

PILOT ID

1983 PILOT STUDY
for the
1984 NATIONAL ELECTION STUDY

August, 1983



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

WAVE II SAMPLE A

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 am calling from the University of Michigan. Last month you were kind enough to talk with one of our interviewers about some of the people who may be candidates for President in 1984, about the economy, and about other topics of concern these days. Now we would like to talk with you again on some new topics, and I was hoping now would be a good time. This interview should be somewhat shorter than the last one, and we do expect this to be the last time we will be interviewing you. 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?

____/____

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	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
Date																	
Time																	
Result																	
Iwer No.																	

7. Length of interview: _____ MINUTES

8. Length of Post-Edit: _____ MINUTES

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P. 495338



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ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN 48106

WAVE II

SAMPLE A

DO NOT WRITE IN THIS SPACE

1. Telephone Interviewer's Number: _____

2. PILOT WAVE I ID NUMBER: 4 digit number
from upper left corner of the Sample
Label on the cover sheet.

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3. 1982 ID Number: 5 digit number from
upper right corner of Sample Label on
the cover sheet.

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4. Date of Interview: _____

5. Length of Interview: _____ (MINUTES)

6. Time at beginning of post-interview editing: _____

7. Time at end of post-interview editing: _____

8. TOTAL time to post-interview edit: _____ (MINUTES)

TIME NOW: _____

SECTION A

In this interview, we would like to broaden our understanding of things we discussed in the last interview, and also explore some new topics. Here is our first question:

Al. I would like to know how you would vote if the next presidential election were being held today. Which candidate do you think you would vote for if Ronald Reagan were the Republican candidate and Walter Mondale were the Democratic candidate?

 1. RONALD REAGAN 5. WALTER MONDALE 3. NEITHER 8. DON'T KNOW

Ala. And which candidate do you think you would vote for if Ronald Reagan were the Republican candidate and John Glenn were the Democratic candidate?

 1. RONALD REAGAN 5. JOHN GLENN 3. NEITHER 8. DON'T KNOW

Alb. And which candidate do you think you would vote for if Ronald Reagan were the Republican candidate and Ted Kennedy were the Democratic candidate?

 1. RONALD REAGAN 5. TED KENNEDY 3. NEITHER 8. DON'T KNOW

A2. We hear a lot of talk these days about liberals and conservatives. I am going to read a seven-point scale on which political views are arranged.

- Point 1 is extremely liberal;
 point 2 is liberal;
 point 3 is slightly liberal;
 point 4 is moderate or middle of the road;
 point 5 is slightly conservative;
 point 6 is conservative; and
 point 7 is extremely conservative.

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

1. EXTREMELY LIBERAL
2. LIBERAL
3. SLIGHTLY LIBERAL
4. MODERATE OR MIDDLE OF THE ROAD
5. SLIGHTLY CONSERVATIVE
6. CONSERVATIVE
7. EXTREMELY CONSERVATIVE

8. DON'T KNOW

9. HAVEN'T THOUGHT

A2a. If you had to choose, would you consider yourself a liberal or a conservative?

1. LIBERAL
2. MODERATE OR MIDDLE OF THE ROAD
3. CONSERVATIVE
7. R REFUSES TO CHOOSE
8. DON'T KNOW

SECTION B

B1. We'd like to get your feelings about two groups in American society. We'd like to know whether you feel particularly close to these groups when you think about politics -- whether these groups are like you in their political ideas and interests and feelings.

Our first group is "working women." When you think of yourself politically, do you feel very close to working women, somewhat close, distant, or is it that you don't consider "working women" when you think of yourself politically?

1. VERY CLOSE	3. SOMEWHAT CLOSE	5. DISTANT	7. DON'T CONSIDER	8. DON'T KNOW
---------------	-------------------	------------	-------------------	---------------

B1a. And the second group is "men." (When you think of yourself politically do you feel very close to men, somewhat close, distant, or is it that you don't consider "men," as a group, when you think of yourself politically?)

1. VERY CLOSE	3. SOMEWHAT CLOSE	5. DISTANT	7. DON'T CONSIDER	8. DON'T KNOW
---------------	-------------------	------------	-------------------	---------------

B2. If working women in general were to do better, do you think it would make any difference in how well you (and your family living with you) would do?

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

GO TO B3

B2a. Would that be a difference for the better or for the worse?

1. BETTER	5. WORSE	8. DON'T KNOW
-----------	----------	---------------

B3. If men in general were to do better, do you think it would make any difference in how well you (and your family living with you) would do?

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

TURN TO P. 4, B4

B3a. Would that be a difference for the better or for the worse?

1. BETTER	5. WORSE	8. DON'T KNOW
-----------	----------	---------------

B4. Do you think women's organizations have helped the standing of women in society, hurt it, or not affected it much?

1. HELPED

5. HURT

3. NOT AFFECTED IT MUCH

8. DON'T KNOW

B5. Do you think women's organizations have helped the standing of men in society, hurt it, or not affected it much?

1. HELPED

5. HURT

3. NOT AFFECTED IT MUCH

8. DON'T KNOW

B6. Have the efforts of women's organizations helped you personally, hurt you, or have they not affected you much?

1. HELPED

5. HURT

3. NOT AFFECTED ME MUCH

8. DON'T KNOW

B7. 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
B7a. 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> ?						
B7b. Some people are just better cut out than others for important positions in society.						
B7c. We should give up on the goal of equality since people are so different to begin with.						
B7d. Our society should do whatever is necessary to make sure that everyone has an equal opportunity to succeed.						
B7e. Some people are better at running things and should be allowed to do so.						
B7f. One of the big problems in this country is that we don't give everyone an equal chance.						

RESPONSES TO R'S HESITANCY TO ANSWER C1 OR C2

1. IF R SAYS SOMETHING LIKE, "I THOUGHT I ANSWERED THESE LAST TIME," OR "JUST PUT ME DOWN THE SAME AS LAST TIME."

We did ask these questions last time. We are asking them now to find out if people's impressions of Ronald Reagan change or if they stay the same.

2. IF R THEN SAYS, "WELL, I HAVEN'T CHANGED. JUST PUT ME DOWN THE SAME AS LAST TIME:"

The study guidelines require that I ask every question in order to be certain that all participants get an equal opportunity to answer.

3. IF R STILL BALKS: GO ON TO THE NEXT QUESTION -- BUT BE SURE TO DESCRIBE YOUR EXCHANGE WITH THE RESPONDENT.

SECTION C

C1. 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	6. 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.						

C2. Now I would like you to tell me whether something about Ronald Reagan, or something he has done has made you have certain feelings like "anger" or "pride" or others I will mention.

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

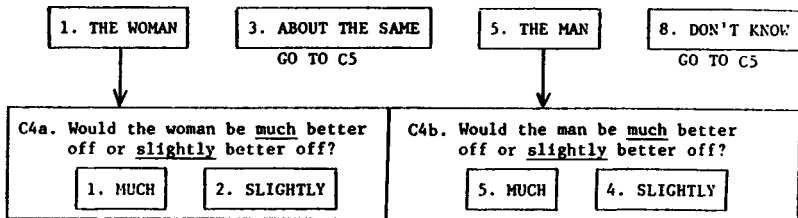
		1. YES; HAVE FELT	5. NO; NEVER FELT
a. angry toward him	a.		
b. hopeful	b.		
c. sympathetic toward him	c.		
d. proud	d.		
e. afraid of him	e.		
And, has Ronald Reagan ever made you feel:			
f. angry toward others	f.		
g. sympathetic toward others	g.		

C3. 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.

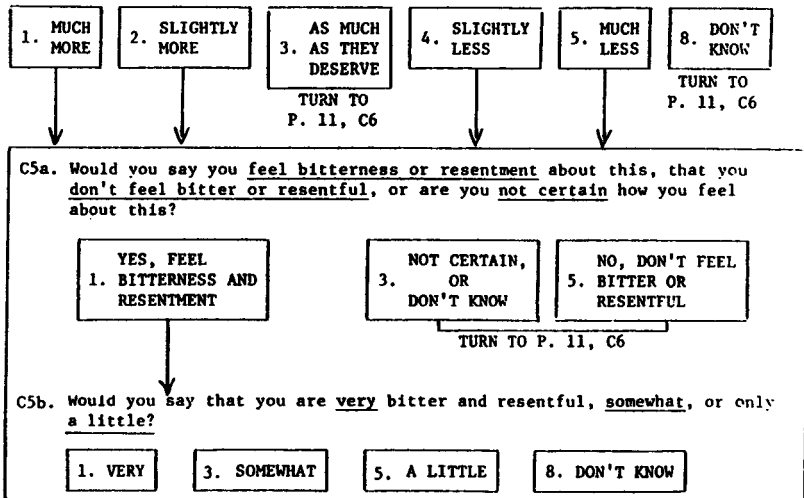
	1. AGREE STRONGLY	2. AGREE BUT NOT STRONGLY	3. CAN'T DECIDE	4. DISAGREE BUT NOT STRONGLY	5. DISAGREE STRONGLY	6. DK
C3a. Most women no longer face job discrimination; in fact they are favored in many training and job programs. Do you agree or disagree, and do you agree or disagree <u>strongly</u> or <u>not strongly</u> ?						
C3b. Many women who don't do well in life have good training, but the opportunities always go to men.						
C3c. Sex discrimination keeps women from the top jobs.						
C3d. Men have more of the best jobs because they have more drive and ambition than women do.						
C3e. It is not enough for a woman to be successful herself; women must join together to change laws and customs that are unfair to all women.						
C3f. Employers should set aside a certain number of positions for qualified women.						
C3g. Actions taken by the government in Washington over the past 10 years have generally helped women's standing in society.						
C3h. Women should participate in protest meetings and marches to express disagreement with government policies on women's issues.						

The next several questions ask about the job situation of women and men in terms of the pay and fringe benefits they receive, their chances for advancement, and the respect and prestige they are given.

- C4. Imagine a woman and a man with equal job training and experience. Which one would you expect to be better off, the woman or the man, or do you think they would be about the same?



- C5. Do you think working women in general get much more than they deserve, slightly more than they deserve, about as much as they deserve, slightly less, or much less than they deserve?



C6. I am going to read two suggested ways for women to overcome inequality, and I would like you to tell me which suggestion you agree with more. (PROBE: Yes, but which do you agree with more.)

CHECK BOX FOR
CHOICE R AGREES
WITH MORE:

1.

1. The best way for women to overcome inequality is to join organizations fighting for the rights of women;

or

5.

5. The best way for women to overcome inequality is for each individual woman to become better qualified than the most qualified man. (Which of these suggestions do you agree with more?)

7. R DOESN'T AGREE
WITH EITHER; REFUSES
TO MAKE A CHOICE

8. DON'T KNOW

SECTION D

- D1. People have very different goals for the government in Washington. And even when people agree that the government should do something, they disagree about how much the government should do.

I am going to read a list of goals for the government in Washington and I would like you to rate the amount of effort and resources that, in your opinion, the government should devote to each. To do this you will use a scale that runs from 0 to 10. "Zero" means that you think the government should put zero effort and resources in that goal; "ten" means that the government should invest the greatest amount of effort and resources possible in that goal. Of course, you can use any number between 0 and 10 in your answer.

- D1a. The first goal is "improving the standard of living of poor Americans." How much effort and resources, from 0 to 10, should the government in Washington put into improving the standard of living of poor Americans?

00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	98. DK
----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	--------

- D1b. The second goal is "creating jobs for those who are unemployed and want to work." (How much effort and resources, from 0 to 10, should the government in Washington put into improving the social and economic position of blacks?)

00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	98. DK
----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	--------

- D1c. ...improving the social and economic position of blacks.

00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	98. DK
----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	--------

- D1d. ...reducing the gap between the income of rich people and poor people.

00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	98. DK
----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	--------

- D1e. ...improving the social and economic position of women.

00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	98. DK
----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	--------

- D1f. ...making sure black children attend schools with white children.

00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	98. DK
----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	--------

Dlg. ...promoting affirmative action programs that help women get ahead.

00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10
----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----

98. DK

Dlh. ...reducing government spending even if it means cuts in services.

00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10
----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----

98. DK

Dli. ...insuring equal pay for equal work for women.

00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10
----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----

98. DK

Dlj. ...promoting affirmative action programs that help blacks get ahead.

00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10
----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----

98. DK

- D2. Now I am going to read a few more 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
D2a. If men and women 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> ?						
D2b. Even if women try hard, they often cannot reach their goals.						
D2c. We should give up on the goal of equality since men and women are so different to begin with.						
D2d. If women work hard they almost always get what they want.						
D2e. Our society should do whatever is necessary to make sure that women's opportunities to succeed are equal to those of men.						
D2f. Even if women are ambitious they often cannot succeed.						
D2g. Men are just better cut out than women for important positions in society.						

SECTION E

- E1. Some states passed the Equal Rights Amendment and others did not. Do you remember whether legislators in your state passed the ERA, rejected it, or haven't you heard much about this issue? (PROBE: Was it passed or rejected?)

1. ERA WAS PASSED

5. ERA WAS REJECTED

8. HAVEN'T HEARD; DON'T KNOW

- E2. Some people say that the government in Washington should see to it that black children attend schools with white children. Others claim that this is not the federal government's business. Have you been concerned enough about this question to favor one side or the other?

1. YES

5. NO

TURN TO
P. 16, E3

8. DON'T KNOW

- E2a. Do you think the government in Washington should see to it that white and black children go to the same schools, or should the government stay out of this, as it is none of its business?

1. SEE TO IT

5. STAY OUT OF THIS

3. DEPENDS

8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 16, E3

- E2b. What do you think the government in Washington is doing at the present time? Is it seeing to it that white and black children go to the same schools, or is the government staying out of this?

1. SEEING TO IT

5. STAYING OUT OF THIS

8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P.16, E3

- E2c. How important is it to you that the Federal Government do what you think is best on this issue of white and black children going to the same schools? Is it extremely important to you that the government do what you think is best, very important, somewhat important, or not important at all?

1. EXTREMELY
IMPORTANT2. VERY
IMPORTANT4. SOMEWHAT
IMPORTANT5. NOT IMPOR-
TANT AT ALL

8. DK

E3. This next question deals with government services and government spending.

Some people think the government should provide fewer services, even in areas such as health and education, in order to reduce spending. Suppose these people are at one end of a seven-point scale, at point 1.

Others feel it is important for the government to provide many more services even if it means an increase in spending. Suppose these people are at the other end of the scale, at point 7.

And of course, some other people have opinions somewhere in between at points 2, 3, 4, 5, or 6.

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

NUMBER FROM SCALE

8. DON'T KNOW

0. HAVEN'T THOUGHT

TURN TO P. 17, E4

E3a. And where on the scale would you place what the federal government is doing at the present time? (PROMPT FOR RESPONSES: At point 1 are the people who think the government should provide fewer services in order to reduce spending. At point 7 are the people who think the government should provide many more services even if it means an increase in spending.)

NUMBER FROM SCALE

8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO
P. 17, E4

E3b. How important is it to you that the Federal Government do what you think is best on this issue of spending and services? Is it extremely important, very important, somewhat important, or not important at all?

1. EXTREMELY
IMPORTANT

2. VERY
IMPORTANT

4. SOMEWHAT
IMPORTANT

5. NOT IMPOR-
TANT AT ALL

8. DK

E4. And now I will read the last set of statements. As before, after each statement 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
E4a. Men are better at running things than women are and should be allowed to do so.						
E4b. Most women who don't get ahead should not blame the system; they really have only themselves to blame.						
E4c. Women and men should have an equal say in running this country.						
E4d. Hard work offers little guarantee of success for women.						
E4e. One of the big problems in this country is that we don't give women an equal chance.						
E4f. Any woman who is willing to work hard has a good chance of succeeding.						

TIME NOW: _____

These are all the questions I have. I'd like to thank you once more for being willing to participate in our research and for contributing so much valuable information to the study. With this interview we have completed our current study of public opinion. One of our research goals is to understand how people's opinions change over time. Your willingness to talk to us several times during the past few months has helped our project achieve this goal.

INTERVIEWER'S THUMBNAİL SKETCH:

PILOT ID

**1983 PILOT STUDY
for the
1984 NATIONAL ELECTION STUDY**

August, 1983



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

WAVE II 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 am calling from the University of Michigan. Last month you were kind enough to talk with one of our interviewers about some of the people who may be candidates for President in 1984, about the economy, and about other topics of concern these days. Now we would like to talk with you again on some new topics, and I was hoping now would be a good time. This interview should be somewhat shorter than the last one, and we do expect this to be the last time we will be interviewing you. 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	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
Date																	
Time																	
Result																	
Iwer No.																	

7. Length of interview: _____ MINUTES

8. Length of Post-Edit: _____ MINUTES

PILOT ID

1983 PILOT STUDY
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1984 NATIONAL ELECTION STUDY

AUGUST, 1983
P. 495338



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

WAVE II

SAMPLE B

DO NOT WRITE IN THIS SPACE

1. Telephone Interviewer's Number: _____

2. PILOT WAVE I ID NUMBER: 4 digit number
from upper left corner of the Sample
Label on the cover sheet.

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3. 1982 ID Number: 5 digit number from
upper right corner of Sample Label on
the cover sheet.

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4. Date of Interview: _____

5. Length of Interview: _____ (MINUTES)

6. Time at beginning of post-interview editing: _____

7. Time at end of post-interview editing: _____

8. TOTAL time to post-interview edit: _____ (MINUTES)

TIME NOW: _____

SECTION A

In this interview, we would like to broaden our understanding of things we discussed in the last interview, and also explore some new topics. Here is our first question:

- A1. I would like to know how you would vote if the next presidential election were being held today. Which candidate do you think you would vote for if Ronald Reagan were the Republican candidate and Walter Mondale were the Democratic candidate?

1. RONALD REAGAN

5. WALTER MONDALE

3. NEITHER

8. DON'T KNOW

- Ala. And which candidate do you think you would vote for if Ronald Reagan were the Republican candidate and John Glenn were the Democratic candidate?

1. RONALD REAGAN

5. JOHN GLENN

3. NEITHER

8. DON'T KNOW

- Alb. And which candidate do you think you would vote for if Ronald Reagan were the Republican candidate and Ted Kennedy were the Democratic candidate?

1. RONALD REAGAN

5. TED KENNEDY

3. NEITHER

8. DON'T KNOW

A2. When it comes to politics, do you ever think of yourself as a liberal, or as a conservative, or as middle of the road? (Which one?)

1. YES, LIBERAL

A2a. Do you think of yourself as a strong liberal or a not-very-strong liberal?

1. STRONG

2. NOT VERY STRONG

TURN TO P. 3, SECTION B

5. YES, CONSERVATIVE

A2b. Do you think of yourself as a strong conservative or a not-very-strong conservative?

7. STRONG

6. NOT VERY STRONG

TURN TO P. 3, SECTION B

3. YES, MIDDLE OF THE ROAD

7. NO, NEVER

8. DON'T KNOW

A2c. If you had to choose, would you call yourself a liberal or a conservative?

3. LIBERAL

5. CONSERVATIVE

4. NEITHER; R REFUSED TO CHOOSE

8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 3, SECTION B

SECTION B

- B1. We'd like to get your feelings about two groups in American society. We'd like to know whether you feel particularly close to these groups when you think about politics -- whether these groups are like you in their political ideas and interests and feelings.

Our first group is "working women." When you think of yourself politically, do you feel very close to working women, somewhat close, distant, or is it that you don't consider "working women" when you think of yourself politically?

1. VERY CLOSE	3. SOMEWHAT CLOSE	5. DISTANT	7. DON'T CONSIDER	8. DON'T KNOW
---------------	-------------------	------------	-------------------	---------------

- B1a. And the second group is "men." (When you think of yourself politically do you feel very close to men, somewhat close, distant, or is it that you don't consider "men," as a group, when you think of yourself politically?)

1. VERY CLOSE	3. SOMEWHAT CLOSE	5. DISTANT	7. DON'T CONSIDER	8. DON'T KNOW
---------------	-------------------	------------	-------------------	---------------

- B2. If working women in general were to do better, do you think it would make any difference in how well you (and your family living with you) would do?

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

GO TO B3

- B2a. Would that be a difference for the better or for the worse?

1. BETTER	5. WORSE	8. DON'T KNOW
-----------	----------	---------------

- B3. If men in general were to do better, do you think it would make any difference in how well you (and your family living with you) would do?

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

TURN TO P. 4, B4

- B3a. Would that be a difference for the better or for the worse?

1. BETTER	5. WORSE	8. DON'T KNOW
-----------	----------	---------------

B4. Do you think women's organizations have helped the standing of women in society, hurt it, or not affected it much?

1. HELPED

5. HURT

3. NOT AFFECTED IT MUCH

8. DON'T KNOW

B5. Do you think women's organizations have helped the standing of men in society, hurt it, or not affected it much?

1. HELPED

5. HURT

3. NOT AFFECTED IT MUCH

8. DON'T KNOW

B6. Have the efforts of women's organizations helped you personally, hurt you, or have they not affected you much?

1. HELPED

5. HURT

3. NOT AFFECTED ME MUCH

8. DON'T KNOW

B7. 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
B7a. 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> ?						
B7b. Some people are just better cut out than others for important positions in society.						
B7c. We should give up on the goal of equality since people are so different to begin with.						
B7d. Our society should do whatever is necessary to make sure that everyone has an equal opportunity to succeed.						
B7e. Some people are better at running things and should be allowed to do so.						
B7f. One of the big problems in this country is that we don't give everyone an equal chance.						

RESPONSES TO R'S HESITANCY TO ANSWER C1 OR C2

1. IF R SAYS SOMETHING LIKE, "I THOUGHT I ANSWERED THESE LAST TIME," OR "JUST PUT ME DOWN THE SAME AS LAST TIME."

We did ask these questions last time. We are asking them now to find out if people's impressions of Ronald Reagan change or if they stay the same.

2. IF R THEN SAYS, "WELL, I HAVEN'T CHANGED. JUST PUT ME DOWN THE SAME AS LAST TIME:"

The study guidelines require that I ask every question in order to be certain that all participants get an equal opportunity to answer.

3. IF R STILL BALKS: GO ON TO THE NEXT QUESTION -- BUT BE SURE TO DESCRIBE YOUR EXCHANGE WITH THE RESPONDENT.

SECTION C

C1. 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.						

C2. Now I would like you to tell me whether something about Ronald Reagan, or something he has done has made you have certain feelings like "anger" or "pride" or others I will mention.

First, has Ronald 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 toward him	a.		
b. hopeful	b.		
c. sympathetic toward him	c.		
d. proud	d.		
e. afraid of him	e.		
And, has Ronald Reagan ever made you feel:			
f. angry toward others	f.		
g. sympathetic toward others	g.		

C3. 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
C3a. Most women no longer face job discrimination; in fact they are favored in many training and job programs. Do you agree or disagree, and do you agree or disagree <u>strongly</u> or <u>not strongly</u> ?						
C3b. Many women who don't do well in life have good training, but the opportunities always go to men.						
C3c. Sex discrimination keeps women from the top jobs.						
C3d. Men have more of the best jobs because they have more drive and ambition than women do.						
C3e. It is not enough for a woman to be successful herself; women must join together to change laws and customs that are unfair to all women.						
C3f. Employers should set aside a certain number of positions for qualified women.						
C3g. Actions taken by the government in Washington over the past 10 years have generally helped women's standing in society.						
C3h. Women should participate in protest meetings and marches to express disagreement with government policies on women's issues.						

The next several questions ask about the job situation of women and men in terms of the pay and fringe benefits they receive, their chances for advancement, and the respect and prestige they are given.

- C4. Imagine a woman and a man with equal job training and experience. Which one would you expect to be better off, the woman or the man, or do you think they would be about the same?

1. THE WOMAN	3. ABOUT THE SAME GO TO C5	5. THE MAN	8. DON'T KNOW GO TO C5
C4a. Would the woman be <u>much</u> better off or <u>slightly</u> better off?		C4b. Would the man be <u>much</u> better off or <u>slightly</u> better off?	
1. MUCH 2. SLIGHTLY		5. MUCH 4. SLIGHTLY	

- C5. Do you think working women in general get much more than they deserve, slightly more than they deserve, about as much as they deserve, slightly less, or much less than they deserve?

1. MUCH MORE	2. SLIGHTLY MORE	3. AS MUCH AS THEY DESERVE TURN TO P. 11, C6	4. SLIGHTLY LESS	5. MUCH LESS	8. DON'T KNOW TURN TO P. 11, C6
C5a. Would you say you <u>feel bitterness or resentment</u> about this, that you <u>don't feel bitter or resentful</u> , or are you <u>not certain</u> how you feel about this?					
YES, FEEL 1. BITTERNESS AND RESENTMENT		3. NOT CERTAIN, OR DON'T KNOW		5. NO, DON'T FEEL BITTER OR RESENTFUL	
TURN TO P. 11, C6					
C5b. Would you say that you are <u>very</u> bitter and resentful, <u>somewhat</u> , or only <u>a little</u> ?					
1. VERY		3. SOMEWHAT		5. A LITTLE	
8. DON'T KNOW					

- C6. I am going to read two suggested ways for women to overcome inequality, and I would like you to tell me which suggestion you agree with more. (PROBE: Yes, but which do you agree with more.)

CHECK BOX FOR
CHOICE R AGREES
WITH MORE:

 5.

5. The best way for women to overcome inequality is for each individual woman to become better qualified than the most qualified man;

or

 1.

1. The best way for women to overcome inequality is to join organizations fighting for the rights of women. (Which of these suggestions do you agree with more?)

7. R DOESN'T AGREE
WITH EITHER; REFUSES
TO MAKE A CHOICE

8. DON'T KNOW

SECTION D

- D1. People have very different goals for the government in Washington. And even when people agree that the government should do something, they disagree about how much the government should do.

I am going to read a list of goals for the government in Washington and I would like you to rate the amount of effort and resources that, in your opinion, the government should devote to each. To do this you will use a scale that runs from 0 to 10. "Zero" means that you think the government should put zero effort and resources in that goal; "ten" means that the government should invest the greatest amount of effort and resources possible in that goal. Of course, you can use any number between 0 and 10 in your answer.

- D1a. The first goal is "improving the standard of living of poor Americans." How much effort and resources, from 0 to 10, should the government in Washington put into improving the standard of living of poor Americans?

00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	98. DK
----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	--------

- D1b. The second goal is "creating jobs for those who are unemployed and want to work." (How much effort and resources, from 0 to 10, should the government in Washington put into improving the social and economic position of blacks?)

00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	98. DK
----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	--------

- D1c. ...improving the social and economic position of blacks.

00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	98. DK
----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	--------

- D1d. ...reducing the gap between the income of rich people and poor people.

00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	98. DK
----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	--------

- D1e. ...improving the social and economic position of women.

00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	98. DK
----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	--------

- D1f. ...making sure black children attend schools with white children.

00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	98. DK
----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	--------

Dlg. ...promoting affirmative action programs that help women get ahead.

00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	98. DK
----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	--------

Dlh. ...reducing government spending even if it means cuts in services.

00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	98. DK
----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	--------

Dli. ...insuring equal pay for equal work for women.

00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	98. DK
----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	--------

Dlj. ...promoting affirmative action programs that help blacks get ahead.

00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	98. DK
----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	--------

D2. Now I am going to read a few more 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
D2a. If blacks and whites 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> ?						
D2b. Even if blacks try hard they often cannot reach their goals.						
D2c. We should give up on the goal of equality since blacks and whites are so different to begin with.						
D2d. If blacks work hard they almost always get what they want.						
D2e. Our society should do whatever is necessary to make sure that blacks' opportunities to succeed are equal to those of whites.						
D2f. Even if blacks are ambitious they often cannot succeed.						
D2g. Whites are just better cut out than blacks for important positions in society.						

SECTION E

- E1. Some states passed the Equal Rights Amendment and others did not. Do you remember whether legislators in your state passed the ERA, rejected it, or haven't you heard much about this issue? (PROBE: Was it passed or rejected?)

1. ERA WAS PASSED

5. ERA WAS REJECTED

8. HAVEN'T HEARD; DON'T KNOW

- E2. Some people say that the government in Washington should see to it that black children attend schools with white children. Others claim that this is not the federal government's business. Have you been concerned enough about this question to favor one side or the other?

1. YES

5. NO

TURN TO
P. 16, E3

8. DON'T KNOW

- E2a. Do you think the government in Washington should see to it that white and black children go to the same schools, or should the government stay out of this, as it is none of its business?

1. SEE TO IT

5. STAY OUT OF THIS

3. DEPENDS

8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 16, E3

- E2b. What do you think the government in Washington is doing at the present time? Is it seeing to it that white and black children go to the same schools, or is the government staying out of this?

1. SEEING TO IT

5. STAYING OUT OF THIS

8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P.16, E3

- E2c. How important is it to you that the Federal Government do what you think is best on this issue of white and black children going to the same schools? Is it extremely important to you that the government do what you think is best, very important, somewhat important, or not important at all?

1. EXTREMELY
IMPORTANT2. VERY
IMPORTANT4. SOMEWHAT
IMPORTANT5. NOT IMPOR-
TANT AT ALL

8. DK

E3. This next question deals with government services and government spending.

Some people think the government should provide fewer services, even in areas such as health and education, in order to reduce spending. Suppose these people are at one end of a seven-point scale, at point 1.

Others feel it is important for the government to provide many more services even if it means an increase in spending. Suppose these people are at the other end of the scale, at point 7.

And of course, some other people have opinions somewhere in between at points 2, 3, 4, 5, or 6.

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

NUMBER FROM SCALE



8. DON'T KNOW

0. HAVEN'T THOUGHT

TURN TO P. 17, E4

E3a. And where on the scale would you place what the federal government is doing at the present time? (PROMPT FOR RESPONSES: At point 1 are the people who think the government should provide fewer services in order to reduce spending. At point 7 are the people who think the government should provide many more services even if it means an increase in spending.)

NUMBER FROM SCALE



8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO
P. 17, E4

E3b. How important is it to you that the Federal Government do what you think is best on this issue of spending and services? Is it extremely important, very important, somewhat important, or not important at all?

1. EXTREMELY
IMPORTANT

2. VERY
IMPORTANT

4. SOMEWHAT
IMPORTANT

5. NOT IMPOR-
TANT AT ALL

8. DK

E4. And now I will read the last set of statements. As before, after each statement 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
E4a. Whites are better at running things than blacks are and should be allowed to do so.						
E4b. Most blacks who don't get ahead should not blame the system; they really have only themselves to blame.						
E4c. Blacks and whites should have an equal say in running this country.						
E4d. Hard work offers little guarantee of success for blacks.						
E4e. One of the big problems in this country is that we don't give blacks an equal chance.						
E4f. Any black who is willing to work hard has a good chance of succeeding.						

TIME NOW: _____

These are all the questions I have. I'd like to thank you once more for being willing to participate in our research and for contributing so much valuable information to the study. With this interview we have completed our current study of public opinion. One of our research goals is to understand how people's opinions change over time. Your willingness to talk to us several times during the past few months has helped our project achieve this goal.

INTERVIEWER'S THUMBNAIL SKETCH: