

1983 PILOT STUDY  
for the  
1984 NATIONAL ELECTION STUDY

July, 1983



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

WAVE I SAMPLE A

DO NO WRITE IN THIS SPACE

1.

2.

3. Phone Number (if changed)

\_\_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_\_-\_\_\_\_\_  
/ -

Hello, may I speak with (R)? (AFTER R COMES TO PHONE:) My name is \_\_\_\_\_, and I'm calling from the University of Michigan. Several months ago you were kind enough to talk with one of our interviewers about the candidates and the elections in 1982. We would like to talk with you again, and I was hoping now would be a good time for you. This interview will be much shorter than the last one. Before we begin, let me assure you that the interview is completely voluntary, and if we should come to any questions you do not wish to answer, just say so and we will go on to the next question.

4. Just to be sure we are talking with the same person who was interviewed before, would you tell me in what month and year you were born?

\_\_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_\_  
MONTH/YEAR

5. And is your address still (READ STREET ADDRESS LINE FROM ITEM #2 ABOVE)?

 1. YES

 5. NO

→ 5a. What is your new address?  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

6. CALL RECORD

Call Number																				
Date																				
Time																				
Result																				
Iwer No.																				

7. Length of interview: \_\_\_\_\_ MINUTES

8. Length of Post-Edit: \_\_\_\_\_ MINUTES



PILOT ID

1983 PILOT STUDY  
for the  
1984 NATIONAL ELECTION STUDY

July, 1983  
P. 495338



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WAVE I      SAMPLE A

DO NOT WRITE IN THIS SPACE

1. Telephone Interviewer's Number: \_\_\_\_\_
2. ID NUMBER: 5-digit number from the upper left corner of either of the labels on the cover sheet:  

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3. Date of interview: \_\_\_\_\_
4. Length of interview: \_\_\_\_\_ (MINUTES)
5. Time at beginning of post-interview editing: \_\_\_\_\_
6. Time at end of post-interview editing: \_\_\_\_\_
7. TOTAL time to post-interview edit: \_\_\_\_\_ (MINUTES)



## SECTION A

In this interview we will be talking about many different topics that are of interest to many people. Here is our first question.

- A1. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling his job as president?

1. APPROVE

5. DISAPPROVE

8. DON'T KNOW

GO TO A2

A1a. Do you approve strongly or not strongly?

1. STRONGLY

2. NOT STRONGLY

A1b. Do you disapprove strongly or not strongly?

5. STRONGLY

4. NOT STRONGLY

- A2. We are interested in how people are getting along financially these days. Would you say that you (and your family living with you) are better off or worse off financially than you were a year ago?

1. BETTER OFF

3. SAME

5. WORSE OFF

8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO  
P. 2 ,A3

TURN TO P. 2 ,A3

A2a. Is that much better off or somewhat better off?

1. MUCH BETTER

2. SOMEWHAT BETTER

A2c. Is that much worse off or somewhat worse off?

5. MUCH WORSE

4. SOMEWHAT WORSE

A2b. Why are you (and your family) better off financially?

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A2d. Why are you (and your family) worse off financially?

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- A3. During the past year have you (and your family) been able to buy most of the things you needed and planned on, or have you had to put off buying these things?

1. BEEN ABLE TO BUY

5. HAD TO PUT OFF BUYING

8. DON'T KNOW

- A4. Do you think that over the last year (your/your family's) income has gone up more than the cost of living, has it fallen behind, or has it stayed about even with the cost of living?

1. GONE UP MORE

3. STAYED ABOUT EVEN

5. FALLEN BEHIND

8. DON'T KNOW

- A5. Now, about the national economy. Would you say that over the past year the nation's economy has gotten better, stayed about the same, or gotten worse?

1. GOTTEN BETTER

3. STAYED SAME

5. GOTTEN WORSE

8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 3 ,A6

TURN TO P. 3 ,A6

- A5a. Would you say much better or somewhat better?

1. MUCH  
BETTER2. SOMEWHAT  
BETTER

- A5b. Why do you think the national economy has gotten better?

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- A5c. Would you say much worse or somewhat worse?

5. MUCH  
WORSE4. SOMEWHAT  
WORSE

- A5d. Why do you think the national economy has gotten worse?

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A6. Can you think of anything that could be done to help the nation's economy over the next year?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 4 ,A7

A6a. What would that be? \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

A6b. Who or what should do that? \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

A6c. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

1. R MENTIONED "GOVERNMENT"  
 IN ANSWER TO A6b

A6d. What part of government is most responsible for doing something about the nation's economy?  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

TURN TO  
 P.4 ,A7

3. R MENTIONED A  
 SPECIFIC PERSON/  
 OFFICE/BRANCH OF  
 GOVERNMENT IN A6b

5. R DID NOT MENTION  
 "GOVERNMENT" OR  
 PART OF GOVERNMENT  
 IN A6b

A7. Now I'm going to read a list of things that may have happened to you (or family members living with you) during the past year. First, this past year did you (or anyone in your family) work less because you really didn't need the money?

A7a. WORKED LESS BECAUSE YOU REALLY DIDN'T NEED THE MONEY?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW

A7b. This past year, have you (or anyone in your family) had to watch your budget more closely than the year before?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW

A7c. During the past year, have you (and your family) put off medical or dental treatment because you didn't have the money?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW

A7d. This past year, in order to make ends meet, did (any of) you borrow money from a bank, lending institution, or from relatives or friends?

1. YES

5. NO

→ TURN TO  
P 5, A7E ←

8. DON'T KNOW

A7e. Did you have to borrow more, the same amount, or less than the year before, or didn't you have to borrow money then?

1. MORE

3. SAME

5. LESS

7. DIDN'T BORROW THEN

8. DK

A7f. This past year have you (and your family) had to use your savings to make ends meet?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW

GO TO A7j

<p>A7g. Did you use your savings <u>more</u>, the <u>same</u>, or <u>less</u> than the year before, or didn't you have to use your savings then?</p> <p>1. MORE    3. SAME    5. LESS</p> <p>7. DIDN'T USE SAVINGS THEN</p> <p>8. DON'T KNOW</p>	<p>A7h. Over the past year have you (and your family) been able to put money aside?</p> <p>1. YES    5. NO    8. DK</p> <p>GO TO A7j</p> <p>A7i. Have you been able to save <u>more</u>, the <u>same</u> amount or <u>less</u> than the year before?</p> <p>1. MORE    3. SAME    5. LESS    8. DK</p>
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A7j. This past year have you (or anyone in your family) fallen behind in rent or house payments?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW

A7k. This past year, in order to make ends meet, have (any of) you looked for a new job, or looked for a second job, or tried to work more hours at your present job?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW

A8. When people think about their economic situation, they often also think about various groups in society that they feel part of, groups that are being helped or hurt by economic conditions. Sometimes the group will be people in specific occupations -- truck drivers or doctors or teachers or farmers, for example. Other times race or age is what defines the group, as when people think about how blacks or the elderly are doing. These are just some of the groups that people think about when they talk about who is being helped or hurt by economic conditions.

Now think about groups you feel part of (PAUSE). Do you see your own economic situation tied to any particular group?

1. YES

5. NO

TURN TO  
P. 7, A9

8. DON'T KNOW

A8a. Which group or groups are those? \_\_\_\_\_

A8b. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

1. R NAMED MORE THAN ONE  
GROUP IN A8a

5. R NAMED ONLY ONE GROUP  
IN A8a

When it comes to economic matters,  
which of these groups do you feel  
closest to?

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

A8c.

1. WOMEN
2. BLACKS
3. ELDERLY (SENIOR CITIZENS)
4. THE POOR
5. THE RICH
6. MIDDLE CLASS (INCL. UPPER-  
MIDDLE & LOWER-MIDDLE)

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

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

A8d. Would you say that over the past year the economic position of GROUP NAMED IN A8c has gotten better, stayed about the same or gotten worse?

1. GOTTEN BETTER

3. STAYED THE SAME

5. GOTTEN WORSE

8. DK

TURN TO P. 7, A9

TURN TO  
P. 7, A9

A8e. Would you say much better or  
somewhat better?

1. MUCH

2. SOMEWHAT

A8f. Why do you think their  
economic position has  
gotten better?

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

A8g. Would you say much worse or  
somewhat worse?

5. MUCH

4. SOMEWHAT

A8h. Why do you think their  
economic position has gotten  
worse?

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

## A9. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

<p><input type="checkbox"/> 1. IN A8c ONE OF THE CHECK BOXES 1-6 IS "Xed"</p> <p>BELOW, CHECK THE BOXES INDICATING WHETHER THE GROUP WAS OR WAS NOT MENTIONED BY R IN A8c:</p> <hr/> <p>WOMEN:</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> MENTIONED      <input type="checkbox"/> NOT MENTIONED →</p> <p>↓</p> <p>BLACKS:</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> MENTIONED      <input type="checkbox"/> NOT MENTIONED →</p> <p>↓</p> <p>ELDERLY (OR SENIOR CITIZENS);</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> MENTIONED      <input type="checkbox"/> NOT MENTIONED →</p> <p>↓</p> <p>THE POOR:</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> MENTIONED      <input type="checkbox"/> NOT MENTIONED →</p> <p>↓</p> <p>THE RICH:</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> MENTIONED      <input type="checkbox"/> NOT MENTIONED →</p> <p>↓</p> <p>THE MIDDLE CLASS (INCL. UPPER-MIDDLE AND LOWER MIDDLE):</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> MENTIONED      <input type="checkbox"/> NOT MENTIONED →</p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> 5. IN A8c NONE OF THE CHECK BOXES 1-6 HAS BEEN "Xed"</p> <p>↓</p> <p>A10. Let me ask you about some other groups in society. What about women? Would you say that over the past year the economic position of women has gotten better, stayed about the same, or gotten worse?</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 1. BETTER    <input type="checkbox"/> 3. SAME    <input type="checkbox"/> 5. WORSE    <input type="checkbox"/> 8. DK</p> <p>A11. (Let me ask you about some other groups in society.) What about blacks? (Would you say that over the past year the economic position of blacks has gotten better, stayed about the same or gotten worse?)</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 1. BETTER    <input type="checkbox"/> 3. SAME    <input type="checkbox"/> 5. WORSE    <input type="checkbox"/> 8. DK</p> <p>A12. (And, what about) the elderly?</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 1. BETTER    <input type="checkbox"/> 3. SAME    <input type="checkbox"/> 5. WORSE    <input type="checkbox"/> 8. DK</p> <p>A13. (And what about) the poor?</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 1. BETTER    <input type="checkbox"/> 3. SAME    <input type="checkbox"/> 5. WORSE    <input type="checkbox"/> 8. DK</p> <p>A14. (And what about) the rich?</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 1. BETTER    <input type="checkbox"/> 3. SAME    <input type="checkbox"/> 5. WORSE    <input type="checkbox"/> 8. DK</p> <p>A15. (And what about) the middle class?</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 1. BETTER    <input type="checkbox"/> 3. SAME    <input type="checkbox"/> 5. WORSE    <input type="checkbox"/> 8. DK</p>
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## SECTION B

B1. I am going to read several statements. After each one, I would like you to tell me whether you agree or disagree. I would also like to know whether you agree or disagree strongly or not strongly.

	1. AGREE STRONGLY	2. AGREE BUT NOT STRONGLY	3. CAN'T DECIDE	4. DISAGREE BUT NOT STRONGLY	5. DISAGREE STRONGLY	8. DK
Bla. If people were treated more equally in this country we would have many fewer problems. Do you agree or disagree, and do you <u>agree or disagree strongly</u> or <u>not strongly</u> ?						
Blb. Any person who is willing to work hard has a good chance of succeeding.						
Blc. The less government gets involved with business and the economy, the better off this country will be.						
Bld. We should give up on the goal of equality since people are so different to begin with.						
Bl e. Hard work offers little guarantee of success.						
Blf. There are many goods and services that would never be available to ordinary people without government intervention.						
Blg. Our society should do whatever is necessary to make sure that everyone has an equal opportunity to succeed.						
Blh. Most people who don't get ahead should not blame the system; they really have only themselves to blame.						
Bli. There should be no government interference with business and trade.						
Blj. Some people are just better cut out than others for important positions in society.						

## SECTION C

C1. I'd like to get your feelings toward some of our political leaders and other people who are in the news these days. You will use something we call the "Feeling Thermometer," and here is how it works:

I'll read the name of a person and I will ask you to rate that person using a thermometer that runs from 0 degrees to 100 degrees. Ratings between 50 degrees and 100 degrees mean that you feel favorable and warm toward that person. Ratings between 0 degrees and 50 degrees mean that you don't feel too favorable toward that person. You may use any number from 0 to 100 to tell me how favorable or unfavorable your feelings are for each person.

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

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

Our first person is Ronald Reagan. How would you rate him using the thermometer?

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

		997. R DOESN'T RECOGNIZE NAME	998. DON'T KNOW WHERE TO RATE; CAN'T JUDGE
a. RONALD REAGAN	_____	a.	
b. John Glenn	_____	b.	
c. Ted Kennedy	_____	c.	
d. Walter Mondale	_____	d.	
And still using the thermometer, how would you rate the following groups:			
e. feminists	_____	e.	
f. poor people	_____	f.	
g. civil rights leaders	_____	g.	

		997. R DOESN'T RECOGNIZE NAME	998. DON'T KNOW WHERE TO RATE; CAN'T JUDGE
h. people on welfare	_____	h.	
i. white people, in general	_____	i.	
j. groups opposed to abortion	_____	j.	
k. black people, in general	_____	k.	
m. men, in general	_____	m.	
n. Chicanos	_____	n.	
o. working women	_____	o.	
p. rich people	_____	p.	
r. women, in general	_____	r.	
s. <u>businessmen</u> or <u>businesswomen</u>	_____	s.	
t. women's liberation	_____	t.	

Now let's move to a different set of questions.

C2. Generally speaking do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an independent, or what?

1. REPUBLICAN	→	<p>C2a. Would you call yourself a <u>strong</u> Republican or a <u>not very strong</u> Republican?</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td data-bbox="429 421 559 464">1. STRONG</td> <td data-bbox="606 421 844 464">5. NOT VERY STRONG</td> </tr> </table>	1. STRONG	5. NOT VERY STRONG
1. STRONG	5. NOT VERY STRONG			

TURN TO P. 12, C3

5. DEMOCRAT	→	<p>C2b. Would you call yourself a <u>strong</u> Democrat or a <u>not very strong</u> Democrat?</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td data-bbox="429 702 559 745">1. STRONG</td> <td data-bbox="606 702 844 745">5. NOT VERY STRONG</td> </tr> </table>	1. STRONG	5. NOT VERY STRONG
1. STRONG	5. NOT VERY STRONG			

TURN TO P. 12, C3

2. INDEPENDENT	3. NO PREFERENCE	4. OTHER PARTY	} →	<p>C2c. Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party or to the Democratic Party?</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td data-bbox="414 992 595 1049">1. CLOSER TO REPUBLICAN</td> <td data-bbox="616 992 797 1049">5. CLOSER TO DEMOCRATIC</td> <td data-bbox="818 992 958 1049">3. NEITHER</td> </tr> </table>	1. CLOSER TO REPUBLICAN	5. CLOSER TO DEMOCRATIC	3. NEITHER
1. CLOSER TO REPUBLICAN	5. CLOSER TO DEMOCRATIC	3. NEITHER					

TURN TO P. 12, C3

- C3. During the past six months, have you contacted your U.S. Representative, that is your Representative to the United States Congress, or anyone in your Representative's office?

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

- C4. In the past six months, have you signed a petition either for or against something that the national government has done, may do, or should do?

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

Now, how about activities in your local community:

- C5. In the past six months, have you worked with others or joined an organization to do something about some community problem?

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

- C6. Also during the past six months, have you attended a school board meeting or other meetings in which public school policies were discussed?

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

## SECTION D

D1. We would like to know something about the feelings you have toward Ronald Reagan. I want you to tell me whether something about Reagan, or something he has done, has made you have certain feelings like "anger" or "pride" or others I will mention.

Think about Ronald Reagan. Now, has Reagan -- because of the kind of person he is, or because of something he has done -- ever made you feel:

		1. YES; HAVE FELT	5. NO; NEVER FELT
a. angry	a.		
b. hopeful	b.		
c. afraid of him	c.		
d. proud	d.		

D2. Now think about Ted Kennedy (PAUSE). Has Kennedy -- because of the kind of person he is, or because of something he has done -- ever made you feel:

		1. YES; HAVE FELT	5. NO; NEVER FELT
a. angry	a.		
b. hopeful	b.		
c. afraid of him	c.		
d. proud	d.		

D3. Now we'd like to know about your impressions of Ronald Reagan. I am going to read a list of words and phrases people use to describe political figures. After each one, I would like you to tell me how much the word or phrase fits your impression of Ronald Reagan.

The first phrase is "hard-working." How much would you say "hard-working" fits your impression of Ronald Reagan: a great deal, somewhat, a little, or not at all?

	1. A GREAT DEAL	2. SOMEWHAT	3. CAN'T DECIDE	4. A LITTLE	5. NOT AT ALL	8. DK
a. hard-working	a.					
b. weak	b.					
c. decent	c.					
d. impulsive	d.					
e. compassionate	e.					
f. has little experience	f.					
g. commands respect	g.					
h. dishonest	h.					
i. cautious	i.					
j. doesn't understand the problems of people like you	j.					
k. intelligent	k.					
m. has no clear sense of direction	m.					
n. moral	n.					
o. loses his temper too easily	o.					
p. kind	p.					
q. makes a lot of mistakes	q.					
r. inspiring	r.					
s. lies to the public	s.					
t. cool in a crisis	t.					
u. out of touch with the people	u.					

		1. A GREAT DEAL	2. SOMEWHAT	3. CAN'T DECIDE	4. A LITTLE	5. NOT AT ALL	8. DK
v. knowledgeable	v.						
w. too easily influenced by others	w.						
x. sets a good example	x.						
y. reckless	y.						
z. really cares about people like you	z.						
aa. not qualified	aa.						
bb. provides strong leadership	bb.						
cc. power-hungry	cc.						
dd. thoughtful	dd.						
ee. unfair	ee.						

- D4. And now I am going to read several statements, as I did earlier. After each one, I would like you to tell me whether you agree or disagree. I would also like to know whether you agree or disagree strongly or not strongly.

	1. AGREE STRONGLY	2. AGREE BUT NOT STRONGLY	3. CAN'T DECIDE	4. DISAGREE BUT NOT STRONGLY	5. DISAGREE STRONGLY	8. DK
D4a. Some people are better at running things and should be allowed to do so. Do you agree or disagree, and do you agree or disagree <u>strongly</u> or <u>not strongly</u> ?						
D4b. Even if people are ambitious they often cannot succeed.						
D4c. Putting government regulations on business does <u>not</u> endanger personal freedom.						
D4d. All kinds of people should have an equal say in running this country, not just those who are successful.						
D4e. If people work hard they almost always get what they want.						
D4f. Government intervention leads to too much red tape and too many problems.						
D4g. One of the big problems in this country is that we don't give everyone an equal chance.						
D4h. Even if people try hard they often cannot reach their goals.						
D4i. Contrary to what some people think, a free enterprise system is not necessary for our form of government to survive.						

- D5. Now we'd like to know about your impressions of Ted Kennedy. I am going to read a list of words and phrases people use to describe political figures. After each one, I would like you to tell me how much the word or phrase fits your impression of Ted Kennedy.

The first phrase is "hard-working." How much would you say "hard-working" fits your impression of Ted Kennedy: a great deal, somewhat, a little, or not at all?

		1. A GREAT DEAL	2. SOMEWHAT	3. CAN'T DECIDE	4. A LITTLE	5. NOT AT ALL	8. DK
a. hard-working	a.						
b. weak	b.						
c. decent	c.						
d. impulsive	d.						
e. compassionate	e.						
f. has little experience	f.						
g. commands respect	g.						
h. dishonest	h.						
i. cautious	i.						
j. doesn't understand the problems of people like you	j.						
k. intelligent	k.						
m. has no clear sense of direction	m.						
n. moral	n.						
o. loses his temper too easily	o.						
p. kind	p.						
q. makes a lot of mistakes	q.						
r. inspiring	r.						
s. lies to the public	s.						
t. cool in a crisis	t.						
u. out of touch with the people	u.						

		1. A GREAT DEAL	2. SOMEWHAT	3. CAN'T DECIDE	4. A LITTLE	5. NOT AT ALL	8. DK
v. knowledgeable	v.						
w. too easily influenced by others	w.						
x. sets a good example	x.						
y. reckless	y.						
z. really cares about people like you	z.						
aa. not qualified	aa.						
bb. provides strong leadership	bb.						
cc. power-hungry	cc.						
dd. thoughtful	dd.						
ee. unfair	ee.						

## SECTION Y

Y1. We'd like to know if you are working now, or are you unemployed, retired, (a full-time homemaker), (a student), or what?

1. WORKING NOW

2. TEMPORARILY  
LAID OFF

4. UNEMPLOYED

5. RETIRED

TURN TO P. 20, Y12

7. HOMEMAKER

6. PERMANENTLY  
DISABLED

TURN TO P. 20, Y12

8. STUDENT

Y2. About how many hours do you work on your job in the average week?

\_\_\_\_\_ HOURS/WEEK

Y3. 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:

Y4. Were you out of work or laid off at any time during the last twelve months?

1. YES

5. NO

TURN TO P. 20, Y12

Y5. Are you looking for work at the present time?

1. YES

5. NO

Y6. Have you had a job in the past twelve months?

1. YES

5. NO

TURN TO  
P. 20, Y12

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

\_\_\_\_\_ HOURS/WEEK

TURN TO P. 20, Y12

Y8. In the last twelve months, did you do any work for pay?

1. YES

5. NO

TURN TO  
P. 20, Y12

Y9. Are you doing any work for pay at the present time?

1. YES

5. NO

TURN TO  
P. 20, Y12

Y10. About how many hours do you work on your job in the average week?

\_\_\_\_\_ HOURS/WEEK

Y11. Were you out of work or laid off at any time during the last twelve months?

1. YES

5. NO

TURN TO P. 20, Y12

Y12. 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	3. DIVORCED	4. SEPARATED	2. NEVER MARRIED
--	------------	-------------	--------------	---------------------

TURN TO P. 22, Y25

Y13. We'd like to know about your (husband/wife)... Is (he/she) working now, unemployed, retired, (a full-time homemaker), (a student), or what?

1. WORKING NOW	4. UNEMPLOYED	5. RETIRED TURN TO P.21,Y24	7. HOMEMAKER
2. TEMPORARILY LAID OFF		6. PERMANENTLY DISABLED TURN TO P. 21,Y24	8. STUDENT

Y14. About how many hours does (he/she) work on (his/her) job in the average week?

\_\_\_\_\_ HOURS/WEEK

Y15. Is that more hours than (he/she) wants to work, fewer hours than (he/she) wants to work, or generally about right?

5. MORE	1. FEWER
3. ABOUT RIGHT	

ASK ONLY IF SPOUSE IS  
WORKING NOW:

Y16. Was (he/she) out of work or laid off at any time during the last twelve months?

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

TURN TO P. 21, Y24

Y17. Is (he/she) looking for work at the present time?

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

Y18. Has (he/she) had a job in the past twelve months?

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

TURN TO  
P. 21, Y24

Y19. About how many hours did (he/she) work on (his/her) job in the average week?

\_\_\_\_\_ HOURS/WEEK

TURN TO P. 21, Y24

Y20. In the last twelve months, did (he/she) do any work for pay?

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

TURN TO  
P. 21, Y24

Y21. Is (he/she) doing any work for pay at the present time?

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

TURN TO  
P. 21, Y24

Y22. About how many hours does (he/she) work on (his/her) job in the average week?

\_\_\_\_\_ HOURS/WEEK

Y23. Was (he/she) out of work or laid off at any time during the last twelve months?

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

TURN TO P. 21, Y24

- Y24. To get some idea of people's financial situation, we need to know the general range of incomes of all the families and individuals we talk to. Think of the income before taxes of all members of your family living with you in 1982, and include as income: pensions, dividends, interest, and all other income. Was the total family income from all sources, including your own, \$20,000 or more in 1982 before taxes? (IF R UNCERTAIN: What would be your best guess?)

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

TURN TO P. 23, Y27

Y24a. Was it \$40,000 or above?

1. YES 5. NO

Y24b. Was it \$50,000 or above? Y24c. Was it \$30,000 or above?

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

TURN TO P. 23, Y27

Y24d. Was it \$35,000 or above? Y24e. Was it \$25,000 or above?

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

TURN TO P. 23, Y27

9. REFUSED

TURN TO P. 23, Y27

Y24f. Was it \$10,000 or above?

1. YES 5. NO

Y24g. Was it \$15,000 or above? Y24h. Was it \$5,000 or above?

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

TURN TO P. 23, Y27

Y25. Are you currently living with other members of your family who are 14 years of age or older?

1. YES

Y26. To get some idea of people's financial situation, we need to know the general range of incomes of all the families and individuals we talk to. Think of the income before taxes of all members of your family living with you in 1982, and include as income: pensions, dividends, interest, and all other income. Was the total family income from all sources, including your own, \$20,000 or more in 1982 before taxes? (IF R UNCERTAIN: What would be your best guess?)

5. NO

To get some idea of people's financial situation, we need to know the general range of incomes of all the individuals we talk to. Think of the income you had in 1982, before taxes, and include as income: salaries, wages, pensions, dividends, interest and all other income. Was your income from all sources \$20,000 or more in 1982 before taxes?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 23, Y27

9. REFUSED

TURN TO P. 23, Y27

Y26a. Was it \$40,000 or above?

1. YES

5. NO

Y26b. Was it \$50,000 or above?

1. YES

5. NO

TURN TO P. 23, Y27

Y26c. Was it \$30,000 or above?

1. YES

5. NO

Y26d. Was it \$35,000 or above?

1. YES

5. NO

Y26e. Was it \$25,000 or above?

1. YES

5. NO

TURN TO P. 23, Y27

Y26f. Was it \$10,000 or above?

1. YES

5. NO

Y26g. Was it \$15,000 or above?

1. YES

5. NO

Y26h. Was it \$5,000 or above?

1. YES

5. NO

TURN TO P. 23, Y27

Y27. Would you mind telling me your race? Are you white, black, American Indian or Alaskan native, Asian or Pacific Islander?

1. WHITE

2. BLACK

3. AMERICAN INDIAN OR  
ALASKAN NATIVE

4. ASIAN OR  
PACIFIC ISLANDER

Y27a. And is your ethnic origin Hispanic, that is, are you Mexican-American or Chicano, Puerto Rican, Cuban, or some other Hispanic origin?

5. NO

1. YES, MEXICAN-  
AMERICAN/CHICANO

2. YES, PUERTO  
RICAN

3. YES,  
CUBAN

4. YES, OTHER  
HISPANIC

These are all the questions I have. I'd like to take this opportunity to thank you for contributing your thoughts and opinions to our research.

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

INTERVIEWER'S THUMBNAIL SKETCH:





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

WAVE I SAMPLE B

DO NOT WRITE IN THIS SPACE

1.

2.

3. Phone Number (if changed)

/ -

Hello, may I speak with (R)? (AFTER R COMES TO PHONE:) My name is \_\_\_\_\_, and I'm calling from the University of Michigan. Several months ago you were kind enough to talk with one of our interviewers about the candidates and the elections in 1982. We would like to talk with you again, and I was hoping now would be a good time for you. This interview will be much shorter than the last one. Before we begin, let me assure you that the interview is completely voluntary, and if we should come to any questions you do not wish to answer, just say so and we will go on to the next question.

4. Just to be sure we are talking with the same person who was interviewed before, would you tell me in what month and year you were born?

MONTH/YEAR

5. And is your address still (READ STREET ADDRESS LINE FROM ITEM #2 ABOVE)?

1. YES

5. NO

→ 5a. What is your new address?

---



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6. CALL RECORD

Call Number															
Date															
Time															
Result															
Iver No.															

7. Length of interview: \_\_\_\_\_ MINUTES

8. Length of Post-Edit: \_\_\_\_\_ MINUTES



PILOT ID

1983 PILOT STUDY  
for the  
1984 NATIONAL ELECTION STUDY

July, 1983  
P. 495338



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

WAVE I      SAMPLE B

DO NOT WRITE IN THIS SPACE

1. Telephone Interviewer's Number: \_\_\_\_\_
  
2. ID NUMBER: 5-digit number from the upper left corner of either of the labels on the cover sheet:  

--	--	--	--	--
  
3. Date of interview: \_\_\_\_\_
  
4. Length of interview: \_\_\_\_\_ (MINUTES)
  
5. Time at beginning of post-interview editing: \_\_\_\_\_
  
6. Time at end of post-interview editing: \_\_\_\_\_
  
7. TOTAL time to post-interview edit: \_\_\_\_\_ (MINUTES)



## SECTION A

In this interview we will be talking about many different topics that are of interest to many people. Here is our first question.

- A1. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling his job as president?

1. APPROVE

5. DISAPPROVE

8. DON'T KNOW

GO TO A2

<p>A1a. Do you approve strongly or not strongly?</p> <p>1. STRONGLY    2. NOT STRONGLY</p>	<p>A1b. Do you disapprove strongly or not strongly?</p> <p>5. STRONGLY    4. NOT STRONGLY</p>
--	---

- A2. We are interested in how people are getting along financially these days. Would you say that you (and your family living with you) are better off or worse off financially than you were six months ago?

1. BETTER OFF

3. SAME

5. WORSE OFF

8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO  
P. 2 ,A3

TURN TO P. 2 ,A3

<p>A2a. Is that <u>much</u> better off or <u>somewhat</u> better off?</p> <p>1. MUCH BETTER    2. SOMEWHAT BETTER</p> <p>A2b. <u>Why</u> are you (and your family) better off financially?</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p>	<p>A2c. Is that <u>much</u> worse off or <u>somewhat</u> worse off?</p> <p>5. MUCH WORSE    4. SOMEWHAT WORSE</p> <p>A2d. <u>Why</u> are you (and your family) worse off financially?</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p>
---	--

- A3. During the past six months have you (and your family) been able to buy most of the things you needed and planned on, or have you had to put off buying these things?

1. BEEN ABLE TO BUY

5. HAD TO PUT OFF BUYING

8. DON'T KNOW

- A4. Do you think that over the past six months (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

3. STAYED ABOUT EVEN

5. FALLEN BEHIND

8. DON'T KNOW

- A5. Now, about the national economy. Would you say that over the past six months the nation's economy has gotten better, stayed about the same, or gotten worse?

1. GOTTEN BETTER

3. STAYED SAME

5. GOTTEN WORSE

8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 3 ,A6

TURN TO P. 3 ,A6

A5a. Would you say much better or somewhat better?

1. MUCH BETTER

2. SOMEWHAT BETTER

A5b. Why do you think the national economy has gotten better?

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A5c. Would you say much worse or somewhat worse?

5. MUCH WORSE

4. SOMEWHAT WORSE

A5d. Why do you think the national economy has gotten worse?

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A6. Can you think of anything that could be done to help the nation's economy over the next six months?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 4 ,A7

A6a. What would that be? \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

A6b. Who or what should do that? \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

A6c. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

1. R MENTIONED "GOVERNMENT"  
 IN ANSWER TO A6b

A6d. What part of government is most responsible for doing something about the nation's economy?  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

TURN TO  
 P.4 ,A7

3. R MENTIONED A  
 SPECIFIC PERSON/  
 OFFICE/BRANCH OF  
 GOVERNMENT IN A6b

5. R DID NOT MENTION  
 "GOVERNMENT" OR  
 PART OF GOVERNMENT  
 IN A6b

A7. Now I'm going to read a list of things that may have happened to you (or family members living with you) during the past six months. First, in the past six months did you (or anyone in your family) work less because you really didn't need the money?

A7a. WORKED LESS BECAUSE YOU REALLY DIDN'T NEED THE MONEY?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW

A7b. In the last six months, have you (and your family) had to watch your budget more closely than you did the six months before?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW

A7c. During the past six months, have you (or anyone in your family) put off medical or dental treatment because you didn't have the money?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW

A7d. In the past six months, in order to make ends meet, did (any of) you borrow money from a bank, lending institution or from relatives or friends?

1. YES

5. NO

TURN TO  
P 5, A7f

8. DON'T KNOW

A7e. Did you have to borrow more, the same amount, or less than you did the six months before, or didn't you have to borrow money then?

1. MORE

3. SAME

5. LESS

7. DIDN'T BORROW THEN

8. DK

A7f. In the past six months have you (and your family) had to use your savings to make ends meet?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW

GO TO A7j

A7g. Did you use your savings more, the same, or less than you did during the six months before, or didn't you have to use your savings then?

1. MORE

3. SAME

5. LESS

7. DIDN'T USE SAVINGS THEN

8. DK

A7h. Over the past six months have you (and your family) been able to put money aside?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW

GO TO A7j

A7i. Have you been able to save more, the same amount, or less than during the six months before?

1. MORE

3. SAME

5. LESS

8. DK

A7j. In the past six months have you (or anyone in your family) fallen behind in rent or house payments?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW

A7k. In the past six months, in order to make ends meet, have (any of) you looked for a new job, or looked for a second job, or tried to work more hours at your present job?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW

A8. When people think about their economic situation, they often also think about various groups in society that they feel part of, groups that are being helped or hurt by economic conditions. Sometimes the group will be people in specific occupations -- truck drivers or doctors or teachers or farmers, for example. Other times race or age is what defines the group, as when people think about how blacks or the elderly are doing. These are just some of the groups that people think about when they talk about who is being helped or hurt by economic conditions.

Now think about groups you feel part of (PAUSE). Do you see your own economic situation tied to any particular group?

1. YES

5. NO

TURN TO  
P. 7, A9

8. DON'T KNOW

A8a. Which group or groups are those? \_\_\_\_\_

A8b. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

1. R NAMED MORE THAN ONE  
GROUP IN A8a

5. R NAMED ONLY ONE GROUP  
IN A8a

When it comes to economic matters,  
which of these groups do you feel  
closest to?

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

1. WOMEN

2. BLACKS

3. ELDERLY (SENIOR CITIZENS)

4. THE POOR

5. THE RICH

6. MIDDLE CLASS (INCL. UPPER-  
MIDDLE & LOWER-MIDDLE)

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

A8c.

A8d. Would you say that over the past six months the economic position of GROUP NAMED IN A8c has gotten better, stayed about the same or gotten worse?

1. GOTTEN BETTER

3. STAYED THE SAME

5. GOTTEN WORSE

8. DK

TURN TO P. 7, A9

TURN TO  
P. 7, A9

A8e. Would you say much better or  
somewhat better?

1. MUCH

2. SOMEWHAT

A8f. Why do you think their  
economic position has  
gotten better?

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

A8g. Would you say much worse or  
somewhat worse?

5. MUCH

4. SOMEWHAT

A8h. Why do you think their  
economic position has gotten  
worse?

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

## A9. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

1. IN A8c ONE OF THE CHECK BOXES 1-6 IS "Xed"  
 BELOW, CHECK THE BOXES INDICATING WHETHER THE GROUP WAS OR WAS NOT MENTIONED BY R IN A8c:

## WOMEN:

MENTIONED

NOT MENTIONED →

## BLACKS:

MENTIONED

NOT MENTIONED →

## ELDERLY (OR SENIOR CITIZENS):

MENTIONED

NOT MENTIONED →

## THE POOR:

MENTIONED

NOT MENTIONED →

## THE RICH:

MENTIONED

NOT MENTIONED →

## THE MIDDLE CLASS (INCL. UPPER-MIDDLE AND LOWER MIDDLE):

MENTIONED

NOT MENTIONED →

5. IN A8c NONE OF THE CHECK BOXES 1-6 HAS BEEN "Xed"

A10. Let me ask you about some other groups in society. What about women? Would you say that over the past six months the economic position of women has gotten better, stayed about the same, or gotten worse?

1. BETTER

3. SAME

5. WORSE

8. DK

A11. (Let me ask you about some other groups in society.) What about blacks? (Would you say that over the past six months the economic position of blacks has gotten better, stayed about the same or gotten worse?)

1. BETTER

3. SAME

5. WORSE

8. DK

A12. (And, what about) the elderly?

1. BETTER

3. SAME

5. WORSE

8. DK

A13. (And what about) the poor?

1. BETTER

3. SAME

5. WORSE

8. DK

A14. (And what about) the rich?

1. BETTER

3. SAME

5. WORSE

8. DK

A15. (And what about) the middle class?

1. BETTER

3. SAME

5. WORSE

8. DK

## SECTION B

B1. I am going to read several statements. After each one, I would like you to tell me whether you agree or disagree. I would also like to know whether you agree or disagree strongly or not strongly.

	1. AGREE STRONGLY	2. AGREE BUT NOT STRONGLY	3. CAN'T DECIDE	4. DISAGREE BUT NOT STRONGLY	5. DISAGREE STRONGLY	8. DK
B1a. If people were treated more equally in this country we would have many fewer problems. Do you agree or disagree, and do you agree or disagree <u>strongly</u> or <u>not strongly</u> ?						
B1b. Any person who is willing to work hard has a good chance of succeeding.						
B1c. The less government gets involved with business and the economy, the better off this country will be.						
B1d. We should give up on the goal of equality since people are so different to begin with.						
B1e. Hard work offers little guarantee of success.						
B1f. There are many goods and services that would never be available to ordinary people without government intervention.						
B1g. Our society should do whatever is necessary to make sure that everyone has an equal opportunity to succeed.						
B1h. Most people who don't get ahead should not blame the system; they really have only themselves to blame.						
B1i. There should be no government interference with business and trade.						
B1j. Some people are just better cut out than others for important positions in society.						

## SECTION C

Cl. I'd like to get your feelings toward some of our political leaders and other people who are in the news these days. You will use something we call the "Feeling Thermometer," and here is how it works:

I'll read the name of a person and I will ask you to rate that person using a thermometer that runs from 0 degrees to 100 degrees. Ratings between 50 degrees and 100 degrees mean that you feel favorable and warm toward that person. Ratings between 0 degrees and 50 degrees mean that you don't feel too favorable toward that person. You may use any number from 0 to 100 to tell me how favorable or unfavorable your feelings are for each person.

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

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

Our first person is Ronald Reagan. How would you rate him using the thermometer?

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

		997. R DOESN'T RECOGNIZE NAME	998. DON'T KNOW WHERE TO RATE; CAN'T JUDGE		
a. RONALD REAGAN	_____	a.	<table border="1" style="width: 100%; height: 20px;"><tr><td></td><td></td></tr></table>		
b. John Glenn	_____	b.	<table border="1" style="width: 100%; height: 20px;"><tr><td></td><td></td></tr></table>		
c. Ted Kennedy	_____	c.	<table border="1" style="width: 100%; height: 20px;"><tr><td></td><td></td></tr></table>		
d. Walter Mondale	_____	d.	<table border="1" style="width: 100%; height: 20px;"><tr><td></td><td></td></tr></table>		
And still using the thermometer, how would you rate the following groups:					
e. feminists	_____	e.	<table border="1" style="width: 100%; height: 20px;"><tr><td></td><td></td></tr></table>		
f. poor people	_____	f.	<table border="1" style="width: 100%; height: 20px;"><tr><td></td><td></td></tr></table>		
g. civil rights leaders	_____	g.	<table border="1" style="width: 100%; height: 20px;"><tr><td></td><td></td></tr></table>		

			997. R DOESN'T RECOGNIZE NAME	998. DON'T KNOW WHERE TO RATE; CAN'T JUDGE
h. people on welfare	_____	h.		
i. white people, in general	_____	i.		
j. groups opposed to abortion	_____	j.		
k. black people, in general	_____	k.		
m. men, in general	_____	m.		
n. Chicanos	_____	n.		
o. working women	_____	o.		
p. rich people	_____	p.		
r. women, in general	_____	r.		
s. <u>businessmen</u> or <u>businesswomen</u>	_____	s.		
t. women's liberation	_____	t.		

Now let's move to a different set of questions.

C2. Generally speaking do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an independent, or what?

1. REPUBLICAN	<p>C2a. Would you call yourself a <u>strong</u> Republican or a <u>not very strong</u> Republican?</p> <p data-bbox="419 435 543 478">1. STRONG</p> <p data-bbox="590 435 818 478">5. NOT VERY STRONG</p>
---------------	---

TURN TO P. 12, C3

5. DEMOCRAT	<p>C2b. Would you call yourself a <u>strong</u> Democrat or a <u>not very strong</u> Democrat?</p> <p data-bbox="419 714 543 756">1. STRONG</p> <p data-bbox="590 714 818 756">5. NOT VERY STRONG</p>
-------------	---

TURN TO P. 12, C3

2. INDEPENDENT	<p>C2c. Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party or to the Democratic Party?</p> <p data-bbox="409 992 580 1049">1. CLOSER TO REPUBLICAN</p> <p data-bbox="600 992 771 1049">5. CLOSER TO DEMOCRATIC</p> <p data-bbox="797 992 937 1049">3. NEITHER</p>
3. NO PREFERENCE	
4. OTHER PARTY	

TURN TO P. 12, C3

- C3. During the past six months, have you contacted your U.S. Representative, that is your Representative to the United States Congress, or anyone in your Representative's office?

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

- C4. In the past six months, have you signed a petition either for or against something that the national government has done, may do, or should do?

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

Now, how about activities in your local community:

- C5. In the past six months, have you worked with others or joined an organization to do something about some community problem?

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

- C6. Also during the past six months, have you attended a school board meeting or other meetings in which public school policies were discussed?

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

## SECTION D

- D1. We would like to know something about the feelings you have toward Ronald Reagan. I want you to tell me whether something about Reagan, or something he has done, has made you have certain feelings like "anger" or "pride" or others I will mention.

Think about Ronald Reagan. Now, has Reagan -- because of the kind of person he is, or because of something he has done -- ever made you feel:

		1. YES; HAVE FELT	5. NO; NEVER FELT
a. angry	a.		
b. hopeful	b.		
c. afraid of him	c.		
d. proud	d.		

- D2. Now think about Walter Mondale (PAUSE). Has Mondale -- because of the kind of person he is, or because of something he has done -- ever made you feel:

		1. YES; HAVE FELT	5. NO; NEVER FELT
a. angry	a.		
b. hopeful	b.		
c. afraid of him	c.		
d. proud	d.		

- D3. Now we'd like to know about your impressions of Ronald Reagan. I am going to read a list of words and phrases people use to describe political figures. After each one, I would like you to tell me how much the word or phrase fits your impression of Ronald Reagan.

The first phrase is "hard-working." How much would you say "hard-working" fits your impression of Ronald Reagan: a great deal, somewhat, a little, or not at all?

		1. A GREAT DEAL	2. SOMEWHAT	3. CAN'T DECIDE	4. A LITTLE	5. NOT AT ALL	8. DK
a. hard-working	a.						
b. weak	b.						
c. decent	c.						
d. impulsive	d.						
e. compassionate	e.						
f. has little experience	f.						
g. commands respect	g.						
h. dishonest	h.						
i. cautious	i.						
j. doesn't understand the problems of people like you	j.						
k. intelligent	k.						
m. has no clear sense of direction	m.						
n. moral	n.						
o. loses his temper too easily	o.						
p. kind	p.						
q. makes a lot of mistakes	q.						
r. inspiring	r.						
s. lies to the public	s.						
t. cool in a crisis	t.						
u. out of touch with the people	u.						

	1. A GREAT DEAL	2. SOMEWHAT	3. CAN'T DECIDE	4. A LITTLE	5. NOT AT ALL	8. DK
v. knowledgeable	v.					
w. too easily influenced by others	w.					
x. sets a good example	x.					
y. reckless	y.					
z. really cares about people like you	z.					
aa. not qualified	aa.					
bb. provides strong leadership	bb.					
cc. power-hungry	cc.					
dd. thoughtful	dd.					
ee. unfair	ee.					

- D4. And now I am going to read several statements, as I did earlier. After each one, I would like you to tell me whether you agree or disagree. I would also like to know whether you agree or disagree strongly or not strongly.

	1. AGREE STRONGLY	2. AGREE BUT NOT STRONGLY	3. CAN'T DECIDE	4. DISAGREE BUT NOT STRONGLY	5. DISAGREE STRONGLY	8. DK
D4a. Some people are better at running things and should be allowed to do so. Do you agree or disagree, and do you agree or disagree <u>strongly</u> or <u>not strongly</u> ?						
D4b. Even if people are ambitious they often cannot succeed.						
D4c. Putting government regulations on business does <u>not</u> endanger personal freedom.						
D4d. All kinds of people should have an equal say in running this country, not just those who are successful.						
D4e. If people work hard they almost always get what they want.						
D4f. Government intervention leads to too much red tape and too many problems.						
D4g. One of the big problems in this country is that we don't give everyone an equal chance.						
D4h. Even if people try hard they often cannot reach their goals.						
D4i. Contrary to what some people think, a free enterprise system is not necessary for our form of government to survive.						

- D5. Now we'd like to know about your impressions of Walter Mondale. I am going to read a list of words and phrases people use to describe political figures. After each one, I would like you to tell me how much the word or phrase fits your impression of Walter Mondale.

The first phrase is "hard-working." How much would you say "hard-working" fits your impression of Walter Mondale: a great deal, somewhat, a little, or not at all?

		1. A GREAT DEAL	2. SOMEWHAT	3. CAN'T DECIDE	4. A LITTLE	5. NOT AT ALL	8. DK
a. hard-working	a.						
b. weak	b.						
c. decent	c.						
d. impulsive	d.						
e. compassionate	e.						
f. has little experience	f.						
g. commands respect	g.						
h. dishonest	h.						
i. cautious	i.						
j. doesn't understand the problems of people like you	j.						
k. intelligent	k.						
m. has no clear sense of direction	m.						
n. moral	n.						
o. loses his temper too easily	o.						
p. kind	p.						
q. makes a lot of mistakes	q.						
r. inspiring	r.						
s. lies to the public	s.						
t. cool in a crisis	t.						
u. out of touch with the people	u.						

		1. A GREAT DEAL	2. SOMEWHAT	3. CAN'T DECIDE	4. A LITTLE	5. NOT AT ALL	8. DK
v. knowledgeable	v.						
w. too easily influenced by others	w.						
x. sets a good example	x.						
y. reckless	y.						
z. really cares about people like you	z.						
aa. not qualified	aa.						
bb. provides strong leadership	bb.						
cc. power-hungry	cc.						
dd. thoughtful	dd.						
ee. unfair	ee.						

## SECTION Y

Y1. We'd like to know if you are working now, or are you unemployed, retired, (a full-time homemaker), (a student), or what?

1. WORKING NOW

2. TEMPORARILY  
LAID OFF

4. UNEMPLOYED

5. RETIRED

TURN TO P. 20, Y12

6. PERMANENTLY  
DISABLED

TURN TO P. 20, Y12

7. HOMEMAKER

8. STUDENT

Y2. About how many hours do you work on your job in the average week?

\_\_\_\_\_ HOURS/WEEK

Y3. 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:

Y4. Were you out of work or laid off at any time during the last twelve months?

1. YES

5. NO

TURN TO P. 20, Y12

Y5. Are you looking for work at the present time?

1. YES

5. NO

Y6. Have you had a job in the past twelve months?

1. YES

5. NO

TURN TO  
P.20, Y12

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

\_\_\_\_\_ HOURS/WEEK

TURN TO P. 20, Y12

Y8. In the last twelve months, did you do any work for pay?

1. YES

5. NO

TURN TO  
P.20, Y12

Y9. Are you doing any work for pay at the present time?

1. YES

5. NO

TURN TO  
P.20, Y12

Y10. About how many hours do you work on your job in the average week?

\_\_\_\_\_ HOURS/WEEK

Y11. Were you out of work or laid off at any time during the last twelve months?

1. YES

5. NO

TURN TO P. 20, Y12

Y12. 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	3. DIVORCED	4. SEPARATED	2. NEVER MARRIED
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TURN TO P. 22, Y25

Y13. We'd like to know about your (husband/wife)... Is (he/she) working now, unemployed, retired, (a full-time homemaker), (a student), or what?

1. WORKING NOW	4. UNEMPLOYED	5. RETIRED	7. HOMEMAKER
↓	↓	↓	↓
2. TEMPORARILY LAID OFF		6. PERMANENTLY DISABLED	8. STUDENT
		TURN TO P. 21, Y24	
		TURN TO P. 21, Y24	

Y14. About how many hours does (he/she) work on (his/her) job in the average week?

\_\_\_\_\_ HOURS/WEEK

Y15. Is that more hours than (he/she) wants to work, fewer hours than (he/she) wants to work, or generally about right?

5. MORE	1. FEWER
3. ABOUT RIGHT	

ASK ONLY IF SPOUSE IS WORKING NOW:

Y16. Was (he/she) out of work or laid off at any time during the last twelve months?

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

TURN TO P. 21, Y24

Y17. Is (he/she) looking for work at the present time?

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

Y18. Has (he/she) had a job in the past twelve months?

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

TURN TO P. 21, Y24

Y19. About how many hours did (he/she) work on (his/her) job in the average week?

\_\_\_\_\_ HOURS/WEEK

TURN TO P. 21, Y24

Y20. In the last twelve months, did (he/she) do any work for pay?

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

TURN TO P. 21, Y24

Y21. Is (he/she) doing any work for pay at the present time?

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

TURN TO P. 21, Y24

Y22. About how many hours does (he/she) work on (his/her) job in the average week?

\_\_\_\_\_ HOURS/WEEK

Y23. Was (he/she) out of work or laid off at any time during the last twelve months?

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

TURN TO P. 21, Y24

Y24. To get some idea of people's financial situation, we need to know the general range of incomes of all the families and individuals we talk to. Think of the income before taxes of all members of your family living with you in 1982, and include as income: pensions, dividends, interest, and all other income. Was the total family income from all sources, including your own, \$20,000 or more in 1982 before taxes? (IF R UNCERTAIN: What would be your best guess?)

1. YES	5. NO	8. DON'T KNOW TURN TO P.23,Y27
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Y24a. Was it \$40,000 or above?	
1. YES	5. NO
Y24b. Was it \$50,000 or above?	Y24c. Was it \$30,000 or above?
1. YES    5. NO	1. YES    5. NO
TURN TO P. 23, Y27	
Y24d. Was it \$35,000 or above?	Y24e. Was it \$25,000 or above?
1. YES    5. NO	1. YES    5. NO
TURN TO P. 23, Y27	

  

Y24f. Was it \$10,000 or above?	
1. YES	5. NO
Y24g. Was it \$15,000 or above?	Y24h. Was it \$5,000 or above?
1. YES    5. NO	1. YES    5. NO
TURN TO P. 23, Y27	

Y25. Are you currently living with other members of your family who are 14 years of age or older?

1. YES

5. NO

Y26. To get some idea of people's financial situation, we need to know the general range of incomes of all the families and individuals we talk to. Think of the income before taxes of all members of your family living with you in 1982, and include as income: pensions, dividends, interest, and all other income. Was the total family income from all sources, including your own, \$20,000 or more in 1982 before taxes? (IF R UNCERTAIN: What would be your best guess?)

To get some idea of people's financial situation, we need to know the general range of incomes of all the individuals we talk to. Think of the income you had in 1982, before taxes, and include as income: salaries, wages, pensions, dividends, interest and all other income. Was your income from all sources \$20,000 or more in 1982 before taxes?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 23, Y27

9. REFUSED

TURN TO P. 23, Y27

Y26a. Was it \$40,000 or above?

1. YES

5. NO

Y26b. Was it \$50,000 or above?

1. YES

5. NO

TURN TO P. 23, Y27

Y26c. Was it \$30,000 or above?

1. YES

5. NO

Y26d. Was it \$35,000 or above?

1. YES

5. NO

Y26e. Was it \$25,000 or above?

1. YES

5. NO

TURN TO P. 23, Y27

Y26f. Was it \$10,000 or above?

1. YES

5. NO

Y26g. Was it \$15,000 or above?

1. YES

5. NO

Y26h. Was it \$5,000 or above?

1. YES

5. NO

TURN TO P. 23, Y27

Y27. Would you mind telling me your race? Are you white, black, American Indian or Alaskan native, Asian or Pacific Islander?

1. WHITE

2. BLACK

3. AMERICAN INDIAN OR  
ALASKAN NATIVE

4. ASIAN OR  
PACIFIC ISLANDER

Y27a. And is your ethnic origin Hispanic, that is, are you Mexican-American or Chicano, Puerto Rican, Cuban, or some other Hispanic origin?

5. NO

1. YES, MEXICAN-  
AMERICAN/CHICANO

2. YES, PUERTO  
RICAN

3. YES,  
CUBAN

4. YES, OTHER  
HISPANIC

These are all the questions I have. I'd like to take this opportunity to thank you for contributing your thoughts and opinions to our research.

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

INTERVIEWER'S THUMBNAIL SKETCH: