difficult for people to buy a gun, make it easier for people to buy a gun, or keep these rules about the same as they are now?
[DO NOT PROBE DK]

Spec: 530_1

V000733

1 MORE DIFFICULT
3 MAKE IT EASIER
5 KEEP THESE RULES ABOUT THE SAME → SKIP TO M6b3
8 DK → SKIP TO M6c

M6b1.
(IF EASIER)

A lot easier or somewhat easier?

M6b2.
(IF MORE DIFFICULT)

A lot more difficult or somewhat more difficult?
1 A LOT → M6b3
5 SOMEWHAT → M6b3
8 DK → SKIP TO M6c

Spec: 531_1

V000734

[V000735 SUMMARY](#)

M6b3.
(IF CANDIDATE POSITION IS EASIER/MORE DIFFICULT) AND
(IF ANSWER FOR A LOT OR SOMEWHAT IS NOT DK)

How certain are you of Al Gore's position? Very certain, pretty certain, or not very certain?

Spec: 532_1

V000736

- 1 VERY CERTAIN
- 3 PRETTY CERTAIN
- 5 NOT VERY CERTAIN
- 8 DK

M6c.

Where would you place George W. Bush? Do you think he would like to make it more difficult for people to buy a gun, make it easier for people to buy a gun, or keep these rules about the same as they are now?

[DO NOT PROBE DK]

Spec: 530_2

V000737

- 1 MORE DIFFICULT
 - 3 MAKE IT EASIER
 - 5 KEEP THESE RULES ABOUT THE SAME
 - 8 DK
- SKIP TO M6c3
→SKIP TO N1/N1.E

M6c1.

(IF EASIER)

A lot easier or somewhat easier?

Spec: 531_2

V000738

M6c2.

(IF MORE DIFFICULT)

A lot more difficult or somewhat more difficult?

- 1 A LOT
 - 5 SOMEWHAT
 - 8 DK
- M6c3
→M6c3
→SKIP TO N1/N1.E

[V000739 SUMMARY](#)

M6c3.

**(IF CANDIDATE POSITION IS KEEP THE SAME) OR
(IF ANSWER FOR HOW MUCH EASIER/MORE DIFFICULT IS NOT DK)**

How certain are you of George W. Bush's position? Very certain, pretty certain, or not very certain?

- 1 VERY CERTAIN
- 3 PRETTY CERTAIN
- 5 NOT VERY CERTAIN
- 8 DK

Spec: 532_2

V000740

SECTION N

N1 - SCHOOL VOUCHERS

N1 SHOULD BE ADMINISTERED TO HALF THE SAMPLE AND N1.E SHOULD BE ADMINISTERED TO THE OTHER HALF. BOTH GET FOLLOW-UP

N1.

Do you favor or oppose a school voucher program that would allow parents to use tax funds to send their children to the school of their choice, even if it were a private school?

Spec: 537__

V000741a

1 FAVOR SCHOOL VOUCHER PROGRAM →SKIP TO N1a
5 OPPOSE SCHOOL VOUCHER PROGRAM →SKIP TO N1a
8 DK →SKIP TO N2

N1. E Spec: 538__ V000741b

Do you favor or oppose a school voucher program that would allow parents to use tax funds to send their children to the school of their choice, even if it were a private school, or haven't you thought much about this?

1 FAVOR SCHOOL VOUCHER PROGRAM → N1a
5 OPPOSE SCHOOL VOUCHER PROGRAM → N1a
0 HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH ABOUT THIS →SKIP TO N2
8 DK →SKIP TO N2

[V000742 COMBINED VERSIONS](#)

N1a. Spec: 539__ V000743
(IF FAVORS SCHOOL VOUCHER PROGRAM)

Do you favor a school voucher program strongly or not strongly ?

N1b.
(IF OPPOSES SCHOOL VOUCHER PROGRAM)

Do you oppose a school voucher program strongly or not strongly ?

1 STRONGLY
5 NOT STRONGLY
8 DK

[V000744 SUMMARY](#)

N2 - ENGLISH AS OFFICIAL LANGUAGE

N2. Spec: 541__ V000745

Do you favor a law making English the official language of the United States, meaning government business would be conducted in English only, or do you oppose such a law?

1 FAVOR
3 NEITHER FAVOR NOR OPPOSE [VOL]
5 OPPOSE
8 DON'T KNOW

N3 - SCHOOL INTEGRATION

N3. Spec: 542__ V000746

Some people say that the government in Washington should see to it that white and black children go to the same schools. Others claim that this is not the government's business. Have you been interested enough in this question to favor one side over the other?

1 YES
5 NO →SKIP TO N4
8 DK →SKIP TO N4

N3a.
(IF YES)

Spec: 543__

V000747

Do you think the government in Washington should see to it that white and black children go to the same schools or stay out of this area as it is not the government's business?

- 1 SEE TO IT THAT WHITE AND BLACK CHILDREN GO TO THE SAME SCHOOLS
- 5 STAY OUT OF THIS AREA AS IT IS NOT THE GOVERNMENT'S BUSINESS
- 7 OTHER; DEPENDS:
- 8 DK

N4 – ADOPTION BY HOMOSEXUALS

N4.

Spec: 544__

V000748

Do you think gay or lesbian couples, in other words, homosexual couples, should be legally permitted to adopt children?

- 1 YES
- 5 NO
- 8 DK

N5 – DEATH PENALTY

N5.

Spec: 545__

V000749

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

- 1 FAVOR →SKIP TO N5a
- 5 OPPOSE → SKIP TO N5b
- 8 DK →SKIP TO P1

N5a.

Spec: 546__

V000750

(IF FAVOR)

(Do you favor the death penalty for persons convicted of murder) strongly or not strongly?

- 1 STRONGLY →P1/P1.E
- 5 NOT STRONGLY →P1/P1.E
- 8 DK →P1/P1.E

N5b.

Spec: 547__

V000751

(IF OPPOSE)

(Do you oppose the death penalty for persons convicted of murder) strongly or not strongly?

- 1 STRONGLY
- 5 NOT STRONGLY
- 8 DK

[V000752 SUMMARY](#)

SECTION P

P1 - WOMEN'S ROLE

FTF: P1 SHOULD BE ADMINISTERED TO HALF THE SAMPLE AND P1.E SHOULD BE ADMINISTERED TO THE OTHER HALF

TELEPHONE: P1.T SHOULD BE ADMINISTERED TO HALF THE SAMPLE AND P1.TE SHOULD BE ADMINISTERED TO THE OTHER HALF

[V000753 CKPT: FTF/Ph, reg/exp.](#)

P1.
Please look at page 13 of the booklet.
Recently there has been a lot of talk about women's rights. Some people feel that women should have an equal role with men in running business, industry, and government. (Suppose these people are at one end of a scale, at point 1.) Others feel that a woman's place is in the home. (Suppose these people are at the other end, at point 7.) And, of course, some other people have opinions somewhere in between, at points 2,3,4,5 or 6.

P1a.
Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?

Spec: 562__ V000754a

P1a.E
Where would you place yourself on this scale?

Spec: 563__ V000754b

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7	
WOMEN AND MEN SHOULD HAVE EQUAL ROLES	A WOMAN'S PLACE IS IN THE HOME
1 WOMEN AND MEN SHOULD HAVE EQUAL ROLES	→SKIP TO P1.b/P1c.
2	→SKIP TO P1.b/P1c.
3	→SKIP TO P1.b/P1c.
4	→SKIP TO P1.b/P1c.
5	→SKIP TO P1.b/P1c.
6	→SKIP TO P1.b/P1c.
7 A WOMAN'S PLACE IS IN THE HOME	→SKIP TO P1.b/P1c.
0 HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH ABOUT THIS	→SKIP TO P1.b/P1c.
8 DK	→SKIP TO P1.b/P1c.

⇒ See instructions to section L.

[V000755 COMB. FTF VERSIONS](#)

T P1.T
Recently there has been a lot of talk about women's rights. Some people feel that women should have an equal role with men in running business, industry, and government. Others feel that a woman's place is in the home.

T P1a.T
Which is closer to the way you feel, or haven't you thought much about this?

Spec: 552__ V000756a

1 WOMEN AND MEN SHOULD HAVE EQUAL ROLES	→P1a1.T
5 A WOMAN'S PLACE IS IN THE HOME	→P1a1.T
7 OTHER, IT DEPENDS, NEITHER [VOL]	→P1b.T/P1c.T
0 HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH	→P1b.T/P1c.T
8 DK	→P1b.T/P1c.T

T P1a.TE
Which is closer to the way you feel?

Spec: 553__ V000756b

1 WOMEN AND MEN SHOULD HAVE EQUAL ROLES	→P1a1.T
5 A WOMAN'S PLACE IS IN THE HOME	→P1a1.T
7 OTHER, IT DEPENDS, NEITHER [VOL]	→P1b.T/P1c.T
8 DK	→P1b.T/P1c.T

[V000757 COMB. Ph. VERSIONS](#)

T

P1a1.T
(IF MEN AND WOMEN SHOULD HAVE EQUAL ROLES)

Spec: 554__

V000758

Do you feel strongly or not strongly that men and women should have equal roles?

T

P1a2.T
(IF A WOMAN'S PLACE IS IN THE HOME)

Do you feel strongly or not strongly that a woman's place is in the home?

- 1 STRONGLY →SKIP TO P1b.T/P1c.T
- 5 NOT STRONGLY →SKIP TO P1b.T/P1c.T
- 8 DK →SKIP TO P1b.T/P1c.T

[V000759 5-PT BR SUMMARY](#)
[V000760 COMB.5PT/BR SUMM](#)

FTF: P1B AND P1C ARE ADMINISTERED IN RANDOM ORDER.

TELEPHONE: P1B.T AND P1C.T ARE ADMINISTERED IN RANDOM ORDER.

P1b.

Spec: 567_1

V000761

(Still looking at page 13)

Where would you place Al Gore (on this issue)? [DO NOT PROBE DK]

- 1 WOMEN AND MEN SHOULD HAVE EQUAL ROLES →SKIP TO P1c./P2
- 2 →SKIP TO P1c./P2
- 3 →SKIP TO P1c./P2
- 4 →SKIP TO P1c./P2
- 5 →SKIP TO P1c./P2
- 6 →SKIP TO P1c./P2
- 7 A WOMAN'S PLACE IS IN THE HOME →SKIP TO P1c./P2
- 8 DK →SKIP TO P1c./P2

P1c.

Spec: 567_2

V000766

(Still looking at page 13)

Where would you place George W. Bush (on this issue)? [DO NOT PROBE DK]

- 1 WOMEN AND MEN SHOULD HAVE EQUAL ROLES →SKIP TO P1b./P2
- 2 →SKIP TO P1b./P2
- 3 →SKIP TO P1b./P2
- 4 →SKIP TO P1b./P2
- 5 →SKIP TO P1b./P2
- 6 →SKIP TO P1b./P2
- 7 A WOMAN'S PLACE IS IN THE HOME →SKIP TO P1b./P2
- 8 DK →SKIP TO P1b./P2

T **P1b.T**

Spec: 557_1

V000762

What about Al Gore? Do you think he feels that women should have an equal role with men in running business, industry and government, OR that a woman's place is in the home? [DO NOT PROBE DK]

- 1 WOMEN AND MEN SHOULD HAVE EQUAL ROLES →P1b1.T
- 5 A WOMAN'S PLACE IS IN THE HOME →P1b1.T
- 7 OTHER, IT DEPENDS, NEITHER [VOL] →P1c.T OR →P2.T
- 8 DK →P1c.T OR →P2.T

T

P1b1.T
(IF GORE POSITION IS WOMEN SHOULD HAVE EQUAL ROLE)

Spec: 558_1

V000763

Do you think he feels strongly or not strongly that men and women should have equal role?

T *P1b2.T*
(IF GORE POSITION IS THAT A WOMAN'S PLACE IS IN THE HOME)
Do you think he feels strongly or not strongly that a woman's place is in the home?
 1 STRONGLY →P1c.T OR →P2.T
 5 NOT STRONGLY →P1c.T OR →P2.T
 8 DK →P1c.T OR →P2.T

[V000764 5-PT BR SUMMARY](#)
[V000765 COMB.5PT/BR SUMM](#)

T *P1c.T*
What about George W. Bush? Do you think he thinks it is important to protect the environment even if it costs some jobs, OR that protecting the environment is not as important as maintaining jobs and our standard of living? [DO NOT PROBE DK]

Spec: 557_2 V000767

1 WOMEN AND MEN SHOULD HAVE EQUAL ROLES →P1c1.T
 5 A WOMAN'S PLACE IS IN THE HOME →P1c1.T
 7 OTHER, IT DEPENDS, NEITHER [VOL] →P1b.T OR →P2.T
 8 DK →P1b.T OR →P2.T

T *P1c1.T*
(IF GEORGE W. BUSH POSITION IS WOMEN SHOULD HAVE EQUAL ROLE)
Do you think he feels strongly or not strongly that men and women should have equal roles?

Spec: 558_2 V000768

T *P1c2.T*
(IF GEORGE W. BUSH POSITION IS THAT A WOMAN'S PLACE IS IN THE HOME)
Do you think he feels strongly or not strongly that a woman's place is in the home?

1 STRONGLY →P1c.T OR →P2.T
 5 NOT STRONGLY →P1c.T OR →P2.T
 8 DK →P1c.T OR →P2.T

[V000769 5-PT BR SUMMARY](#)
[V000770 COMB.5PT/BR SUMM](#)

P2 - ENVIRONMENTAL REGULATION

P2.
 Please look at page 14 of the booklet.
 Some people think we need much tougher government regulations on business in order to protect the environment. (Suppose these people are at one end of a scale, at point 1.) Others think that current regulations to protect the environment are already too much of a burden on business. Suppose these people are at the other end, at point 7. And, of course, some other people have opinions somewhere in between, at points 2,3,4,5, or 6.)

P2a.
 Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?

Spec: 573__ V000771

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7
 TOUGHER REGULATIONS ON BUSINESS NEEDED TO PROTECT ENVIRONMENT
 REGULATIONS TO PROTECT ENVIRONMENT ALREADY TOO MUCH A BURDEN ON BUSINESS

1 TOUGHER REGULATIONS ON BUSINESS NEEDED TO PROTECT ENVIRONMENT
 2
 3
 4
 5
 6
 7 REGULATIONS TO PROTECT ENVIRONMENT ALREADY TOO MUCH A BURDEN ON BUSINESS
 0 HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH ABOUT THIS
 8 DK

⇒ See instructions to section L.

It is possible that the respondent will complain that he or she has already answered this question. However, this is a different question from M4. If a R objects to answering the question, you may reply "Last time I asked about the environment versus jobs. Now I am asking about regulation." Then re-read the question.

T P2.T

Some people think we need much tougher government regulations on business in order to protect the environment. Others think that current regulations to protect the environment are already too much of a burden on business.

T P2a.T

Which is closer to the way you feel, or haven't you thought much about this?

1 TOUGHER REGULATIONS ON BUSINESS NEEDED TO PROTECT ENVIRONMENT
 5 REGULATIONS TO PROTECT ENVIRONMENT ALREADY TOO MUCH A BURDEN ON BUSINESS
 7 OTHER, IT DEPENDS, NEITHER [VOL]
 0 HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH ABOUT THIS
 8 DK

Spec: 570__

V000772

T

P2a1.T

(IF TOUGHER REGULATION ON BUSINESS NEEDED)

Do we need to toughen regulations to protect the environment a lot, or just somewhat?

1 A LOT →P2a3
 5 SOMEWHAT →P2a3
 8 DK →P2a3

Spec: 571__

V000773

T

P2a2.T

(IF REGULATIONS ALREADY TOO MUCH OF A BURDEN ON BUSINESS)

Are regulations to protect the environment way too much of a burden on business or just somewhat of a burden?

1 WAY TOO MUCH
 5 SOMEWHAT
 8 DK

Spec: 572__

V000774

[V000775 5-PT BR SUMMARY](#)
[V000776 COMB.5PT/BR SUMM](#)

P2aa.

(ALL RESPONDENTS)

How important is this issue to you personally? Not at all important, not too important, somewhat important, very important, or extremely important?

Spec: 574__

V000777

1 NOT AT ALL IMPORTANT
2 NOT TOO IMPORTANT
3 SOMEWHAT IMPORTANT
4 VERY IMPORTANT
5 EXTREMELY IMPORTANT
8 DK

FTF: P2B AND P2C ARE ADMINISTERED IN RANDOM ORDER.

TELEPHONE: P2B.T AND P2C.T ARE ADMINISTERED IN RANDOM ORDER.

P2b.

Spec: 578_1

V000778

Where would you place Al Gore on this issue? [DO NOT PROBE DK]

1 TOUGHER REGULATIONS ON BUSINESS NEEDED TO PROTECT ENVIRONMENT -->P2bb -->P2bb
2 -->P2bb -->P2bb
3 -->P2bb -->P2bb
4 -->P2bb -->P2bb
5 -->P2bb -->P2bb
6 -->P2bb -->P2bb
7 REGULATIONS TO PROTECT ENVIRONMENT ALREADY TOO MUCH A BURDEN ON BUSINESS
8 DK →SKIP TO P2c OR P3

T P2b.T

Spec: 579_1

V000779

What about Al Gore? Do you think he believes we need much tougher government regulations on business in order to protect the environment, OR that current regulations to protect the environment are already too much of a burden on business? [DO NOT PROBE DK]

1 TOUGHER REGULATIONS ON BUSINESS NEEDED TO PROTECT ENVIRONMENT
5 REGULATIONS TO PROTECT ENVIRONMENT ALREADY TOO MUCH A BURDEN ON BUSINESS
7 OTHER, IT DEPENDS, NEITHER [VOL]
0 HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH ABOUT THIS
8 DK

T

P2b1.T

(IF GORE POSITION IS TOUGHEN REGULATIONS TO PROTECT ENVIRONMENT)

Do you think he believes that we need to toughen regulations to protect the environment a lot, or just somewhat?

1 A LOT →P2bb
5 SOMEWHAT →P2bb
8 DK →P2c.T OR →P3.

Spec: 580_1

V000780

T

P2b2.T

(IF GORE POSITION IS ALREDY TOO MUCH OF A BURDEN ON BUSINESS)

Do you think he believes regulations to protect the environment are way too much of a burden on business or just somewhat of a burden?

1 WAY TOO MUCH →P2bb
5 SOMEWHAT →P2bb
8 DK →P2c.T OR →P3.

Spec: 581_1

V000781

[V000782 5-PT BR SUMMARY](#)
[V000783 COMB.5PT/BR SUMM](#)

P2bb.

(IF R'S PLACEMENT OF GORE IS NOT DK OR OTHER/DEPENDS/NEITHER:)

How certain are you of Al Gore's position? Very certain, pretty certain, or not very certain?

- 1 VERY CERTAIN
- 3 PRETTY CERTAIN
- 5 NOT VERY CERTAIN
- 8 DK

Spec: 582_1

V000784

P2c.

Where would you place George W. Bush (on this issue)? [DO NOT PROBE DK]

- 1 TOUGHER REGULATIONS ON BUSINESS NEEDED TO PROTECT ENVIRONMENT -->P2cc -->P2cc
- 2 -->P2cc -->P2cc
- 3 -->P2cc -->P2cc
- 4 -->P2cc -->P2cc
- 5 -->P2cc -->P2cc
- 6 -->P2cc -->P2cc
- 7 REGULATIONS TO PROTECT ENVIRONMENT ALREADY TOO MUCH A BURDEN ON BUSINESS -->P2cc
- 8 DK -->SKIP TO P2b OR P3

Spec: 578_2

V000785

T P2c.T

What about George W. Bush? ? Do you think he believes we need much tougher government regulations on business in order to protect the environment, OR that current regulations to protect the environment are already too much of a burden on business? [DO NOT PROBE DK]

- 1 TOUGHER REGULATIONS ON BUSINESS NEEDED TO PROTECT ENVIRONMENT
- 5 REGULATIONS TO PROTECT ENVIRONMENT ALREADY TOO MUCH A BURDEN ON BUSINESS
- 7 OTHER, IT DEPENDS, NEITHER [VOL]
- 0 HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH ABOUT THIS
- 8 DK

Spec: 579_2

V000786

T

P2c1.T

(IF GEORGE W. BUSH POSITION IS TOUGHEN REGULATIONS TO PROTECT ENVIRONMENT)

Do you think he believes that we need to toughen regulations to protect the environment a lot, or just somewhat?

- 1 A LOT -->P2cc
- 5 SOMEWHAT -->P2cc
- 8 DK -->P2b.T OR -->P3.

Spec: 580_2

V000787

T

P2c2.T

(IF GEORGE W. BUSH POSITION IS ALREADY TOO MUCH OF A BURDEN ON BUSINESS)

Do you think he believes regulations to protect the environment are way too much of a burden on business or just somewhat of a burden?

- 1 WAY TOO MUCH -->P2cc
- 5 SOMEWHAT -->P2cc
- 8 DK -->P2b.T OR -->P3.

Spec: 581_2

V000788

[V000789 5-PT BR SUMMARY](#)
[V000790 COMB.5PT/BR SUMM](#)

P2cc

(IF R'S PLACEMENT OF GW BUSH IS NOT DK OR OTHER/DEPENDS/NEITHER)

How certain are you of George W. Bush's position? Very certain, pretty certain, or not very certain?

Spec: 582_2

000791

- 1 VERY CERTAIN
- 3 PRETTY CERTAIN
- 5 NOT VERY CERTAIN
- 8 DK

P3 - TURNOUT/VOTE INTENT

P3.

Spec: 584__

V000792

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

- 1 YES
- 5 NO →SKIP TO P3c
- 8 DON'T KNOW →SKIP TO P3c

⇒ Recognizing that many people may be uncertain as to who they will (or might) vote for in the election for president this year, we have printed you a probe which has been very effective in eliciting an answer for those respondents who were hedging. We would like to have respondents pick a preferred candidate; however, avoid brow-beating the respondent into a choice. If after using the probe, the respondent is still unwilling to state a choice, accept the "DON'T KNOW" answer.

⇒ You may encounter respondents who will flatly and unequivocally tell you something like: "I simply will not vote in November," or "I refuse to vote this year because the choices for president are absurd" or other comments of this nature. Here you may wish to make an initial probe to the effect "If you were going to vote, who would you vote for." However, if the R remains recalcitrant, just record R's remarks as comments and move on.

P3a.

Spec: 585__

V000793

(IF YES)

Who do you think you will vote for in the election for President?

(PROBE: Needless to say, the election for President of the United States is a long time away in November. But I'd like to ask you for your best guess about who you will vote for in the election for President in November.)

- 1 AL GORE
- 2 GEORGE W. BUSH
- 3 PAT BUCHANAN
- 4 RALPH NADER
- 5 NONE (if voter, will not vote for president) [VOL] →SKIP TO P3c
- 7 OTHER, (SPECIFY):
- 8 DON'T KNOW →SKIP TO P4

P3b.

Spec: 586

V000794

(IF PRES. VOTE INTENT IS NOT NONE NOR DK)

Would you say that your preference for [GORE/BUSH/BUCHANAN/OTHER] is strong or not strong?

- 1 STRONG →SKIP TO P4
- 5 NOT STRONG →SKIP TO P4
- 8 DK →SKIP TO P4

P3c.

Spec: 587__

V000795

**(IF TURNOUT INTENT IS: WILL NOT/DK IF WILL VOTE IN NOVEMBER) OR
(IF TURNOUT INTENT IS: WILL VOTE) AND (IF PRES. VOTE INTENT IS: NONE)**

If you were going to vote, who do you think you would vote for in the election for President?

(PROBE: Needless to say, the election for President of the United States is a long time away in November. But I'd like to ask you for your best guess about who you would vote for in the election for President in November.)

- 1 AL GORE
- 2 GEORGE W. BUSH
- 3 PAT BUCHANAN
- 4 RALPH NADER
- 5 NONE (if voter, will not vote for president) [VOL] →SKIP TO P4
- 7 OTHER, (SPECIFY):
- 8 DON'T KNOW →SKIP TO P4

P3d.

Spec: 588__

V000796

(IF NOT NONE NOR DK IN P3c)

Would you say that your preference for <CANDIDATE NAMED> is strong or not strong?

- 1 STRONG
- 5 NOT STRONG
- 8 DK

P4-P5 - ANTICIPATED PARTY CONTROL AFTER ELECTION

P4.

Spec: 590__

V000797

The next couple of questions are about what you think will happen as a result of the upcoming elections. After the November election, which party do you think will have the most members in the U.S. House of Representatives --the Republicans or the Democrats?

- 1 REPUBLICANS
- 5 DEMOCRATS
- 8 DK

P5.

Spec: 591__

V000798

Again, after the November election, which party do you think will have the most members in the U.S. Senate, --the Republicans or the Democrats?

- 1 REPUBLICANS
- 5 DEMOCRATS
- 8 DK

P6-P7 - FAIR AND PREFERENTIAL TREATMENT FOR BLACKS

P6.

Spec: 592__

V000799

Some people feel that if black people are not getting fair treatment in jobs, the government in Washington ought to see to it that they do. Others feel that this is not the federal government's business. Have you had enough interest in this question to favor one side over the other?

- 1 YES, HAVE INTEREST IN QUESTION →P6a
- 5 NO, HAVEN'T HAD INTEREST →P7
- 8 DK →P7

P6a.

Spec: 593__

V000800

(IF R HAS HAD INTEREST)

How do you feel? Should the government in Washington see to it that black people get fair treatment in jobs OR is this not the federal government's business?

1 GOVERNMENT IN WASHINGTON SHOULD SEE TO IT THAT BLACK PEOPLE
GET FAIR TREATMENT IN JOBS
5 THIS IS NOT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT'S BUSINESS
7 OTHER (SPECIFY)
8 DK

→P7

P6a1.
(IF R'S REPLY IS NOT DK)

Do you feel strongly or not strongly about that?
1 STRONGLY
5 NOT STRONGLY
8 DK

Spec: 594__

V000801

[V000802 SUMMARY](#)

P7.

Some people say that because of past discrimination, blacks should be given preference in hiring and promotion. Others say that such preference in 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 PREFERENTIAL HIRING AND PROMOTION OF BLACKS →P7a
5 AGAINST PREFERENTIAL HIRING AND PROMOTION OF BLACKS →P7b
7 OTHER (SPECIFY) →section Q as randomly selected
8 DK →section Q as randomly selected

Spec: 595__

V000803

P7a.
(IF FAVOR)

Do you favor preference in hiring and promotion strongly or not strongly?
1 STRONGLY
5 NOT STRONGLY
8 DK

Spec: 596__

V000804

P7b.
(IF OPPOSE)

Do you oppose preference in hiring and promotion strongly or not strongly?
1 STRONGLY
5 NOT STRONGLY
8 DK

Spec: 597__

V000805

[V000806 SUMMARY](#)

SECTION Q

Q1-Q11 - CLINTON LEGACY

Q0. Now I'd like to talk to you about Bill Clinton

RESPONDENTS ARE RANDOMLY ASSIGNED EITHER TO THE RETROSPECTIVE ASSESSMENTS BATTERY (Q1-Q11) OR THE AFFECTS AND TRAITS BATTERY (Q14-Q15). IF R DOES NOT GET SELECTED FOR THE RETROSPECTIVE BATTERY IN THE PRE ELECTION INSTRUMENT THEY SHOULD RECEIVE THIS IN THE POST (S1-S11) AND VICE VERSA.

Q1.

As you know, Bill Clinton was first elected President in November 1992. He will soon be leaving office after 8 years as President. The next several questions ask whether you think things have changed since Clinton came into office.

First, would you say that compared to 1992, the federal budget deficit is now smaller, larger, or about the same?

- 1 GOTTEN SMALLER
- 3 GOTTEN LARGER →SKIP TO Q1b
- 5 STAYED ABOUT THE SAME →SKIP TO Q2
- 8 DK →SKIP TO Q2

⇒ The respondent may ask you what the difference is between debt or deficit. Answer: "Whatever it means to you." On the other hand, the R may insist that he or she doesn't know what has happened to the deficit. In this case, try to elicit a response anyway. We are interested in what the respondent thinks.

Spec: 607__

V000807

Q1a.

(IF SMALLER)

(Would you say that the budget deficit is) much smaller or somewhat smaller?

- 1 MUCH SMALLER →SKIP TO Q2
- 5 SOMEWHAT SMALLER →SKIP TO Q2
- 8 DK →SKIP TO Q2

Spec: 608__

V000808

Q1b.

(IF LARGER)

(Would you say that the budget deficit is) much larger or somewhat larger?

- 1 MUCH LARGER
- 5 SOMEWHAT LARGER
- 8 DK

Spec: 609__

V000809

V000810 SUMMARY

Q2.

Has federal spending on assistance to the poor been increased, decreased, or has it stayed about the same as in 1992?

- 1 INCREASED
- 3 DECREASED
- 5 STAYED ABOUT THE SAME →SKIP TO Q3
- 8 DK →SKIP TO Q3

Spec: 610__

V000811

Q2a.

(IF NOT SAME NOR DK)

A lot or somewhat?

- 1 A LOT
- 5 SOMEWHAT
- 8 DK

Spec: 611__

V000812

V000813 SUMMARY

Q3.

Spec: 613__

V000814

Would you say that compared to 1992, the nation's economy is better, worse, or about the same?

- 1 BETTER
- 3 WORSE
- 5 THE SAME
- 8 DK

- SKIP TO →Q3b
- SKIP TO →Q4
- SKIP TO Q4

Q3a.

Spec: 614__

V000815

(IF BETTER)

(Would you say) much better or somewhat better?

- 1 MUCH BETTER
- 5 SOMEWHAT BETTER
- 8 DK

- SKIP TO Q4
- SKIP TO Q4
- SKIP TO Q4

Q3b.

Spec: 615__

V000816

(IF WORSE)

(Would you say) much worse or somewhat worse?

- 1 MUCH WORSE
- 5 SOMEWHAT WORSE
- 8 DK

[V000817 SUMMARY](#)

Q4.

Spec: 616__

V000818

Since 1992, would you say President Clinton has made the nation's economy better, made the economy worse, or had no effect on the economy one way or the other?

- 1 MADE THE ECONOMY BETTER
- 3 MADE THE ECONOMY WORSE
- 5 NO EFFECT
- 8 DK

- SKIP TO →Q4b
- SKIP TO →Q5
- SKIP TO →Q5

Q4a.

Spec: 617__

V000819

(IF BETTER)

Much better or somewhat better?

- 1 MUCH BETTER
- 5 SOMEWHAT BETTER
- 8 DK

- SKIP TO Q5
- SKIP TO Q5
- SKIP TO Q5

Q4b.

Spec: 618__

V000820

(IF WORSE)

Much worse or somewhat worse?

- 1 MUCH WORSE
- 5 SOMEWHAT WORSE
- 8 DK

[V000821 SUMMARY](#)

Q5.

Spec: 619__

V000822

Have you personally been helped or have you been hurt economically by the Clinton Administration, or hasn't it affected you one way or the other?

- 1 HELPED
- 3 HURT
- 5 NOT AFFECTED
- 8 DK

Q6.

Would you say that compared to 1992, the United States is more secure from its foreign enemies, less secure, or hasn't this changed very much?

Spec: 620__

V000823

- 1 MORE SECURE
- 3 LESS SECURE SKIP TO →Q6b
- 5 NO CHANGE SKIP TO →Q7
- 8 DK SKIP TO Q7

Q6a.

(IF MORE SECURE)

(Would you say) much more secure or somewhat more secure?

- 1 MUCH MORE SECURE →SKIP TO Q7
- 5 SOMEWHAT MORE SECURE →SKIP TO Q7
- 8 DK →SKIP TO Q7

Spec: 621__

V000824

Q6b.

(IF LESS SECURE)

(Would you say) much less secure or somewhat less secure?

- 1 MUCH LESS SECURE
- 5 SOMEWHAT LESS SECURE
- 8 DK

Spec: 622__

V000825

[V000826 SUMMARY](#)

Q7.

Would you say that Clinton administration has made the United States more secure from its foreign enemies, less secure, or hasn't it made much difference either way?

Spec: 623__

V000827

- 1 MORE SECURE
- 3 LESS SECURE SKIP TO →Q7b
- 5 NO CHANGE SKIP TO →Q8
- 8 DK SKIP TO Q8

Q7a.

(IF MORE SECURE)

Much more secure or somewhat more secure?

- 1 MUCH MORE SECURE →SKIP TO Q8
- 5 SOMEWHAT MORE SECURE →SKIP TO Q8
- 8 DK →SKIP TO Q8

Spec: 624__

V000828

Q7b.

(IF LESS SECURE)

Much less secure or somewhat less secure?

- 1 MUCH LESS SECURE
- 5 SOMEWHAT LESS SECURE
- 8 DK

Spec: 625__

V000829

[V000830 SUMMARY](#)

Q8.

Would you say that compared to 1992 the nation's crime rate has gotten better, gotten worse, or stayed about the same?

Spec: 626__

V000831

- 1 BETTER
- 3 WORSE SKIP TO →Q8b
- 5 THE SAME SKIP TO →Q9
- 8 DK SKIP TO →Q9

Q8a.

(IF BETTER)

(Would you say) much better or somewhat better?

- 1 MUCH BETTER →SKIP TO Q9
- 5 SOMEWHAT BETTER →SKIP TO Q9
- 8 DK →SKIP TO Q9

Spec: 627__

V000832

Q8b.

(IF WORSE)

(Would you say) much worse or somewhat worse?

- 1 MUCH WORSE
- 5 SOMEWHAT WORSE
- 8 DK

Spec: 628__

V000833

[V000834 SUMMARY](#)

Q9.

Would you say that [Clinton administration](#) has made the nation's crime rate better, worse, or hasn't it made much difference either way?

- 1 BETTER
- 3 WORSE SKIP TO →Q9b
- 5 NO DIFFERENCE SKIP TO →Q10
- 8 DK SKIP TO Q10

Spec: 629__

V000835

Q9a.

(IF BETTER)

Much better or somewhat better?

- 1 MUCH BETTER →SKIP TO Q10
- 5 SOMEWHAT BETTER →SKIP TO Q10
- 8 DK →SKIP TO Q10

Spec: 630__

V000836

Q9b.

(IF WORSE)

Much worse or somewhat worse?

- 1 MUCH WORSE
- 5 SOMEWHAT WORSE
- 8 DK

Spec: 631__

V000837

[V000838 SUMMARY](#)

Q10.

Would you say that [compared to 1992](#), the nation's moral climate has gotten better, stayed about the same, or gotten worse?

- 1 BETTER
- 3 WORSE SKIP TO →Q10b
- 5 THE SAME SKIP TO →Q11
- 8 DK SKIP TO Q11

Spec: 632__

V000839

Q10a.

(IF BETTER)

(Would you say) much better or somewhat better?

- 1 MUCH BETTER →SKIP TO Q11
- 5 SOMEWHAT BETTER →SKIP TO Q11
- 8 DK →SKIP TO Q11

Spec: 633__

V000840

Q10b.
(IF WORSE)

(Would you say) much worse or somewhat worse?
1 MUCH WORSE
5 SOMEWHAT WORSE
8 DK

Spec: 634__

V000841

[V000842 SUMMARY](#)

Q11.

Has the [Clinton administration](#) made the nation's moral climate better, worse, or hasn't it made much difference either way?

1 BETTER
3 WORSE
5 NO DIFFERENCE
8 DK

SKIP TO →Q11b
SKIP TO →Q14
SKIP TO Q14

Spec: 635__

V000843

Q11a.
(IF BETTER)

Much better or somewhat better?
1 MUCH BETTER →SKIP TO Q14
5 SOMEWHAT BETTER →SKIP TO Q14
8 DK →SKIP TO Q14

Spec: 636__

V000844

Q11b.
(IF WORSE)

Much worse or somewhat worse?
1 MUCH WORSE
5 SOMEWHAT WORSE
8 DK

Spec: 637__

V000845

[V000846 SUMMARY](#)

Q14 - CLINTON AFFECTS

CLINTON AFFECTS ARE ASKED IN RANDOM ORDER.

Q14a.

(Has Bill Clinton -- because of the kind of person he is or because of something he has done, ever made you feel:)

ANGRY
1 YES
5 NO SKIP →to next affect
8 DK SKIP →to next affect

Spec: 644_1

V000847

Q14a1.
(IF YES)

How often would you say you've felt angry -- very often, fairly often, occasionally, or rarely?

Spec: 645_1

V000848

- 1 VERY OFTEN
- 2 FAIRLY OFTEN
- 3 OCCASIONALLY
- 4 RARELY
- 8 DK

Q14b.

(Has Bill Clinton -- because of the kind of person he is or because of something he has done, ever made you feel:)

HOPEFUL

- 1 YES
- 5 NO SKIP → to next affect
- 8 DK SKIP → to next affect

Spec: 644_2

V000849

**Q14b1.
(IF YES)**

How often would you say you've felt hopeful -- very often, fairly often, occasionally, or rarely?

- 1 VERY OFTEN
- 2 FAIRLY OFTEN
- 3 OCCASIONALLY
- 4 RARELY
- 8 DK

Spec: 645_2

V000850

Q14c.

(Has Bill Clinton -- because of the kind of person he is or because of something he has done, ever made you feel:)

AFRAID

- 1 YES
- 5 NO SKIP → to next affect
- 8 DK SKIP → to next affect

Spec: 644_3

V000851

**Q14c1.
(IF YES)**

How often would you say you've felt afraid -- very often, fairly often, occasionally, or rarely?

- 1 VERY OFTEN
- 2 FAIRLY OFTEN
- 3 OCCASIONALLY
- 4 RARELY
- 8 DK

Spec: 645_3

V000852

Q14d.

(Has Bill Clinton -- because of the kind of person he is or because of something he has done, ever made you feel:)

PROUD

- 1 YES
- 5 NO SKIP → to next affect
- 8 DK SKIP → to next affect

Spec: 644_4

V000853

**Q14d1.
(IF YES)**

How often would you say you've felt proud -- very often, fairly often, occasionally, or rarely?

Spec: 645_4

V000854

- 1 VERY OFTEN
- 2 FAIRLY OFTEN
- 3 OCCASIONALLY
- 4 RARELY
- 8 DK

Q15 - CLINTON TRAITS

CLINTON TRAITS ARE ASKED IN RANDOM ORDER.

Q15a-Q15g.

Please look at page 4 of the booklet.

In your opinion, does the phrase 'he is <trait>?' describe Bill Clinton extremely well, quite well, not too well, or not well at all?

(What about <trait>? [Does this phrase describe Bill Clinton extremely well, quite well, not too well, or not well at all?]) [DO NOT PROBE "DK"]

T Q15a.T-g.T

In your opinion, does the phrase 'he is <trait>?' describe Bill Clinton extremely well, quite well, not too well, or not well at all?

(What about <trait>? [Does this phrase describe Bill Clinton extremely well, quite well, not too well, or not well at all?]) [DO NOT PROBE "DK"]

Q15a.

MORAL

- 1 EXTREMELY WELL
- 2 QUITE WELL
- 3 NOT TOO WELL
- 4 NOT WELL AT ALL
- 8 DK

Spec: 652_1

V000855

⇒ This question requires you to use the word "is" when appropriate, and leave it out when inappropriate. Thus, for "really cares about people like you" and "provides strong leadership", leave out the "is" from the phrase. In the other cases, include it.

Q15b.

REALLY CARES ABOUT PEOPLE LIKE YOU

- 1 EXTREMELY WELL
- 2 QUITE WELL
- 3 NOT TOO WELL
- 4 NOT WELL AT ALL
- 8 DK

Spec: 652_2

V000856

Q15c.

KNOWLEDGEABLE

- 1 EXTREMELY WELL
- 2 QUITE WELL
- 3 NOT TOO WELL
- 4 NOT WELL AT ALL
- 8 DK

Spec: 652_3

V000857

Q15d.
PROVIDES STRONG LEADERSHIP

Spec: 652_4

V000858

- 1 EXTREMELY WELL
- 2 QUITE WELL
- 3 NOT TOO WELL
- 4 NOT WELL AT ALL
- 8 DK

Q15e.
DISHONEST

Spec: 652_5

V000859

- 1 EXTREMELY WELL
- 2 QUITE WELL
- 3 NOT TOO WELL
- 4 NOT WELL AT ALL
- 8 DK

Q15f.
INTELLIGENT

Spec: 652_6

V000860

- 1 EXTREMELY WELL
- 2 QUITE WELL
- 3 NOT TOO WELL
- 4 NOT WELL AT ALL
- 8 DK

Q15g.
OUT OF TOUCH WITH ORDINARY PEOPLE

Spec: 652_7

V000861

- 1 EXTREMELY WELL
- 2 QUITE WELL
- 3 NOT TOO WELL
- 4 NOT WELL AT ALL
- 8 DK

SECTION R

R1-R3 – OPINIONS AND COMPLEX DECISIONS

R1.
Some people have opinions about almost everything; other people have opinions about just some things; and still other people have very few opinions. What about you? Would you say you have opinions about almost everything, about many things, about some things, or about very few things?

Spec: 663__

V000862

- 1 ALMOST EVERYTHING
- 2 MANY THINGS
- 3 SOME THINGS
- 4 VERY FEW THINGS
- 8 DK

R1a.
Compared to the average person do you have fewer opinions about whether things are good or bad, about the same number of opinions, or more opinions?

Spec: 664__

V000863

1 FEWER OPINIONS
3 ABOUT THE SAME NUMBER OF OPINIONS
5 MORE OPINIONS
8 DK

R1a1.
(IF MORE OPINIONS)

Would you say that you have a lot more opinions or just somewhat more opinions?

1 A LOT MORE OPINIONS →SKIP TO R2
5 SOMEWHAT MORE OPINIONS →SKIP TO R2
8 DK →SKIP TO R2

Spec: 665__ V000864

R1a2.
(IF FEWER OPINIONS)

Would you say that you have a lot fewer opinions or just somewhat fewer opinions?

1 A LOT FEWER OPINIONS
5 SOMEWHAT FEWER OPINIONS
8 DK

Spec: 666__ V000865

[V000866 SUMMARY](#)

R2.

Some people like to have responsibility for handling situations that require a lot of thinking, and other people don't like to have responsibility for situations like that. What about you? Do you like having responsibility for handling situations that require a lot of thinking, do you dislike it, or do you neither like it nor dislike it?

1 LIKE
3 DISLIKE →SKIP TO R2b
5 NEITHER LIKE OR DISLIKE →SKIP TO R3
8 DK →SKIP TO R3

Spec: 669__ V000867

⇒ This question may strike some respondents as curious in a study about the election. If asked, you may reply something to the effect of "Many social scientists believe that this is a good predictor of social and political attitudes and behavior."

R2a.
(IF LIKE)

Do you like it a lot or just somewhat?

1 A LOT →SKIP TO R3
5 SOMEWHAT →SKIP TO R3
8 DK →SKIP TO R3

Spec: 670__ V000868

R2b.
(IF DISLIKE)

Do you dislike it a lot or just somewhat?

1 DISLIKE IT A LOT
5 DISLIKE IT SOMEWHAT
8 DON'T KNOW

Spec: 671__ V000869

[V000870 SUMMARY](#)

R3.

Some people prefer to solve simple problems instead of complex ones, whereas other people prefer to solve more complex problems. Which type of problem do you prefer to solve: simple or complex?

Spec: 672__ V000871

1 SIMPLE
5 COMPLEX
8 DON'T KNOW

SECTION S

S1-S5 - RELIGIOSITY

S1.

Spec: 683__

V000872

Do you consider religion to be an important part of your life, or not?

1 IMPORTANT
5 NOT IMPORTANT →SKIP TO S3
8 DON'T KNOW →SKIP TO S3

S2.

Spec: 684__

V000873

(IF IMPORTANT)

Would you say your religion provides some guidance in your day-to-day living, quite a bit of guidance, or a great deal of guidance in your day-to-day life?

1 SOME
3 QUITE A BIT
5 A GREAT DEAL
8 DK

S3.

Spec: 685__

V000874

Please look at page 15 of the booklet.

People practice their religion in different ways. Outside of attending religious services, do you pray several times a day, once a day, a few times a week, once a week or less or never?

S3.T

T *People practice their religion in different ways. Outside of attending religious services, do you pray several times a day, once a day, a few times a week, once a week or less or never?*

1 SEVERAL TIMES A DAY
2 ONCE A DAY
3 A FEW TIMES A WEEK
4 ONCE A WEEK OR LESS
5 NEVER
7 OTHER (SPECIFY)
8 DK

S4.

Spec: 686__

V000875

Still looking at page 15 of the booklet.

Outside of attending religious services, do you read the Bible several times a day, once a day, a few times a week, once a week or less or never?

T S4.T

T *Outside of attending religious services, do you read the Bible several times a day, once a day, a few times a week, once a week or less or never?*

- 1 SEVERAL TIMES A DAY
- 2 ONCE A DAY
- 3 A FEW TIMES A WEEK
- 4 ONCE A WEEK OR LESS
- 5 NEVER
- 7 OTHER (SPECIFY)
- 8 DK

S5.

Spec: 687__

V000876

Please look at page 16 of the booklet.

Which of these statements comes closest to describing your feelings about the Bible? You can just give me the number of your choice.

T S5.T

I am going to read you a short list of statements. Please tell me which of these statements comes closest to describing your feelings about the Bible? You can just give me the number of the statement you choose.

- 1 THE BIBLE IS THE ACTUAL WORD OF GOD AND IS TO BE TAKEN LITERALLY, WORD FOR WORD.
- 2 THE BIBLE IS THE WORD OF GOD BUT NOT EVERYTHING IN IT SHOULD BE TAKEN LITERALLY, WORD FOR WORD.
- 3 THE BIBLE IS A BOOK WRITTEN BY MEN AND IS NOT THE WORD OF GOD.
- 7 OTHER (SPECIFY) [VOL]
- 8 DK

SECTION X

X1-X9 – RELIGIOUS IDENTIFICATION

X1.

Spec: 693__

V000877

Lots of things come up that keep people from attending religious services even if they want to. Thinking about your life these days, do you ever attend religious services, apart from occasional weddings, baptisms or funerals?

- 1 YES → SKIP TO X2
- 5 NO → SKIP TO X1a
- 8 DK → SKIP TO X1a

⇒ Section X is devoted to the religious affiliation battery, which was introduced on the National Election Study in 1990. After several complaints that our old measure failed to discriminate among denominations with different political tendencies and behaviors, the Board of Overseers commissioned the development of a new measure to a group of scholars specializing in the sociological and political impact of religious affiliation. This group came to be known as the Religion and Politics group and worked closely with the staffing the development of the new measure using the 1989 Pilot to test it, before its use in the filed in the 1990 Election Study.

⇒ The most complicated cases will require a maximum of 3 questions to identify R's denomination. Although forbidding looking, the section administers easily.

⇒ If R asks, why are we asking these questions? You can answer something to the effect, "we want to know how people with different kind of backgrounds answer our questions."

X1a.

Spec: 694__

V000878

(IF NO OR DK)

Regardless of whether you now attend any religious services do you ever think of yourself as part of a particular church or denomination?

- 1 YES → X3
- 5 NO → GO TO Y1
- 8 DK → GO TO Y1

**X2.
(IF YES)**

Spec: 695__ V000879

Do you go to religious services every week, almost every week, once or twice a month, a few times a year, or never?

- 1 EVERY WEEK → X2a
- 2 ALMOST EVERY WEEK → X3
- 3 ONCE OR TWICE A MONTH → X3
- 4 A FEW TIMES A YEAR → X3
- 5 NEVER → X3
- 8 DK → X3

**X2a.
(IF EVERY WEEK)**

Spec: 696__ V000880

Would you say you go to religious services once a week or more often than once a week?

- 1 ONCE A WEEK
- 2 MORE OFTEN THAN ONCE A WEEK
- 8 DK

**X3.
(IF R ATTENDS IN X1) OR**

Spec: 698__ V000881

(IF R DOES NOT ATTEND IN X1 BUT THINKS OF SELF AS PART OF CHURCH/DENOMINATION IN X1a)

CHECKPOINT: DOES R ATTEND CHURCH?

- 1 YES (yes in X1; any code except never in X2) → X3a
- 5 NO (no or DK in X1; never in X2) → X3b

**X3a.
(IF ATTENDS IN CHECKPOINT)**

Spec: 700__ V000882

Do you mostly attend a place of worship that is Protestant, Roman Catholic, Jewish, or something else?

- 1 PROTESTANT → X4
- 2 CATHOLIC → X7
- 3 JEWISH → X6a
- 7 OTHER → X4
- 8 DK → SKIP TO Y1

**X3b.
(IF DOES NOT ATTEND IN CHECKPOINT)**

Spec: 701__ V000883

Do you consider yourself Protestant, Roman Catholic, Jewish, or something else?

- 1 PROTESTANT → X4
- 2 CATHOLIC → SKIP TO X7
- 3 JEWISH → SKIP TO X6b
- 7 OTHER → X4
- 8 DK → SKIP TO Y1

X4.
(IF ATTENDS/CONSIDERS SELF PROTESTANT OR 'OTHER')

Spec: 703__

V000884

What church or denomination is that?

1 BAPTIST	→SKIP TO X4b
2 EPISCOPALIAN/ANGLICAN/CHURCH OF ENGLAND	→SKIP TO X7
3 LUTHERAN	→SKIP TO X4c
4 METHODIST	→SKIP TO X4d
5 JUST PROTESTANT	→SKIP TO X7
6 PRESBYTERIAN	→SKIP TO X4e
7 REFORMED	→SKIP TO X4f
8 BRETHREN	→SKIP TO X4g
9 EVANGELICAL UNITED BRETHREN	→SKIP TO X7
10 CHRISTIAN OR JUST CHRISTIAN	→SKIP TO X4h
11 CHRISTIAN SCIENTIST	→SKIP TO X7
12 CHURCH (or CHURCHES) OF CHRIST	→SKIP TO X4i
13 UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST	→SKIP TO X7
14 DISCIPLES OF CHRIST	→SKIP TO X7
15 CHURCH OF GOD	→SKIP TO X4j
16 ASSEMBLY OF GOD	→SKIP TO X7
17 CONGREGATIONALIST	→SKIP TO X7
18 HOLINESS	→SKIP TO X4k
19 PENTACOSTAL	→SKIP TO X4l
20 FRIENDS, QUAKER	→SKIP TO X7
21 ORTHODOX, e.g. Greek, Russian (SPECIFY);C	→SKIP TO X7
22 NON-DENOMINATIONAL – PROTESTANT	→SKIP TO X7
23 MORMONS	→SKIP TO X7
24 JEHOVAH'S WITNESSES	→SKIP TO X7
25 LATTER DAY SAINTS	→SKIP TO X7
26 UNITARIAN/UNIVERSALIST	→SKIP TO X7
27 BUDDHIST	→SKIP TO X7
28 HINDU	→SKIP TO X7
29 MUSLIM/ISLAM	→SKIP TO X7
30 NATIVE AMERICAN	→SKIP TO X7
97 OTHER (SPECIFY);C	→SKIP TO X4m
98 DK	→SKIP TO X7

[V000885_code 97 text \(blanked\)](#)

X4a.
(IF PROTESTANT OR 'OTHER') AND
(IF BAPTIST DENOMINATION)

Spec: 704__

V000886

With which Baptist group is your church associated? Is it the Southern Baptist Convention, the American Baptist Churches in the U.S.A., the American Baptist Association, an independent Baptist church or some other Baptist group?

1 SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION	→ X7
2 AMERICAN BAPTIST CHURCHES IN USA	→ X7
3 AMERICAN BAPTIST ASSOCIATION	→ X7
4 INDEPENDENT BAPTIST	→ X7
7 OTHER (SPECIFY)	→ X7
8 DK	→ X7

X4b.
(IF INDEPENDENT BAPTIST)

Spec: 705__

V000887

Are you affiliated with any larger Baptist group or is this strictly a local church?

- 1 LARGER BAPTIST GROUP [SPECIFY] → X7
- 2 LOCAL → X7
- 8 DK → X7

X4c.
(IF PROTESTANT OR 'OTHER') AND
(IF LUTHERAN DENOMINATION)

Spec: 706__

V000888

Is this church part of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in American, the Missouri Synod, or some other Lutheran group?

- 1 EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH → X7
- 2 MISSOURI SYNOD → X7
- 7 OTHER [SPECIFY] → X7
- 8 DK

X4d.
(IF PROTESTANT OR 'OTHER') AND
(IF METHODIST DENOMINATION)

Spec: 707__

V000889

Is your church part of the United Methodist Church, African Methodist Episcopal, or some other Methodist group?

- 1 UNITED METHODIST CHURCH → X7
- 2 AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL → X7
- 7 OTHER [SPECIFY] → X7
- 8 DK → X7

X4e.
(IF PROTESTANT OR 'OTHER') AND
(IF PRESBYTERIAN DENOMINATION)

Spec: 708__

V000890

Is this the Presbyterian Church in the USA or some other Presbyterian group?

- 1 PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH USA (FORMERLY UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH) → X7
- 7 OTHER [SPECIFY] → X7
- 8 DK → X7

X4f.
(IF PROTESTANT OR 'OTHER') AND
(IF REFORMED DENOMINATION)

Spec: 709__

V000891

Is this the Christian Reformed Church, the Reformed Church in America or some Other Reformed group?

- 1 CHRISTIAN REFORMED CHURCH → X7
- 2 THE REFORMED CHURCH IN AMERICA → X7
- 7 OTHER [SPECIFY] → X7
- 8 DK → X7

X4g.
(IF PROTESTANT OR 'OTHER') AND
(IF BRETHREN DENOMINATION)

Spec: 710__

V000892

Is this the church of the Brethren, the Plymouth Brethren, or what?

- 1 CHURCH OF THE BRETHREN → X7
- 2 THE PLYMOUTH BRETHREN → X7
- 7 OTHER [SPECIFY] → X7
- 8 DK → X7

X4h.
(IF PROTESTANT OR 'OTHER') AND
(IF 'CHRISTIAN' DENOMINATION)

Spec: 711__

V000893

When you say "Christian" does that mean the denomination called the "Christian Church Church (Disciples of Christ)," or some other Christian denomination, or do you mean to say "I am just a Christian"?

- 1 DISCIPLES OF CHRIST → X7
- 2 I AM JUST A CHRISTIAN → X7
- 7 OTHER [SPECIFY] → X7
- 8 DK → X7

X4i.
(IF PROTESTANT OR 'OTHER') AND
(IF CHURCH OF CHRIST DENOMINATION)

Spec: 712__

V000894

Is this the Church of Christ or the United Church of Christ?

- 1 CHURCH OF CHRIST → X7
- 2 UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST → X7
- 8 DK → X7

X4j.
(IF PROTESTANT OR 'OTHER') AND
(IF CHURCH OF GOD DENOMINATION)

Spec: 713__

V000895

Is this the Church of God of Anderson, Indiana; the Church of God of Cleveland, Tennessee; the Church of God in Christ; or some other Church of God?

- 1 ANDERSON, INDIANA → X7
- 2 CLEVELAND, TENNESSEE → X7
- 3 CHURCH OF GOD IN CHRIST → X7
- 7 OTHER [SPECIFY] → X7
- 8 DK → X7

X4k.
(IF PROTESTANT OR 'OTHER') AND
(IF HOLINESS OR PENTECOSTAL DENOMINATION)

Spec: 714__

V000896 blanked

What kind of church is that? What is it called exactly? Is that part of a larger church or denomination? What is that church called?

(THESE QUESTIONS ARE PROBES. USE THESE AND OTHERS TO GET AS MUCH SPECIFIC INFORMATION AS POSSIBLE)

OPENEND

→ X7

X4m.
(IF PROTESTANT OR 'OTHER') AND
(IF OTHER DENOMINATION)
 What is it called exactly? Is that church part of a denomination?
 (USE ANY OR ALL AS NECESSARY; GET AS MUCH DETAIL AS POSSIBLE).
 _____ *OPENEND* → X7

Spec: 715__

V000898 blanked

X4m1.
(IF 'OTHER') AND
(IF OTHER DENOMINATION)
 Is that group Christian?
 1 YES → X7
 5 NO → X7
 8 DK → X7

Spec: 716__

V000899

X6a.
(IF R ATTENDS) AND
(IF JEWISH SERVICES)
 Do you usually attend a synagogue or temple that is Orthodox, Conservative,
 Reform or what?
 1 ORTHODOX → X7
 2 CONSERVATIVE → X7
 3 REFORM → X7
 7 OTHER [SPECIFY] → X7
 8 DK → X7

Spec: 720__

V000900

X6b.
(IF R DOES NOT ATTEND) AND
(IF R CONSIDERS SELF JEWISH)
 Do you consider yourself Orthodox, Conservative, Reform, or what?
 1 ORTHODOX → X7
 2 CONSERVATIVE → X7
 3 REFORM → X7
 7 OTHER [SPECIFY] → X7
 8 DK → X7

Spec: 721__

V000901

X7.
(IF NOT NO/DK IN X1a) AND
(IF NOT DK IN X3a/X3b)
 Are you officially a member of a parish, congregation, temple or other place
 of worship?
 1 YES → X8 OR Y1
 5 NO → X8 OR Y1
 8 DK → X8 OR Y1

Spec: 722__

V000902

⇒ A "member" of a parish, congregation, or temple, is listed on the membership

rolls for that organization, and probably is regularly solicited for support, etc.
⇒ One may be converted to a religious belief but one joins a parish or congregation or temple.

X8.
(IF CONSIDERS SELF CATHOLIC) OR
(IF CODED 1-26 IN X4 DENOMINATION) OR
(IF CODED DK IN X4 DENOMINATION) AND (IF CHRISTIAN IN X4m1)

Spec: 724__

V000903

Would you call yourself a born-again Christian, that is, have you personally had a conversion experience related to Jesus Christ?

- 1 YES
- 5 NO
- 8 DK

[V000904 RELIGION SUMMARY](#)

SECTION Y

Y1-Y31a – DEMOGRAPHICS

Y1.

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

- 00-12 MONTH
- 01-31 DAY
- 1900-1980 YEAR

Spec: 733-735

V000905,0906,0907

[V000908 RESPONDENT AGE](#)

Y2.

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

- 1 MARRIED
- 2 WIDOWED
- 3 DIVORCED
- 4 SEPARATED
- 5 NEVER MARRIED
- 6 PARTNERED, NOT MARRIED [VOL]
- 8 DK

Spec: 736__

V000909

⇒ Partners, not married is a volunteered response. People that you include under category 7 should be living as married. They are treated as married throughout the rest of the Y section (i.e., you will enter #1 at Y4, and #1).

Y3.

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

- 00-12 YEARS
- 13-16 YEARS → SKIP TO Y3b
- 17 17+ YEARS → SKIP TO Y3b
- 98 DK

Spec: 737__

V000910

⇒ GRADES OF SCHOOL refers to elementary and secondary school, not to college or technical school. Under COLLEGE, categories 13-16 refer to the usual four years of college, while 17+ would be marked for anyone in a program which takes more than the normal four years to receive a college degree.

Y3a.

(IF 0-12 YEARS OF SCHOOL OR DK)

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

- 1 YES →SKIP TO Y4 IF MARRIED/PARTNERED, IF NOT SKIP TO Y5
- 5 NO →SKIP TO Y4 IF MARRIED/PARTNERED, IF NOT SKIP TO Y5
- 8 DK →SKIP TO Y4 IF MARRIED/PARTNERED, IF NOT SKIP TO Y5

Spec: 738__

V000911

Y3b.

(IF 13+ YEARS OF SCHOOL)

What is the highest degree that you have earned?

- 01 BACHELOR'S DEGREE
- 02 MASTER'S DEGREE
- 03 PhD, LIT, SCD, DFA, DLIT, DPH, DPHIL, JSC, SJD
- 04 LLB, JD
- 05 MD, DDS, DVM, MVSA, DSC, DO
- 06 JDC, STD, THD
- 07 ASSOCIATE DEGREE (AA)
- 96 NO DEGREE EARNED
- 98 DK

Spec: 739__

V000912

V000913 R EDUC SUMMARY

Y4.

(IF MARRIED OR PARTNERED)

What is the highest grade of school or year of college (your husband/your wife/your partner) has completed?

- 00-12 YEARS
- 13-16 YEARS → SKIP TO Y4b
- 17 17+ YEARS → SKIP TO Y4b
- 98 DK

Spec: 741__

V000914

Y4a.

(IF 0-12 YEARS OF SCHOOL OR DK)

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

- 1 YES →SKIP TO Y5
- 5 NO →SKIP TO Y5
- 8 DK →SKIP TO Y5

Spec: 742__

V000915

Y4b.

(IF 13+ YEARS OF SCHOOL)

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

- 01 BACHELOR'S DEGREE
- 02 MASTER'S DEGREE
- 03 PhD, LIT, SCD, DFA, DLIT, DPH, DPHIL, JSC, SJD
- 04 LLB, JD
- 05 MD, DDS, DVM, MVSA, DSC, DO
- 06 JDC, STD, THD
- 07 ASSOCIATE DEGREE (AA)
- 96 NO DEGREE EARNED
- 98 DK

Spec: 743__

V000916

Y6.

Please look at page 17 of the booklet.

We'd like to know if you are working now, temporarily laid off, or are you unemployed, retired, permanently disabled, a homemaker, a student, or what? [ENTER ALL THAT APPLY]

- 1 WORKING NOW →(IF HIGHEST NUMBER CATEGORY) SKIP TO Y7 *
- 2 TEMPORARILY LAID OFF →(IF HIGHEST NUMBER CATEGORY) SKIP TO Y7 *
- 3 UNEMPLOYED →(IF HIGHEST NUMBER CATEGORY) SKIP TO Y9
- 4 RETIRED →(IF RETIRED IS A CATEGORY EVEN IF NOT HIGHEST NUMBER) SKIP TO Y11
- 5 PERMANENTLY DISABLED →(IF HIGHEST NUMBER CATEGORY UNLESS ALSO RETIRED) SKIP TO Y13
- 6 HOMEMAKER →(IF HIGHEST NUMBER CATEGORY UNLESS ALSO RETIRED) SKIP TO Y15
- 7 STUDENT → (IF HIGHEST NUMBER CATEGORY UNLESS ALSO RETIRED) SKIP TO Y15

[note: application at Y6 will not allow entry of unemployed in combination with employed or TLO]

* the Y7-Y8 series follows Y15-Y16 in the questionnaire in order to follow the programming logic

⇒ The category "UNEMPLOYED" refers to a person who at the present time is not working for pay and says he/she is "looking for work" or "seeking employment". A troublesome variation is they person who answer Y5 by combining "unemployed" with some other category, such as "unemployed homemaker" or "unemployed student". In a case in which R combines "unemployed" with another category, please make a note of R's exact words as you would always do, then ask the unemployed series of questions (unless you have some reason to believe doing so would be entirely inappropriate). We may wish to call an "unemployed homemaker" a "homemaker", but we don't expect you to make that distinction. Just be sure to tell us exactly what R thinks he/she is so we can make intelligent adjustments in coding. It is also possible that R may feel he/she is both "working now" and either "retired," "permanently disabled," a "homemaker," or a "student". Check both response categories.

⇒ We want the working NOW information; that's the bottom line.

Unemployed series Y9-Y10

Y9.

(IF UNEMPLOYED IS HIGHEST Y6 CATEGORY)

Have you ever done any work for pay?

- 1 YES
- 5 NO →Y10g
- 8 DK →Y10g

Spec: 746__

V000921

Y10.

**(IF UNEMPLOYED IS HIGHEST Y6 CATEGORY) AND
(IF HAS EVER DONE WORK FOR PAY)**

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

_____ OPENEND → Y10a

Spec: 747__

Y10a.

**(IF UNEMPLOYED IS HIGHEST Y6 CATEGORY) AND
(IF HAS EVER DONE WORK FOR PAY)**

What were your most important duties or activities?

_____ OPENEND → Y10b

Spec: 748_

[V000922](#) 2-digit occup
[V000922a](#) 3-digit occup (blanked)
[V000923](#) 1-digit occup summary
[V000924](#) prestige code (blanked)

Y10b.
(IF UNEMPLOYED IS HIGHEST Y6 CATEGORY) AND
(IF HAS EVER DONE WORK FOR PAY)
What kind of business or industry was that?
_____ *OPENEND* → Y10c

Spec: 749__ V000925

Y10c.
(IF UNEMPLOYED IS HIGHEST Y6 CATEGORY) AND
(IF HAS EVER DONE WORK FOR PAY)
Did you work for someone else, were you self-employed or what?
1 SOMEONE ELSE
3 BOTH SELF AND SOMEONE ELSE
5 SELF-EMPLOYED → Y10e
8 DK → Y10e

Spec: 750__ V000926

Y10d.
(IF UNEMPLOYED IS HIGHEST Y6 CATEGORY) AND
(IF HAS EVER DONE WORK FOR PAY) AND
(IF WAS NOT SELF-EMPLOYED ONLY)
Were you employed by a federal, state or local government?
1 YES
5 NO
8 DK

Spec: 751__ V000927

Y10e.
(IF UNEMPLOYED IS HIGHEST Y6 CATEGORY) AND
(IF HAS EVER DONE WORK FOR PAY)
Have you had a job in the last six months?
1 YES
5 NO → Y10g
8 DK → Y10g

Spec: 752__ V000928

Y10f.
(IF UNEMPLOYED IS HIGHEST Y6 CATEGORY) AND
(IF HAS EVER DONE WORK FOR PAY) AND
(IF HAS HAD A JOB IN THE LAST 6 MOS.)
About how many hours did you work on your job in the average week?
0-168

Spec: 753__ V000929

Y10g.
(IF UNEMPLOYED IS HIGHEST Y6 CATEGORY)
Are you looking for work at the present time?

Spec: 754__ V000930

1 YES
5 NO →Y25
8 DK →Y25

Y10h.
(IF UNEMPLOYED IS HIGHEST Y6 CATEGORY) AND
(IF LOOKING FOR WORK AT PRESENT)

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

1 A LOT →Y25
3 SOMEWHAT →Y25
5 NOT MUCH AT ALL →Y25
8 DK →Y25

Spec: 755__

V000931

Retired series Y11-Y12

Y11.
(IF RETIRED IS AN EMPLOYMENT STATUS CATEGORY IN Y6)

When did you retire?

MONTH:

1 JANUARY
2 FEBRUARY
3 MARCH
4 APRIL
5 MAY
6 JUNE
7 JULY
8 AUGUST
9 SEPTEMBER
10 OCTOBER
11 NOVEMBER
12 DECEMBER

YEAR:

1920-2000

Spec: 757-758

V000932,V000933

Y12.
(IF RETIRED IS AN EMPLOYMENT STATUS CATEGORY IN Y6)

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

OPENEND → Y12a

Spec: 760__

Y12a.
(IF RETIRED IS AN EMPLOYMENT STATUS CATEGORY IN Y6)

What were your most important duties or activities?

OPENEND → Y12b

Spec: 761__

V000934 2-digit occup

Y12b.
(IF RETIRED IS AN EMPLOYMENT STATUS CATEGORY IN Y6)
What kind of business or industry was that?

OPENEND

→ Y12c

Spec: 762__

V000937

Y12c.
(IF RETIRED IS AN EMPLOYMENT STATUS CATEGORY IN Y6)
Did you work for someone else, were you self-employed or what?

1 SOMEONE ELSE

3 BOTH SELF AND SOMEONE ELSE

5 SELF-EMPLOYED

8 DK

→ Y12e

→ Y12e

Spec: 763__

V000938

Y12d.
(IF RETIRED IS AN EMPLOYMENT STATUS CATEGORY IN Y6) AND
(IF WAS NOT SELF-EMPLOYED ONLY)

Were you employed by a federal, state or local government?

1 YES

5 NO

8 DK

Spec: 764__

V000939

Y12e.
(IF RETIRED IS AN EMPLOYMENT STATUS CATEGORY IN Y6)
Have you had a job in the last six months?

1 YES

5 NO

8 DK

→ Y12g

→ Y12g

Spec: 765__

V000940

Y12f.
(IF RETIRED IS AN EMPLOYMENT STATUS CATEGORY IN Y6) AND
(IF HAS HAD A JOB IN LAST 6 MOS.)

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

0-168

Spec: 766__

V000941

Y12g.
(IF RETIRED IS AN EMPLOYMENT STATUS CATEGORY IN Y6)
Are you doing any work for pay at the present time?

1 YES

5 NO

8 DK

→ SKIP TO Y7 (below)

Spec: 767__

V000942

Y12h.

Spec: 768__

V000943

**(IF RETIRED IS AN EMPLOYMENT STATUS CATEGORY IN Y6) AND
(IF R IS NOT DOING ANY WORK FOR PAY AT PRESENT)**

Are you looking for work at the present time?

1 YES
5 NO →Y25
8 DK →Y25

Y12j.

**(IF RETIRED IS AN EMPLOYMENT STATUS CATEGORY IN Y6) AND
(IF R IS NOT DOING ANY WORK FOR PAY AT PRESENT) AND
(IF R IS LOOKING FOR WORK)**

How worried are you about not being able to find a job in the near future
–a lot, somewhat, or not much at all?

1 A LOT →Y25
3 SOMEWHAT →Y25
5 NOT MUCH AT ALL →Y25
8 DK →Y25

Spec: 769__

V000944

Disabled series Y13-Y14

Y13.

(IF DISABLED IS HIGHEST Y6 CATEGORY AND NOT ALSO RETIRED)

Have you ever done any work for pay?

1 YES
5 NO →Y14h
8 DK →Y14h

Spec: 771__

V000945

Y14.

**(IF DISABLED IS HIGHEST Y6 CATEGORY AND NOT ALSO RETIRED) AND
(IF HAS EVER DONE WORK FOR PAY)**

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

_____ *OPENEND* → Y14a

Spec: 772__

Y14a.

**(IF DISABLED IS HIGHEST Y6 CATEGORY AND NOT ALSO RETIRED) AND
(IF HAS EVER DONE WORK FOR PAY)**

What were your most important duties or activities?

_____ *OPENEND* → Y14b

Spec: 773__

[V000946](#) 2-digit occup

[V000946a](#) 3-digit occup (blanked)

[V000947](#) 1-digit occup summary

[V000948](#) prestige code (blanked)

Y14b.

Spec: 774__

V000949

**(IF DISABLED IS HIGHEST Y6 CATEGORY AND NOT ALSO RETIRED) AND
(IF HAS EVER DONE WORK FOR PAY)**

What kind of business or industry was that?

OPENEND

→ Y14c

Y14c.

**(IF DISABLED IS HIGHEST Y6 CATEGORY AND NOT ALSO RETIRED) AND
(IF HAS EVER DONE WORK FOR PAY)**

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

1 SOMEONE ELSE

3 BOTH SELF AND SOMEONE ELSE

5 SELF-EMPLOYED

→ Y14e

8 DK

→ Y14e

Spec: 775__

V000950

Y14d.

**(IF DISABLED IS HIGHEST Y6 CATEGORY AND NOT ALSO RETIRED) AND
(IF HAS EVER DONE WORK FOR PAY) AND**

(IF WAS NOT SELF-EMPLOYED ONLY)

Were you employed by a federal, state or local government?

1 YES

5 NO

8 DK

Spec: 776__

V000951

Y14e.

**(IF DISABLED IS HIGHEST Y6 CATEGORY AND NOT ALSO RETIRED) AND
(IF HAS EVER DONE WORK FOR PAY)**

Have you had a job in the last six months?

1 YES

5 NO

→ Y14g

8 DK

→ Y14g

Spec: 777__

V000952

Y14f.

**(IF DISABLED IS HIGHEST Y6 CATEGORY AND NOT ALSO RETIRED) AND
(IF HAS EVER DONE WORK FOR PAY) AND**

(IF HAS HAD A JOB IN THE LAST 6 MOS.)

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

0-168

Spec: 778__

V000953

Y14g.

(IF DISABLED IS HIGHEST Y6 CATEGORY AND NOT ALSO RETIRED)

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

1 YES

→ SKIP TO Y7 (below)

5 NO

8 DK

Spec: 779__

V000954

Y14h.

(IF DISABLED IS HIGHEST Y6 CATEGORY AND NOT ALSO RETIRED) AND

(IF R IS NOT DOING ANY WORK FOR PAY AT PRESENT OR HAS NEVER WORKED)

Spec: 780__

V000955

Are you looking for work at the present time?

- 1 YES
- 5 NO →Y25
- 8 DK →Y25

Y14j

**(IF DISABLED IS HIGHEST Y6 CATEGORY AND NOT ALSO RETIRED) AND
(IF R IS NOT DOING WORK FOR PAY AT PRESENT [incl has never worked]) AND
(IF LOOKING FOR WORK AT PRESENT)**

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

- 1 A LOT →Y25
- 3 SOMEWHAT →Y25
- 5 NOT MUCH AT ALL →Y25
- 8 DK →Y25

Spec: 781__

V000956

Homemaker/Student series Y13-Y14

Y15.

(IF HMAKER/STUDENT IS HIGHEST Y6 CATEGORY AND NOT ALSO RETIRED)

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

- 1 YES →SKIP TO Y7 (below)
- 5 NO
- 8 DK

Spec: 783__

V000957

Y15a.

**(IF HMAKER/STUDENT IS HIGHEST Y6 CATEGORY AND NOT ALSO RETIRED) AND
(IF R IS NOT DOING ANY WORK FOR PAY AT PRESENT)**

In the last six months, did you do any work for pay?

- 1 YES
- 5 NO →Y16h
- 8 DK →Y16h

Spec: 784__

V000958

Y16.

**(IF HMAKER/STUDENT IS HIGHEST Y6 CATEGORY AND NOT ALSO RETIRED) AND
(IF R IS NOT DOING ANY WORK FOR PAY AT PRESENT) AND
(IF R HAS WORKED FOR PAY IN LAST 6 MONTHS)**

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

_____ OPENEND _____ → Y16a

Spec: 785__

Y16a.

**(IF HMAKER/STUDENT IS HIGHEST Y6 CATEGORY AND NOT ALSO RETIRED) AND
(IF R IS NOT DOING ANY WORK FOR PAY AT PRESENT) AND
(IF R HAS WORKED FOR PAY IN LAST 6 MONTHS)**

Spec: 786__

What were your most important duties or activities?

OPENEND

→ Y16b

[V000959](#) 2-digit occup
[V000959a](#) 3-digit occup (blanked)
[V000960](#) 1-digit occup summary
[V000961](#) prestige code (blanked)

Y16b.

**(IF HMAKER/STUDENT IS HIGHEST Y6 CATEGORY AND NOT ALSO RETIRED) AND
(IF R IS NOT DOING ANY WORK FOR PAY AT PRESENT) AND
(IF R HAS WORKED FOR PAY IN LAST 6 MONTHS)**

Spec: 787__

V000962

What kind of business or industry was that?

OPENEND

→ Y16c

Y16c.

**(IF HMAKER/STUDENT IS HIGHEST Y6 CATEGORY AND NOT ALSO RETIRED) AND
(IF R IS NOT DOING ANY WORK FOR PAY AT PRESENT) AND
(IF R HAS WORKED FOR PAY IN LAST 6 MONTHS)**

Spec: 788__

V000963

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

1 SOMEONE ELSE

3 BOTH SELF AND SOMEONE ELSE

5 SELF-EMPLOYED

→Y16f

8 DK

→Y16f

Y16d.

**(IF HMAKER/STUDENT IS HIGHEST Y6 CATEGORY AND NOT ALSO RETIRED) AND
(IF R IS NOT DOING ANY WORK FOR PAY AT PRESENT) AND
(IF R HAS WORKED FOR PAY IN LAST 6 MONTHS) AND
(IF R WAS NOT SELF-EMPLOYED ONLY)**

Spec: 789__

V000964

Were you employed by a federal, state or local government?

1 YES

5 NO

8 DK

Y16f.

**(IF HMAKER/STUDENT IS HIGHEST Y6 CATEGORY AND NOT ALSO RETIRED) AND
(IF R IS NOT DOING ANY WORK FOR PAY AT PRESENT) AND
(IF R HAS WORKED FOR PAY IN LAST 6 MONTHS)**

Spec: 791__

V000965

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

0-168

Y16h.

(IF HMAKER/STUDENT IS HIGHEST Y6 CATEGORY AND NOT ALSO RETIRED)

Are you looking for work at the present time?

1 YES

5 NO →Y25

8 DK →Y25

Spec: 793__

V000966

Y16j.
**(IF HMAKER/STUDENT IS HIGHEST Y6 CATEGORY AND NOT ALSO RETIRED) AND
(IF R IS LOOKING FOR WORK)**

Spec: 794__

V000967

How worried are you about not being able to find a job in the near future
–a lot, somewhat, or not much at all?

1 A LOT →Y25
3 SOMEWHAT →Y25
5 NOT MUCH AT ALL →Y25
8 DK →Y25

Working Now/TLO series Y7-Y8

Y7.
**(IF WORKING NOW/TLO IS HIGHEST Y6 CATEGORY) OR
(IF SENT FROM Y12g [RET], Y14g [DIS] OR Y15 [H/S] FOR WN/TLO AS 2ND SERIES)**

Spec: 796__

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

_____ OPENEND → Y7a

Y7a.
**(IF WORKING NOW/TLO IS HIGHEST Y6 CATEGORY) OR
(IF SENT FROM Y12g [RET], Y14g [DIS] OR Y15 [H/S] FOR WN/TLO AS 2ND SERIES)**

Spec: 797__

What are your most important activities or duties?

_____ OPENEND → Y7b

[V000968](#) 2-digit occup
[V000968a](#) 3-digit occup (blanked)
[V000969](#) 1-digit occup summary
[V000970](#) prestige code (blanked)

Y7b.
**(IF WORKING NOW/TLO IS HIGHEST Y6 CATEGORY) OR
(IF SENT FROM Y12g [RET], Y14g [DIS] OR Y15 [H/S] FOR WN/TLO AS 2ND SERIES)**

Spec: 798__

V000971

What kind of (business/industry) is that?

_____ OPENEND → Y7c

Y7c.
**(IF WORKING NOW/TLO IS HIGHEST Y6 CATEGORY) OR
(IF SENT FROM Y12g [RET], Y14g [DIS] OR Y15 [H/S] FOR WN/TLO AS 2ND SERIES)**

Spec: 799__

V000972

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

1 SOMEONE ELSE
3 BOTH SELF AND SOMEONE ELSE
5 SELF-EMPLOYED →Y7e
8 DK →Y7e

Y7d. Spec: 800__ V000973
**((IF WORKING NOW/TLO IS HIGHEST Y6 CATEGORY) OR
(IF SENT FROM Y12g [RET], Y14g [DIS] OR Y15 [H/S] FOR WN/TLO AS 2ND SERIES)) AND
(IF NOT SELF-EMPLOYED ONLY) ****
Are you employed by a federal, state or local government?
1 YES
5 NO
8 DK

Y7e. Spec: 801__ V000974
**((IF WORKING NOW/TLO IS HIGHEST Y6 CATEGORY) OR
(IF SENT FROM Y12g [RET], Y14g [DIS] OR Y15 [H/S] FOR WN/TLO AS 2ND SERIES)**
About how many hours do you work on your job in the average week?
0-168

Y7f. Spec: 802__ V000975
**((IF WORKING NOW/TLO IS HIGHEST Y6 CATEGORY) OR
(IF SENT FROM Y12g [RET], Y14g [DIS] OR Y15 [H/S] FOR WN/TLO AS 2ND SERIES)) AND
(IF NUMBER OF HOURS WORKED IS NOT DK/REF) ****
Is that more hours than you want to work, fewer hours than you want
to work, or generally about right?
1 MORE
3 FEWER
5 ABOUT RIGHT
8 DK

Y7g. Spec: 803__ V000976
**((IF WORKING NOW/TLO IS HIGHEST Y6 CATEGORY) OR
(IF SENT FROM Y12g [RET], Y14g [DIS] OR Y15 [H/S] FOR WN/TLO AS 2ND SERIES)**
How worried are you about losing your job in the near future: a lot, somewhat, or not much at all?
1 A LOT
3 SOMEWHAT
5 NOT MUCH AT ALL
8 DK

Y7h. Spec: 804__ V000977
**((IF WORKING NOW IS HIGHEST Y6 CATEGORY) OR
(IF SENT FROM Y12g [RET], Y14g [DIS] OR Y15 [H/S] FOR WN AS 2ND SERIES BUT IS NOT TLO)**
Were you out of work or laid off at any time during the last six months?
1 YES
5 NO
8 DK

Y7j. Spec: 805__ V000978
**((IF WORKING NOW IS HIGHEST Y6 CATEGORY) OR
(IF SENT FROM Y12g [RET], Y14g [DIS] OR Y15 [H/S] FOR WN AS 2ND SERIES BUT IS NOT TLO)**

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

- 1 YES
- 5 NO
- 8 DK

[V000979-0989 STACKED VARS](#)

Y25.

Spec: 807__

V000990

Do you or anyone else in this household belong to a labor union?

- 1 YES
- 5 NO → SKIP TO Y26
- 8 DK → SKIP TO Y26

⇒ Retired workers who draw union pension, or receive union newsletters, are to be considered union members. If R asks whether a teachers' professional association is considered a union, tell him or her that it is if it bargains like a union for its members. As a rule of thumb, if an organization contains the word "union", it is a union.

Y25a.

Spec: 808M1-M3

V000991a,b,c

(IF YES)

Who is it that belongs? [CHECK ALL THAT APPLY]

- 1 RESPONDENT
- 2 R's WIFE OR FEMALE PARTNER
- 3 R'S HUSBAND OR MALE PARTNER
- 4 SOMEONE ELSE
- 8 DK

Y26.

Spec: 809__

V000992

[IWER CHECKPOINT: IS R THE ONLY HOUSEHOLD MEMBER AGE 14 OR OLDER?]

- 1 YES, R IS ONLY HH MEMBER 14+ → SKIP TO Y28
- 5 NO, THERE ARE OTHER HH MEMBERS 14+

⇒ To meet this checkpoint, use the standard definition of "family" – those persons living with R in 1999 who were related by blood, marriage, adoption, or "consensual union" (i.e., living with a partner).

Y27.

Spec: 810__

V000993

(IF NO, R IS NOT ONLY MEMBER AGE 14+)

Please look at page 18 of the booklet.

Please look at the booklet and tell me the letter of the income group that includes the income of all members of your family living here in 1999 before taxes. This figure should include salaries, wages, pensions, dividends, interest, and all other income. (IF UNCERTAIN: What would be your best guess?)

Y27.T

(IF NO, R IS NOT ONLY MEMBER AGE 14+)

I am going to read you a list of income categories. Please tell me which category best describes the total income of all members of your family living in your house in 1999 before taxes. This figure should include salaries, wages, pensions, dividends, interest, and all other income. Please stop me when I get to your family's income. (IF UNCERTAIN: What would be your best guess?)

- 1 A. NONE OR LESS THAN \$4,999
- 2 B. \$5,000-\$9,999
- 3 C. \$10,000-\$14,999
- 4 D. \$15,000-\$24,999

T

- 5 E. \$25,000-\$34,999
- 6 F. \$35,000-\$49,999
- 7 G. \$50,000-\$64,999
- 8 H. \$65,000-\$74,999
- 9 J. \$75,000-\$84,999
- 10 K. \$85,000-\$94,999
- 11 M. \$95,000-\$104,999
- 12 N. \$105,000-\$114,999
- 13 P. \$115,000-\$124,999
- 14 Q. \$125,000-\$134,999
- 15 R. \$135,000-\$144,999
- 16 S. \$145,000-\$154,999
- 17 T. \$155,000-\$164,999
- 18 U. \$165,000-\$174,999
- 19 V. \$175,000-\$184,999
- 20 W. \$185,000-\$199,999
- 21 X. \$200,000 and over
- 98 Y. DON'T KNOW
- 99 Z. REFUSED

⇒ If necessary, make sure the respondent understands that:

1. This information is strictly confidential;
 2. An answer to this question makes the rest of the interview more valuable to us. NOTE: The figure we want is total family income from all sources before taxes, for the calendar year 1999, not just the respondent's own earnings. The question is designed so that the respondent will not have to name a specific figure, or even to give a narrow range. If R says "don't know", write it in the F2 comment box and probe with "what would be your best estimate?"
- ⇒ The household composition, if you are asked, is what was R's living situation in 1999. If R is currently separated, but was married and living with his/her spouse in 1999, we want the join income of R and spouse. If R is now married but was single and living alone in 1999, we want his/her income. Don't volunteer this – these guidelines are to be used only if you are asked about this by the R.
- ⇒ We understand that this is sometimes a touchy subject. If asked, the reason that we want the information is because many social scientists believe that people with different incomes respond differently to political and social issues. Again, assure them that the interview is strictly confidential and that no-one will be able to associate the income range they give us with their name.

V000994 HH INCOME –ALL HHs
(addl. HHs w/ R only adult)

Y27a.
(IF NO, R IS NOT ONLY MEMBER AGE 14+)

Spec: 811__

V000995

(RB, still on page 18) Now we are interested in the income that you yourself received in 1999, not including any of the income received by (your spouse and) the rest of your family. Please look at this page and tell me the income you yourself had in 1999 before taxes. This figure should include salaries, wages, pensions, dividends, interest, and all other income. (IF UNCERTAIN: What would be your best guess?) [ALL GO TO Y30]

T

Y27a.T
(IF NO, R IS NOT ONLY MEMBER AGE 14+)
Now we are interested in the income that you yourself received in 1999, not including any of the

income received by (your spouse and) the rest of your family. Please tell me which category best describes the income you yourself had in 1999 before taxes. This figure should include salaries wages, pensions, dividends, interest, and all other income. Please stop me when I get to your income category. (IF UNCERTAIN: What would be your best guess?)

- 1 A. NONE OR LESS THAN \$4,999
- 2 B. \$5,000-\$9,999
- 3 C. \$10,000-\$14,999
- 4 D. \$15,000-\$24,999
- 5 E. \$25,000-\$34,999
- 6 F. \$35,000-\$49,999
- 7 G. \$50,000-\$64,999
- 8 H. \$65,000-\$74,999
- 9 J. \$75,000-\$84,999
- 10 K. \$85,000-\$94,999
- 11 M. \$95,000-\$104,999
- 12 N. \$105,000-\$114,999
- 13 P. \$115,000-\$124,999
- 14 Q. \$125,000-\$134,999
- 15 R. \$135,000-\$144,999
- 16 S. \$145,000-\$154,999
- 17 T. \$155,000-\$164,999
- 18 U. \$165,000-\$174,999
- 19 V. \$175,000-\$184,999
- 20 W. \$185,000-\$199,999
- 21 X. \$200,000 and over
- 98 Y. DON'T KNOW
- 99 Z. REFUSED

⇒ See instructions for Y27

Y28.

(IF YES, R IS ONLY MEMBER AGE 14+)

Spec: 812__

V000996

(RB, page 18) Please tell me the letter of the income group that includes the income you had in 1999 before taxes. This figure should include salaries, wages, pensions, dividends, interest, and all other income. [IF UNCERTAIN: "WHAT WOULD BE YOUR BEST GUESS?"]

T

Y28a.T

I am going to read you a list of all income categories. Please tell me which category best describes the total income you had in 1999 before taxes. This figure should include salaries, wages, pensions, dividends, interest, and all other income. Please stop me when I get to your income category. [IF UNCERTAIN: "WHAT WOULD BE YOUR BEST GUESS?"]

- 1 A. NONE OR LESS THAN \$4,999
- 2 B. \$5,000-\$9,999
- 3 C. \$10,000-\$14,999
- 4 D. \$15,000-\$24,999
- 5 E. \$25,000-\$34,999
- 6 F. \$35,000-\$49,999
- 7 G. \$50,000-\$64,999
- 8 H. \$65,000-\$74,999
- 9 J. \$75,000-\$84,999
- 10 K. \$85,000-\$94,999
- 11 M. \$95,000-\$104,999
- 12 N. \$105,000-\$114,999
- 13 P. \$115,000-\$124,999
- 14 Q. \$125,000-\$134,999
- 15 R. \$135,000-\$144,999

- 16 S. \$145,000-\$154,999
- 17 T. \$155,000-\$164,999
- 18 U. \$165,000-\$174,999
- 19 V. \$175,000-\$184,999
- 20 W. \$185,000-\$199,999
- 21 X. \$200,000 and over
- 98 Y. DONT KNOW
- 99 Z. REFUSED

⇒ See instructions for Y27

V000997 R INCOME -ALL

Y29.

(Not using the booklet)

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

Spec: 813__

V000998

- 1 YES
- 5 NO →Y29b
- 8 DK →Y29b

Y29a.

(IF YES)

Which one?

- 1 MIDDLE CLASS →Y29c
- 5 WORKING CLASS →Y29e
- 7 OTHER (SPECIFY) →Y30
- 8 DK →Y30

Spec: 814__

V000999

Y29b.

(IF NO/DK)

Well, if you had to make a choice, would you call yourself middle class or working class?

- 1 MIDDLE CLASS →SKIP TO Y29c
- 5 WORKING CLASS →SKIP TO Y29e
- 7 OTHER (SPECIFY) →SKIP TO Y30
- 8 DK →SKIIP TO Y30

Spec: 815__

V001000

Y29c.

(IF MIDDLE CLASS)

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

- 1 AVERAGE MIDDLE
- 5 UPPER MIDDLE
- 8 DK

Spec: 816__

V001001

Y29d.

(IF MIDDLE CLASS)

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

Spec: 817__

V001002

1 CLOSE →SKIP TO Y30
5 NOT CLOSE →SKIP TO Y30
8 DK →SKIP TO Y30

Y29e.

(IF WORKING CLASS)

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

1 AVERAGE WORKING
5 UPPER WORKING
8 DK

Spec: 818__

V001003

Y29f.

(IF WORKING CLASS)

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

1 CLOSE
5 NOT CLOSE
8 DK

Spec: 819__

V001004

V001005 SOC.CLASS SUMMARY

Y30.

What racial or ethnic group or groups best describes you? (multiple categories allowed)

1 BLACK
2 ASIAN
3 NATIVE AMERICAN
4 HISPANIC OR LATINO
5 WHITE
6 OTHER SPECIFY
8 DK

Spec: 820M1-M3

V001006a-1006c

Y30a.

Were both of your parents born in this country?

1 YES
5 NO
8 DK

Spec: 822__

V001007

Y30b.

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

OPENEND

⇒ Americans are frequently somewhat resistant to this question. They like to say, "just American..."
Repeat the question, stressing "In addition to being American ..."

Spec: 823_

V001008,V001009

Y30bx.

INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT: NUMBER OF NATIONALITY OR ETHNIC GROUPS

0 NO NATIONALITY/GROUP MENTIONED
1 ONE NATIONALITY OR ETHNIC GROUP MENTIONED
2 2 OR MORE NATIONALITY/GROUPS MENTIONED

Spec: 824__

V001010, V001010a

Y30c.

(IF MORE THAN ONE)

With which of these groups do you most closely identify?

OPENEND

Spec: 825__

V001011

Y30x.

INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT: IS SPANISH OR HISPANIC GROUP MENTIONED AS MAIN GROUP?

[CODE IF YES,ASK Y31 IF NO]

Y31.

(IF NO SPANISH OR HISPANIC GROUP MENTIONED)

Are you of Spanish or Hispanic origin or descent?

- 1 YES
- 5 NO →SKIP TO Z1
- 8 DK →SKIP TO Z1

⇒ We are adding more detailed questions about Hispanic ethnicity. This checkpoint will save you from repeating yourself within this series. Obviously, we don't need to ask Y31 or Y31a if the R has just told us he/she is Puerto Rican (or any of the other responses listed at Y31a). In that case, enter the appropriate response at Y31a without repeating the question.

⇒ If R simply says "Hispanic" or names a group not mentioned at Y31a (such as Chicano), you should enter Y31 "YES" and ask Y31a.

⇒ R's who do not mention any Hispanic group at Y30 should still be asked Y31

Spec: 827__

V001012

Y31a.

Please look at page 19 of the booklet and tell me which category best describes your Hispanic origin.

[CODE SPANISH OR HISPANIC GROUP W/O ASKING, IF R MENTIONS ONE OF THE RESPONSE OPTIONS BELOW]

Y31a.T

Would you describe your Hispanic origin as Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Latin American, Central American, or Spanish?

- 1 MEXICAN
- 2 PUERTO RICAN
- 3 CUBAN
- 4 LATIN AMERICAN
- 5 CENTRAL AMERICAN
- 6 SPANISH
- 7 OTHER (SPECIFY) [VOL]
- 8 DK

Spec: 828__

V001013

T

SECTION Z

Z1-Z9 – ADDITIONAL DEMOGRAPHICS

Z1.

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

Spec: 839__

V001014

OPENEND

⇒ If you are asked, by “grow up” we mean the time from birth until R was roughly 18-20 years old. If R lived in more than one place during this period, information as to the proper sequence of states lived in, along with a rough estimate of the period involved, would be appreciated.

Z2.

Looking at page 20 of the booklet.

Looking at this list, please tell me where you were mostly brought up?

Spec: 840__

V001015

- 1 ON A FARM
- 2 IN THE COUNTRY, NOT ON A FARM
- 3 IN A SMALL CITY OR TOWN (UNDER 50,000 PEOPLE)
- 4 IN A MEDIUM-SIZED CITY (50,000 - 100,000)
- 5 IN A LARGE CITY (100,000 - 500,000)
- 6 IN A SUBURB OF A LARGE CITY
- 7 IN A VERY LARGE CITY (OVER 500,000)
- 8 IN A SUBURB OF A VERY LARGE CITY
- 9 DK

T Z2.T

I am going to read you a list of categories. Please tell me which category best describes where you were mostly brought up? [READ ANSWER LIST]. ?)

Spec: 841__

V001016

- 1 ON A FARM
- 3 IN THE COUNTRY, NOT ON A FARM
- 5 IN A CITY
- 7 OR, IN A SUBURB OF A CITY

T**Z2a.**

(IF A CITY)

Were you mostly brought up in... [READ ENTIRE ANSWER LIST]

- 1 IN A SMALL CITY OR TOWN UNDER 50,000 PEOPLE
- 3 IN A MEDIUM-SIZED CITY 50,000-100,000
- 5 IN A LARGE CITY, 100,000-500,000
- 7 OR, IN A SUBURB OF A CITY
- 8 DK

Spec: 842__

V001017

T**Z2b.**

(IF SUBURB OF A CITY)

Were you mostly brought up in... [READ ENTIRE ANSWER LIST]

- 1 IN A SUBURB OF A LARGE CITY (100,000 TO 500,000 PEOPLE)
- 5 OR IN A SUBURB OF A VERY LARGE CITY (OVER 500,000 PEOPLE)
- 8 DK

Spec: 843__

V001018

[V001019](#) COMB. SUMMARY

Z3.

(Not using the booklet)

How long have you lived in your present (CITY/ TOWN/ TOWNSHIP/COUNTY)?

Spec: 845-847

V001020a [years]

V001020b [months]

V00102c [summary]

MONTHS:
YEARS:
96 ALL MY LIFE
98 DK

⇒ Here we want to enter the appropriate choice of locale – city, town, or township that R lives in – as you read the question. You would use county only when R lives in a rural area away from any town. We realize that in some cases you may not be familiar enough with R's area to know whether R lives in a city or township, etc., but make your best choice. Enter which option you read.

Z4.
How long have you lived in this (house/condo/apartment)?

Spec: 848-850

V001021a[years]
V001021b[months]
V001021c[summary]

T **Z4.T**

How long have you lived in your current home?

MONTHS:
YEARS:
96 ALL MY LIFE
98 DK

Z5.
(Do you/Does your family) own your home, pay rent, or what?

Spec: 852__

V001022

1 OWN HOUSE
5 PAY RENT
7 OTHER (SPECIFY)
8 DK

⇒ By “your family” we mean only people living with the R. You would use the “does your family” alternative wording only when you are interviewing a member of the family other than husband or wife.

Z8.
These are the last few questions. Often we find that people who have children or commute great distances have less time to participate in politics.
How about you? Do you have any children? (*INCLUDE STEP AND ADOPTED CHILDREN*)

Spec: 853__

V001023

1 YES
3 YES, STEPCHILDREN/ADOPTED [VOL]
5 NO -->SKIP TO Z9
8 DK -->SKIP TO Z9

Z8a.
How many children do you have under 18?

Spec: 854__

V001024

0 -->SKIP TO Z9
1-25

Z8b.
(IF R HAS ANY CHILDREN UNDER 18)
How many of them live with you at least half of the time?

Spec: 855__

V001025

0 -->SKIP TO Z9
1-25

Z8c.
(IF R HAS ANY CHILDREN UNDER 18)
What are the ages of your children?

Spec: 856M1-M8

V001026a-1026h

MULTIPLE ENTRIES

Z9.

Spec: 861__

V001027

(And finally), about how many miles do you drive in a typical day?

- 0-999
- DK 998

⇒ This question refers only to people who drive personal transportation.

⇒ We ask this question because some social scientists believe it to be a good indicator of how much time a person has to get involved with groups, political parties, grassroots organizations, and so on. If the respondent asks, feel free to share this information with them AFTER THEY HAVE ANSWERED THE QUESTION.

SECTION ZZ

ZZ1-Z11 – INTERVIEWER OBSERVATION

ZZ0.

Spec: 866__

V001028

(IF Y3 AND Y3a EDUCATION DATA ARE BOTH MISSING OR IF Y3 <12 AND Y3a IS MISSING)

ALTHOUGH THERE IS NO WAY OF BEING 100% ACCURATE, PLEASE GIVE YOUR BEST ESTIMATE OF THE RESPONDENT'S PROBABLE APPROXIMATE EDUCATION LEVEL [IF YOU FIND IT IMPOSSIBLE TO CHOOSE BETWEEN 2 CHOICES, SELECT 'OTHER' AND EXPLAIN]

- 1 LOW – PROBABLY LESS THAN HIGH SCHOOL DIPLOMA
- 2 PROBABLY HIGH SCHOOL DIPLOMA
- 3 AT LEAST SOME COLLEGE
- 4 OTHER (SPECIFY)

ZZ1.

Spec: 867__

V001029

R's sex is:

- 1 MALE
- 2 FEMALE

ZZ2.

Spec: 868__

V001030

R's race is:

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

ZZ3.

Spec: 869M1-M5

V001031a-1031e

Others present at time of interview: (CHECK ALL THAT APPLY)

- 0 NONE
- 1 CHILDREN UNDER 6
- 2 OLDER CHILDREN
- 3 SPOUSE
- 4 OTHER RELATIVES
- 5 OTHER ADULTS
- 7 PHONE INTERVIEW – COULD NOT TELL
- 8 DK

ZZ4.

Spec: 870__

V001032

R's cooperation was:

- 1 VERY GOOD
- 2 GOOD

- 3 FAIR
- 4 POOR
- 5 VERY POOR

ZZ5.

Spec: 871__

V001033

R's general level of information about politics and public affairs seemed:

- 1 VERY HIGH
- 2 FAIRLY HIGH
- 3 AVERAGE
- 4 FAIRLY LOW
- 5 VERY LOW

ZZ6.

Spec: 872__

V001034

R's apparent intelligence:

- 1 VERY HIGH
- 2 FAIRLY HIGH
- 3 AVERAGE
- 4 FAIRLY LOW
- 5 VERY LOW

ZZ7.

Spec: 873__

V001035

How suspicious did R seem to be about the study before the interview?:

- 1 NOT AT ALL SUSPICIOUS
- 2 SOMEWHAT SUSPICIOUS
- 3 VERY SUSPICIOUS

ZZ8.

Spec: 874__

V001036

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

- 1 VERY HIGH
- 2 FAIRLY HIGH
- 3 AVERAGE
- 4 FAIRLY LOW
- 5 VERY LOW

ZZ9.

Spec: 875__

V001037

How sincere did R seem in his/her answers?

- 1 COMPLETE SINCERE →ZZ10
- 3 USUALLY SINCERE → ZZ9a
- 5 OFTEN SEEMED TO BE INSINCERE → ZZ9a

ZZ9a.

Spec: 876__

V001038 (blanked)

(IF NOT COMPLETELY SINCERE)

Were there any particular parts of the interview for which you doubted R's sincerity?
(IF SO NAME THEM BY SECTION OR QUESTION NUMBER)

OPENEND

ZZ10.

Spec: 877__

V001039

Do you feel R reported income accurately?

- 1 YES, THINK R REPORTED INCOME CORRECTLY
- 2 NO, THINK R REPORTED INCOME INCORRECTLY
- 3 NO, THINK R REPORTED INCOME DISHONESTLY

ZZ10a.

Spec: 878__

V001040

(IF R DID NOT REPORT INCOME OR DID NOT REPORT CORRECTLY:)

If possible, give a reasonable estimate of what R's family income is (before taxes in 1999).

- 1 A. NONE OR LESS THAN \$4,999
- 2 B. \$5,000-\$9,999
- 3 C. \$10,000-\$14,999
- 4 D. \$15,000-\$24,999
- 5 E. \$25,000-\$34,999
- 6 F. \$35,000-\$49,999
- 7 G. \$50,000-\$64,999
- 8 H. \$65,000-\$74,999
- 9 J. \$75,000-\$84,999
- 10 K. \$85,000-\$94,999
- 11 M. \$95,000-\$104,999
- 12 N. \$105,000-\$114,999
- 13 P. \$115,000-\$124,999
- 14 Q. \$125,000-\$134,999
- 15 R. \$135,000-\$144,999
- 16 S. \$145,000-\$154,999
- 17 T. \$155,000-\$164,999
- 18 U. \$165,000-\$174,999
- 19 V. \$175,000-\$184,999
- 20 W. \$185,000-\$199,999
- 21 X. \$200,000 and over
- 98 Y. IMPOSSIBLE TO ESTIMATE
- 99 Z. REFUSED

ZZ11.

Spec: 879M1-M9

V001041a-1041j

R's reaction to IW:

[ENTER ALL THAT APPLY].

- 10 NEGATIVE – GENERAL
- 11 NEGATIVE – TOO LONG
- 12 NEGATIVE – TOO COMPLICATED
- 13 NEGATIVE – BORING/TEDIOUS/REPETITIOUS
- 15 R WANTED TO STOP BEFORE IW COMPLETED. AFTER STARTING IW, R MADE COMMENTS INDICATING REGRETS HAVING AGREED TO DO IW
- 20 R COMPLAINED AND/OR IWR OBSERVED R WAS ILL/DEAF/TIRED/HAD BAD EYESIGHT ETC. IW WAS HARD FOR R
- 22 R COMPLAINED AND/OR IWR OBSERVED R WAS CONFUSED BY Qs, R WAS SLOW READER. IW WAS HARD FOR R
- 30 R EXPRESSED DOUBTS/APOLOGIES/EMBARRASMENTS OVER LACK OF KNOWLEDGE OR OWN SUITABILITY FOR IW
- 31 R EXPRESSED DOUBTS/APOLOGIES/EMBARRASMENTS OVER LACK OF POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE, CANDIDATE NAMES, ELECTION ISSUES, OR OWN LACK OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION.
- 40 R WAS AGITATED OR STRESSED BY INTERVIEW PROCESS
- 41 R BECAME ANGRY AT INTERVIEW CONTENT
- 45 R BECAME CONCERNED ABOUT SAMPLING PURPOSES OR BIAS
- 50 R COULD NOT READ RESPONDENT BOOKLET
- 70 R APPEARED TO ENJOY THE IW (R WAS COOPERATIVE/INTERESTED/PLEASANT)
- 80 NEUTRAL OR NO FEEDBACK

TN1.

Spec: 880__

not released – stored separately

Please describe any ambiguous or conflicting situation that you want project staff to know about. If none, enter "none"

OPENEND

TN2.

Please provide a few words about this respondent which would help you remember the interview if you had to call back.

Spec: 881__

not released-stored separately

OPENEND