A1.

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

1. VERY MUCH INTERESTED
2. SOMEWHAT INTERESTED
3. NOT MUCH INTERESTED
4. DON’T KNOW

A2.

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
2. DON’T CARE VERY MUCH
3. DON’T KNOW

A3.

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
2. NO, DIDN’T VOTE
3. DON’T KNOW

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

A3a. (IF YES)

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

1. BILL CLINTON
2. BOB DOLE
3. ROSS PEROT
4. OTHER (SPECIFY)
5. DON’T KNOW

⇒ Do not probe DON’T KNOW responses on either A3 or A3a
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.**

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

1 YES.
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)

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

OPENEND

**A4c.**

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

1 YES.
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. Spec: 141__ V000312-0316
(IF YES)
(What is that?) (Probe: Anything else? Until R says “NO”)

OPENEND

A5a. Spec: 143__ V000317
Is there anything in particular about Texas Governor George W. Bush that might make you want to vote for him?
1 YES,
5 NO, \(\Rightarrow\) SKIP TO A5c
8 DON'T KNOW \(\Rightarrow\) SKIP TO A5c

⇒ 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. Spec: 144__ V000318-0322
(IF YES)
(What is that?) (Probe: Anything else? Until R says “NO”)

OPENEND

A5c. Spec: 145__ V000323
Is there anything in particular about George W. Bush that might make you want to vote against him?
1 YES,
5 NO, \(\Rightarrow\) SKIP TO A4a or A6
8 DON'T KNOW \(\Rightarrow\) SKIP TO A4a or A6

A5d. Spec: 146__ V000324-0328
(IF YES)
(What is that?) (Probe: Anything else? Until R says “NO”)

OPENEND
A6. How many days in the past week did you watch the national network news on TV?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Days</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>NONE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ONE DAY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>TWO DAYS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>THREE DAYS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>FOUR DAYS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>FIVE DAYS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>SIX DAYS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>EVERY DAY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>DON'T KNOW</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

⇒ 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. (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?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attention Level</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A GREAT DEAL</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QUITE A BIT</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOME</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VERY LITTLE</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NONE</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DON'T KNOW</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A7. 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?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Days</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>NONE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ONE DAY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>TWO DAYS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>THREE DAYS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>FOUR DAYS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>FIVE DAYS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>SIX DAYS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>EVERY DAY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>DON'T KNOW</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

⇒ 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
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. (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?

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

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.

How many days in the past week did you read a daily newspaper?
0 NONE
1 ONE DAY
2 TWO DAYS

⇒ SKIP TO A11
A10a. (IF ANY DAYS/DK)
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)
(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. 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. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Bill Clinton is handling his job as president?
1 APPROVE
5 DISAPPROVE --> SKIP TO B1
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

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

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

( 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.

B2a1., B2b1, B2c1.  
( IF YES)  
(ASK FOR EACH NAME GIVEN) What is [NAME’S] party?  
1 DEMOCRAT  
2 REPUBLICAN
B3.
Do you approve or disapprove of the way the U.S. Congress has been handling its job?
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

SECTION C

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?

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

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

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

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

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

The next person is John McCain
(How would you rate:)

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

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

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

The next person is Hillary Clinton
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

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.
Is there anything in particular that you like about the Democratic party?
1 YES,  \( \rightarrow \) SKIP TO D2
5 NO,  \( \rightarrow \) SKIP TO D2
8 DON'T KNOW  \( \rightarrow \) 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.
(IF YES)
(IF NECESSARY: What is that?) (PROBE: “Anything else you like about the Democratic party?” UNTIL R SAYS “NO.”)

OPENEND

D2.
Is there anything in particular that you don’t like about the Democratic party?
1 YES,  \( \rightarrow \) SKIP TO D3 or D5
5 NO,  \( \rightarrow \) SKIP TO D3 or D5
8 DON'T KNOW  \( \rightarrow \) 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.
(IF YES)
(IF NECESSARY: What is that?) (PROBE: “Anything else you don’t like about the Democratic party?” UNTIL R SAYS “NO.”)

OPENEND

D3.
Is there anything in particular that you like about the Republican party?
1 YES,  \( \rightarrow \) SKIP TO D4
5 NO,  \( \rightarrow \) SKIP TO D4
8 DON'T KNOW  \( \rightarrow \) 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

---

**D4.**

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

1 YES,

5 NO,

à 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.]

---

**D4a.**

(If YES)

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

________

OPENEND

---

**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

---

**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?
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  
5 THE SAME  
8 DK

⇒ 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  
5 SOMEWHAT BETTER  
8 DK

E1b. (IF WORSE)  
Much worse or somewhat worse?  
1 MUCH WORSE  
5 SOMEWHAT WORSE  
8 DK

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?

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?
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**
- **5 SOMEWHAT BETTER**
- **8 DK**

**E3b.**

(IF WORSE)

Much worse off or somewhat worse off?

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

---

**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**
- **8 DK**
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

F1b.  
Hopeful  
1 YES  
5 NO SKIP to next F1 in randomization  
8 DK

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

F1c.  
Afraid  
1 YES  
5 NO SKIP to next F1 in randomization  
8 DK

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

F1d.  
Proud  
1 YES  
5 NO SKIP to next F1 in randomization  
8 DK

F1dd.  
(IF YES, GORE HAS MADE R PROUD)  
How often would you say you’ve felt proud -- very often, fairly often, occasionally, or rarely?
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. Angry
Spec: 259_1 V000415
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. (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. Hopeful
Spec: 259_2 V000417
1 YES
5 NO  SKIP to next F2 in randomization
8 DK  SKIP to next F2 in randomization

F2bb. (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. Afraid
Spec: 259_3 V000419
1 YES
5 NO  SKIP to next F2 in randomization
8 DK  SKIP to next F2 in randomization

F2cc. (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?
F2d.

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

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

(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

⇒ 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

F3b.

Hopeful
1 YES
5 NO  SKIP → to next F3 in randomization
8 DK  SKIP → to next F3 in randomization
**F3bb.**
*(IF YES, BUCHANAN 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

**F3c.**
Afraid
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)*
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
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)*
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.**
What do you think are the most important problems facing this country?
[PROBE: Any other important problems facing the country? UNTIL R SAYS NONE]

*OPENENDED*
F6x.

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 \( \rightarrow \) G1/G1.E
1 R HAS MENTIONED ONLY ONE PROBLEM \( \rightarrow \) F8
2 R HAS MENTIONED 2 OR MORE PROBLEMS \( \rightarrow \) 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

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

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

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?  

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?  

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

⇒ 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.  

G1b. If you had to choose, would you consider yourself a liberal or a conservative?  

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

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

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']

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 HAVENT 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 that 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


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

⇒ 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.

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

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

1. VERY CERTAIN  ➔ NEXT PRES. CANDIDATE OR G11
2. PRETTY CERTAIN ➔ NEXT PRES. CANDIDATE OR G11
3. NOT VERY CERTAIN ➔ NEXT PRES. CANDIDATE OR G11
4. DK  ➔ NEXT PRES. CANDIDATE OR G11
**G5.**

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scale</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>EXTREMELY LIBERAL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>LIBERAL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>SLIGTLY LIBERAL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>MODERATE; MIDDLE OF THE ROAD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>SLIGHTLY CONSERVATIVE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>CONSERVATIVE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>EXTREMELY CONSERVATIVE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>DK  --&gt; SKIP TO NEXT PRES CAND OR G11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

⇒ 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.

**G5a.**

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scale</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Action</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>VERY CERTAIN</td>
<td>NEXT PRES. CANDIDATE OR G11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>PRETTY CERTAIN</td>
<td>NEXT PRES. CANDIDATE OR G11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>NOT VERY CERTAIN</td>
<td>NEXT PRES. CANDIDATE OR G11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>DK</td>
<td>NEXT PRES. CANDIDATE OR G11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
G6.E

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  ➔ G6a.E
3 A CONSERVATIVE ➔ G6b.E
5 A MODERATE
7 NEITHER [VOL]
8 DK
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
(IF DK, HTM, NEITHER, OR MODERATE)

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

1 LIBERAL  ➔ G7.E
3 CONSERVATIVE  ➔ G7.E
5 MODERATE [VOL]  ➔ G7.E
7 R REFUSES TO CHOOSE [VOL]  ➔ G7.E
8 DON’T KNOW  ➔ G7.E

G6b.E
(IF LIBERAL)

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

1 STRONG LIBERAL  ➔ G7.E
5 NOT VERY STRONG LIBERAL  ➔ G7.E
8 DK

G6c.E
(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

G7.E

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

1 LIBERAL  ➔ G7a.E
2 CONSERVATIVE  ➔ G7b.E

G7a.E
(IF LIBERAL)

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

G7b.E Spec: 302_1 V000452

G8.E
What about Al Gore? (Is Al Gore a liberal, a conservative, or a moderate?) [DO NOT PROBE 'DK']
1 LIBERAL
2 CONSERVATIVE
3 MODERATE
8 DON'T KNOW

G8a.E (IF LIBERAL)
Would you call Al Gore a strong liberal or a not very strong liberal?
1 STRONG LIBERAL
5 NOT VERY STRONG LIBERAL
8 DON'T KNOW

G8b.E (IF CONSERVATIVE)
Would you call Al Gore a strong conservative or a not very strong conservative?
1 STRONG CONSERVATIVE
5 NOT VERY STRONG CONSERVATIVE
8 DON'T KNOW

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
3 PRETTY CERTAIN
5 NOT VERY CERTAIN
8 DK

G9. E
What about George W. Bush? (Is George W. Bush a liberal, a conservative, or a moderate?) [DO NOT PROBE 'DK']
1 STRONG LIBERAL
5 NOT VERY STRONG LIBERAL
8 DK

G9. E 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

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

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

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

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

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
G10c. E
(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.
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
⇒ Obviously, we are interested in their prediction, not their knowledge of who is going to win.

G11a.
(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
5 WIN BY QUITE A BIT
8 DK
⇒ SKIPTO G11b

G11b.
(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
REMAINING HALVES, FOLLOWING UP WHERE APPROPRIATE TO EITHER VERSION
### H1.

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?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Spec: 315__</th>
<th>V000488a</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>GOTTEN BETTER</td>
<td>→SKIP TO H1a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>STAYED ABOUT THE SAME</td>
<td>→SKIP TO H2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>GOTTEN WORSE</td>
<td>→SKIP TO H1b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>DK</td>
<td>→SKIP TO H2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

⇒ 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.

### H1a.

(If BETTER)

Much better or somewhat better?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Spec: 317__</th>
<th>V000489</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>MUCH BETTER</td>
<td>→SKIP TO H2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>SOMewhat BETTER</td>
<td>→SKIP TO H2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>DK</td>
<td>→SKIP TO H2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### H1b.

(If WORSE)

Much worse or somewhat worse?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Spec: 318__</th>
<th>V000490</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>SOMewhat WORSE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>MUCH WORSE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>DK</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### H2.

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?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Spec: 320__</th>
<th>V000492a</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>GOTTEN HARDER</td>
<td>→SKIP TO H2a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>STAYED THE SAME</td>
<td>→SKIP TO H4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>GOTTEN EASIER</td>
<td>→SKIP TO H2b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>DK</td>
<td>→SKIP TO H4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

⇒ 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**.
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
2. ABOUT THE SAME
3. GOTTEN HARDER
4. DK

⇒ By people we mean people in general.

H2a.
(IF HARDER)
Much harder or a little harder?
1 MUCH HARDER
2 A LITTLE HARDER
3 ABOUT THE SAME
4 STAY ABOUT THE SAME
5 GET BETTER
6 GET WORSE
7 DK

H2b.
(IF EASIER)
Much easier or a little easier?
1 MUCH EASIER
2 A LITTLE EASIER
3 ABOUT THE SAME
4 STAY ABOUT THE SAME
5 GET BETTER
6 GET WORSE
7 DK

⇒ 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.
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
2 STAY ABOUT THE SAME
3 GET WORSE
4 DK

⇒ 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.

H4a.
(IF BETTER)
Much better or somewhat better?
1 MUCH BETTER
2 SOMewhat BETTER
3 ABOUT THE SAME
4 STAY ABOUT THE SAME
5 GET BETTER
6 GET WORSE
7 DK

⇒ 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.
H4b. (IF WORSE)
Much worse or somewhat worse?
1 MUCH WORSE
5 SOMEWHAT WORSE
8 DK

H5 - APPROVE PRESIDENT HANDLING OF ECONOMY

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

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

⇒ 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

H5b. (IF DISAPPROVE)
Do you disapprove strongly or not strongly?
1 STRONGLY
5 NOT STRONGLY
8 DK

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

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]
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]
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?
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?
1 INCREASED
3 DECREASED
5 LEFT THE SAME AS IT IS NOW
8 DON'T KNOW
⇒ 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)
A little or a lot?
1 A LITTLE
5 A LOT
8 DK

V000510 SUMMARY
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
5 OPPOSE
7 HAVEN’T THOUGHT MUCH ABOUT THIS
8 DK

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

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
5 DISAGREE
8 DK

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?
H13 - APPROVE PRESIDENT HANDLING OF FOREIGN RELATIONS

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

1 APPROVE
5 DISAPPROVE
8 DK

H13a. (IF APPROVE)
Do you approve strongly or not strongly?

1 STRONGLY
5 NOT STRONGLY
8 DK

H13b. (IF DISAPPROVE)
Do you disapprove strongly or not strongly?

1 STRONGLY
5 NOT STRONGLY
8 DK

SECTION K

K1 - PARTY ID

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

1 DEMOCRAT
2 REPUBLICAN
3 INDEPENDENT
4 OTHER PARTY [SPECIFY]
5 NO PREFERENCE
8 DK

⇒ 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)  
Would you call yourself a strong Democrat or a not very strong Democrat?  
1 STRONG \(\rightarrow\) SKIP TO K2, K3, OR K4  
5 NOT VERY STRONG \(\rightarrow\) SKIP TO K2, K3, OR K4  
8 DK \(\rightarrow\) SKIP TO K2, K3, OR K4  

K1b.  
(If Republican)  
Would you call yourself a strong Republican or a not very strong Republican?  
1 STRONG \(\rightarrow\) SKIP TO K2, K3, OR K4  
5 NOT VERY STRONG \(\rightarrow\) SKIP TO K2, K3, OR K4  
8 DK \(\rightarrow\) SKIP TO K2, K3, OR K4  

K1c.  
(If Independent, No Preference, Other or DK)  
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  

**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.  

**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
K2b. REALLY CARES ABOUT PEOPLE LIKE YOU
K2c. KNOWLEDGEABLE
K2d. PROVIDES STRONG LEADERSHIP
K2e. DISHONEST
K2f. INTELLIGENT
K2g. 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 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
K3b. REALLY CARES ABOUT PEOPLE LIKE YOU
K3c. KNOWLEDGEABLE
K3d. PROVIDES STRONG LEADERSHIP
K3e. DISHONEST
K3f. INTELLIGENT
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 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.

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
K4b. REALLY CARES ABOUT PEOPLE LIKE YOU
K4c. KNOWLEDGEABLE
K4d. PROVIDES STRONG LEADERSHIP
K4e. DISHONEST
K4f. INTELLIGENT
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 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.
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.
Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven’t you thought much about this?  

1 GOVERNMENT SHOULD PROVIDE MANY FEWER SERVICES  
2  
3  
4  
5  
6  
7 GOVERNMENT SHOULD PROVIDE MANY MORE SERVICES  
8 HAVEN’T THOUGHT MUCH ABOUT THIS  

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

1 FEWER SERVICES; REDUCE SPENDING  
2  
3  
4  
5  
6  
7 SHOULD STAY THE SAME AS IT IS NOW [VOL]  
8 HAVEN’T THOUGHT MUCH ABOUT THIS  
8 DK  

T L1a1.T
(IF REDUCE SERVICES AND SPENDING)  
Should the government reduce services and spending a great deal or (reduce services and spending) only some?
**L1a.**
(If more services and spending)
Should the government increase services and spending a great deal or (increase services and spending) only some?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>Spec: 393_</th>
<th>V000548</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Great deal</td>
<td>L1b.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Only some</td>
<td>L1b.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 DK</td>
<td>L1b.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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]

**L1c.**
Where would you place Al Gore (on this issue)? [DO NOT PROBE DK]

**L1d.**
Where would you place George W. Bush (on this issue)? [DO NOT PROBE DK]

**L1e.**
Where would you place the Democratic Party (on this issue)? [DO NOT PROBE DK]

**L1f.**
Where would you place the Republican Party (on this issue)? [DO NOT PROBE DK]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>Spec: 404_</th>
<th>V000551</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Govt. should provide many fewer services</td>
<td>L2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>L2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>L2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>L2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>L2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>L2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Govt. should provide many more services</td>
<td>L2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 DK</td>
<td>L2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

⇒ 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.

**L1b.t**
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]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>Spec: 396_</th>
<th>V000552</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Fewer services; reduce spending</td>
<td>L1b.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 More services; increase spending</td>
<td>L1b.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Should stay the same as it is now [VOL]</td>
<td>L1b.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 DK</td>
<td>L1b.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(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?

(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?

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]

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]
(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?

1 A GREAT DEAL
5 ONLY SOME
8 DK

(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
5 ONLY SOME
8 DK

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
5 MORE SERVICES; INCREASE SPENDING
7 SHOULD STAY THE SAME AS IT IS NOW [VOL]
8 DK

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
5 MORE SERVICES; INCREASE SPENDING
7 SHOULD STAY THE SAME AS IT IS NOW [VOL]
8 DK
**L1f1.T**

(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?

**L1f2.T**

(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

**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?

1--------------------2---------------3--------------------4-------------------------5--------------6----------------7
GREATLY DECREASE DEFENSE SPENDING → L2b

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

**L2.T**

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

**L2a.T**

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
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  \(\Rightarrow\) L2a1a.T  
3 INCREASE DEFENSE SPENDING  \(\Rightarrow\) L2a1b.T  
5 ABOUT THE RIGHT AMOUNT  \(\Rightarrow\) L2b.T/L2c.T  
8 DK  \(\Rightarrow\) L2b.T/L2c.T

(\(\text{If R has an opinion}\))

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

1 A LOT  \(\Rightarrow\) L2b.T/L2c.T  
5 A LITTLE  \(\Rightarrow\) L2b.T/L2c.T  
8 DK  \(\Rightarrow\) L2b.T/L2c.T

(\(\text{If decrease defense spending}\))

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

1 A LOT  \(\Rightarrow\) L2b.T/L2c.T  
5 A LITTLE  \(\Rightarrow\) L2b.T/L2c.T  
8 DK  \(\Rightarrow\) L2b.T/L2c.T

(\(\text{If increase defense spending}\))

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

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

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>T L2b.T</th>
<th>Spec: 413_1 V000589</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>What about Al Gore?</strong> 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? <strong>[DO NOT PROBE DK]</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 DECREASE DEFENSE SPENDING</td>
<td>$\Rightarrow$L2b1.T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 INCREASE DEFENSE SPENDING</td>
<td>$\Rightarrow$L2b1.T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 ABOUT THE RIGHT AMOUNT</td>
<td>$\Rightarrow$NEXT NAME/PARTY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 DK</td>
<td>$\Rightarrow$NEXT NAME/PARTY</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>T L2b1.T</th>
<th>Spec: 414_1 V000590</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>(IF DECREASE/INCREASE DEFENSE SPENDING)</strong> A lot or a little?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 A LOT</td>
<td>$\Rightarrow$NEXT NAME/PARTY OR $\Rightarrow$L3.T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 A LITTLE</td>
<td>$\Rightarrow$NEXT NAME/PARTY OR $\Rightarrow$L3.T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 DK</td>
<td>$\Rightarrow$NEXT NAME/PARTY OR $\Rightarrow$L3.T</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>T L2c.T</th>
<th>Spec: 413_2 V000594</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>What about George W. Bush?</strong> (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?) <strong>[DO NOT PROBE DK]</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 DECREASE DEFENSE SPENDING</td>
<td>$\Rightarrow$L2c1.T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 INCREASE DEFENSE SPENDING</td>
<td>$\Rightarrow$L2c1.T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 ABOUT THE RIGHT AMOUNT</td>
<td>$\Rightarrow$NEXT NAME/PARTY OR $\Rightarrow$L3.T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 DK</td>
<td>$\Rightarrow$NEXT NAME/PARTY OR $\Rightarrow$L3.T</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>T L2c1.T</th>
<th>Spec: 414_2 V000595</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>(IF DECREASE/INCREASE DEFENSE SPENDING)</strong> A lot or a little?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 A LOT</td>
<td>$\Rightarrow$NEXT NAME/PARTY OR $\Rightarrow$L3.T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 A LITTLE</td>
<td>$\Rightarrow$NEXT NAME/PARTY OR $\Rightarrow$L3.T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 DK</td>
<td>$\Rightarrow$NEXT NAME/PARTY OR $\Rightarrow$L3.T</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>T L2d.T</th>
<th>Spec: 413_3 V000599</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>What about the Democratic Party?</strong> (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? <strong>[DO NOT PROBE DK]</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 DECREASE DEFENSE SPENDING</td>
<td>$\Rightarrow$L2d1.T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 INCREASE DEFENSE SPENDING</td>
<td>$\Rightarrow$L2d1.T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 ABOUT THE RIGHT AMOUNT</td>
<td>$\Rightarrow$NEXT NAME/PARTY OR $\Rightarrow$L3.T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 DK</td>
<td>$\Rightarrow$NEXT NAME/PARTY OR $\Rightarrow$L3.T</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
What about the Republican 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]

A lot or a little?

1 DECREASE DEFENSE SPENDING
3 INCREASE DEFENSE SPENDING
5 ABOUT THE RIGHT AMOUNT
8 DK

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GOVERNMENT INSURANCE PLAN</th>
<th>PRIVATE INSURANCE PLAN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 GOVT INSURANCE PLAN</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 PRIVATE INSURANCE PLAN</td>
<td>0 HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH ABOUT THIS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0 HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH ABOUT THIS</td>
<td>8 DK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 DK</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PRIVATE INSURANCE PLAN</th>
<th>GOVERNMENT INSURANCE PLAN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 PRIVATE INSURANCE PLAN</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 GOVT INSURANCE PLAN</td>
<td>0 HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH ABOUT THIS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0 HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH ABOUT THIS</td>
<td>8 DK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 DK</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**L3a.T**

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spec: 422__</th>
<th>V000610a</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>SHOULDBEAGOVTINSURANCEPLAN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>INDIVIDUALSSHouldPAYMEDICALEXPENSESTHROUGHPRIVATEINSURANCEPLAN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>SHOULDTAYTHESAMEASITISNOW[VOL]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>HAVENTTHOUGHTMUCHABOUTTHIS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>DK</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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.

**L3a. TE**

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spec: 423__</th>
<th>V000610b</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>INDIVIDUALSSHouldPAYMEDICALEXPENSESTHROUGHPRIVATEINSURANCEPLAN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>SHOULDBEAGOVTINSURANCEPLAN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>SHOULDTAYTHESAMEASITISNOW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>HAVENTTHOUGHTMUCHABOUTTHIS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>DK</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**L3a1.T**

*(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?*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spec: 424__</th>
<th>V000612</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>STRONGLY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>NOTSTRONGLY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>DK</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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.**

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GOVERNMENT SHOULD SEE TO A JOB AND GOOD STANDARD OF LIVING</th>
<th>GOVERNMENT SHOULD LET EACH PERSON GET AHEAD ON OWN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 ➔ L4b.</td>
<td>2 ➔ L4b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 ➔ L4b.</td>
<td>3 ➔ L4b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 ➔ L4b.</td>
<td>4 ➔ L4b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 ➔ L4b.</td>
<td>5 ➔ L4b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 ➔ L4b.</td>
<td>6 ➔ L4b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 ➔ L4b.</td>
<td>7 ➔ L4b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 ➔ L4b.</td>
<td>0 ➔ L4b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0 ➔ L4b.</td>
<td>8 ➔ DK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 ➔ DK</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*TT*

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.

**L4a.T**

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GOVERNMENT SHOULD SEE TO JOBS AND STANDARD OF LIVING</th>
<th>GOVERNMENT SHOULD LET EACH PERSON GET AHEAD ON OWN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 ➔ L4a1.</td>
<td>5 ➔ L4a2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 ➔ L4b.</td>
<td>3 ➔ L4b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 ➔ L4b.</td>
<td>4 ➔ L4b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 ➔ L4b.</td>
<td>5 ➔ L4b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 ➔ L4b.</td>
<td>6 ➔ L4b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 ➔ L4b.</td>
<td>7 ➔ L4b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 ➔ L4b.</td>
<td>0 ➔ L4b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0 ➔ L4b.</td>
<td>8 ➔ DK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 ➔ DK</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TT**

(IF GOVT 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?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STRONGLY</th>
<th>NOT STRONGLY</th>
<th>DK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 ➔ L4b.T/L4c.T</td>
<td>2 ➔ L4b.T/L4c.T</td>
<td>3 ➔ L4b.T/L4c.T</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TT**

(IF GOVT 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?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STRONGLY</th>
<th>NOT STRONGLY</th>
<th>DK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 ➔ L4b.T/L4c.T</td>
<td>2 ➔ L4b.T/L4c.T</td>
<td>3 ➔ L4b.T/L4c.T</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

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

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.

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]

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

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

⇒ 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.
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/IT DEPENDS/NEITHER [VOL] ➔ NEXT NAME/PARTY OR ➔ L5.T
8 DK ➔ NEXT NAME/PARTY OR ➔ L5.T

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/IT DEPENDS/NEITHER [VOL] ➔ NEXT PARTY OR ➔ L5.T
8 DK ➔ NEXT PARTY OR ➔ L5.T
**L4e.T**

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 | \rightarrow L4e1.T |
| 5 | GOVT. SHOULD LET EACH PERSON GET AHEAD ON OWN | \rightarrow NEXT PARTY OR L5.T |
| 7 | OTHER/IT DEPENDS/NONE | \rightarrow \text{VOL} |
| 8 | DK | \rightarrow \text{VOL} |

**L4e1.T**

(IF REPUBLICAN 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?

**L4e2.T**

(IF REPUBLICAN 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 | \rightarrow NEXT PARTY OR L5.T |
| 5 | NOT STRONGLY | \rightarrow NEXT PARTY OR L5.T |
| 8 | DK | \rightarrow \text{VOL} |

---

**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?

| 1 | GOVT SHOULD HELP BLACKS | \rightarrow L5b. |
| 2 | \rightarrow L5b. |
| 3 | \rightarrow L5b. |
| 4 | \rightarrow L5b. |
| 5 | \rightarrow L5b. |
| 6 | \rightarrow L5b. |
| 7 | BLACKS SHOULD HELP THEMSELVES | \rightarrow L5b. |
| 8 | HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH ABOUT THIS | \rightarrow L5b. |
| 8 | DK | \rightarrow L5b. |

---

**V00639 5-PT BR SUMMARY**

**V00640 COMB.5PT/BR SUMM**
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.

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

1. Government should help blacks
2. Blacks should help themselves
3. Other, it depends, neither
4. Haven’t thought much about this
5. DK

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

1. Great extent
2. Only some
3. DK

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

1. Great extent
2. Only some
3. DK

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

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

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

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

Where would you place the Republican Party (on this issue)? [DO NOT PROBE DK]
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  \rightarrow L5b1.T
5 BLACKS SHOULD HELP THEMSELVES \rightarrow L5b1.T
7 OTHER/ITDEPENDS/NEITHER [VOL] \rightarrow NEXT NAME
8 DK \rightarrow NEXT NAME

(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?

1 GREAT EXTENT \rightarrow NEXT NAME
5 ONLY SOME \rightarrow NEXT NAME
8 DK \rightarrow NEXT NAME

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

(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?
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]

Spec: 447_3
V000657

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]

Spec: 447_4
V000662

(If George W. Bush thinks government 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

(If Democratic Party thinks government 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
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]

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

(If Republican Party thinks government should help blacks)

(If Republican Party thinks blacks should help themselves)

L6 - AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

Should companies that have discriminated against blacks have to have an affirmative action program?
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?

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

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

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?)

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

Spec: 473_1 V000676

Spec: 473_2 V000677

Spec: 473_3 V000678

Spec: 473_4 V000679

Spec: 473_5 V000680

Spec: 473_6 V000681

Spec: 473_7 V000682

Spec: 473_8 V000683

Spec: 473_9 V000684

Spec: 473_10 V000685

Spec: 473_11 V000686

Spec: 473_12 V000687

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

Spec: 480__ V000689
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

L9a. (IF APPROVE) Do you approve of this proposal strongly or not strongly?
1 STRONGLY
5 NOT STRONGLY
8 DK

L9b. (IF DISAPPROVE) Do you approve of this proposal strongly or not strongly?
1 STRONGLY
5 NOT STRONGLY
8 DK

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.

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

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

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.
61

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

⇒ 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

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

M2a.
(If NOT DK/REF)
Strongly or not strongly?

1 STRONGLY
5 NOT STRONGLY
8 DK

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

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

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.

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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>M4a.</th>
<th>Spec: 512__</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0 HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH ABOUT THIS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROTECT ENVIRONMENT, EVEN IF IT COSTS JOB &amp; STANDARD OF LIVING</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 PROTECT ENVIRONMENT, EVEN IF IT COSTS JOB &amp; STANDARD OF LIVING</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 JOBS &amp; STANDARD OF LIVING MORE IMPORTANT THAN ENVIRONMENT</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 DK</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

M4a.E.
Where would you place yourself on this scale?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>M4a.E.</th>
<th>Spec: 513__</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Where would you place yourself on this scale?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0 HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH ABOUT THIS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROTECT ENVIRONMENT, EVEN IF IT COSTS JOB &amp; STANDARD OF LIVING</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 PROTECT ENVIRONMENT, EVEN IF IT COSTS JOB &amp; STANDARD OF LIVING</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 JOBS &amp; STANDARD OF LIVING MORE IMPORTANT THAN ENVIRONMENT</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 DK</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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.

**M4a.T**
Which is closer to the way you feel, or haven't you thought much about this?
Which is closer to the way you feel?

1 PROTECT ENVIRONMENT, EVEN IF IT COSTS JOB & STANDARD OF LIVING
5 JOBS & STANDARD OF LIVING MORE IMPORTANT THAN ENVIRONMENT
7 OTHER, IT DEPENDS, NEITHER [VOL]
8 DK

1 PROTECT ENVIRONMENT, EVEN IF IT COSTS JOB & STANDARD OF LIVING
5 JOBS & STANDARD OF LIVING MORE IMPORTANT THAN ENVIRONMENT
7 OTHER, IT DEPENDS, NEITHER [VOL]
8 DK

Which is closer to the way you feel?

1 PROTECT ENVIRONMENT, EVEN IF IT COSTS JOB & STANDARD OF LIVING
5 JOBS & STANDARD OF LIVING MORE IMPORTANT THAN ENVIRONMENT
7 OTHER, IT DEPENDS, NEITHER [VOL]
8 DK

Which is closer to the way you feel?

1 PROTECT ENVIRONMENT, EVEN IF IT COSTS JOB & STANDARD OF LIVING
5 JOBS & STANDARD OF LIVING MORE IMPORTANT THAN ENVIRONMENT
7 OTHER, IT DEPENDS, NEITHER [VOL]
8 DK

Which is closer to the way you feel?

1 PROTECT ENVIRONMENT, EVEN IF IT COSTS JOB & STANDARD OF LIVING
5 JOBS & STANDARD OF LIVING MORE IMPORTANT THAN ENVIRONMENT
7 OTHER, IT DEPENDS, NEITHER [VOL]
8 DK

Which is closer to the way you feel?

1 PROTECT ENVIRONMENT, EVEN IF IT COSTS JOB & STANDARD OF LIVING
5 JOBS & STANDARD OF LIVING MORE IMPORTANT THAN ENVIRONMENT
7 OTHER, IT DEPENDS, NEITHER [VOL]
8 DK

Which is closer to the way you feel?

1 PROTECT ENVIRONMENT, EVEN IF IT COSTS JOB & STANDARD OF LIVING
5 JOBS & STANDARD OF LIVING MORE IMPORTANT THAN ENVIRONMENT
7 OTHER, IT DEPENDS, NEITHER [VOL]
8 DK

Which is closer to the way you feel?

1 PROTECT ENVIRONMENT, EVEN IF IT COSTS JOB & STANDARD OF LIVING
5 JOBS & STANDARD OF LIVING MORE IMPORTANT THAN ENVIRONMENT
7 OTHER, IT DEPENDS, NEITHER [VOL]
8 DK

Which is closer to the way you feel?

1 PROTECT ENVIRONMENT, EVEN IF IT COSTS JOB & STANDARD OF LIVING
5 JOBS & STANDARD OF LIVING MORE IMPORTANT THAN ENVIRONMENT
7 OTHER, IT DEPENDS, NEITHER [VOL]
8 DK

Which is closer to the way you feel?

1 PROTECT ENVIRONMENT, EVEN IF IT COSTS JOB & STANDARD OF LIVING
5 JOBS & STANDARD OF LIVING MORE IMPORTANT THAN ENVIRONMENT
7 OTHER, IT DEPENDS, NEITHER [VOL]
8 DK

Which is closer to the way you feel?

1 PROTECT ENVIRONMENT, EVEN IF IT COSTS JOB & STANDARD OF LIVING
5 JOBS & STANDARD OF LIVING MORE IMPORTANT THAN ENVIRONMENT
7 OTHER, IT DEPENDS, NEITHER [VOL]
8 DK

Which is closer to the way you feel?

1 PROTECT ENVIRONMENT, EVEN IF IT COSTS JOB & STANDARD OF LIVING
5 JOBS & STANDARD OF LIVING MORE IMPORTANT THAN ENVIRONMENT
7 OTHER, IT DEPENDS, NEITHER [VOL]
8 DK

Which is closer to the way you feel?

1 PROTECT ENVIRONMENT, EVEN IF IT COSTS JOB & STANDARD OF LIVING
5 JOBS & STANDARD OF LIVING MORE IMPORTANT THAN ENVIRONMENT
7 OTHER, IT DEPENDS, NEITHER [VOL]
8 DK

Which is closer to the way you feel?

1 PROTECT ENVIRONMENT, EVEN IF IT COSTS JOB & STANDARD OF LIVING
5 JOBS & STANDARD OF LIVING MORE IMPORTANT THAN ENVIRONMENT
7 OTHER, IT DEPENDS, NEITHER [VOL]
8 DK

Which is closer to the way you feel?

1 PROTECT ENVIRONMENT, EVEN IF IT COSTS JOB & STANDARD OF LIVING
5 JOBS & STANDARD OF LIVING MORE IMPORTANT THAN ENVIRONMENT
7 OTHER, IT DEPENDS, NEITHER [VOL]
8 DK

Which is closer to the way you feel?

1 PROTECT ENVIRONMENT, EVEN IF IT COSTS JOB & STANDARD OF LIVING
5 JOBS & STANDARD OF LIVING MORE IMPORTANT THAN ENVIRONMENT
7 OTHER, IT DEPENDS, NEITHER [VOL]
8 DK

Which is closer to the way you feel?

1 PROTECT ENVIRONMENT, EVEN IF IT COSTS JOB & STANDARD OF LIVING
5 JOBS & STANDARD OF LIVING MORE IMPORTANT THAN ENVIRONMENT
7 OTHER, IT DEPENDS, NEITHER [VOL]
8 DK

Which is closer to the way you feel?

1 PROTECT ENVIRONMENT, EVEN IF IT COSTS JOB & STANDARD OF LIVING
5 JOBS & STANDARD OF LIVING MORE IMPORTANT THAN ENVIRONMENT
7 OTHER, IT DEPENDS, NEITHER [VOL]
8 DK

Which is closer to the way you feel?

1 PROTECT ENVIRONMENT, EVEN IF IT COSTS JOB & STANDARD OF LIVING
5 JOBS & STANDARD OF LIVING MORE IMPORTANT THAN ENVIRONMENT
7 OTHER, IT DEPENDS, NEITHER [VOL]
8 DK

Which is closer to the way you feel?

1 PROTECT ENVIRONMENT, EVEN IF IT COSTS JOB & STANDARD OF LIVING
5 JOBS & STANDARD OF LIVING MORE IMPORTANT THAN ENVIRONMENT
7 OTHER, IT DEPENDS, NEITHER [VOL]
8 DK

Which is closer to the way you feel?

1 PROTECT ENVIRONMENT, EVEN IF IT COSTS JOB & STANDARD OF LIVING
5 JOBS & STANDARD OF LIVING MORE IMPORTANT THAN ENVIRONMENT
7 OTHER, IT DEPENDS, NEITHER [VOL]
8 DK

Which is closer to the way you feel?

1 PROTECT ENVIRONMENT, EVEN IF IT COSTS JOB & STANDARD OF LIVING
5 JOBS & STANDARD OF LIVING MORE IMPORTANT THAN ENVIRONMENT
7 OTHER, IT DEPENDS, NEITHER [VOL]
8 DK

Which is closer to the way you feel?

1 PROTECT ENVIRONMENT, EVEN IF IT COSTS JOB & STANDARD OF LIVING
5 JOBS & STANDARD OF LIVING MORE IMPORTANT THAN ENVIRONMENT
7 OTHER, IT DEPENDS, NEITHER [VOL]
8 DK

Which is closer to the way you feel?

1 PROTECT ENVIRONMENT, EVEN IF IT COSTS JOB & STANDARD OF LIVING
5 JOBS & STANDARD OF LIVING MORE IMPORTANT THAN ENVIRONMENT
7 OTHER, IT DEPENDS, NEITHER [VOL]
8 DK

Which is closer to the way you feel?

1 PROTECT ENVIRONMENT, EVEN IF IT COSTS JOB & STANDARD OF LIVING
5 JOBS & STANDARD OF LIVING MORE IMPORTANT THAN ENVIRONMENT
7 OTHER, IT DEPENDS, NEITHER [VOL]
8 DK

Which is closer to the way you feel?

1 PROTECT ENVIRONMENT, EVEN IF IT COSTS JOB & STANDARD OF LIVING
5 JOBS & STANDARD OF LIVING MORE IMPORTANT THAN ENVIRONMENT
7 OTHER, IT DEPENDS, NEITHER [VOL]
8 DK

Which is closer to the way you feel?

1 PROTECT ENVIRONMENT, EVEN IF IT COSTS JOB & STANDARD OF LIVING
5 JOBS & STANDARD OF LIVING MORE IMPORTANT THAN ENVIRONMENT
7 OTHER, IT DEPENDS, NEITHER [VOL]
8 DK

Which is closer to the way you feel?

1 PROTECT ENVIRONMENT, EVEN IF IT COSTS JOB & STANDARD OF LIVING
5 JOBS & STANDARD OF LIVING MORE IMPORTANT THAN ENVIRONMENT
7 OTHER, IT DEPENDS, NEITHER [VOL]
8 DK

Which is closer to the way you feel?

1 PROTECT ENVIRONMENT, EVEN IF IT COSTS JOB & STANDARD OF LIVING
5 JOBS & STANDARD OF LIVING MORE IMPORTANT THAN ENVIRONMENT
7 OTHER, IT DEPENDS, NEITHER [VOL]
8 DK

Which is closer to the way you feel?

1 PROTECT ENVIRONMENT, EVEN IF IT COSTS JOB & STANDARD OF LIVING
5 JOBS & STANDARD OF LIVING MORE IMPORTANT THAN ENVIRONMENT
7 OTHER, IT DEPENDS, NEITHER [VOL]
8 DK

Which is closer to the way you feel?

1 PROTECT ENVIRONMENT, EVEN IF IT COSTS JOB & STANDARD OF LIVING
5 JOBS & STANDARD OF LIVING MORE IMPORTANT THAN ENVIRONMENT
7 OTHER, IT DEPENDS, NEITHER [VOL]
8 DK

Which is closer to the way you feel?

1 PROTECT ENVIRONMENT, EVEN IF IT COSTS JOB & STANDARD OF LIVING
5 JOBS & STANDARD OF LIVING MORE IMPORTANT THAN ENVIRONMENT
7 OTHER, IT DEPENDS, NEITHER [VOL]
8 DK

Which is closer to the way you feel?

1 PROTECT ENVIRONMENT, EVEN IF IT COSTS JOB & STANDARD OF LIVING
5 JOBS & STANDARD OF LIVING MORE IMPORTANT THAN ENVIRONMENT
7 OTHER, IT DEPENDS, NEITHER [VOL]
8 DK

Which is closer to the way you feel?

1 PROTECT ENVIRONMENT, EVEN IF IT COSTS JOB & STANDARD OF LIVING
5 JOBS & STANDARD OF LIVING MORE IMPORTANT THAN ENVIRONMENT
7 OTHER, IT DEPENDS, NEITHER [VOL]
8 DK

Which is closer to the way you feel?

1 PROTECT ENVIRONMENT, EVEN IF IT COSTS JOB & STANDARD OF LIVING
5 JOBS & STANDARD OF LIVING MORE IMPORTANT THAN ENVIRONMENT
7 OTHER, IT DEPENDS, NEITHER [VOL]
8 DK

Which is closer to the way you feel?

1 PROTECT ENVIRONMENT, EVEN IF IT COSTS JOB & STANDARD OF LIVING
5 JOBS & STANDARD OF LIVING MORE IMPORTANT THAN ENVIRONMENT
7 OTHER, IT DEPENDS, NEITHER [VOL]
8 DK

Which is closer to the way you feel?

1 PROTECT ENVIRONMENT, EVEN IF IT COSTS JOB & STANDARD OF LIVING
5 JOBS & STANDARD OF LIVING MORE IMPORTANT THAN ENVIRONMENT
7 OTHER, IT DEPENDS, NEITHER [VOL]
8 DK

Which is closer to the way you feel?

1 PROTECT ENVIRONMENT, EVEN IF IT COSTS JOB & STANDARD OF LIVING
5 JOBS & STANDARD OF LIVING MORE IMPORTANT THAN ENVIRONMENT
7 OTHER, IT DEPENDS, NEITHER [VOL]
8 DK

Which is closer to the way you feel?

1 PROTECT ENVIRONMENT, EVEN IF IT COSTS JOB & STANDARD OF LIVING
5 JOBS & STANDARD OF LIVING MORE IMPORTANT THAN ENVIRONMENT
7 OTHER, IT DEPENDS, NEITHER [VOL]
8 DK

Which is closer to the way you feel?

1 PROTECT ENVIRONMENT, EVEN IF IT COSTS JOB & STANDARD OF LIVING
5 JOBS & STANDARD OF LIVING MORE IMPORTANT THAN ENVIRONMENT
7 OTHER, IT DEPENDS, NEITHER [VOL]
8 DK

Which is closer to the way you feel?

1 PROTECT ENVIRONMENT, EVEN IF IT COSTS JOB & STANDARD OF LIVING
5 JOBS & STANDARD OF LIVING MORE IMPORTANT THAN ENVIRONMENT
7 OTHER, IT DEPENDS, NEITHER [VOL]
8 DK

Which is closer to the way you feel?

1 PROTECT ENVIRONMENT, EVEN IF IT COSTS JOB & STANDARD OF LIVING
5 JOBS & STANDARD OF LIVING MORE IMPORTANT THAN ENVIRONMENT
7 OTHER, IT DEPENDS, NEITHER [VOL]
8 DK

Which is closer to the way you feel?

1 PROTECT ENVIRONMENT, EVEN IF IT COSTS JOB & STANDARD OF LIVING
5 JOBS & STANDARD OF LIVING MORE IMPORTANT THAN ENVIRONMENT
7 OTHER, IT DEPENDS, NEITHER [VOL]
8 DK

Which is closer to the way you feel?

1 PROTECT ENVIRONMENT, EVEN IF IT COSTS JOB & STANDARD OF LIVING
5 JOBS & STANDARD OF LIVING MORE IMPORTANT THAN ENVIRONMENT
7 OTHER, IT DEPENDS, NEITHER [VOL]
8 DK

Which is closer to the way you feel?

1 PROTECT ENVIRONMENT, EVEN IF IT COSTS JOB & STANDARD OF LIVING
5 JOBS & STANDARD OF LIVING MORE IMPORTANT THAN ENVIRONMENT
7 OTHER, IT DEPENDS, NEITHER [VOL]
8 DK

Which is closer to the way you feel?

1 PROTECT ENVIRONMENT, EVEN IF IT COSTS JOB & STANDARD OF LIVING
5 JOBS & STANDARD OF LIVING MORE IMPORTANT THAN ENVIRONMENT
7 OTHER, IT DEPENDS, NEITHER [VOL]
8 DK

Which is closer to the way you feel?

1 PROTECT ENVIRONMENT, EVEN IF IT COSTS JOB & STANDARD OF LIVING
5 JOBS & STANDARD OF LIVING MORE IMPORTANT THAN ENVIRONMENT
7 OTHER, IT DEPENDS, NEITHER [VOL]
8 DK

Which is closer to the way you feel?
TELEPHONE:  M4b.T AND M4c.T ARE ADMINISTERED IN RANDOM ORDER.

M4b.T
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  \rightarrow  SKIP TO M4c.T OR M5.
5 JOBS & STANDARD OF LIVING MORE IMPORTANT THAN ENVIRONMENT  \rightarrow  SKIP TO M4c.T OR M5.
7 OTHER, IT DEPENDS, NEITHER [VOL]  \rightarrow  SKIP TO M4c.T OR M5.
8 DK  \rightarrow  SKIP TO M4c.T OR M5.

M4b1.T
(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?

1 MUCH MORE IMPORTANT
5 SOMEWHAT MORE IMPORTANT
8 DK

M4b2.T
(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

M4c.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]

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

M4c1.T
(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?

1 MUCH MORE IMPORTANT
5 SOMEWHAT MORE IMPORTANT
8 DK

M4c2.T
(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?  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>Code</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HOMOSEXUALS SHOULD BE ALLOWED TO SERVE</td>
<td>M5a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HOMOSEXUALS SHOULD NOT BE ALLOWED TO SERVE</td>
<td>M5b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DK</td>
<td>M6a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

M5a. (IF SHOULD BE ALLOWED TO SERVE)  
Do you feel strongly or not strongly that homosexuals should be allowed to serve?  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>Code</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>STRONGLY</td>
<td>M6a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOT STRONGLY</td>
<td>M6a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DK</td>
<td>M6a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

M5b. (IF SHOULD NOT BE ALLOWED TO SERVE)  
Do you feel strongly or not strongly that homosexuals should not be allowed to serve?  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>Code</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>STRONGLY</td>
<td>M6a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOT STRONGLY</td>
<td>M6a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DK</td>
<td>M6a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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?  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>Code</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MORE DIFFICULT</td>
<td>M6a1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAKE IT EASIER</td>
<td>M6a2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KEEP THESE RULES ABOUT THE SAME</td>
<td>M6a3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DK</td>
<td>M6a3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

⇒ 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?  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>Code</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A LOT MORE DIFFICULT</td>
<td>M6a3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOMEWHAT MORE DIFFICULT</td>
<td>M6a3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DK</td>
<td>M6a3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
M6a2. (IF EASIER)
A lot easier or somewhat easier?
1: A LOT EASIER
5: SOMewhat EASIER
8: DK

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

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]
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

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?
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]

1 MORE DIFFICULT
3 MAKE IT EASIER
5 KEEP THESE RULES ABOUT THE SAME
8 DK

M6c1. (IF EASIER) A lot easier or somewhat easier?

M6c2. (IF MORE DIFFICULT) A lot more difficult or somewhat more difficult?

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

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?
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
5 OPPOSE SCHOOL VOUCHER PROGRAM
0 HAVEN’T THOUGHT MUCH ABOUT THIS
8 DK

N1a. (IF FAVORS SCHOOL VOUCHER PROGRAM)
Do you favor a school voucher program strongly or not strongly?
1 STRONGLY
5 NOT STRONGLY
8 DK

N1b. (IF OPPOSES SCHOOL VOUCHER PROGRAM)
Do you oppose a school voucher program strongly or not strongly?
1 STRONGLY
5 NOT STRONGLY
8 DK

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

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
8 DK
N3a. (IF YES) 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. 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. 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. (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. (IF OPPOSE) (Do you oppose the death penalty for persons convicted of murder) strongly or not strongly?

1  STRONGLY  ➔ P1/P1.E
5  NOT STRONGLY
8  DK  ➔ P1/P1.E

SECTION P

P1 - WOMEN’S ROLE
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. And, of course, some other people have opinions somewhere in between, at points 2, 3, 4, 5 or 6.

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

Which is closer to the way you feel, or haven't you thought much about this?
Do you feel strongly or not strongly that men and women should have equal roles?

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

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

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

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]
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  \(\rightarrow\) P1c.T OR \(\rightarrow\) P2.T
5 NOT STRONGLY  \(\rightarrow\) P1c.T OR \(\rightarrow\) P2.T
8 DK  \(\rightarrow\) P1c.T OR \(\rightarrow\) P2.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]
1 WOMEN AND MEN SHOULD HAVE EQUAL ROLES  \(\rightarrow\) P1c1.T
5 A WOMAN’S PLACE IS IN THE HOME  \(\rightarrow\) P1c1.T
7 OTHER, IT DEPENDS, NEITHER [VOL]  \(\rightarrow\) P1b.T OR \(\rightarrow\) P2.T
8 DK  \(\rightarrow\) P1b.T OR \(\rightarrow\) P2.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?

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  \(\rightarrow\) P1c.T OR \(\rightarrow\) P2.T
5 NOT STRONGLY  \(\rightarrow\) P1c.T OR \(\rightarrow\) P2.T
8 DK  \(\rightarrow\) P1c.T OR \(\rightarrow\) P2.T

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?
1--------------2--------------3--------------4--------------5--------------6--------------7
TOUGHER REGULATIONS  \(\rightarrow\) REGULATIONS TO PROTECT
ON BUSINESS NEEDED TO PROTECT  \(\rightarrow\) ENVIRONMENT ALREADY
NEED TO PROTECT ENVIRONMENT  \(\rightarrow\) TOO MUCH A BURDEN
ON BUSINESS
**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.

**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
2. Regulations to protect environment already too much of a burden on business
3. Other, it depends
4. Neither
5. Haven’t thought much about this
6. Don’t know

**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
2. Somewhat
3. Don’t know

**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
2. Somewhat
3. Don’t know

**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?
### FTF: P2b AND P2c ARE ADMINISTERED IN RANDOM ORDER.

**TELEPHONE: P2b.T AND P2c.T ARE ADMINISTERED IN RANDOM ORDER.**

---

#### P2b.
Where would you place Al Gore on this issue? [DO NOT PROBE DK]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rating</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>TOUGHER REGULATIONS ON BUSINESS NEEDED TO PROTECT ENVIRONMENT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>TOUGHER REGULATIONS ON BUSINESS NEEDED TO PROTECT ENVIRONMENT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>TOUGHER REGULATIONS ON BUSINESS NEEDED TO PROTECT ENVIRONMENT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>TOUGHER REGULATIONS ON BUSINESS NEEDED TO PROTECT ENVIRONMENT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>TOUGHER REGULATIONS ON BUSINESS NEEDED TO PROTECT ENVIRONMENT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>TOUGHER REGULATIONS ON BUSINESS NEEDED TO PROTECT ENVIRONMENT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>REGULATIONS TO PROTECT ENVIRONMENT ALREADY TOO MUCH A BURDEN ON BUSINESS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>DK</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

#### P2b.T

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]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rating</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>TOUGHER REGULATIONS ON BUSINESS NEEDED TO PROTECT ENVIRONMENT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>TOUGHER REGULATIONS ON BUSINESS NEEDED TO PROTECT ENVIRONMENT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>TOUGHER REGULATIONS ON BUSINESS NEEDED TO PROTECT ENVIRONMENT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>TOUGHER REGULATIONS ON BUSINESS NEEDED TO PROTECT ENVIRONMENT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>TOUGHER REGULATIONS ON BUSINESS NEEDED TO PROTECT ENVIRONMENT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>TOUGHER REGULATIONS ON BUSINESS NEEDED TO PROTECT ENVIRONMENT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>REGULATIONS TO PROTECT ENVIRONMENT ALREADY TOO MUCH A BURDEN ON BUSINESS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>DK</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

#### P2b2.T

(If Gore position is Tooughen Regulations to Protect Environment)

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rating</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>A LOT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>SOMEWHAT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>DK</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

#### P2b2.T

(If Gore 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?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rating</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>WAY TOO MUCH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>SOMEWHAT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>DK</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

**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

P2c.
Where would you place George W. Bush (on this issue)? [DO NOT PROBE DK]

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]

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
5 SOMEWHAT
8 DK

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
5 SOMEWHAT
8 DK

V000789 5-PT BR SUMMARY
V000790 COMB.5PT/BR SUMM
### P3 - TURNOUT/VOTE INTENT

**P3.** So far as you know now, do you expect to vote in the national elections this coming November or not?  
1 YES  
5 NO  
8 DON'T KNOW  
⇒ 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.  
(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]  
7 OTHER, (SPECIFY):  
8 DON'T KNOW  
⇒ SKIP TO P4

### P3b.  
(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  
5 NOT STRONG  
8 DK  
⇒ SKIP TO P4

### P3c.  
(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
6 OTHER, (SPECIFY): SKIP TO P4
7 DON'T KNOW

P3d. (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.
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.
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.
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
5 NO, HAVEN’T HAD INTEREST
8 DK

P6a. (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
2. THIS IS NOT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT’S BUSINESS
3. OTHER (SPECIFY)

P6a. (IF R’S REPLY IS NOT DK)
Do you feel strongly or not strongly about that?
1 STRONGLY
5 NOT STRONGLY
8 DK

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
5 AGAINST PREFERENTIAL HIRING AND PROMOTION OF BLACKS
7 OTHER (SPECIFY)
8 DK

P7a. (IF FAVOR)
Do you favor preference in hiring and promotion strongly or not strongly?
1 STRONGLY
5 NOT STRONGLY
8 DK

P7b. (IF OPPOSE)
Do you oppose preference in hiring and promotion strongly or not strongly?
1 STRONGLY
5 NOT STRONGLY
8 DK

SECTION Q

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?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>Action</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 GOTTEN SMALLER</td>
<td>SKIP TO Q1b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 GOTTEN LARGER</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 STAYED ABOUT THE SAME</td>
<td>SKIP TO Q2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 DK</td>
<td>SKIP TO Q2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

⇒ 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.

Q1a. **(IF SMALLER)**
(Would you say that the budget deficit is) much smaller or somewhat smaller?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>Action</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 MUCH SMALLER</td>
<td>SKIP TO Q2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 SOMEWHAT SMALLER</td>
<td>SKIP TO Q2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 DK</td>
<td>SKIP TO Q2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q1b. **(IF LARGER)**
(Would you say that the budget deficit is) much larger or somewhat larger?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>Action</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 MUCH LARGER</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 SOMEWHAT LARGER</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 DK</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q2.
Has federal spending on assistance to the poor been increased, decreased, or has it stayed about the same as in 1992?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>Action</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 INCREASED</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 DECREASED</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 STAYED ABOUT THE SAME</td>
<td>SKIP TO Q3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 DK</td>
<td>SKIP TO Q3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q2a. **(IF NOT SAME NOR DK)**
A lot or somewhat?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>Action</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 A LOT</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 SOMEWHAT</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 DK</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

V000810 SUMMARY

V000811

V000812

V000813 SUMMARY
Q3. 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

Q3a. (IF BETTER)
(Would you say) much better or somewhat better?
1 MUCH BETTER 5 SOMEWHAT BETTER 8 DK

Q3b. (IF WORSE)
(Would you say) much worse or somewhat worse?
1 MUCH WORSE 5 SOMEWHAT WORSE 8 DK

Q4. 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

Q4a. (IF BETTER)
Much better or somewhat better?
1 MUCH BETTER 5 SOMEWHAT BETTER 8 DK

Q4b. (IF WORSE)
Much worse or somewhat worse?
1 MUCH WORSE 5 SOMEWHAT WORSE 8 DK

Q5. 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?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>Code</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MORE SECURE</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LESS SECURE</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NO CHANGE</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DK</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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  

Q8b.  
(IF WORSE)  
(Would you say) much worse or somewhat worse?  
1 MUCH WORSE  
5 SOMewhat WORSE  
8 DK  

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 Q9a  
5 NO DIFFERENCE  → SKIP TO Q10  
8 DK  → SKIP TO Q10  

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  

Q9b.  
(IF WORSE)  
Much worse or somewhat worse?  
1 MUCH WORSE  
5 SOMewhat WORSE  
8 DK  

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  

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
Q10b. (IF WORSE)
(Would you say) much worse or somewhat worse?
1 MUCH WORSE
5 SOMEWHAT WORSE
8 DK

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  SKIP TO Q11b
5 NO DIFFERENCE  SKIP TO Q14
8 DK  SKIP TO Q14

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

Q11b. (IF WORSE)
Much worse or somewhat worse?
1 MUCH WORSE
5 SOMEWHAT WORSE
8 DK

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  SKIP to next affect
5 NO  SKIP to next affect
8 DK  SKIP to next affect

Q14a1. (IF YES)
How often would you say you’ve felt angry -- very often, fairly often, occasionally, or rarely?
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

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

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

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

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

Q14d1.
(IF YES)
How often would you say you’ve felt proud -- very often, fairly often, occasionally, or rarely?
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"]

Q15a. Spec: 652_1 V000855
MORAL
1 EXTREMELY WELL
2 QUITE WELL
3 NOT TOO WELL
4 NOT WELL AT ALL
8 DK

⇒ 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. Spec: 652_2 V000856
REALLY CARES ABOUT PEOPLE LIKE YOU
1 EXTREMELY WELL
2 QUITE WELL
3 NOT TOO WELL
4 NOT WELL AT ALL
8 DK

Q15c. Spec: 652_3 V000857
KNOWLEDGEABLE
1 EXTREMELY WELL
2 QUITE WELL
3 NOT TOO WELL
4 NOT WELL AT ALL
8 DK
### Q15d.
**PROVIDES STRONG LEADERSHIP**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>EXTREMELY WELL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>QUITE WELL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>NOT TOO WELL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>NOT WELL AT ALL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>DK</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Spec:** 652_4  **V000858**

### Q15e.
**DISHONEST**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>EXTREMELY WELL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>QUITE WELL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>NOT TOO WELL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>NOT WELL AT ALL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>DK</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Spec:** 652_5  **V000859**

### Q15f.
**INTELLIGENT**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>EXTREMELY WELL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>QUITE WELL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>NOT TOO WELL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>NOT WELL AT ALL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>DK</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Spec:** 652_6  **V000860**

### Q15g.
**OUT OF TOUCH WITH ORDINARY PEOPLE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>EXTREMELY WELL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>QUITE WELL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>NOT TOO WELL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>NOT WELL AT ALL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>DK</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Spec:** 652_7  **V000861**

---

**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?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>ALMOST EVERYTHING</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>MANY THINGS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>SOME THINGS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>VERY FEW THINGS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>DK</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Spec:** 663__  **V000862**

---

### 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  
5 SOMEWHAT MORE OPINIONS  
8 DK  

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  

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  
5 NEITHER LIKE OR DISLIKE  
8 DK  

⇒ 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  
5 SOMEWHAT  
8 DK  

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  

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? 

87
SECTION S

S1-S5 - RELIGIOSITY

S1. Do you consider religion to be an important part of your life, or not?

1 IMPORTANT
5 NOT IMPORTANT
8 DON'T KNOW

S2. 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. 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 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. 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?

S4.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?
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 your choice.

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.
4. Other (specify) [Vol.]
5. DK

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.

SECTION X

X1. 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
2. No → SKIP TO X1a
3. 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. Regardless of whether you now attend any religious services do you ever think of yourself as part of a particular church or denomination?
### X2.

**IF YES**
Do you go to religious services every week, almost every week, once or twice a month, a few times a year, or never?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>EVERY WEEK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ALMOST EVERY WEEK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ONCE OR TWICE A MONTH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>A FEW TIMES A YEAR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>NEVER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>DK</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Spec:** 695__  V000879

### X2a.

**IF EVERY WEEK**
Would you say you go to religious services once a week or more often than once a week?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ONCE A WEEK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>MORE OFTEN THAN ONCE A WEEK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>DK</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Spec:** 696__  V000880

### X3.

**IF R ATTENDS IN X1** **OR**
**IF R DOES NOT ATTEND IN X1 BUT THINKS OF SELF AS PART OF CHURCH/DENOMINATION IN X1a**

CHECKPOINT: DOES R ATTEND CHURCH?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>YES (yes in X1; any code except never in X2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>NO (no or DK in X1; never in X2)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Spec:** 698__  V000881

### X3a.

**IF ATTENDS IN CHECKPOINT**
Do you mostly attend a place of worship that is Protestant, Roman Catholic, Jewish, or something else?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>PROTESTANT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>CATHOLIC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>JEWISH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>OTHER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>DK</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Spec:** 700__  V000882

### X3b.

**IF DOES NOT ATTEND IN CHECKPOINT**
Do you consider yourself Protestant, Roman Catholic, Jewish, or something else?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>PROTESTANT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>CATHOLIC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>JEWISH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>OTHER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>DK</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Spec:** 701__  V000883
X4. (IF ATTENDS/CONSIDERS SELF PROTESTANT OR ‘OTHER’)

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 X4k
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 X4m
97 OTHER (SPECIFY):C ➔ SKIP TO X4m
98 DK ➔ SKIP TO X7

X4a. (IF PROTESTANT OR ‘OTHER’) AND (IF BAPTIST DENOMINATION)

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

Spec: 703__ V000884

Spec: 704__ V000886
Are you affiliated with any larger Baptist group or is this strictly a local church?
1 LARGER BAPTIST GROUP [SPECIFY]  
2 LOCAL  
8 DK

Is this church part of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, the Missouri Synod, or some other Lutheran group?
1 EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH  
2 MISSOURI SYNOD  
7 OTHER [SPECIFY]  
8 DK

Is your church part of the United Methodist Church, African Methodist Episcopal, or some other Methodist group?
1 UNITED METHODIST CHURCH  
2 AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL  
7 OTHER [SPECIFY]  
8 DK

Is this the Presbyterian Church in the USA or some other Presbyterian group?
1 PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH USA (FORMERLY UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH)  
7 OTHER [SPECIFY]  
8 DK

Is this the Christian Reformed Church, the Reformed Church in America or some Other Reformed group?
1 CHRISTIAN REFORMED CHURCH  
2 THE REFORMED CHURCH IN AMERICA  
7 OTHER [SPECIFY]  
8 DK
X4g. (IF PROTESTANT OR 'OTHER') AND (IF BRETHREN DENOMINATION)

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)

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)

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)

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)

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  

X4m1.  
(IF 'OTHER') AND  
(IF OTHER DENOMINATION)  
Is that group Christian?  
1 YES  
5 NO  
8 DK  

X6a.  
(IF R ATTENDS) AND  
(IF JEISH SERVICES)  
Do you usually attend a synagogue or temple that is Orthodox, Conservative,  
Reform or what?  
1 ORTHODOX  
2 CONSERVATIVE  
3 REFORM  
7 OTHER [SPECIFY]  
8 DK  

X6b.  
(IF R DOES NOT ATTEND) AND  
(IF R CONSIDERS SELF JEISH)  
Do you consider yourself Orthodox, Conservative, Reform, or what?  
1 ORTHODOX  
2 CONSERVATIVE  
3 REFORM  
7 OTHER [SPECIFY]  
8 DK  

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  
5 NO  
8 DK  

⇒ 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. Spec: 724__ V000903
(IF CONSIDERS SELF CATHOLIC) OR
(IF CODED 1-26 IN X4 DENOMINATION) OR
(IF CODED DK IN X4 DENOMINATION) AND (IF CHRISTIAN IN X4m1)
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. Spec: 733-735 V000905,0906,0907
What is the month, day and year of your birth?
00-12 MONTH
01-31 DAY
1900-1980 YEAR

Y2. Spec: 736__ V000909
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
⇒ 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. Spec: 737__ V000910
What is the highest grade of school or year of college you have completed?
00-12 YEARS ⇒ SKIP TO Y3b
13-16 YEARS ⇒ SKIP TO Y3b
17 17+ YEARS ⇒ SKIP TO Y3b
98  DK
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  
5 NO  
8 DK  

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, JID  
04 LLB, JD  
05 MD, DDS, DVM, MVSA, DSC, DO  
06 JDC, STD, THD  
07 Associate degree (AA)  
96 No degree earned  
98 DK

Y4.  
(If married or partnered)  
What is the highest grade of school or year of college (your husband/wife/partner) has completed?  
00-12 years  
13-16 years  
17 17+ years  
98 DK

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  
5 NO  
8 DK  

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, JID  
04 LLB, JD  
05 MD, DDS, DVM, MVSA, DSC, DO  
06 JDC, STD, THD  
07 Associate degree (AA)  
96 No degree earned  
98 DK
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 the 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

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

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
Y10b.  (IF UNEMPLOYED IS HIGHEST Y6 CATEGORY) AND  (IF HAS EVER DONE WORK FOR PAY)
What kind of business or industry was that?
OPENENDED  ➜ Y10c

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

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

Y10e.  (IF UNEMPLOYED IS HIGHEST Y6 CATEGORY) AND  (IF HAS EVER DONE WORK FOR PAY) AND  (IF WAS NOT SELF-EMPLOYED ONLY)
Have you had a job in the last six months?
1  YES
5  NO
8  DK

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

Y10g.  (IF UNEMPLOYED IS HIGHEST Y6 CATEGORY)
Are you  looking for work at the present time?
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  
3 SOMEWHAT  
5 NOT MUCH AT ALL  
8 DK

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

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.  
(IF RETIRED IS AN EMPLOYMENT STATUS CATEGORY IN Y6)  
What were your most important duties or activities?  
OPENEND
Y12b. (IF RETIRED IS AN EMPLOYMENT STATUS CATEGORY IN Y6)
What kind of business or industry was that?
OPENEND → Y12c

Y12c. (IF RETIRED IS AN EMPLOYMENT STATUS CATEGORY IN Y6)
Did you work for someone else, were you self-employed or what?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>SOMEONE ELSE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>BOTH SELF-EMPLOYED AND SOMEONE ELSE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>SELF-EMPLOYED</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>DK</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>YES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>NO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>DK</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Y12e. (IF RETIRED IS AN EMPLOYMENT STATUS CATEGORY IN Y6)
Have you had a job in the last six months?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>YES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>NO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>DK</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Y12g. (IF RETIRED IS AN EMPLOYMENT STATUS CATEGORY IN Y6)
Are you doing any work for pay at the present time?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>YES SKIP TO Y7 (below)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>NO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>DK</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Y12h. (IF RETIRED IS AN EMPLOYMENT STATUS CATEGORY IN Y6)

Are you looking for work at the present time?
1 YES  → Y25
5 NO   → Y25
8 DK   → Y25

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

Have you ever done any work for pay?
1 YES  → Y14h
5 NO   → Y14h
8 DK   → Y14h

What kind of work did you do on your last regular job (What was your occupation?)
OPENEND → Y14a

What were your most important duties or activities?
OPENEND → Y14b
What kind of business or industry was that?

OPENEND

Y14c. 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

Y14d. Were you employed by a federal, state or local government?
1 YES
5 NO
8 DK

Y14e. Have you had a job in the last six months?
1 YES
5 NO
8 DK

Y14f. About how many hours did you work on your job in the average week?
0-168

Y14g. Are you doing any work for pay at the present time?
1 YES
5 NO
8 DK

Y14h. Are you doing any work for pay at the present time?
Are you looking for work at the present time?
1 YES  ➔ Y25
5 NO ➔ Y25
8 DK ➔ Y25

Y14j  Spec: 781__ V000956
(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

Homemaker/Student series Y13-Y14

Y15.  Spec: 783__ V000957
(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

Y15a.  Spec: 784__ V000958
(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 ➔ Y16h
5 NO ➔ Y16h
8 DK ➔ Y16h

Y16.  Spec: 785__
(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

Y16a.  Spec: 786__
(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 were your most important duties or activities?

____________________

Y16b. Spec: 787__
(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 business or industry was that?

____________________

Y16c. Spec: 788__
(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)
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

Y16d. Spec: 789__
(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)
Were you employed by a federal, state or local government?
1 YES
5 NO
8 DK

Y16f. Spec: 791__
(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)
About how many hours did you work on your job in the average week?
0-168

Y16h. Spec: 793__
(IF HMAKER/STUDENT IS HIGHEST Y6 CATEGORY AND NOT ALSO RETIRED)
Are you looking for work at the present time?
1 YES
5 NO
8 DK
Y16j.
(IF HMAKER/STUDENT IS HIGHEST Y6 CATEGORY AND NOT ALSO RETIRED) 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

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)
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)
What are your most important activities or duties?
OPENEND  → Y7b

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)
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)
Do you work for someone else, are you self-employed or what?
1 SOMEONE ELSE  → Y7e
3 BOTH SELF AND SOMEONE ELSE  → Y7e
5 SELF-EMPLOYED  → Y7e
8 DK  → Y7e
Y7d. Are you employed by a federal, state or local government?
1 YES
5 NO
8 DK

Y7e. About how many hours do you work on your job in the average week?
0-168

Y7f. 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. 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. Were you out of work or laid off at any time during the last six months?
1 YES
5 NO
8 DK

Y7j. Were you out of work or laid off at any time during the last six months?
1 YES
5 NO
8 DK
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

Y25.
Do you or anyone else in this household belong to a labor union?
1 YES
5 NO
⇒ 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.
(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.
(IF NO, R IS 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.
(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?)

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
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?”
3. 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 joint 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.
4. 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.

Y27a.
(If no, R is not only member age 14+)
(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]
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. I. $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+)

(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?"]

**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. I. $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

Spec: 812__ V000996
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?

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

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 → SKIP TO Y30

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

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?
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

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

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

Y30a. 
Were both of your parents born in this country?
1 YES
5 NO
8 DK

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 ..."

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
**Y30c.**  
**IF MORE THAN ONE**  
With which of these groups do you most closely identify?  
OPENEND

**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

**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)

T \[Y31a.T\]

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

**SECTION Z**

**Z1-Z9 – ADDITIONAL DEMOGRAPHICS**
Z1.
Where was it that you grew up? (IF UNITED STATES: Which state or states?)

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?

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]. ?

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

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

T
Z3.
(Not using the booklet)
How long have you lived in your present (CITY/ TOWN/ TOWNSHIP/COUNTY)?
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)?

How long have you lived in your current home?

Z5.
(Do you/Does your family) own your home, pay rent, or what?

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)

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?

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?

0 -->SKIP TO Z9
1-25

Z8c.
(If R HAS ANY CHILDREN UNDER 18)
What are the ages of your children?
MULTIPLE ENTRIES
Z9.
(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, grassroot 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.
(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.
R’s sex is:
1 Male
2 Female

ZZ2.
R’s race is:
1 White
2 Black
3 American Indian or Alaskan Native
4 Asian or Pacific Islander
8 DK

ZZ3.
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.
R’s cooperation was:
1 Very Good
2 Good
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

R’s apparent intelligence:
1 VERY HIGH
2 FAIRLY HIGH
3 AVERAGE
4 FAIRLY LOW
5 VERY LOW

How suspicious did R seem to be about the study before the interview?:
1 NOT AT ALL SUSPICIOUS
2 SOMEWHAT SUSPICIOUS
3 VERY SUSPICIOUS

Overall, how great was R’s interest in the interview?
1 VERY HIGH
2 FAIRLY HIGH
3 AVERAGE
4 FAIRLY LOW
5 VERY LOW

How sincere did R seem in his/her answers?
1 COMPLETE SINCERE
2 USUALLY SINCERE
3 OFTEN SEEMED TO BE INSINCERE

(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

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
Please describe any ambiguous or conflicting situation that you want project staff to know about. If none, enter “none”.

OPENEND

OPENEND
TN2.
Spec: 881__  not released-stored separately

Please provide a few words about this respondent which would help you remember the interview if you had to call back.

__________________________

OPENEND

__________________________