1980 NATIONAL ELECTION STUDY
(JANUARY-FEBRUARY AND APRIL SAMPLES)

SURVEY RESEARCH CENTER
INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH
THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

1. Interviewer's Label

(Do Not Write in Above Space)

2. State of Interview ________________________

3. Congressional District ____________________

4. Segment __________ Line __________________

5. Your Interview Number ____________________

6. Date ____________________________________

7. Length of Interview ______________________ (minutes)

8. Time at beginning of pre-interview editing ______________________

9. Time at end of pre-interview editing ________________

10. Total time to pre-interview edit ________________ (minutes)

11. Time at beginning of post-interview editing ______________________

12. Time at end of post-interview editing ________________

13. Total time to post-interview edit ________________ (minutes)

THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT MUST BE READ TO ALL RESPONDENTS

This interview is completely voluntary—if we should come to any question which you don't want to answer, just let me know and we'll go on to the next question.
As you know, the campaign for this year's Presidential election is well under way.

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

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

A2. During the last week or two, have you talked to other people about the candidates or their campaigns?

1. YES  5. NO

A3. Generally speaking, would you say that you personally care a good deal which party wins the presidential election this fall, or that you don't care very much which party wins?

1. CARE A GOOD DEAL  3. DON'T CARE VERY MUCH  5. DON'T KNOW

A4. In general, which do you rely on most for news about politics and current events -- television, newspapers, magazines, or radio?

□ A. TV  □ B. NEWSPAPERS  □ C. MAGAZINES  □ D. RADIO

6. ALL EQUALLY  7. NONE  8. DON'T KNOW

A5. How often do you watch the national network news on early evening TV -- every evening, 3 or 4 times a week, once or twice a week, or less often?

1. EVERY EVENING  3. ONCE OR TWICE A WEEK  5. A VOLUNTEER: NEVER WATCH NEWS ON TV

2. 3 OR 4 TIMES A WEEK  4. LESS OFTEN  6. TURN TO P. 2, A7

A6. When you watch the news on TV, do you pay a great deal of attention to news about government and politics, do you pay some attention, or don't you pay much attention to news about government and politics?

3. PAY A GREAT DEAL OF ATTENTION  5. PAY SOME ATTENTION  1. DON'T PAY MUCH ATTENTION
A7. Do you regularly read a weekly news magazine such as Time, Newsweek, U.S. News and World Report, or some other weekly news magazine?

1. YES  
2. NO  
GO TO A8

A7a. And when you read weekly news magazines, how much attention do you generally pay to news about government and politics: A great deal of attention, some attention, or not much attention?

1. PAY A GREAT DEAL OF ATTENTION  
2. PAY SOME ATTENTION  
3. DON'T PAY MUCH ATTENTION

A8. Do you read a daily newspaper regularly?

1. YES  
2. NO  
GO TO A9

A8a. And when you read the newspapers, how much attention do you generally pay to news about government and politics: A great deal of attention, some attention, or not much attention?

1. PAY A GREAT DEAL OF ATTENTION  
2. PAY SOME ATTENTION  
3. DON'T PAY MUCH ATTENTION

A9. Do you regularly listen to national news on the radio?

1. YES  
2. NO  
TURN TO P. 3, A10

A9a. And when you listen to national news on the radio, how much attention do you generally pay to news about government and politics: A great deal of attention, some attention, or not much attention?

1. PAY A GREAT DEAL OF ATTENTION  
2. PAY SOME ATTENTION  
3. DON'T PAY MUCH ATTENTION
A10. Do you approve or disapprove of the way the U.S. Congress is handling its job?

1. APPROVE
5. DISAPPROVE
8. DON'T KNOW

GO TO A11

A10a. Do you approve strongly or not strongly?

1. STRONGLY
2. NOT STRONGLY

A10b. Do you disapprove strongly or not strongly?

5. STRONGLY
4. NOT STRONGLY

A11. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Jimmy Carter is handling his job as President?

1. APPROVE
5. DISAPPROVE
8. DON'T KNOW

GO TO A12

A11a. Do you approve strongly or not strongly?

1. STRONGLY
2. NOT STRONGLY

A11b. Do you disapprove strongly or not strongly?

5. STRONGLY
4. NOT STRONGLY

A12. We are interested in how people are getting along financially these days. Would you say that you (and your family living here) are better off or worse off financially than you were a year ago?

1. BETTER NOW
3. SAME
5. WORSE NOW
8. DON'T KNOW

A13. What about the economy? Would you say that over the past year the nation's economy has gotten better, stayed about the same, or gotten worse?

1. GOTTEN BETTER
3. STAYED ABOUT THE SAME
5. GOTTEN WORSE
8. DON'T KNOW

GO TO A14

A13a. Would you say the economy has gotten much better or somewhat better?

1. MUCH BETTER
2. SOMewhat BETTER

A13b. Would you say the economy has gotten much worse or somewhat worse?

5. MUCH WORSE
4. SOMewhat WORSE

A14. Do you think something can be done to deal successfully with the energy problem, or do you think we'll have to continue to live with energy shortages and rising energy prices because not much can be done about it?

1. DEAL SUCCESSFULLY WITH PROBLEM
2. LIVE WITH SHORTAGES AND RISING PRICES; NOT MUCH CAN BE DONE
8. DON'T KNOW
Section 8

Ask in C-1 (April Study) only.

I'm going to read some things people tell us when we interview them. I'll read them one at a time and you just tell me whether you agree or disagree.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Don't Know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(8)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. It isn't so important to vote when you know your party doesn't have any chance to win.

b. So many other people vote in the national elections that it doesn't matter much to me whether I vote or not.

c. If a person doesn't care how an election comes out then that person shouldn't vote in it.

d. A good many local elections aren't important enough to bother with.
C1. (CANDIDATE CARD AND PENCIL) Here is a list of persons who are possible presidential candidates this year. Many people tell us they have not heard much about some of the persons on this list. Would you please read over the list and, in the box provided, put a zero ("0") by the name of any candidate you have never heard of.

CANDIDATE CARD

FOR OFFICE USE ONLY:

a. JIMMY CARTER  
b. RONALD REAGAN  
c. TED KENNEDY  
d. JOHN CONNALLY  
e. GERALD FORD  
f. JERRY BROWN  
g. HOWARD BAKER  
h. WALTER MONDALE  
i. GEORGE BUSH  
j. PHILLIP CRANE  
k. ROBERT DOLE

C2. Many people also tell us there are candidates they feel they don’t know much about, even though they have heard their names before. Would you please go down the list of candidates again and, in the box, put an "x" by the name of any candidate you have heard of but feel you don’t know much about.

INTERVIEWER: RETRIEVE CANDIDATE CARD AND PENCIL

Thank you. This will be very helpful to me, since the candidates left (READ CANDIDATE NAMES NOT "0ed" OR "Xed," CIRCLING THE LETTERS AS YOU GO), are the ones we will talk more about.

INTERVIEWER: HEREAFTER, ASK CANDIDATE QUESTIONS ONLY ABOUT CANDIDATES WHOSE LETTERS ARE CIRCLED. QUESTIONS ABOUT CANDIDATES NOT CIRCLED ON THE CARD SHOULD BE MARKED "INAP." PAGES ON WHICH THERE ARE QUESTIONS REQUIRING YOU TO REFER TO THE CANDIDATE CARD ARE MARKED WITH A BOX AROUND THE PAGE NUMBER.
C3. (R.B., P. 1) 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 this feeling thermometer. You may use any number from 0 to 100 for rating. 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 too favorable toward the person.

If you don't feel particularly warm or cold toward the person, you would rate the person at the 50 degree mark.

Our first person is Jimmy Carter. How would you rate him using the thermometer?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Rating</th>
<th>Don't Know where to rate</th>
<th>Can't Judge</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>b. Ronald Reagan</td>
<td></td>
<td>b.</td>
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<tr>
<td>c. Ted Kennedy</td>
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<td>d. John Glenn</td>
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<td>e. Gerald Ford</td>
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<td>f. Jerry Brown</td>
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<td>g. Howard Baker</td>
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<td>h. Walter Mondale</td>
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<tr>
<td>I. George Bush</td>
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<td>j. Phillip Crane</td>
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<td>k. Robert Dow</td>
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<td>m. George McGovern</td>
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<td>n. George Wallace</td>
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</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rating</th>
<th>Don't Know where to rate</th>
<th>Can't Judge</th>
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</table>
SECTION E

El. Now I have a few questions on a different topic.

In your own mind, do you think of yourself as a supporter of one of the political parties, or not?

1. YES, SUPPORTER  5. NO, NOT SUPPORTER  8. DON'T KNOW  → GO TO E2

E1a. Which political party do you support?

1. REPUBLICAN  2. DEMOCRATIC  3. OTHER

E1b. (R.B., P. 2) On this scale from 1 to 7 where 1 means "not very strongly" and 7 means "very strongly," please choose the number that describes how strongly you support the (PARTY NAME IN E1a) Party.

1  2  3  4  5  6  7  → B. DON'T KNOW

E1c. (R.B., P. 3) Here is a scale from 1 to 7 where 1 means feeling very close to the Republican Party and 7 means feeling very close to the Democratic Party. Where would you place yourself on this scale?

1  2  3  4  5  6  7

I FEEL

E1d. Do you ever think of yourself as closer to one of the two major political parties, or not?

1. YES  3. NO  → GO TO E2

E1e. (R.B., P. 3) Here is a scale from 1 to 7 where 1 means feeling very close to the Republican Party and 7 means feeling very close to the Democratic Party. Where would you place yourself on this scale?

I FEEL

E2. Do you ever think of yourself as a political independent, or not?

1. YES  5. NO  → TURN TO P. 9, SECTION G  8. DON'T KNOW

E2a. (R.B., P. 4) On this scale from 1 to 7 (where 1 means "not very strongly," and 7 means "very strongly"), please choose the number that describes how strongly independent in politics you feel.

1  2  3  4  5  6  7

B. DON'T KNOW
G1. Some people seem to follow what’s going on in government and public affairs most of the time, whether there’s an election going on or not. Others aren’t that interested. Would you say you follow what’s going on in government and public affairs most of the time, some of the time, only now and then, or hardly at all?

1. MOST OF THE TIME  2. SOME OF THE TIME  3. ONLY NOW AND THEN  4. HARDLY AT ALL  5. DON’T KNOW

G2. As you well know, the government faces many serious problems in this country and in other parts of the world. What do you personally feel are the most important problems the government in Washington should try to take care of? (Anything else?)

G3. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT

☐ 1. R HAS NOT MENTIONED ANY PROBLEMS — TURN TO P. 10, SECTION J
☐ 2. R HAS MENTIONED ONE PROBLEM — GO TO Q4
☐ 3. R HAS MENTIONED MORE THAN ONE PROBLEM

G3a. Of those you’ve mentioned, which would you say is the single most important problem the government in Washington should try to take care of?

G4. During the last week or two, have you talked to other people about this problem?

1. YES  5. NO  9. DON’T KNOW
G5. Just how strongly would you say you feel about this problem: Are you extremely concerned about it, very concerned, somewhat concerned, or only a little concerned?

1. EXTREMELY CONCERNED  2. VERY CONCERNED  3. SOMewhat CONCERNED  4. A LITTLE CONCERNED  5. DON'T KNOW

G6. Would you say that you (and your family living here) are affected personally by this problem?

1. YES  5. NO

G7. 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 would there be much difference between them?

1. REPUBLICANS  5. DEMOCRATS  3. NOT MUCH DIFFERENCE  0. DON'T KNOW

ASK IN C-1 (APRIL STUDY) ONLY

G8. In the last week or two, have you seen, heard or read anything in the news about this problem?

1. YES  5. NO  0. DON'T KNOW

G8a. Of the things you saw, heard, or read, which one interested you the most?

[Blank space for response]
If you would like to talk about something between the lines you have forwarded in politics, I want you to tell me whether something about that person, or something he has done has made you feel certain feelings like anger, pride, or others we will mention. Think about Jimmy Carter: how he feels about politics, I am going to name a political figure, and I want you to tell me whether something about that person, or what he has done has made you feel certain feelings like anger, pride, or others we will mention.

We would like to know something about the feelings you have toward people in politics. I want you to name a political figure, and I want you to tell me whether something about that person, or something he has done has made you feel certain feelings like anger, pride, or others we will mention.

Think about Jimmy Carter: how he feels about people in politics. I am going to name a political figure, and I want you to tell me whether something about that person, or what he has done has made you feel certain feelings like anger, pride, or others we will mention.

Think about Jimmy Carter: how you feel about people in politics. I am going to name a political figure, and I want you to tell me whether something about that person, or what he has done has made you feel certain feelings like anger, pride, or others we will mention.
J3. Now, think about Ronald Reagan. Has Reagan (because of the kind of person he is, or because of something he has done) ever made you feel:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>YES; HAVE FELT</th>
<th>NO; NEVER FELT</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
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<td>b.</td>
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<td>g.</td>
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INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

1. NO "YES" MENTIONS IN J3 — TURN TO P. 12, J5

2. ONLY ONE "YES" MENTION IN J3

3. MORE THAN ONE "YES" MENTION IN J3

J4a. What led you to feel (READ "YES" MENTION IN J3) toward Ronald Reagan?

J4b. (You've mentioned more than one feeling. Now I would like to know which one of these you would say was the strongest.) You've mentioned (READ "YES" MENTIONS FROM J3). Which feeling was the strongest?

J4c. What led you to feel (READ FEELING MENTIONED IN J4b) toward Ronald Reagan?
JS. Now, think about Ted Kennedy. Has Kennedy been or because of something he has done ever made you feel: 

- a. angry
- b. helpless
- c. afraid of him
- d. proud
- e. sympathetic toward him
- f. unloved

JS: What led you to feel (READ FEELING MENTIONED IN JS toward Ted Kennedy)

(You've mentioned more than one feeling. Now I would like to know which one of these feelings was the strongest.)

JS: Now, I would like you to feel (READ FEELING MENTIONED IN JS toward Ted Kennedy)

JS: Did you mention more than one feeling toward Ted Kennedy?

JS: How many times have you mentioned 'YES' in JS?

JS: You've mentioned 'YES' in JS
J7. Now, think about John Connally. Has Connally (because of the kind of person he is or because of something he has done) ever made you feel:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>YES; EVER FELT</th>
<th>NO; NEVER FELT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
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<td>i.</td>
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<td>j.</td>
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**Interviewer Checkpoint:**

1. NO "YES" MENTIONS IN J7 —— TURN TO P. 14, J9
2. ONLY ONE "YES" MENTION IN J7
3. MORE THAN ONE "YES" MENTION IN J7

J8a. What led you to feel (READ "YES" MENTION IN J7) toward John Connally?

J8b. (You've mentioned more than one feeling. Now I would like to know which one of these you would say was the strongest.) You've mentioned (READ "YES" MENTIONS FROM J7). Which feeling was the strongest?

J8c. What led you to feel (READ FEELING MENTIONED IN J8b) toward John Connally?
J9. Now, think about Gerald Ford. Has Ford (because of the kind of person he is or because of something he has done) ever made you feel:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>YES</th>
<th>NO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. angry</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>b. hopeful</td>
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<tr>
<td>c. afraid of him</td>
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<tr>
<td>d. proud</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. disgusted</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>f. sympathetic toward him</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>g. uneasy</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:**

1. NO "YES" MENTIONS IN J9 → TURN TO P. 16, SECTION K
2. ONLY ONE "YES" MENTION IN J9
3. MORE THAN ONE "YES" MENTION IN J9

**J10a. What led you to feel (READ "YES" MENTION IN J9) toward Gerald Ford?**

**J10b. (You've mentioned more than one feeling. Now I would like to know which one of these you would say was the strongest.) You've mentioned (READ "YES" MENTIONS FROM J9). Which feeling was the strongest?**

**J10c. What led you to feel (READ FEELING MENTIONED IN J10b) toward Gerald Ford?**
J11. Now, think about Has
(— because of the kind of person he is or because of something he has done —)
ever made you feel:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1. YES; HAVE FELT</th>
<th>5. NO; NEVER FELT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
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<td>b.</td>
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<td>f.</td>
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<tr>
<td>g.</td>
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</table>

b. Hopeful
c. Afraid of him
d. Proud
e. Disgusted
f. Sympathetic toward him
g. Uneasy

J12a. What led you to feel (READ "YES" MENTION IN J11) toward  

J12b. (You've mentioned more than one feeling. Now I would like to know which one of these you would say was the strongest.) You've mentioned (READ "YES" MENTIONS FROM J11). Which feeling was the strongest?

J12c. What led you to feel (READ FEELING MENTIONED IN J12b) toward  

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INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

1. NO "YES" MENTIONS IN J11 —> TURN TO P. 16, SECTION K
2. ONLY ONE "YES" MENTION IN J11
3. MORE THAN ONE "YES" MENTION IN J11
SECTION K

K1. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the way Jimmy Carter is handling inflation?

- APPROVE
- DISAPPROVE
- B. DON'T KNOW

K1a. Do you approve strongly or not strongly?

1. STRONGLY
2. NOT STRONGLY

K1b. Do you disapprove strongly or not strongly?

5. STRONGLY
4. NOT STRONGLY

K2. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the way Jimmy Carter is handling unemployment?

- APPROVE
- DISAPPROVE
- B. DON'T KNOW

K2a. Do you approve strongly or not strongly?

1. STRONGLY
2. NOT STRONGLY

K2b. Do you disapprove strongly or not strongly?

5. STRONGLY
4. NOT STRONGLY

K3. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the way Jimmy Carter is handling the energy problem?

- APPROVE
- DISAPPROVE
- B. DON'T KNOW

K3a. Do you approve strongly or not strongly?

1. STRONGLY
2. NOT STRONGLY

K3b. Do you disapprove strongly or not strongly?

5. STRONGLY
4. NOT STRONGLY

K4. Do you approve or disapprove of Jimmy Carter's handling of the crisis brought about by the taking of Americans as hostages in Iran?

- APPROVE
- DISAPPROVE
- B. DON'T KNOW

K4a. Do you approve strongly or not strongly?

1. STRONGLY
2. NOT STRONGLY

K4b. Do you disapprove strongly or not strongly?

5. STRONGLY
4. NOT STRONGLY

K5. As you may know, in late December Soviet troops moved into Afghanistan. So far the President has protested this Soviet action by cutting back on American trade, diplomatic and cultural ties with the Soviet Union. Considering the U.S. response thus far, would you say that Jimmy Carter has reacted too strongly to the Soviet Union, not strongly enough, or has the response been about right?

1. REACTED TOO STRONGLY
5. REACTED NOT STRONGLY ENOUGH
3. RESPONSE BEEN ABOUT RIGHT
B. DON'T KNOW
b. Voting is the only way that people like me can have any say about how the government runs things.

c. Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on.

d. I don't think public officials care much what people like me think.

e. Generally speaking, those we elect to Congress in Washington lose touch with the people pretty quickly.

f. Parties are only interested in people's votes but not in their opinions.
**SECTION M**

1. (R.B., P. 5) 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>EXTREMELY LIBERAL</td>
<td>SLIGHTLY MODERATE</td>
<td>MODERATE</td>
<td>SLIGHTLY CONSERVATIVE</td>
<td>EXTREMELY CONSERVATIVE</td>
<td>LIBERAL</td>
<td>MIDDLE OF ROAD</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

- 8. DON’T KNOW
- 0. HAVEN’T THOUGHT MUCH

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

- 1. LIBERAL
- 3. MODERATE, MIDDLE OF ROAD
- 5. CONSERVATIVE
- 7. & REFUSES TO CHOOSE

- 8. DON’T KNOW

**TURN TO P. 20, M4**

**b.** Where would you place Jimmy Carter?

**c.** Where would you place Ronald Reagan?

**d.** (Where would you place) Ted Kennedy?

**e.** (Where would you place) John Connally?

**f.** (Where would you place) Gerald Ford?

**g.** (Where would you place) Jerry Brown?

**h.** (Where would you place) **OAKER BUSH**

**i.** (Where would you place) **OAKER BUSH**

**j.** (Where would you place) the Republican Party?

**k.** (Where would you place) the Democratic Party?
N4. (R.B., P. 6) Some people believe that we should spend much less money for defense. Suppose these people are at one end of the scale at point number 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.

DEFENSE SPENDING

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
GREATLY DECREASE
DEFENSE SPENDING

GREATLY INCREASE
DEFENSE SPENDING

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

b. Where would you place Jimmy Carter?
c. Where would you place Ronald Reagan?
d. Where would you place Ted Kennedy?
e. Where would you place John Connally?

f. Where would you place Gerald Ford?
g. Where would you place Jerry Brown?
h. Where would you place Baker?
i. Where would you place Bush?

Turn to P. 22, N8

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

Turn to P. 21, N5

Turn to P. 22, N8
NS. (BLUE CARD), READ AS NECESSARY:

Here is a scale from 0 to 100. 100 on this scale means the greatest possible importance, while 0 means not at all important. The other numbers on the scale from 0 to 100 represent higher and higher amounts of importance.

INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

R'S NUMBER RATINGS FOR STARRED ITEMS (N4a AND N4z) ARE:

D. THE SAME NUMBER  I. DIFFERENT BY ONE POINT  2. DIFFERENT BY TWO OR MORE POINTS

NSa. READ AS NECESSARY:

Now, for the issue we just talked about, I see that your position on this issue (matches/comes close to) what you feel the government is doing at the present time.

You placed yourself at point (NUMBER GIVEN IN N4a) and what the government is doing at point (NUMBER GIVEN IN N4z). Using the blue card, tell me: How important is it to you that the government continue what it is doing so that it stays close to your own position on this issue?

________ RATING

NSb. READ AS NECESSARY:

Now, for the issue we just talked about, I see that your position on this issue does not match what you feel the government is doing at the present time.

You placed yourself at point (NUMBER GIVEN IN N4a) and what the government is doing at point (NUMBER GIVEN IN N4z). Using the blue card, tell me: How important is it to you that the government change what it is doing so that it comes closer to your own position on this issue?

________ RATING.
**Ask in C-I Impair Study Only**

1. Would you place Jimmy Carter or Gerald Ford in the following order of importance in your judgment of their contributions to modern American society? (Please rate each of the following, 1 being the most important and 6 being the least important.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Rating</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jimmy Carter</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gerald Ford</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Would you place Ronald Reagan, Ted Kennedy, John Connally, or Jerry Brown in the following order of importance in your judgment of their contributions to modern American society? (Please rate each of the following, 1 being the most important and 6 being the least important.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Rating</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ronald Reagan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ted Kennedy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Connally</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jerry Brown</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. Would you place yourself in the following order of importance in your judgment of your contributions to modern American society? (Please rate yourself, 1 being the most important and 6 being the least important.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Rating</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Minority Groups</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. What is your opinion of the following statement: "Government should help minority groups themselves, not through affirmative action policies."

- Agree
- Disagree
- Somewhere in between
- Not sure

5. What is your opinion of the following statement: "Government should help minority groups, not through affirmative action policies."

- Agree
- Disagree
- Somewhere in between
- Not sure

6. What is your opinion of the following statement: "Government should help minority groups, not through affirmative action policies."

- Agree
- Disagree
- Somewhere in between
- Not sure

7. What is your opinion of the following statement: "Government should help minority groups, not through affirmative action policies."

- Agree
- Disagree
- Somewhere in between
- Not sure

8. What is your opinion of the following statement: "Government should help minority groups, not through affirmative action policies."

- Agree
- Disagree
- Somewhere in between
- Not sure

9. What is your opinion of the following statement: "Government should help minority groups, not through affirmative action policies."

- Agree
- Disagree
- Somewhere in between
- Not sure

10. What is your opinion of the following statement: "Government should help minority groups, not through affirmative action policies."

- Agree
- Disagree
- Somewhere in between
- Not sure

11. What is your opinion of the following statement: "Government should help minority groups, not through affirmative action policies."

- Agree
- Disagree
- Somewhere in between
- Not sure

12. What is your opinion of the following statement: "Government should help minority groups, not through affirmative action policies."

- Agree
- Disagree
- Somewhere in between
- Not sure

13. What is your opinion of the following statement: "Government should help minority groups, not through affirmative action policies."

- Agree
- Disagree
- Somewhere in between
- Not sure

14. What is your opinion of the following statement: "Government should help minority groups, not through affirmative action policies."

- Agree
- Disagree
- Somewhere in between
- Not sure

15. What is your opinion of the following statement: "Government should help minority groups, not through affirmative action policies."

- Agree
- Disagree
- Somewhere in between
- Not sure
Here is a scale from 0 to 100. 100 on this scale means the greatest possible importance, while 0 means not at all important. The other numbers on the scale from 0 to 100 represent higher and higher amounts of importance.

INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

A's NUMBER RATINGS FOR STARRED ITEMS (NBa AND NBb) ARE:

- **0. THE SAME NUMBER**
- **1. DIFFERENT BY ONE POINT**
- **2. DIFFERENT BY TWO OR MORE POINTS**

**NBa. READ AS NECESSARY:**

Now, for the issue we just talked about, I see that your position on this issue (matches/comes close to) what you feel the government is doing at the present time.

You placed yourself at point (NUMBER GIVEN IN NBa) and what the government is doing at point (NUMBER GIVEN IN NBb). Using the blue card, tell me: How important is it to you that the government continue what it is doing so that it stays close to your own position on this issue?

---  RATING ---

**NBb. READ AS NECESSARY:**

Now, for the issue we just talked about, I see that your position on this issue does not match what you feel the government is doing at the present time.

You placed yourself at point (NUMBER GIVEN IN NBa) and what the government is doing at point (NUMBER GIVEN IN NBb). Using the blue card, tell me: How important is it to you that the government change what it is doing so that it comes closer to your own position on this issue?

---  RATING ---
N12. (R.B., P. 8) 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 continue the services it now provides even if it means no reduction in spending.

GOVERNMENT SERVICES / GOVERNMENT SPENDING

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

GOVERNMENT SHOULD PROVIDE MANY FEWER SERVICES; REDUCE SPENDING A LOT

GOVERNMENT SHOULD CONTINUE TO PROVIDE SERVICES; NO REDUCTION IN SPENDING

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

b. Where would you place Jimmy Carter?

c. Where would you place Ronald Reagan?

d. (Where would you place) Ted Kennedy?

e. (Where would you place) John Connally?

f. (Where would you place) Gerald Ford?

g. (Where would you place) Jerry Brown?

h. (Where would you place) **Baker**

i. (Where would you place) **Bush**

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

TURN TO P. 25, N13

TURN TO P. 26, N16
N13. (BLUE CARD), READ AS NECESSARY:

Here is a scale from 0 to 100. 100 on this scale means the greatest possible importance, while 0 means not at all important. The other numbers on the scale from 0 to 100 represent higher and higher amounts of importance.

INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

R'S NUMBER RATINGS FOR STARRED ITEMS (N12a AND N12b) ARE:

0. THE SAME NUMBER
1. DIFFERENT BY ONE POINT
2. DIFFERENT BY TWO OR MORE POINTS

N13a. READ AS NECESSARY:

Now, for the issue we just talked about, I see that your position on this issue (matches/ comes close to) what you feel the government is doing at the present time.

You placed yourself at point (NUMBER GIVEN IN N12a) and what the government is doing at point (NUMBER GIVEN IN N12b). Using the blue card, tell me: How important is it to you that the government continue what it is doing so that it stays close to your own position on this issue?

_______ RATING

N13b. READ AS NECESSARY:

Now, for the issue we just talked about, I see that your position on this issue does not match what you feel the government is doing at the present time.

You placed yourself at point (NUMBER GIVEN IN N12a) and what the government is doing at point (NUMBER GIVEN IN N12b). Using the blue card, tell me: How important is it to you that the government change what it is doing so that it comes closer to your own position on this issue?

_______ RATING
N16. (R.R., P. 9) Some people feel it is important for us to try very hard to get along with Russia. Others feel it is a big mistake to try too hard to get along with Russia.

RELATIONS WITH RUSSIA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IMPORTANT TO TRY VERY HARD TO GET ALONG WITH RUSSIA</th>
<th>BIG MISTAKE TO TRY TOO HARD TO GET ALONG WITH RUSSIA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

- [ ] 6. DON'T KNOW
- [ ] 0. HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH

TURN TO P. 28, H20

b. Where would you place Jimmy Carter?
c. Where would you place Ronald Reagan?
d. (Where would you place) Ted Kennedy?
e. (Where would you place) John Connally?
f. (Where would you place) Gerald Ford?
g. (Where would you place) Jerry Brown?
h. (Where would you place) Bush?
i. (Where would you place) Bush?

x

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

- [ ] TURN TO P. 27, H17
- [ ] TURN TO P. 28, H20
H17. (Blue Card). Read as necessary:

Here is a scale from 0 to 100. 100 on this scale means the greatest possible importance, while 0 means not at all important. The other numbers on the scale from 0 to 100 represent higher and higher amounts of importance.

Interviewer Checkpoint:

R's number ratings for starred items (H16a and H16b) are:

- 0. The same number
- 1. Different by one point
- 2. Different by two or more points

H17a. Read as necessary:

Now, for the issue we just talked about, I see that your position on this issue (matches/comes close to) what you feel the government is doing at the present time.

You placed yourself at point (NUMBER GIVEN IN H16a) and what the government is doing at point (NUMBER GIVEN IN H16b). Using the blue card, tell me: How important is it to you that the government continue what it is doing so that it stays close to your own position on this issue?

_______ Rating

H17b. Read as necessary:

Now, for the issue we just talked about, I see that your position on this issue does not match what you feel the government is doing at the present time.

You placed yourself at point (NUMBER GIVEN IN H16a) and what the government is doing at point (NUMBER GIVEN IN H16b). Using the blue card, tell me: How important is it to you that the government change what it is doing so that it comes closer to your own position on this issue?

_______ Rating
N20. (R.R., P. 10) Some people feel the federal government should take action to reduce the inflation rate, even if it means that unemployment would go up a lot. Others feel the government should take action to reduce the rate of unemployment, even if it means that inflation would go up a lot.

INFLATION AND UNEMPLOYMENT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>REDUCE INFLATION</td>
<td>REDUCE UNEMPLOYMENT</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EVEN IF UNEMPLOYMENT</td>
<td>EVEN IF INFLATION</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GOES UP A LOT</td>
<td>GOES UP A LOT</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

b. Where would you place Jimmy Carter?
c. Where would you place Ronald Reagan?
d. (Where would you place) Ted Kennedy?
e. (Where would you place) John Connally?
f. (Where would you place) Gerald Ford?
g. (Where would you place) Jerry Brown?
h. (Where would you place) Bush?
i. (Where would you place) 

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

TURN TO P. 29, M21

TURN TO P. 30, M24
N21. (BLUE CAP), READ AS NECESSARY:

Here is a scale from 0 to 100. 100 on this scale means the greatest possible importance, while 0 means not at all important. The other numbers on the scale from 0 to 100 represent higher and higher amounts of importance.

INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

R'S NUMBER RATINGS FOR STARRED ITEMS (N20a AND N20b) ARE:

| 0. THE SAME NUMBER | 1. DIFFERENT BY ONE POINT | 2. DIFFERENT BY TWO OR MORE POINTS |

N21a. READ AS NECESSARY:

Now, for the issue we just talked about, I see that your position on this issue (matches/comes close to) what you feel the government is doing at the present time.

You placed yourself at point (NUMBER GIVEN IN N20a) and what the government is doing at point (NUMBER GIVEN IN N20b). Using the blue card, tell me: How important is it to you that the government continue what it is doing so that it stays close to your own position on this issue?

_RATING_

N21b. READ AS NECESSARY:

Now, for the issue we just talked about, I see that your position on this issue does not match what you feel the government is doing at the present time.

You placed yourself at point (NUMBER GIVEN IN N20a) and what the government is doing at point (NUMBER GIVEN IN N20b). Using the blue card, tell me: How important is it to you that the government change what it is doing so that it comes closer to your own position on this issue?

_RATING_
124. (R.E., P. 11) There is much concern about the rapid rise in medical and hospital costs. Some people feel there should be a government insurance plan which would cover all medical and hospital expenses for everyone. Others feel that all medical expenses should be paid by individuals, and through private insurance plans like Blue Cross or other company-paid plans.

**HEALTH INSURANCE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Government Insurance Plan</th>
<th>Private Insurance Plans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

- **B. DON'T KNOW**
- **0. HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH**

**ASK IN C-1 (APRIL STUDY ONLY)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rating</th>
<th>B. DON'T KNOW</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. Where would you place Jimmy Carter?
c. Where would you place Ronald Reagan?
d. (Where would you place) Ted Kennedy?
e. (Where would you place) John Connelly?
f. (Where would you place) Gerald Ford?
g. (Where would you place) Jerry Brown?
h. (Where would you place) ____________________
i. (Where would you place) ____________________

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

**TURN TO P. 31, H29**

**TURN TO P. 32, H28**
INTERVAL RATING SYSTEM:

1. DIFFERENT BUT THE SAME KIND.
2. DIFFERENT BUT MORE IMPORTANT.
3. THE SAME RATING.

RATING 

0.

1. THE SAME KIND.
2. DIFFERENT BUT MORE IMPORTANT.
3. THE SAME RATING.

INTERVAL RATING SYSTEM:

1. DIFFERENT BUT THE SAME KIND.
2. DIFFERENT BUT MORE IMPORTANT.
3. THE SAME RATING.

RATING 

0.

1. THE SAME KIND.
2. DIFFERENT BUT MORE IMPORTANT.
3. THE SAME RATING.

INTERVAL RATING SYSTEM:

1. DIFFERENT BUT THE SAME KIND.
2. DIFFERENT BUT MORE IMPORTANT.
3. THE SAME RATING.

RATING 

0.

1. THE SAME KIND.
2. DIFFERENT BUT MORE IMPORTANT.
3. THE SAME RATING.

INTERVAL RATING SYSTEM:

1. DIFFERENT BUT THE SAME KIND.
2. DIFFERENT BUT MORE IMPORTANT.
3. THE SAME RATING.

RATING 

0.

1. THE SAME KIND.
2. DIFFERENT BUT MORE IMPORTANT.
3. THE SAME RATING.

INTERVAL RATING SYSTEM:

1. DIFFERENT BUT THE SAME KIND.
2. DIFFERENT BUT MORE IMPORTANT.
3. THE SAME RATING.

RATING 

0.

1. THE SAME KIND.
2. DIFFERENT BUT MORE IMPORTANT.
3. THE SAME RATING.

INTERVAL RATING SYSTEM:

1. DIFFERENT BUT THE SAME KIND.
2. DIFFERENT BUT MORE IMPORTANT.
3. THE SAME RATING.

RATING 

0.

1. THE SAME KIND.
2. DIFFERENT BUT MORE IMPORTANT.
3. THE SAME RATING.

INTERVAL RATING SYSTEM:

1. DIFFERENT BUT THE SAME KIND.
2. DIFFERENT BUT MORE IMPORTANT.
3. THE SAME RATING.

RATING 

0.

1. THE SAME KIND.
2. DIFFERENT BUT MORE IMPORTANT.
3. THE SAME RATING.

INTERVAL RATING SYSTEM:

1. DIFFERENT BUT THE SAME KIND.
2. DIFFERENT BUT MORE IMPORTANT.
3. THE SAME RATING.

RATING 

0.
28. (R.B., P. 12) There has been some discussion about abortion during recent years. Which one of the opinions on this page best agrees with your view? You can just tell me the number of the opinion you choose.

1. Abortion should never be permitted.

2. Abortion should be permitted only if the life and health of the woman is in danger.

3. Abortion should be permitted if, due to personal reasons, the woman would have difficulty in caring for the child.

4. Abortion should never be forbidden, since one should not require a woman to have a child she doesn't want.

5. Other (Specify):

6. Don't know

28a. (R.B., P. 12) Where would you place what the federal government is doing at the present time?

1. Abortion should never be permitted.

2. Abortion should be permitted only if the life and health of the woman is in danger.

3. Abortion should be permitted if, due to personal reasons, the woman would have difficulty in caring for the child.

4. Abortion should never be forbidden, since one should not require a woman to have a child she doesn't want.

5. Other (Specify):

6. Don't know
Q1. READ AS NECESSARY:

You feel the issue you just talked about is to you that the government continues what it is doing so that it matches your own position on this issue.

RATING

Q2. READ AS NECESSARY:

How important is it to you that the government continues what it is doing at the present time?

0. THE SAME NUMBER

Q2a. IUD AS NECESSARY:

Using the blue card, tell me: How important is it to you that the government continues what it is doing at the present time?

Q2b. (BLUE CARD) READ AS NECESSARY

Here is a scale from 0 to 100 on this scale means the greater important. The other numbers represent the amounts of importance.
M32. (R.B., P. 13) 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 his own.

**JOB AND GOOD STANDARD OF LIVING**

1 2 3 4 5 6

GOVERNMENT SEE TO A JOB AND GOOD STANDARD OF LIVING

GOVERNMENT LET EACH PERSON GET AHEAD ON ON.

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

B. DON'T KNOW  D. HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH

TURN TO P. 36, M36

b. Where would you place Jimmy Carter?

c. Where would you place Ronald Reagan?

d. (Where would you place) Ted Kennedy?

e. (Where would you place) John Connally?

f. (Where would you place) Gerald Ford?

g. (Where would you place) Jerry Brown?

h. (Where would you place) ?

i. (Where would you place) ?

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

RATING B. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 35, M35  TURN TO P. 36, M36
ASK IN C-1 (APRIL STUDY) ONLY

No. (BLUE CARD), READ AS NECESSARY:

Here is a scale from 0 to 100. 100 on this scale means the greatest possible importance, while 0 means not at all important. The other numbers on the scale from 0 to 100 represent higher and higher amounts of importance.

INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

R'S NUMBER RATINGS FOR STARRED ITEMS (H32a AND H32b) ARE:

0. THE SAME NUMBER  1. DIFFERENT BY ONE POINT  2. DIFFERENT BY TWO OR MORE POINTS

H33a. READ AS NECESSARY:

Now, for the issue we just talked about, I see that your position on this issue (matches/comes close to) what you feel the government is doing at the present time.

You placed yourself at point (NUMBER GIVEN IN H32a) and what the government is doing at point (NUMBER GIVEN IN H32b). Using the blue card, tell me: How important is it to you that the government continue what it is doing so that it stays close to your own position on this issue?

_________ RATING

H33b. READ AS NECESSARY:

Now, for the issue we just talked about, I see that your position on this issue does not match what you feel the government is doing at the present time.

You placed yourself at point (NUMBER GIVEN IN H32a) and what the government is doing at point (NUMBER GIVEN IN H32b). Using the blue card, tell me: How important is it to you that the government change what it is doing so that it comes closer to your own position on this issue?

_________ RATING
6. (R.B., P. 14) As you may know, the government is slowly ending controls on the price of gas and oil. This means that prices will rise and oil companies will make larger profits. Some people think oil companies should be allowed to keep those windfall profits to pay for new oil explorations and other ways of increasing energy supplies. Others think the government should tax those windfall profits and use the money it receives to set up government energy programs.

ENERGY

OIL COMPANIES SHOULD
KEEP ALL WINDFALL
PROFITS TO FINANCE
THEIR OWN ENERGY
PROGRAMS

GOVERNMENT SHOULD
HEAVILY TAX WINDFALL
PROFITS TO FINANCE
GOVERNMENT ENERGY
PROGRAMS

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

[1] DON'T KNOW


TURN TO P. 38, SECTION Q

b. Where would you place Jimmy Carter?

c. Where would you place Ronald Reagan?

d. (Where would you place) Ted Kennedy?

e. (Where would you place) John Connally?

f. (Where would you place) Gerald Ford?

g. (Where would you place) Jerry Brown?

h. (Where would you place) ________?

i. (Where would you place) ________?

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

[1] TURN TO P.

[1] TURN TO P.

37, M37

38, SECTION Q
37. **(BLUE CARD), READ AS NECESSARY:**

Here is a scale from 0 to 100. 100 on this scale means the greatest possible importance, while 0 means not at all important. The other numbers on the scale from 0 to 100 represent higher and higher amounts of importance.

**INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:**

**R'S NUMBER RATINGS FOR STARRED ITEMS (N36a AND N36b) ARE:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>0. THE SAME NUMBER</th>
<th>1. DIFFERENT BY ONE POINT</th>
<th>2. DIFFERENT BY TWO OR MORE POINTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**N37a. READ AS NECESSARY:**

Now, for the issue we just talked about, I see that your position on this issue (matches comes close to) what you feel the government is doing at the present time.

You placed yourself at point (NUMBER GIVEN IN N36a) and what the government is doing at point (NUMBER GIVEN IN N36b). Using the blue card, tell me: How important is it to you that the government continue what it is doing so that it stays close to your own position on this issue?

_________ RATING

**N37b. READ AS NECESSARY:**

Now, for the issue we just talked about, I see that your position on this issue does not match what you feel the government is doing at the present time.

You placed yourself at point (NUMBER GIVEN IN N36a) and what the government is doing at point (NUMBER GIVEN IN N36b). Using the blue card, tell me: How important is it to you that the government change what it is doing so that it comes closer to your own position on this issue?

_________ RATING
SECTION 0

Q1. (R.B., P. 15) Present government regulations with regard to pollution and other environmental problems limit full use of some energy sources. Do you think the government should relax environmental protection regulations to increase the use of these energy sources, or should the government keep environmental protection regulations unchanged even though this may delay the production of more energy?

5. RELAX REGULATIONS
6. RELAX REGULATIONS, WITH QUALIFICATIONS
1. KEEP REGULATIONS UNCHANGED
8. DON'T KNOW

Q1a. Should the government relax environmental regulations a lot, some, or just a little?

5. A LOT
3. SOME
1. A LITTLE
8. DON'T KNOW

Q2. Should the government regulate people's use of gas by some kind of rationing in order to reduce energy consumption or is this something the government should not do?

5. RATION
6. RATION, WITH QUALIFICATIONS
1. GOVERNMENT SHOULD NOT RATION
8. DON'T KNOW

Q2a. Should the government limit the use of gas a lot, some, or just a little?

5. A LOT
3. SOME
1. A LITTLE
8. DON'T KNOW

Q3. Should the government continue to control the price of gas and oil, or should these prices be allowed to rise in order to encourage energy conservation on the part of consumers?

1. CONTINUE TO CONTROL
5. ALLOW PRICES TO RISE
6. RISE, WITH QUALIFICATIONS
8. DON'T KNOW

Q3a. Should gas and oil prices be allowed to rise a lot, some, or just a little?

5. A LOT
3. SOME
1. A LITTLE
8. DON'T KNOW
Q4. How much gasoline do you usually use a week — would you say you use less than 10 gallons a week, between 10 and 15 gallons, between 16 and 20 gallons, or over 20 gallons a week?

1. LESS THAN 10  2. 10-15  3. 16-20  4. OVER 20  5. DON'T KNOW

Q3. (R.B., P. 16) Some people say that the nation needs to develop new power sources from nuclear energy in order to meet our needs for the future. Other people say that the danger to the environment and the possibility of accidents are too great. What do you think? Are you in favor of building more nuclear energy power plants, would you favor operating only those that are already built, or would you prefer to see all nuclear power plants closed down?

1. FAVOR BUILDING   2. OPERATING ONLY THOSE   3. SEE ALL PLANTS   4. DON'T
   MORE PLANTS      ALREADY BUILT     CLOSED DOWN

   KNOW

   KNOW

   KNOW
SECTION 5

S1. Do you think that over the last five years (your/your family's) income has gone up more than the cost of living, has it fallen behind, or has it stayed about even with the cost of living?

1. GONE UP MORE  5. FALLEN BEHIND  3. STAYED ABOUT EVEN  8. DON'T KNOW

S2. Do you think something can be done to deal successfully with the problem of rising prices, or do you feel that we'll have to continue living with inflation because not much can be done about it?

1. SOMETHING CAN BE DONE  2. NOT MUCH CAN BE DONE  8. DON'T KNOW

S3. Some people feel there is a connection between inflation and unemployment. They think if inflation goes down, unemployment will go up or, if you reduce unemployment, inflation will go up.

Do you believe there is this kind of connection between inflation and unemployment or not?

1. YES  5. NO  3. UNSURE; DEPENDS  8. DON'T KNOW

ASK IN C-1 (APRIL STUDY) ONLY

S4. Do you think something can be done to deal successfully with the problem of unemployment, or do you feel that we'll have to continue living with unemployment because not much can be done about it?

1. SOMETHING CAN BE DONE  2. NOT MUCH CAN BE DONE  8. DON'T KNOW
And now let's go to a different topic.

T1. Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an independent, or what?

1. REPUBLICAN

5. DEMOCRAT

2. INDEPENDENT

3. NO PREFERENCE

4. OTHER PARTY

T1a. Would you call yourself a strong Republican or a not very strong Republican?

1. STRONG

5. NOT VERY STRONG

TURN TO P. 44, T1b

T1b. Would you call yourself a strong Democrat or a not very strong Democrat?

1. STRONG

5. NOT VERY STRONG

TURN TO P. 42, T1c

T1c. Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party or to the Democratic Party?

1. CLOSER TO REPUBLICAN.

5. CLOSER TO DEMOCRATIC

TURN TO P. 44, T1b

3. NEITHER

TURN TO P. 42, T1c
T2. There is a lot of talk about which candidates will run for president in the November election from the Republican and Democratic sides. Here is a list of people who are possible choices for the Democratic Party nomination for President this year. Who on this list do you think is most likely to win the Democratic nomination?

1. [Names]
2. [Names]
3. [Names]
4. [Names]
5. [Names]
6. [Names]
7. [Names]
8. [Names]
9. [Names]
10. [Names]
11. [Names]
12. [Names]
13. [Names]
14. [Names]
15. [Names]
16. [Names]
17. [Names]
18. [Names]
19. [Names]
20. [Names]
21. [Names]
22. [Names]
23. [Names]
24. [Names]
25. [Names]

10. What other candidates do you think have at least some chance of winning the Democratic nomination? (PROBE: Are there any others who have some chance?)

5. NO OTHERS HAVE CHANCE
9. DON'T KNOW

11. Which (other) candidates do you think have at least some chance of winning the Republican nomination? (PROBE: Are there any others who have some chance?)

5. NO OTHERS HAVE CHANCE
9. DON'T KNOW

12. Of all the candidates on this list, who do you think the Republicans nominate as their strongest candidate in the November election?

97. CAN'T SAY; IT DEPENDS
98. DON'T KNOW
T6. Are there any Democrats on this list whom you might consider voting for in November? (If NECESSARY: Who are they?)

NAMES: _____________________________________________

Any others? ___________________________________________

97. NONE; WOULDN'T VOTE FOR ANY
98. DON'T KNOW → TURN BACK TO P. 42, T9

T7. Of all the candidates on this list, who is your first choice for the Democratic nomination this year?

DEM. CAND.

97. NONE 98. DON'T KNOW; HAVEN'T DECIDED
TURN BACK TO P. 42, T9

T8. Suppose, for one reason or another, he is not chosen as the Democratic candidate. Who on this list would be your second choice for the Democratic nomination?

97. NO SECOND CHOICE 98. DON'T KNOW; HAVEN'T DECIDED
TURN BACK TO P. 42, T9

T11. Are there any Republicans on this list whom you might consider voting for in November? (If NECESSARY: Who are they?)

NAMES: _____________________________________________

Any others? ___________________________________________

97. NONE; WOULDN'T VOTE FOR ANY
98. DON'T KNOW → TURN TO P. 46, T34

T14. Of all the candidates on this list, who is your first choice for the Republican nomination this year?

REP. CAND.

97. NONE 98. DON'T KNOW; HAVEN'T DECIDED
TURN TO P. 46, T34

T15. Suppose, for one reason or another, he is not chosen as the Republican candidate. Who on this list would be your second choice for the Republican nomination?

97. NO SECOND CHOICE 98. DON'T KNOW; HAVEN'T DECIDED
GO TO T16

T16. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

☐ 1. NAMES IN BOTH [DEM. CAND.] (T7) AND [REP. CAND.] (T14)

☐ 2. ALL OTHERS → TURN TO P. 46, T34

T17. I would like to know how you would vote if the presidential election were being held today. Which candidate do you think you would vote for if [DEM. CAND.] NAME IN T7] were running against [REP. CAND.] NAME IN T14? 

1. DEM. CAND. 2. REP. CAND. 3. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 46, T34
44 (R.B., P. 17; USE FOR T18 - T33) FOR REPUBLICANS

T18. There is a lot of talk about which candidates will run for president in the November election from the Republican and Democratic sides. Here is a list of people who are possible choices for the Republican Party nomination for President this year. Who on this list do you think is most likely to win the Republican nomination?

98. DON'T KNOW → GO TO T20

T19. Do you think he will win the nomination easily, or will he face strong competition at the convention?

1. WIN EASILY  2. FACE STRONG COMPETITION  3. DK

GO TO T21

T20. Which (other) candidates do you think have at least some chance of winning the Republican nomination? (PROBE: Are there any others who have some chance?)

95. NO OTHERS HAVE CHANCE  98. DON'T KNOW

NAMES: __________________________

Any others? _______________________

T21. Of all the candidates on this list, who should the Republicans nominate as their strongest candidate in the November election?

97. CAN'T SAY; IT DEPENDS  98. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P.45, T22

T25. Now let's look at the Democratic side and the list of people who are possible choices for the Democratic Party nomination for President. Who on this list do you think is most likely to win the Democratic nomination?

98. DON'T KNOW → GO TO T27

T26. Do you think he will win the nomination easily, or will he face strong competition at the convention?

1. WIN EASILY  2. FACE STRONG COMPETITION  3. DK

GO TO T28

T27. Which (other) candidates do you think have at least some chance of winning the Democratic nomination? (PROBE: Are there any others who have some chance?)

95. NO OTHERS HAVE CHANCE  98. DON'T KNOW

NAMES: __________________________

Any others? _______________________

T28. Of all the candidates on this list, who should the Democrats nominate as their strongest candidate in the November election?

97. CAN'T SAY; IT DEPENDS  98. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 45, T29
T22. Are there any Republicans on this list whom you might consider voting for in November? (If NECESSARY: Who are they?)

NAMES:

Any others?

95. NONE; WOULDN'T VOTE FOR ANY
98. DON'T KNOW → TURN BACK TO P. 44, T25

T9. OF ALL THE CANDIDATES ON THIS LIST, WHO IS YOUR FIRST CHOICE FOR THE REPUBLICAN NOMINATION THIS YEAR?

REP. CAND.

97. NONE
98. DON'T KNOW; HAVEN'T DECIDED

TURN BACK TO P. 44, T25

T24. Suppose, for one reason or another, he is not chosen as the Republican candidate. Who on this list would be your second choice for the Republican nomination?

97. NO SECOND CHOICE
98. DON'T KNOW; HAVEN'T DECIDED

GO TO T32

T29. Are there any Democrats on this list whom you might consider voting for in November? (If NECESSARY: Who are they?)

NAMES:

Any others?

95. NONE; WOULDN'T VOTE FOR ANY
98. DON'T KNOW → TURN TO P. 46, T34

T9. OF ALL THE CANDIDATES ON THIS LIST, WHO IS YOUR FIRST CHOICE FOR THE DEMOCRATIC NOMINATION THIS YEAR?

DEM. CAND.

97. NONE
98. DON'T KNOW; HAVEN'T DECIDED

TURN TO P. 46, T34

T31. Suppose, for one reason or another, he is not chosen as the Democratic candidate. Who on this list would be your second choice for the Democratic nomination?

97. NO SECOND CHOICE
98. DON'T KNOW; HAVEN'T DECIDED

GO TO T32

T32. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

1. NAMES IN BOTH REP. CAND.; (T23) AND DEM. CAND.; (T30)
2. ALL OTHERS → TURN TO P. 46, T34

T33. I would like to know how you would vote if the presidential election were being held today. Which candidate do you think you would vote for if ( REP. CAND.; NAME IN T23) were running against ( DEM. CAND.; NAME IN T30)?

5. REP. CAND.
1. DEM. CAND.
8. DON'T KNOW
T34. So far as you know now, do you expect to vote in the national election this coming November or not?

1. YES 2. YES, PROBABLY 3. DEPENDS 4. NO, PROBABLY NOT 5. NO 8. DON'T KNOW

T35. So far this year have you talked to anyone and tried to show them why they should support one of the candidates for President?

1. YES 5. NO

T36. Has anyone from one of the political parties or candidates for President called you up or come around and talked to you about the election this year?

1. YES 3. NO GO TO T37

T36a. Which party or candidate was that? (LIST ALL MENTIONS)

98. DON'T KNOW; CAN'T RECALL

T37. Has anyone you know talked to you and tried to show you which candidate for President to support? (DO NOT INCLUDE PARTY CANVASSERS OR WORKERS.)

1. YES 3. NO GO TO T38

T37a. Who did they ask you to support? (LIST ALL MENTIONS)

98. DON'T KNOW; CAN'T RECALL

T38. So far this year, have you gone to any political meetings, rallies, dinners, or things like that?

1. YES 5. NO

T39. In the elections for President since you have been old enough to vote, would you say you have voted in all of them, most of them, some of them, or none of them?

1. ALL 2. MOST 3. SOME 5. NONE 0. NOT OF VOTING AGE PRIOR TO THIS ELECTION YEAR
Q40. As far as you know, are you no. registered so that you can vote in the elections this year?

1. YES  
2. NO  
3. DON'T KNOW  
6. R VOLUNTEERS: VOTERS NOT REQUIRED TO REGISTER

TURN TO P. 48, SECTION V

Q40a. Are you registered as being a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent or what?

1. DEMOCRAT  
2. INDEPENDENT  
3. REPUBLICAN  
4. OTHER PARTY, SPECIFY:  
5. NOT REQUIRED TO DECLARE PARTY TO REGISTER  
6. NOT REQUIRED TO REGISTER  
7. I AM NOT REGISTERED  
8. DON'T KNOW
VI. (Ad., P. 18) I am going to read a list of words and phrases people use to describe political figures. For each, please tell me whether the word or phrase describes the candidate I name extremely well, quite well, not too well, or not well at all.

Think about Jimmy Carter. The first word on the list is "moral." In your opinion does the word "moral" describe Carter extremely well, quite well, not too well, or not well at all? You can just tell me the number of your choice.

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How well do you think the following phrases describe Jimmy Carter as president?

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V2. (R.B., P. 18) Think about Ronald Reagan. The first word is "moral."
(In your opinion does the word "moral" describe Reagan extremely well, quite well, not too well, or not well at all?)

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How well do you think the following phrases would describe Ronald Reagan if he were president?

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V3. (R.M., P. 18) Think about Ted Kennedy. The first word is "moral." (In your opinion does the word "moral" describe Kennedy extremely well, quite well, not too well, or not well at all?)

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How well do you think the following phrases would describe Kennedy if he were president?

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John Connally

V4. (R.B., P. 18) Think about John Connally. The first word is "moral." (In your opinion does the word "moral" describe Connally extremely well, quite well, not too well, or not well at all?)

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How well do you think the following phrases would describe John Connally if he were president?

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VS. (R.B., P. 18) Think about Gerald Ford. The first word is 'moral.'
(In your opinion does the word "moral" describe Ford extremely well, quite well, not too well, or not well at all?)

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How well do you think the following phrases would describe Gerald Ford if he were president today?

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V6. (R.B., P. 18) Think about "moral." (In your opinion does the word "moral" describe extremely well, quite well, not too well, or not well at all?)

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<td>c. Weak</td>
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<td>d. Knowledgeable</td>
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<td>e. Power-Hungry</td>
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<td>f. Inspiring</td>
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</table>

How well do you think the following phrases would describe if he were president?

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>g. Solve our economic problems</td>
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<td>h. Provide strong leadership</td>
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<td>j. Develop good relations with other countries</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
People have different ideas about the government in Washington. These ideas don't refer to Democrats or Republicans in particular, but just to the government in general. We want to see how you feel about these ideas. For example:

W1. Do you think that people in the government waste a lot of the money we pay in taxes, waste some of it, or don't waste very much of it?

1. A LOT  3. SOME  5. NOT VERY MUCH  7. DON'T KNOW

W2. How much of the time do you think you can trust the government in Washington to do what is right -- just about always, most of the time, or only some of the time?


W3. Would you say the government is pretty much run by a few big interests looking out for themselves or that it is run for the benefit of all the people?

3. FEW BIG INTERESTS  5. FOR THE BENEFIT OF ALL  7. DON'T KNOW

W4. Do you feel that almost all of the people running the government are smart people, or do you think that quite a few of them don't seem to know what they are doing?

1. ARE SMART PEOPLE  5. DON'T KNOW WHAT THEY ARE DOING  7. DON'T KNOW

W5. Do you think that quite a few of the people running the government are crooked, not very many are, or do you think hardly any of them are crooked?

3. QUITE A FEW  5. NOT MANY  7. HARDLY ANY  9. DON'T KNOW
X1. **INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:**

1. R'S STATE HAS ALREADY HAD ITS PRIMARY ELECTION
   - TURN TO P. 58, X6
2. R'S STATE HAS NOT YET HAD ITS PRIMARY ELECTION
   - TURN TO P. 61, SECTION Y
3. R'S STATE HAS NO PRIMARY ELECTION
   - TURN TO P. 61, SECTION Y

X2. Your state held a primary election on __________. Did you vote in that election, or were you unable to do so?

   - 1. YES, DID VOTE
     - TURN TO P. 57, X3
   - 5. NO, DIDN'T VOTE
     - TURN TO P. 57, X4
   - 6. DON'T KNOW; CAN'T REMEMBER

X3. Did you vote in the Republican primary or in the Democratic primary?

   - 1. REPUBLICAN
   - 2. DEMOCRATIC
   - 6. DON'T KNOW; CAN'T REMEMBER

   - TURN TO P. 61, SECTION Y

X3a. (PRIMARY CARD) Here is a list of the Republican presidential candidates on your state's primary election ballot. Who did you vote for? (ACCEPT MENTION OF A "WRITE-IN" CANDIDATE)

   - 98. DON'T KNOW; CAN'T REMEMBER
     - TURN TO P. 61, SECTION Y

X3b. Would you say that your preference for this candidate was strong or not strong?

   - 1. STRONG
   - 3. NOT STRONG
   - 8. DON'T KNOW

X3c. When did you decide to vote for him, just before the primary election, early this year, or even earlier than that?

   - 2. JUST BEFORE THE PRIMARY
   - 2. EARLY THIS YEAR
   - 3. HOURS OR LESS THAN THAT
   - 8. DON'T KNOW; CAN'T SAY

X3d. (PRIMARY CARD) Here is a list of the Democratic presidential candidates on your state's primary election ballot. Who did you vote for? (ACCEPT MENTION OF A "WRITE-IN" CANDIDATE)

   - 98. DON'T KNOW; CAN'T REMEMBER
     - TURN TO P. 61, SECTION Y

X3e. Would you say that your preference for this candidate was strong or not strong?

   - 1. STRONG
   - 3. NOT STRONG
   - 8. DON'T KNOW

X3f. When did you decide to vote for him, just before the primary election, early this year, or even earlier than that?

   - 2. JUST BEFORE THE PRIMARY
   - 2. EARLY THIS YEAR
   - 3. HOURS OR LESS THAN THAT
   - 8. DON'T KNOW; CAN'T SAY
### 6d. (PRIMARY CARD) Suppose in the primary election you had not been restricted to choosing one candidate, but could have voted instead for all of the Republican candidates you would have been willing to support in the race for the presidency. Which candidate or candidates would you have considered voting for in such a primary? Names: 

### 6h. (PRIMARY CARD) Suppose in the primary election you had not been restricted to choosing one candidate, but could have voted instead for all of the Democratic candidates you would have been willing to support in the race for the presidency. Which candidate or candidates would you have considered voting for in such a primary? Names: 

---

**TURN TO P. 61, SECTION V**
X5. If you had voted, would you have voted in the Republican primary or in the Democratic primary?

1. REPUBLICAN
2. DEMOCRATIC
3. DON'T KNOW; CAN'T SAY

X5a. (PRIMARY CARD) Here is a list of the Republican presidential candidates on your state's primary election ballot. Did you prefer one of the candidates?

1. YES
2. NO

TURN TO P. 61, SECTION Y

X5b. Which candidate was that?

X5c. Would you say that your preference for this candidate was strong or not strong?

1. STRONG
2. NOT STRONG
3. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 61, SECTION Y

X5d. (PRIMARY CARD) Here is a list of the Democratic presidential candidates on your state's primary election ballot. Did you prefer one of the candidates?

1. YES
2. NO

TURN TO P. 61, SECTION Y

X5e. Which candidate was that?

X5f. Would you say that your preference for this candidate was strong or not strong?

1. STRONG
2. NOT STRONG
3. DON'T KNOW
X6. How I'd like to ask you about the campaign in your state for the presidential primary election, which will take place on (DATE: ____________). How closely have you been following the news about the presidential primary campaign in your state -- closely, not very closely, or not at all?
1. CLOSELY  2. NOT VERY CLOSELY  3. NOT AT ALL  4. DON'T KNOW

X7. As of now, do you intend to vote in that primary election?
1. YES  5. NO  TURN TO P. 59, 89  8. DON'T KNOW; NOT SURE

X8. Do you intend to vote in the Republican primary or in the Democratic primary?
1. REPUBLICAN  2. DEMOCRATIC  8. DON'T KNOW; UNDECIDED  TURN TO P. 61, SECTION Y

X8a. (PRIMARY CARD) Here is a list of the Republican presidential candidates who most probably will be running on your state's primary election ballot. Who do you intend to vote for? (ACCEPT MENTION OF NAME NOT ON LIST)

X8b. As of now, are you certain you will vote for this candidate, are you more likely than not to vote for him, or is there a big chance you might change your mind?
☐ 1. CERTAIN WILL
☐ 2. MORE LIKELY THAN NOT
☐ 3. BIG CHANCE MIGHT CHANGE

X8c. (PRIMARY CARD) Who do you think is most likely to win the Republican primary in your state? (ACCEPT MENTION OF NAME NOT ON THE LIST)

X8d. Do you think it will be a close race, or will (NAME FROM X8c) win by quite a lot?
☐ 1. CLOSE RACE
☐ 3. WIN BY A LOT
☐ 7. DEPENDS; CAN'T SAY YET
☐ 8. DON'T KNOW

X8e. (PRIMARY CARD) Here is a list of the Democratic presidential candidates who most probably will be running on your state's primary election ballot. Who do you intend to vote for? (ACCEPT MENTION OF NAME NOT ON LIST)

X8f. As of now, are you certain you will vote for this candidate, are you more likely than not to vote for him, or is there a big chance you might change your mind?
☐ 1. CERTAIN WILL
☐ 2. MORE LIKELY THAN NOT
☐ 3. BIG CHANCE MIGHT CHANGE

X8g. (PRIMARY CARD) Who do you think is most likely to win the Democratic primary in your state? (ACCEPT MENTION OF NAME NOT ON THE LIST)

X8h. Do you think it will be a close race, or will (NAME FROM X8g) win by quite a lot?
☐ 1. CLOSE RACE
☐ 3. WIN BY A LOT
☐ 7. DEPENDS; CAN'T SAY YET
☐ 8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 61, SECTION Y
If you chose to vote (after all), would you probably vote in the Republican primary or in the Democratic primary?

1. REPUBLICAN
2. DEMOCRATIC

X9a. (PRIMARY CARD) Here is a list of the Republican presidential candidates who most probably will be running on your state's primary election ballot. Which candidate, if any, do you prefer? (ACCEPT MENTION OF NAME NOT ON LIST)

95. PREFER NONE

X9b. (PRIMARY CARD) Who do you think is most likely to win the Republican primary in your state? (ACCEPT MENTION OF NAME NOT ON THE LIST)

98. DK; CAN'T SAY; DEPENDS

X9c. Do you think it will be a close race, or will (NAME FROM X9b) win by quite a lot?
- 1. CLOSE RACE
- 5. WIN BY A LOT
- 8. DON'T KNOW

9. DK; CAN'T SAY; DEPENDS

X9d. (PRIMARY CARD) Here is a list of the Democratic presidential candidates who most probably will be running on your state's primary election ballot. Which candidate, if any, do you prefer? (ACCEPT MENTION OF NAME NOT ON LIST)

95. PREFER NONE

X9e. (PRIMARY CARD) Who do you think is most likely to win the Democratic primary in your state? (ACCEPT MENTION OF NAME NOT ON THE LIST)

98. DK; CAN'T SAY; DEPENDS

X9f. Do you think it will be a close race, or will (NAME FROM X9e) win by quite a lot?
- 1. CLOSE RACE
- 5. WIN BY A LOT
- 8. DON'T KNOW
We would like a little background information on you and your family.

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

_________________________  ______________________
MONTH                        YEAR

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

MARRIED AND LIVING
1. WITH SPOUSE (OR SPOUSE IN SERVICE)  5. WIDOWED
2. NEVER  3. DIVORCED  4. SEPARATED
Y3. What is the highest grade of school or year of college you completed?

Y3a. Did you get a high school diploma or pass a high school equivalency test?
   1. YES  6. NO

Y3b. Do you have a college degree?
   1. YES  6. NO

Y3c. What was the last college you attended?
Where is it located? (COMPLETE NAME)

Y3d. What is the highest degree that you have earned?

Y3e. From what college is that and where is it located? (COMPLETE NAME)

Y3f. What was your major field of study?

TURN TO P. 63, Y3j
31. **INTERVIEW CHECKPOINT**

- 1. **R IS FAMILY HEAD, NO SPOUSE IN FAMILY** — **TURN TO P 64, Y4**
- 2. **R IS FAMILY HEAD, LIVING WITH SPOUSE** — **ASK Y3k ABOUT HOUSE**
- 3. **R IS NOT FAMILY HEAD** — **ASK Y3k ABOUT FAMILY HEAD**

3b. **And what is the highest grade of school or year of college that (the head of the family/your husband/your wife) completed?**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GRADES OF SCHOOL</th>
<th>00</th>
<th>01</th>
<th>02</th>
<th>03</th>
<th>04</th>
<th>05</th>
<th>06</th>
<th>07</th>
<th>08</th>
<th>09</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>11</th>
<th>12</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COLLEGE</th>
<th>13</th>
<th>14</th>
<th>15</th>
<th>16</th>
<th>18</th>
<th>17+</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

3m. Did (he/she) get a high school diploma or pass a high school equivalency test?

1. YES  
5. NO

3n. Does (he/she) have a college degree?

1. YES  
5. NO

3o. Has (he/she) had any other schooling?

1. YES  
5. NO

3p. What is the highest degree that (he/she) has earned?

3q. From what college is that and where is it located? (COMPLETE NAME)

3r. What was (his/her) major field of study?

**TURN TO P 64, Y4**
Y4. We'd like to know if you are working now, or are you unemployed, retired, (a housewife), (a student), or what?

1. WORKING NOW
2. TEMPORARILY LAID OFF

Y5. What is your main occupation? (What sort of work do you do?)
(IF NOT CLEAR: Tell me a little more about what you do)

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

Y5b. Do you work for someone else, yourself, or what?

1. SOMEONE ELSE
2. BOTH SOMEONE ELSE AND SELF
3. SELF ONLY

Y6. Generally, does your training and experience qualify you for a much higher level job, a somewhat higher job, or is this job about right for someone with your training and experience?

1. MUCH HIGHER
2. SOMEWHAT HIGHER
3. ABOUT RIGHT
4. DK

Y6a. About how many hours do you work on your job in the average week?

Y6b. Is that more hours than you want to work, fewer hours than you want to work, or generally about right?

5. MORE
1. FEWER
3. ABOUT RIGHT

ASK ONLY IF R IS WORKING NOW:

Y7. Were you out of work or laid off at any time during the last twelve months?

1. YES
5. NO

Y7a. Have you had to reduce your work hours or take a cut in pay at any time during the last twelve months?

1. YES
5. NO

TURN TO P. 66, Y15

Y8. Have you ever done any work for pay?

1. YES
5. NO

TURN TO P. 66, Y15

Y8a. What kind of work did you do on your last regular job? (What was your occupation?)

Y8b. What kind of (business/industry) was that?

Y8c. Did you work for someone else, yourself, or what?

1. SOMEONE ELSE
2. BOTH SOMEONE ELSE AND SELF
3. SELF ONLY

Y9. Are you looking for work at the present time?

1. YES
5. NO

TURN TO P. 66, Y15

Y9a. Have you had a job in the past twelve months?

1. YES
5. NO

TURN TO P. 66, Y15

Y9b. About how many hours did you work on your job in the average week?

TURN TO P. 66, Y15
EMPLOYMENT SECTION

5. RETIRED

6. PERMANENTLY DISABLED

10. When did you retire?

Y11. Have you ever done any work for pay?

--- YEAR ---

---

12. What kind of work did you do when you worked? (What was your occupation?)

---

Y12a. What kind of (business/industry) was that?

---

Y12b. Did you work for someone else, yourself, or what?

1. SOMEONE ELSE

2. BOTH SOMEONE ELSE AND SELF

3. SELF ONLY

---

13. During the last twelve months did you do any work for pay?

1. YES

6. NO \(\rightarrow\) TURN TO P. 86, Y15

Y13a. About how many hours a week did you work in the average week when you were working?

--- HOURS A WEEK ---

Y13b. Are you doing any work for pay at the present time?

1. YES

6. NO

---

Y14. In the last twelve months, did you do any work for pay?

1. YES

6. NO \(\rightarrow\) TURN TO P. 86, Y15

Y14a. Are you doing any work for pay at the present time?

1. YES

GO BACK TO "WORKING NOW" YS

6. NO

---

IF WORKED IN THE LAST TWELVE MONTHS BUT NOT WORKING NOW:

Y14b. What kind of work did you do? (What was your occupation?)

---

Y14c. What kind of (business/industry) was that?

---

Y14d. Did you work for someone else, yourself, or what?

1. SOMEONE ELSE

2. BOTH SOMEONE ELSE AND SELF

3. SELF ONLY

---

Y14a. About how many hours a week did you work in the average week when you were working?

--- HOURS A WEEK ---

TURN TO P. 86, Y15
**TWO-PAGE HEAD/SPOUSE**

**Y15. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT**

1. R IS FAMILY HEAD, NO SPOUSE IN FAMILY ——— TURN TO P. 08, Y27
2. R IS FAMILY HEAD, LIVING WITH SPOUSE — ASK ABOUT SPOUSE
3. R IS NOT FAMILY HEAD — ASK ABOUT HEAD

**Y16.** We'd also like to know about (the head of the family/your husband/wife) . . . is (he/she) working now, unemployed, retired.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. WORKING NOW</th>
<th>2. TEMPORARILY LAID OFF</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**Y17.** What is (his/her) main occupation? (What sort of work does (he/she) do?) IF NOT CLEAR: Tell me a little more about what (he/she) does.

**Y17a.** What kind of (business/industry) is that?

**Y17b.** Does (he/she) work for someone else, (himself/herself), or what?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. SOMEONE ELSE</th>
<th>2. BOTH SOMEONE ELSE AND SELF</th>
<th>3. SELF ONLY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**Y18.** Generally, does (his/her) training and experience qualify (him/her) for a much higher level job, a somewhat higher job, or is this job about right for someone with (his/her) training and experience?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. MUCH HIGHER</th>
<th>2. SOMEWHAT HIGHER</th>
<th>3. ABOUT RIGHT</th>
<th>4. DK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**Y18a.** About how many hours does (he/she) work on (his/her) job in the average week?

**Y18b.** Is that more hours than (he/she) wants to work, fewer hours than (he/she) wants to work, or generally about right?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. MORE</th>
<th>2. FEWER</th>
<th>3. ABOUT RIGHT</th>
<th>4. DK</th>
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</table>

**ASK ONLY IF HEAD/SPOUSE IS WORKING NOW:**

**Y19.** Was (he/she) out of work or laid off at any time during the last twelve months?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. YES</th>
<th>2. NO</th>
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**Y19a.** Has (he/she) had to reduce (his/her) work hours or take a cut in pay at any time during the last twelve months?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. YES</th>
<th>2. NO</th>
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</table>

**Y20.** Has (he/she) ever done any work for pay?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. YES</th>
<th>2. NO</th>
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</table>

**Y20a.** What kind of work did (he/she) do on (his/her) last regular job? (What was (his/her) occupation)?

**Y20b.** What kind of (business/industry) was that?

**Y20c.** Did (he/she) work for someone else, (himself/herself), or what?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. SOMEONE ELSE</th>
<th>2. ONE ELSE AND SELF</th>
<th>3. SELF ONLY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**Y21.** Is (he/she) looking for a job at the present time?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. YES</th>
<th>2. NO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**Y21a.** Has (he/she) had a job in the past twelve months?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. YES</th>
<th>2. NO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**Y21b.** About how many hours did (he/she) work on (his/her) job in the average week?

**HOURS A WEEK**

**TURN TO P. 08, Y27**
EMPLOYMENT SECTION

(a housewife), (a student), or what?

5. RETIRED

6. PERMANENTLY DISABLED

Y23. Has (he/she) ever done any work for pay?

YEAR

I. YES

6. NO

TURN TO P. 68

Y24. What kind of work did (he/she) do when (he/she) worked? (What was (he/her) occupation?)

Y24a. What kind of (business/industry) was that?

Y24b. Did (he/she) work for someone else, (himself/herself), or what?

1. SOMEONE ELSE

2. BOTH SOMEONE ELSE AND SELF

3. SELF ONLY

Y25. During the last twelve months did (he/she) do any work for pay?

I. YES

6. NO

TURN TO P. 68, Y27

Y25a. About how many hours a week did (he/she) work in the average week when (he/she) worked?

Y25b. Is (he/she) doing any work for pay at the present time?

1. YES

6. NO

GO BACK TO
“WORKING NOW” Y17

Y26. In the last twelve months did (he/she) do any work for pay?

I. YES

6. NO

TURN TO P. 68, Y27

Y26a. Is (he/she) doing any work for pay at the present time?

1. YES

6. NO

GO BACK TO
“WORKING NOW” Y17

IF WORKED IN THE LAST TWELVE MONTHS BUT NOT PRESENTLY WORKING:

Y26b. What kind of work did (he/she) do? (What was (he/her) occupation?)

Y26c. What kind of (business/industry) was that?

Y26d. Did (he/she) work for someone else, (himself/herself), or what?

1. SOMEONE ELSE

2. BOTH SOMEONE ELSE AND SELF

3. SELF ONLY

Y26e. About how many hours a week did (he/she) work in the average week when (he/she) worked?

Y26f. Is (he/she) doing any work for pay at the present time?

1. YES

6. NO

GO BACK TO
“WORKING NOW” Y17

TURN TO P. 68, Y27
Y27. Does anyone in this household belong to a labor union?

1. YES

5. NO → TURN TO P. 69, Y28

Y27a. Who is it that belongs? (CHECK AS MANY AS APPLICABLE)

IF R IS HEAD:

A RESPONDENT

B WIFE OF RESPONDENT

E SOMEONE ELSE

IF R IS NOT HEAD:

C RESPONDENT

D HEAD

E SOMEONE ELSE
Y28. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

☐ 1. R ONLY FAMILY MEMBER AGE 14 OR OLDER → TURN TO P. 70, Y30
☑ 2. R LIVES WITH OTHER FAMILY MEMBERS AGE 14 OR OLDER

Y29. (R.B., P. 19) Please look at this page and tell me the letter of the income group that includes the income of all members of your family living here in 1979 before taxes. This figure should include salaries, wages, pensions, dividends, interest, and all other income. (IF UNCERTAIN: What would be your best guess?)

98. R REFUSED TO ANSWER → TURN TO P. 71, Y31

| A. NONE OR LESS THAN $2,000   | 01 |
| B. $2,000 - $2,999           | 02 |
| C. $3,000 - $3,999           | 03 |
| D. $4,000 - $4,999           | 04 |
| E. $5,000 - $5,999           | 05 |
| F. $6,000 - $6,999           | 06 |
| G. $7,000 - $7,999           | 07 |
| H. $8,000 - $8,999           | 08 |
| J. $9,000 - $9,999           | 09 |
| K. $10,000 - $10,999         | 10 |
| H. $11,000 - $11,999         | 11 |
| N. $12,000 - $12,999         | 12 |
| P. $13,000 - $13,999         | 13 |
| Q. $14,000 - $14,999         | 14 |
| R. $15,000 - $15,999         | 15 |
| S. $16,000 - $19,999         | 16 |
| T. $20,000 - $22,999         | 17 |
| U. $23,000 - $24,999         | 18 |
| V. $25,000 - $29,999         | 19 |
| W. $30,000 - $34,999         | 20 |
| X. $35,000 - $49,999         | 21 |
| Z. $50,000 AND OVER          | 22 |

Y29a. (R.B., P. 19) Now we are interested in the income that you yourself received in 1979, not including any of the income received by (your spouse and) the rest of your family. Please look at this page and tell me the income group that includes the income you yourself had in 1979 before taxes.

98. R REFUSED TO ANSWER

TURN TO P. 71, Y31
**R ONLY FAMILY MEMBER AGE 14 OR OLDER**

Y30. (R.H., P. 19) Please look at this page and tell me the letter of the income group that includes the income you had in 1979 before taxes. This figure should include salaries, wages, pensions, dividends, interest, and all other income.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Letter</th>
<th>Income Range</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>None or less than $2,000</td>
<td>01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>$2,000 - $2,999</td>
<td>02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>$3,000 - $3,999</td>
<td>03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>$4,000 - $4,999</td>
<td>04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>$5,000 - $5,999</td>
<td>05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>$6,000 - $6,999</td>
<td>06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>$7,000 - $7,999</td>
<td>07</td>
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<td>U</td>
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<tr>
<td>V</td>
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<tr>
<td>W</td>
<td>$30,000 - $34,999</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>$35,000 - $49,999</td>
<td>21</td>
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<tr>
<td>Z</td>
<td>$50,000 and over</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**98. R REFUSED TO ANSWER**  

TURN TO P. 71, Y31
YS1. There's been some talk these days about different social classes. Most people say they belong either to the middle class or to the working class. Do you ever think of yourself as belonging in one of these classes?

1. YES
2. NO
3. DON'T KNOW
4. OTHER (SPECIFY):

YS1a. Which one?

(RECORD BELOW)

1. MIDDLE CLASS
2. WORKING CLASS

YS1b. Well, if you had to make a choice, would you call yourself middle class or working class?

(RECORD BELOW)

7. OTHER (SPECIFY):

(TURN TO P. 72, Y32)

YS1c. 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
2. UPPER MIDDLE

YS1d. Would you say you feel pretty close to middle class people, or that you don't feel much closer to them than to people in other classes?

1. CLOSE
2. NOT CLOSER

(TURN TO P. 72, Y32)

YS1e. 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
2. UPPER WORKING

YS1f. Would you say you feel pretty close to working class people, or that you don't feel much closer to them than to people in other classes?

2. CLOSE
3. NOT CLOSER

(TURN TO P. 72, Y32)
Y32. Is your religious preference Protestant, Roman Catholic, Jewish, or something else?

PROTESTANT

200. ROMAN CATHOLIC

100. JEWISH

OTHER (SPECIFY): ____________

998. NON/NO PREFERENCE

GO TO Y33

Y32a. What church or denomination is that?

Y32b. (IF BAPTIST): Is that Southern Baptist or something else?

(IF ANY RELIGIOUS PREFERENCE)

Y33. Would you say you go to (church/synagogue) every week, almost every week, once or twice a month, a few times a year, or never?

1. EVERY WEEK

2. ALMOST EVERY WEEK

3. ONCE OR TWICE A MONTH

4. A FEW TIMES A YEAR

5. NEVER

Y34. In addition to being American, what do you consider your main ethnic group or nationality group?

00. NONE

TURN TO P. 73, Y35

Y34a. (IF MORE THAN ONE GROUP NAMED IN Y34) With which of these groups do you most closely identify?

90. NONE; NEITHER

TURN TO P. 73, Y35

Y34b. How strongly do you feel a part of (R'S ETHNIC GROUP FROM Y34 OR Y34a)? Would you say you identify very strongly, somewhat strongly, or not strongly?

1. VERY STRONGLY

3. SOMewhat STRONGLY

5. NOT STRONGLY
Y35. Were both your parents born in this country?

5. NO

1. YES

B. DON'T KNOW

Y35a. Which country was your father born in?

Y35b. Which country was your mother born in?

Y35c. Do you remember which country your family came from originally on your father's side?

Y35d. Do you remember which country your family came from originally on your mother's side?

(ASK IF MORE THAN ONE FOREIGN COUNTRY MENTIONED IN Y35)

Y36. Aside from being American, which country of those you just mentioned do you think of your family as mainly coming from?

Y37. What kind of work did your father (or FATHER SUBSTITUTE) do for a living while you were growing up? (IF NECESSARY, PROBE FOR TYPE OF WORK.)

Y38. Other than being a housewife, did your mother (OR MOTHER SUBSTITUTE) have a job while you were growing up?

1. YES

5. NO

B. DON'T KNOW

GO TO Y39

Y38a. What kind of work did she do? (IF NECESSARY, PROBE FOR TYPE OF WORK)

Y39. Where were you born? (IF UNITED STATES) Which state?

Y40. Where was it that you grew up? (IF UNITED STATES) Which state or states?
Y41. (R.E., P. 20) Looking at this list, please tell me, were you brought up mostly in the country, in a town, in a small city, or in a large city?

- [ ] 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

Y41a. Where did you live when you were about 14 years old?

- [ ] Foreign country: Specify: ________________________________

Y42. How long have you lived here in (CITY, TOWN, COUNTY)?

- [ ] 90. All of life

90. All of life: ___________ years or ___________ months if less than two years

Y42a. Where did you live before you moved here?

- [ ] Foreign country: Specify: ________________________________

Y43. How long have you lived in this (house/apartment)?

- [ ] 90. All of life

90. All of life: ___________ years or ___________ months if less than two years

Y44. (Do you/ Does your family) own your home, pay rent, or what?

- [ ] 1. Own
- [ ] 2. Rent
- [ ] 7. Other (Specify): ________________________________

These are all the questions I have. Thank you for your time and thoughts.

Time now ___________

Turn to recontact sheet
21. Respondent's sex is:  
1. Male  2. Female

22. Respondent's race is:
1. White  2. Black  3. American Indian or Alaskan Native  4. Asian or Pacific Islander

23. Is R of Hispanic Origin?

24. Relationship of R to head:  
1. R is Head  2. R is Wife  OTHER: __________

25. Other persons present at interview were: (Check more than one box if necessary)
NONE  CHILDREN UNDER 6  OLDER CHILDREN  SPOUSE  OTHER RELATIVES  OTHER ADULTS

26. Respondent's cooperation was:

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

28. Rate R's apparent intelligence:

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

30. Overall, how great was R's interest in the interview?
213. How sincere did R seem to be in (his/her) answers?

1. COMPLETELY SINCERE
2. USUALLY SINCERE
3. OFTEN SEEMED TO BE INSINCERE

GO TO 213

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


213. Do you feel R reported income honestly?

1. YES, THINK R REPORTED HONESTLY
2. NO, THINK R REPORTED DISHONESTLY
3. R REFUSED INCOME QUESTIONS

GO TO 214

213a. If possible, give a reasonable estimate of what R's family income is:

$____________ BEFORE TAXES IN 1979

214. Was this interview conducted in English?

1. YES
2. NO

GO TO 215

214a. In what language was the interview conducted?

215. TYPE OF STRUCTURE IN WHICH RESPONDENT LIVES:

☐ 1. MOBILE HOME (TRAILER) IN MOBILE HOME (TRAILER) PARK
☐ 2. MOBILE HOME (TRAILER) IN OTHER LOCATION
☐ 3. BUILDING WITH NO OTHER HU'S (SINGLE FAMILY HOM)
☐ 4. BUILDING WITH OTHER HU'S

GO TO 215b. About how many units?

☐ 7. OTHER (DESCRIBE):

215c. (IF NOT MOBILE HOME OR TRAILER) How many floors are there in this building?

____________ FLOORS
216. THUMBNAIL SKETCH: