I. DESCRIPTION OF THE 1987 PILOT STUDY

The 1987 Pilot Study, like its predecessors, provides an opportunity for social scientists to refine existing NES measures and develop and test new instrumentation. This Pilot Study carries new measures of foreign policy attitudes, system support, and morality. A significant portion of the study is devoted to experiments in question wording and question order effects.

Study Design The Pilot Study can be thought of as a three-wave panel. A subsample of 457 respondents to the 1986 National Election Study were interviewed between May 5 and May 30, 1987; 360 of these people were reinterviewed between June 2 and July 2, 1987. The ICPSR dataset includes variables from the 1986 NES for the 457 Pilot Study cases. To facilitate the testing of the new items, two forms were used in each of the two waves.

Study Administration The Survey Research Center at the Institute for Social Research administered the pilot study by Computer Assisted Telephone Interviewing (CATI). Responses to open-ended questions, however, were recorded in pencil in separate booklets, and later coded by the SRC coding section. To facilitate your use of the dataset, we have prepared paper and pencil questionnaires so that the flow of the questioning can be more easily seen.

Documentation A codebook and copy of the questionnaire are provided with the dataset. Although the 1986 variables (from the Early Release dataset) are incorporated into the Pilot Study data file, documentation for the 1986 items is not included in the 1987 Pilot Study codebook. Users should refer to their 1986 NES codebook for the variable descriptions and coding of the items asked in that survey. If you do not have a copy of the 1986 NES codebook, please order the 1986 Early Release documentation from the ICPSR when you request the 1987 Pilot Study data.

Study Processing Interviewing on the study ended July 2nd, and coding continued for two additional weeks. After the various components of the dataset had been merged together, the study staff scanned the frequencies for each variable. Beyond these very minimal checks, the NES staff has not done any processing of these data. If you discover any problems in the data or encounter difficulty using the data file, please contact me or a member of the project staff so we can assist you and alert other users to the problem.

How to Order the 1987 Pilot Study If you are at an institution that is a member of the ICPSR, you should contact your Consortium representative and order this Class IV dataset in the usual manner. If you are not affiliated with an ICPSR member institution, you can also secure the 1987 Pilot Study Data and accompanying documentation from the ICPSR. Contact me for details. The charge is $80. If you are a nonmember who also needs a copy of the 1986 NES Early Release Documentation, the total cost of the data and documentation is $100.
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 APPROVE
   2. NOT STRONGLY APPROVE
   4. NOT STRONGLY DISAPPROVE
   5. STRONGLY DISAPPROVE

A1b. Do you disapprove strongly or not strongly?
   1. STRONGLY DISAPPROVE
   2. NOT STRONGLY DISAPPROVE
   4. NOT STRONGLY APPROVE
   5. STRONGLY APPROVE

A2. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling the economy?
   1. APPROVE
   5. DISAPPROVE
   8. DON'T KNOW

A2a. Do you approve strongly or not strongly?
   1. STRONGLY APPROVE
   2. NOT STRONGLY APPROVE
   4. NOT STRONGLY DISAPPROVE
   5. STRONGLY DISAPPROVE

A2b. Do you disapprove strongly or not strongly?
   1. STRONGLY DISAPPROVE
   2. NOT STRONGLY DISAPPROVE
   4. NOT STRONGLY APPROVE
   5. STRONGLY APPROVE

A3. I'd like to get your feelings toward some of our political leaders who are in the news these days. I will use something we call the feeling thermometer and here is how it works: I'll read the name of a person and I'd like you to rate that person using the thermometer. Ratings between 50 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 favorable toward the person and you don't care too much for that person. If you recognize a name, but don't feel particularly warm or cold toward the person, you would rate them at the 50 degree mark. 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.

A3a. Our first person is Ronald Reagan. How would you rate him using this thermometer? (PROBE "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?)

A3b. Robert Dole?

A3c. George Bush?

A3d. Jack Kemp?

A3e. Gary Hart?
A4. (Ratings between 50 and 100 degrees mean that you feel favorable and warm toward the group. Ratings between 0 and 50 degrees mean that you don't feel favorable toward the group and that you don't care too much for that group. If you recognize the name, but you don't feel particularly warm or cold toward the group, you would rate it at the 50 degree mark.)

And still using the thermometer, how would you rate the following groups?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DEGREE</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A4a. Our first group is liberals. (How would you rate it using this thermometer?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A4b. Poor people?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A4c. Conservatives?</td>
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<tr>
<td>A4d. Feminists?</td>
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<tr>
<td>A4e. Republicans?</td>
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<tr>
<td>A4f. Moral Majority?</td>
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<tr>
<td>A4g. Democrats?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A4h. Blacks?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A4i. Christian Fundamentalists?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A4j. People on Welfare?</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
A5. I am going to read several statements. After each one, please tell me whether you strongly agree, somewhat agree, neither agree nor disagree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STRONGLY AGREE (1)</th>
<th>SOMewhat AGREE (2)</th>
<th>NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE (3)</th>
<th>SOMewhat DISAGREE (4)</th>
<th>STRONGLY DISAGREE (5)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

A5a. Generally, the more influence America has on other nations, the better off they are.

A5b. Other countries should try to make their governments as much like ours as possible.

A5c. The important thing for the U.S. foreign aid program should be to make sure that the U.S. gains a political advantage in world affairs.

A5d. In view of America's moral and material superiority, it is only right that we should have the biggest say in deciding United Nations policies.
A6. (I am going to read several statements. After each one, please tell me whether you strongly agree, somewhat agree, neither agree nor disagree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STRONGLY AGREE</th>
<th>SOMewhat AGREE</th>
<th>NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE</th>
<th>SOMewhat DISAGREE</th>
<th>STRONGLY DISAGREE</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
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</table>

A6a. Personal income should not be determined just by one's worth. Rather, everyone should get what they need to provide a decent life for their family.

A6b. It is good for society as a whole when a few people do much better in life than most people.

A6c. All in all, I think economic differences in this country are justified.

A6d. It would be better for everyone if the distribution of wealth in this country were more equal.

A7. Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an independent, or what?

1. REPUBLICAN 3. (IF VOLUNTEERED): INDEPENDENT
2. DEMOCRAT 4. ALL OTHER VOLUNTEERED STATEMENTS

A7a. When you say you are an independent, what do you mean by that?

A7b. How do you think of yourself politically?
A7d. Would you call yourself a strong Republican or a not very strong Republican?

1. STRONG  
5. NOT VERY STRONG

A7e. Would you call yourself a strong Democrat or a not very strong Democrat?

1. STRONG  
5. NOT VERY STRONG

A8. In talking to people about elections, we often find that a lot of people were not able to vote because they weren't registered, they were sick, or they just didn't have time. How about you -- did you vote in the 1986 elections for United States Congress last November?

1. YES  
5. NO

A9. I am going to read a list of words and phrases people may use to describe political figures. Think about Ronald Reagan. The first phrase is "intelligent". In your opinion does the phrase "intelligent" describe Reagan extremely well, quite well, not too well, or not well at all?

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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>EXTREMELY WEL</th>
<th>QUITE WEL</th>
<th>NOT TOO WEL</th>
<th>NOT WEL</th>
<th>DON'T AT ALL</th>
<th>KNOW</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A9a. INTELLIGENT?</td>
<td></td>
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<td>A9b. Compassionate?</td>
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<td>A9c. Moral?</td>
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<td>A9d. Inspiring?</td>
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<td>A9e. Provides strong leadership?</td>
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<td>A9f. Decent?</td>
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<td>A9g. Really cares about people like you?</td>
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<td>A9h. Knowledgeable?</td>
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</table>
A10. Again, I am going to read several statements. Please tell me whether you strongly agree, somewhat agree, neither agree nor disagree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree with each statement. The first statement is ...

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>STRONGLY AGREE</th>
<th>SOLEMNALLY AGREE</th>
<th>NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE</th>
<th>SOLEMNALLY DISAGREE</th>
<th>STRONGLY DISAGREE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A10a. The newer lifestyles are contributing to the breakdown of our society.</td>
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<tr>
<td>A10b. The world is always changing and we should adjust our view of moral behavior to those changes.</td>
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<tr>
<td>A10c. There is too much sexual freedom and loose living today.</td>
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<tr>
<td>A10d. We should be more tolerant of people who chose to live according to their own moral standards, even if they are very different from our own.</td>
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<tr>
<td>A10e. Changes in lifestyles, such as divorce and men and women living together without being married are signs of increasing moral decay.</td>
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<tr>
<td>A10f. Society should be more accepting of people whose appearance or values are very different from most.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
All. Here is a list of some activities that occupy members of the U.S. House of Representatives as part of their job. We want to know how important you think these activities should be.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Very Important</th>
<th>Somewhat Important</th>
<th>Not Very Important</th>
<th>Not at All Important</th>
<th>Don't Know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alla. Helping people in their district with problems they may have in dealing with the government?</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Allb. Making sure their district gets its fair share of government money and projects?</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allc. Working in Congress on bill concerning national issues?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Alld. Working in Congress on bills important mainly to their district?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Alle. Taking a leading role in Congress?</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

A12. What percentage of Americans would you say are living below the poverty line today? 

A13. Generally speaking, do you think the federal government is spending too much money, not enough money, or just about the right amount of money on assistance to the poor?

A14. Who do you think should have the greatest responsibility for helping the poor: the government, the poor themselves, or voluntary groups such as churches and charities?

1. GOVERNMENT 2. POOR THEMSELVES 3. VOLUNTARY GROUPS 4. BOTH GOVERNMENT AND POOR THEMSELVES
5. BOTH GOVERNMENT AND VOLUNTARY GROUPS 6. BOTH POOR AND VOLUNTARY GROUPS 7. COMBINATION OF ALL THREE 8. DON'T KNOW

A15. Which of these two statements is closest to your own position: Government is responsible for the well-being of its citizens and has an obligation to take care of them; OR people are responsible for their own well-being and have an obligation to take care of themselves?


A15a. Do you feel strongly about this or not strongly?

5. STRONGLY 4. NOT STRONGLY 8. DON'T KNOW

A16. People sometimes feel sympathetic towards various groups in society. How sympathetic do you feel towards poor people? Would you say you feel extremely sympathetic, very sympathetic, somewhat sympathetic, or not at all sympathetic?

1. EXTREMELY SYMPATHETIC 2. VERY SYMPATHETIC 3. SOMEWHAT SYMPATHETIC 4. NOT AT ALL SYMPATHETIC 8. DON'T KNOW

A17. Regardless of how you personally feel about the two parties, I'd like you to tell me which one, the Republican party or the Democratic party, would do a better job of handling the problem of assisting the poor?

1. DEMOCRATIC PARTY 5. REPUBLICAN PARTY 3. (IF VOLUNTEERED): NEITHER
6. (IF VOLUNTEERED): BOTH 8. DON'T KNOW
A18. Looking ahead, do you think the problem of managing the economy would be handled better in the next four years by the Republicans, by the Democrats, or about the same by both?

1. BETTER BY THE REPUBLICANS  
5. BETTER BY THE DEMOCRATS  
3. SAME BY BOTH  
8. DON'T KNOW

A19. Now we would like to know something about the feelings you have toward Ronald Reagan. Has Reagan -- because of the kind of person he is, or because of something he has done -- ever made you feel...

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>YES; HAVE FELT (1)</th>
<th>NO; NEVER FELT (5)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A19a. Angry?</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>A19b. Hopeful?</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A19c. Afraid of him?</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>A19d. Proud?</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

A20. When it comes to politics, do you usually think of yourself as a liberal, a conservative, a moderate, or don't you think of yourself that way?

1. LIBERAL  
2. CONSERVATIVE  
5. NEITHER (NO PREFERENCE)  
3. MODERATE  
8. DON'T KNOW  
4. DON'T THINK OF SELF

6. R INSISTS; NO UNDERSTANDING

NEXT PAGE, A21

A20a. Would you call yourself a strong liberal/conservative or a not very strong liberal/conservative?

1. STRONG LIBERAL  
3. STRONG CONSERVATIVE  
5. NOT VERY STRONG LIBERAL  
4. NOT VERY STRONG CONSERVATIVE

A20b. Do you think of yourself as more like a liberal or more like a conservative?

5. LIBERAL  
6. CONSERVATIVE
A21. Some people think the government should provide fewer services, even in areas such as health and education in order to reduce spending. Other people feel it is important for the government to provide many more services even if it means an increase in spending. Which is closer to the way you feel or haven’t you thought much about this?

1. FEWER SERVICES; REDUCE SPENDING
2. DEPENDS/ THE RIGHT AMOUNT NOW
3. MORE SERVICES; INCREASE SPENDING
4. HAVEN’T THOUGHT ABOUT IT

GO TO A21b

A21b. Still thinking about the question you just answered, I’d like you to tell me what ideas came to mind as you were answering this question. Exactly what things went through your mind? [DO NOT PROBE]

INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

PLEASE RECORD ANSWER TO A21 BELOW AND FOLLOW THE APPROPRIATE SKIP

☐ 1. FEWER SERVICES; REDUCED SPENDING
☐ 2. DEPENDS/ THE RIGHT AMOUNT NOW --> NEXT PAGE, A21e
☐ 3. MORE SERVICES; INCREASE SPENDING --> NEXT PAGE, A21g
☐ 4. HAVEN’T THOUGHT ABOUT IT --> P. 12, A22

A21c. Are there any (other) reasons that you favor reducing government services?

☐ 5. NO
☐ 1. YES --> (What are they?) (Any others?)

GO TO A21d

A21d. Do you see any problems with reducing government services?

☐ 5. NO
☐ 1. YES --> (What are they?) (Any others?)

PAGE 12, A22

PAGE 12, A22
ANSWER TO A21 = PROVIDING MORE GOVERNMENT SERVICES

A21e. Are there any (other) reasons that you favor providing more government services?

5. NO  1. YES → (What are they?) (Any others?)

GO TO A21f

A21f. Do you see any problems with providing more government services?

5. NO  1. YES → (What are they?) (Any others?)

NEXT PAGE, A22

ANSWER TO A21 = DEPENDS

A21g. Are there any reasons that you favor reducing government services?

5. NO  1. YES → (What are they?) (Any others?)

GO TO A21h

A21h. Do you see any problems with reducing government services?

5. NO  1. YES → (What are they?) (Any others?)

NEXT PAGE, A21i
A21j. Are there any reasons that you favor providing more government services?

5. NO  1. YES  (What are they?) (Any others?)

GO TO A21j

A21j. Do you see any problems with providing more government services?

5. NO  1. YES  (What are they?) (Any others?)

GO TO A22

A22a. Now I am going to read two statements. Please tell me which comes closest to your own view.

Premarital sex is immoral,

OR

There is nothing necessarily immoral about premarital sex.

1. IMMORAL  2. NOT IMMORAL  3. DEPENDS  8. DON'T KNOW; CAN'T CHOOSE

A22c. Please consider these two statements:

Having children without being married is immoral,

OR

There is nothing necessarily immoral about having children without being married.

1. IMMORAL  2. NOT IMMORAL  3. DEPENDS  8. DON'T KNOW; CAN'T CHOOSE
A22c. (The next two statements are:)

Homosexuality is immoral,

OR

There is nothing necessarily immoral about homosexuality.

1. IMMORAL  2. NOT IMMORAL  3. DEPENDS  8. DON'T KNOW; CAN'T CHOOSE

A22d. And which of these comes closest to the way you feel?

On the question of whether homosexuality is immoral, I have my own view but I'm not sure if it is the one true answer,

OR

(On the question of whether homosexuality is immoral,) I feel there is a basic truth to the position I have taken.

1. NOT SURE  2. BASIC TRUTH  3. DEPENDS  8. DON'T KNOW; CAN'T CHOOSE

A22e. (Next:)

Divorce is immoral,

OR

There is nothing necessarily immoral about divorce.

1. IMMORAL  2. NOT IMMORAL  3. DEPENDS  8. DON'T KNOW; CAN'T CHOOSE

A22f. And which of these comes closest to the way you feel?

On the question of whether divorce is immoral, I have my own view but I'm not sure if it is the one true answer,

OR

(On the question of whether divorce is immoral,) I feel there is a basic truth to the position I have taken.

1. NOT SURE  2. BASIC TRUTH  3. DEPENDS  8. DON'T KNOW; CAN'T CHOOSE
A22g. (The next two statements are:)

Abortion is immoral,

OR

There is nothing necessarily immoral about abortion.

1. IMMORAL  2. NOT IMMORAL  3. DEPENDS  4. DON'T KNOW; CAN'T CHOOSE

A22h. And which of these comes closest to the way you feel?

On the question of whether abortion is immoral, I have my own view but I'm not sure if it is one true answer,

OR

(On the question of whether abortion is immoral,) I feel there is a basic truth to the position I have taken.

1. NOT SURE  2. BASIC TRUTH  3. DEPENDS  4. DON'T KNOW; CAN'T CHOOSE

A35. How important is it for the U.S. to have a strong military force in order to get our way with our adversaries? Is it extremely important, very important, somewhat important, or not at all important?

1. EXTREMELY IMPORTANT  2. VERY IMPORTANT  3. SOMEWHAT IMPORTANT  4. NOT AT ALL IMPORTANT  5. DON'T KNOW
A36. For the next question, I'd like you to think of a scale ranging from 1 to 7. Some people think the United States should become much less involved in the internal affairs of Central American countries. Suppose these people are at one end of the scale at point 1. Others believe that the U.S. government should become much more involved in this part of the world. Suppose these people are at the other end, at point 7. And, of course, some other people have opinions somewhere in between at points 2, 3, 4, 5, or 6. Where would you place yourself on this scale or haven't you thought much about this?

Some people think the United States should become much less involved in the internal affairs of Central American countries.

The United States should become much more involved in this part of the world.

ENTER NUMBER (1-7):  

A36a. Where would you place the Democratic party on this scale?

ENTER NUMBER (1-7):  

B. DON'T KNOW  

O. HAVEN'T THOUGHT

(Where would you place) the Republican party?

ENTER NUMBER (1-7):  

B. DON'T KNOW  

O. HAVEN'T THOUGHT

(Where would you place) Ronald Reagan?

ENTER NUMBER (1-7):  

B. DON'T KNOW  

O. HAVEN'T THOUGHT

A42. If you had a say in making up the federal budget this year, would you like to see spending for aid to the Contras in Nicaragua increased, decreased, or kept about the same?

1. INCREASED 3. KEPT ABOUT THE SAME 5. DECREASED 7. (IF VOLUNTEERED) 8. DON'T KNOW

A43. Looking ahead, do you think the problem of keeping out of war would be handled better in the next four years by the Republicans, by the Democrats, or about the same by both?

1. BETTER BY REPUBLICANS 3. SAME BY BOTH 5. BETTER BY DEMOCRATS 8. DON'T KNOW
A44. Some people feel the government in Washington should see to it that every person has a job and a good standard of living. Others think the government should just let each person get ahead on their own. Which is closer to the way you feel or haven't you thought much about it?

1. GOVERNMENT EFFORTS
5. GET AHEAD ALONE
3. (IF VOLUNTEERED) DEPENDS
8. HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH

A44b. Still thinking about the question you just answered, I'd like you to tell me what ideas came to mind as you were answering this question. Exactly what things went through your mind?

INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

PLEASE RECORD ANSWER TO A44 BELOW AND FOLLOW THE APPROPRIATE SKIP

[ ] 1. GOVERNMENT EFFORTS
[ ] 5. GET AHEAD ALONE --- NEXT PAGE, A44e
[ ] 3. (IF VOLUNTEERED) DEPENDS --- PAGE 17, A44g
[ ] 7. HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH --- PAGE 19, A45

A44c. Are there any (other) reasons that you favor government efforts to make certain that every person has a job and a good standard of living?

5. NO 1. YES (What are they?) (Any others?)

GO TO A44d

A44d. Do you see any problems with government efforts to make certain that every person has a job and a good standard of living?

5. NO 1. YES (What are they?) (Any others?)

PAGE 19, A45
A44e. Are there any (other) reasons that you think the government should just let each person get ahead on their own?

5. NO 1. YES → (What are they?) (Any others?)

GO TO A44f

A44f. Do you see any problems with the government letting each person get ahead on their own?

5. NO 1. YES → (What are they?) (Any others?)

PAGE 19, A45

A44g. Are there any other reasons that you favor government efforts to make certain that every person has a job and a good standard of living?

5. NO 1. YES → (What are they?) (Any others?)

GO TO A44h

A44h. Do you see any problems with government efforts to make certain that every person has a job and a good standard of living?

5. NO 1. YES → (What are they?) (Any others?)

NEXT PAGE, A44i
A44i. Are there any reasons that you think the government should just let each person get ahead on their own?

5. NO  1. YES -> (What are they?) (Any others?)

GO TO A44j

A44j. Do you see any problems with the government letting each person get ahead on their own?

5. NO  1. YES -> (What are they?) (Any others?)

PAGE 19, A45
A45. Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or what?

1. REPUBLICAN
2. INDEPENDENT
3. NO PREFERENCE
4. OTHER PARTY
5. DEMOCRAT

INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

DID R MENTION OR INDICATE THAT THEY WERE ASKED THIS QUESTION EARLIER IN THE INTERVIEW?

☐ 1. YES, MENTIONED
☐ 2. YES, INDICATED (TONE OF VOICE, ETC.)
☐ 5. NO, NO INDICATION OR MENTION

A45a. Would you call yourself a strong Republican or a not very strong Republican?

1. STRONG
5. NOT VERY STRONG

A45b. Would you call yourself a strong Democrat or a not very strong Democrat?

1. STRONG
5. NOT VERY STRONG

A45c. Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party or to the Democratic Party?

1. CLOSER TO REPUBLICAN
3. (IF VOLUNTEERED): NEITHER
5. CLOSER TO DEMOCRAT

A46a. The federal budget deficit last year was about $170 billion. What do you think should be done to bring the budget into balance?

Cut military spending; OR
Cut spending on domestic programs such as environmental control, anti-drug smuggling, and Medicare OR
Increase taxes?

1. CUT MILITARY SPENDING
2. CUT SPENDING ON DOMESTIC PROGRAMS
3. INCREASE TAXES
4. (IF VOLUNTEERED): NOT SURE/OTHER
5. ALL THREE
6. CUT SPENDING BOTH MILITARY AND DOMESTIC
7. CUT DOMESTIC SPENDING AND INCREASE TAXES
8. CUT MILITARY SPENDING AND INCREASE TAXES
A46b. Do you approve or disapprove of the way President Reagan has handled the federal deficit problem?

1. APPROVE  5. DISAPPROVE

A46c. Last year the United States sent the Contra rebels $100 million to help them in their fight to overthrow the Sandanista government in Nicaragua. Do you favor sending this foreign aid to the Contras or not?

1. FAVOR  5. DO NOT FAVOR

A46d. Do you approve or disapprove of the way President Reagan has handled the question of military aid to the Contra rebels in Nicaragua?

1. APPROVE  5. DISAPPROVE
A47. Some people feel that the government in Washington should make every effort to improve the social and economic position of blacks. Others feel that the government should not make any special effort to help blacks because they should help themselves. Which comes closer to the way you feel or haven’t you thought much about this?

1. GOVERNMENT 3. (IF VOLUNTEERED): DEPENDS
5. HELP THEMSELVES 7. HAVEN’T THOUGHT MUCH

A47b. Still thinking about the question you just answered, I’d like you do tell me what ideas came to mind as you were answering this question. Exactly what went through your mind? [DO NOT PROBE]

0. NOTHING

INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

PLEASE RECORD ANSWER TO A47 BELOW AND FOLLOW THE APPROPRIATE SKIP

☐ 1. GOVERNMENT
☐ 3. (IF VOLUNTEERED) DEPENDS ———> NEXT PAGE, A47e
☐ 5. HELP THEMSELVES ———> PAGE 22, A47g
☐ 7. HAVEN’T THOUGHT MUCH ———> PAGE 23, A48

A47c. Are there any (other) reasons that you favor government efforts to improve the social and economic position of blacks?

5. NO 1. YES ———> (What are they?) (Any others?)

GO TO A47d

A47d. Do you see any problems with government efforts to improve the social and economic position of blacks?

5. NO 1. YES ———> (What are they?) (Any others?)

PAGE 23, A48
ANSWER TO A47 - BLACKS SHOULD HELP THEMSELVES

A47e. Are there any (other) reasons that you favor letting blacks help themselves?

5. NO

1. YES —> (What are they?) (Any others?)

GO TO A47f

A47f. Do you see any problems with letting blacks help themselves?

5. NO

1. YES —> (What are they?) (Any others?)

PAGE 23, A48

PAGE 23, A48

ANSWER TO A47 - DEPENDS

A47g. Are there any other reasons that you favor government efforts to improve the social and economic position of blacks?

5. NO

1. YES —> (What are they?) (Any others?)

GO TO A47h

A47h. Do you see any problems with government efforts to improve the social and economic position of blacks?

5. NO

1. YES —> (What are they?) (Any others?)

NEXT PAGE, A47i
A471. Are there any reasons that you favor letting blacks help themselves?

5. NO  1. YES \(\rightarrow\) (What are they?) (Any others?)

GO TO A47j

A47j. Do you see any problems letting blacks help themselves?

5. NO  1. YES \(\rightarrow\) (What are they?) (Any others?)

GO TO A48

A48. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling his job as president?

1. APPROVE  5. DISAPPROVE

INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

DID R MENTION OR INDICATE THAT THEY WERE ASKED THIS QUESTION EARLIER IN THE INTERVIEW?

☐ 1. YES, MENTIONED
☐ 2. YES, INDICATED (TONE OF VOICE, ETC.)
☐ 5. NO, NO INDICATION OR MENTION

A48a. Do you approve strongly or not strongly?

1. STRONGLY APPROVE  4. NOT STRONGLY DISAPPROVE

2. NOT STRONGLY APPROVE  5. STRONGLY DISAPPROVE
A40b. Still thinking about the question you just answered, I'd like you to tell me what ideas came to mind as you were answering this question. Exactly what things went through your mind? [DO NOT PROBE]

0. NOTHING

INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

PLEASE RECORD ANSWER TO A40 BELOW AND FOLLOW THE APPROPRIATE SKIP

☐ 1. APPROVE

☐ 5. DISAPPROVE ---> NEXT PAGE, A48a

☐ 8. DON'T KNOW/REFUSED ---> PAGE 26, A49

A40c. Are there any (other) reasons that you approve of the way Reagan is handling his job as President?

5. NO  1. YES ---> (What are they?) (Any others?)

GO TO A40d

A40d. Can you think of any reasons that would lead you to disapprove of the way Reagan is handling his job as President?

5. NO  1. YES ---> (What are they?) (Any others?)

PAGE 26, A49

PAGE 26, A49
ANSWER TO A48e. DISAPPROVE

A48e. Are there any (other) reasons that you disapprove of the way Reagan is handling his job as President?

5. NO  1. YES → (What are they?) (Any others?)

GO TO A48f

A48f. Can you think of any reasons that would lead you to approve of the way Reagan is handling his job as President?

5. NO  1. YES → (What are they?) (Any others?)

PAGE 26, A49
A49. Here is a list of some activities that occupy members of the U.S. Senate as part of their job. We want to know how important you think these activities should be.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>活动</th>
<th>非常重要</th>
<th>有些重要</th>
<th>不太重要</th>
<th>不太重要</th>
<th>不重要</th>
<th>不知道</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A49a. 帮助人们解决与政府打交道时的问题</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>A49b. 确保他们的州得到公平的政府资金和项目</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>A49c. 在国会讨论与国家问题相关的法案</td>
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<td>A49d. 在国会讨论主要针对他们州的法案</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>A49e. 在国会扮演重要角色</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These are all the questions I have. Thank you very much for your time and your help with our research.

EXACT TIME NOW: __________
EXACT TIME NOW: ____________

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

A1a. Do you approve strongly or not strongly?

1. STRONGLY APPROVE  2. NOT STRONGLY APPROVE

A1a. Do you disapprove strongly or not strongly?

1. STRONGLY DISAPPROVE  2. NOT STRONGLY DISAPPROVE

A2. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling the economy?

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

A2a. Do you approve strongly or not strongly?

1. STRONGLY APPROVE  2. NOT STRONGLY APPROVE

A2a. Do you disapprove strongly or not strongly?

1. STRONGLY DISAPPROVE  2. NOT STRONGLY DISAPPROVE
A3. I am going to read several statements. After each one, please tell me whether you **strongly** agree, somewhat agree, neither agree nor disagree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A3a. Generally, the more influence America has on other nations, the better off they are.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A3b. Other countries should try to make their governments as much like ours as possible.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A3c. The important thing for the U.S. foreign aid program should be to make sure that the U.S. gains a political advantage in world affairs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A3d. In view of America's moral and material superiority, it is only right that we should have the biggest say in deciding United Nations policies.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A4. (I am going to read several statements. After each one, please tell me whether you strongly agree, somewhat agree, neither agree nor disagree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STRONGLY AGREE (1)</th>
<th>SOMewhat AGREE (2)</th>
<th>NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE (3)</th>
<th>SOMewhat DISAGREE (4)</th>
<th>STRONGLY DISAGREE (5)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

A4a. Personal income should not be determined just by one's worth. Rather, everyone should get what they need to provide a decent life for their family.

A4b. It is good for society as a whole when a few people do much better in life than most people.

A4c. All in all, I think economic differences in this country are justified.

A4d. It would be better for everyone if the distribution of wealth in this country were more equal.

A5. Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican, an independent, or don’t you think of yourself that way?

1. REPUBLICAN  2. INDEPENDENT  3. NO PREFERENCE  4. OTHER PARTY  5. DEMOCRAT

GO TO A5c

A5a. Would you call yourself a strong Republican or a not very strong Republican?

1. STRONG  5. NOT VERY STRONG

A5b. Would you call yourself a strong Democrat or a not very strong Democrat?

1. STRONG  5. NOT VERY STRONG

A5c. Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party or to the Democratic Party?

5. CLOSER TO REPUBLICAN  3. (IF VOLUNTEERED): NEITHER  6. CLOSER TO DEMOCRAT
A6. In talking to people about elections, we often find that a lot of people were not able to vote because they weren't registered, they were sick, or they just didn't have time. How about you --

Thinking back over the last four national elections, that is the Presidential elections of 1980 and 1984, and the Congressional elections of 1982 and 1986, did you vote in any of these elections?

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

Did you vote in the 1986 elections for United States Congress last November?

1. YES  3. NO  8. DON'T KNOW

A7. I am going to read a list of words and phrases people may use to describe political figures. Think about Ronald Reagan. The first phrase is "intelligent". In your opinion does the phrase "intelligent" describe Reagan extremely well, quite well, not too well, or not well at all?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>EXTREMELY WELL (1)</th>
<th>QUITE WELL (2)</th>
<th>NOT TOO WELL (3)</th>
<th>NOT WELL AT ALL (4)</th>
<th>DON'T KNOW (5)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A7a. INTELLIGENT?</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>A7b. Compassionate?</td>
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<td>A7c. Moral?</td>
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<td>A7d. Inspiring?</td>
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<td>A7e. Provides strong leadership?</td>
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<td>A7f. Decent?</td>
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<tr>
<td>A7g. Really cares about people like you?</td>
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<tr>
<td>A7h. Knowledgeable?</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
A8. I am going to read several statements. Please tell me whether you strongly agree, somewhat agree, neither agree nor disagree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree with each statement. The first statement is ...

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>STRONGLY AGREE</th>
<th>SOMewhat AGREE</th>
<th>NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE</th>
<th>SOMewhat DISAGREE</th>
<th>STRONGLY DISAGREE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
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<tr>
<td>A8a. The newer lifestyles are contributing to the breakdown of our society.</td>
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<td>A8b. The world is always changing and we should adjust our view of moral behavior to those changes.</td>
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<tr>
<td>A8c. There is too much sexual freedom and loose living today.</td>
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<tr>
<td>A8d. We should be more tolerant of people who choose to live according to their own moral standards, even if they are very different from our own.</td>
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<tr>
<td>A8e. Changes in lifestyles, such as divorce and men and women living together without being married are signs of increasing moral decay.</td>
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<tr>
<td>A8f. Society should be more accepting of people whose appearance or values are very different from most.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
A9. Here is a list of some activities that occupy members of the U.S. House of Representatives as part of their job. We want to know how important you think these activities should be.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>VERY IMPORTANT (1)</th>
<th>SOMewhat IMPORTANT (2)</th>
<th>NOT VERY IMPORTANT (3)</th>
<th>NOT AT ALL IMPORTANT (4)</th>
<th>DON'T KNOW (8)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A9a. Helping people in their district with problems they may have in dealing with the government?</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>A9b. Making sure their district gets its fair share of government money and projects?</td>
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<tr>
<td>A9c. Working in Congress on bill concerning national issues?</td>
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<tr>
<td>A9d. Working in Congress on bills important mainly to their district?</td>
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<tr>
<td>A9e. Taking a leading role in Congress?</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

A10. What percentage of Americans would you say are receiving welfare payments?

A11. Generally speaking, do you think the federal government is spending too much money, not enough money, or just about the right amount of money on welfare programs?

1. TOO MUCH  2. NOT ENOUGH  3. ABOUT RIGHT  4. DON'T KNOW

A12. Who do you think should have the greatest responsibility for helping the poor: the government, the poor themselves, or voluntary groups such as churches and charities?

1. GOVERNMENT  2. POOR THEMSELVES  3. VOLUNTARY GROUPS  4. BOTH GOVERNMENT AND POOR THEMSELVES

5. BOTH GOVERNMENT AND VOLUNTARY GROUPS  6. BOTH POOR AND VOLUNTARY GROUPS  7. COMBINATION OF ALL THREE  8. DON'T KNOW
A13. Which of these two statements is closest to your own position: Government is responsible for the well-being of its citizens and has an obligation to take care of them; OR people are responsible for their own well-being and have an obligation to take care of themselves?


GO TO A14

A13a. Do you feel strongly about this or not strongly?

5. STRONGLY  4. NOT STRONGLY  8. DON'T KNOW

A14. People sometimes feel sympathetic towards various groups in society. How sympathetic do you feel towards welfare recipients? Would you say you feel extremely sympathetic, very sympathetic, somewhat sympathetic, or not at all sympathetic?

1. EXTREMELY SYMPATHETIC  2. VERY SYMPATHETIC  3. SOMEWHAT SYMPATHETIC  4. NOT AT ALL SYMPATHETIC  8. DON'T KNOW

A15. Regardless of how you personally feel about the two parties, I'd like you to tell me which one, the Republican party or the Democratic party, would do a better job of handling the problem of managing welfare programs?

1. DEMOCRATIC PARTY  5. REPUBLICAN PARTY  3. (IF VOLUNTEERED): NEITHER

6. (IF VOLUNTEERED): BOTH  8. DON'T KNOW

A16. Looking ahead, do you think the problem of managing the economy would be handled better in the next four years by the Republicans, by the Democrats, or about the same by both?

1. BETTER BY THE REPUBLICANS  5. BETTER BY THE DEMOCRATS  3. SAME BY BOTH  8. DON'T KNOW
A17. Now we would like to know something about the feelings you have toward Ronald Reagan. Has Reagan -- because of the kind of person he is, or because of something he has done -- ever made you feel...

|A17a. Angry? | YES; HAVE FELT (1) | NO; NEVER FELT (2) |
|A17b. Hopeful? |
|A17c. Afraid of him? |
|A17d. Proud? |

A18. When it comes to politics, do you usually think of yourself as a liberal, a conservative, a moderate, or don't you think of yourself that way?

1. LIBERAL  2. CONSERVATIVE

5. NEITHER (NO PREFERENCE)  3. MODERATE  8. DON'T KNOW  4. DON'T THINK OF SELF

6. R INSISTS; NO UNDERSTANDING

NEXT PAGE. A19

A18a. Would you call yourself a strong (liberal/conservative) or a not very strong (liberal/conservative)?

1. STRONG LIBERAL  5. NOT VERY STRONG LIBERAL

3. STRONG CONSERVATIVE  4. NOT VERY STRONG CONSERVATIVE

A18b. Do you think of yourself as more like a liberal or more like a conservative?

5. LIBERAL  6. CONSERVATIVE
A19. Some people think the government should provide fewer services, even in areas such as health and education in order to reduce spending. Other people feel it is important for the government to provide many more services, even if it means an increase in spending.

A19a. Before telling me how you feel about this, could you tell me what kinds of things come to mind when you think about fewer government services? (Any others?)

A19b. Now, what kinds of things come to mind when you think about increases in government spending? (Any others?)

A19c. Now I'd like to restate the question.

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

1. FEWER SERVICES; REDUCE SPENDING  3. IF VOLUNTEERED; DEPENDS  5. MORE SERVICES; INCREASE SPENDING

A20a. Now I am going to read two statements. Please tell me which comes closest to your own view.

Premarital sex is immoral,

OR

There is nothing necessarily immoral about premarital sex.

1. IMMORAL  2. NOT IMMORAL  3. DEPENDS  4. DON'T KNOW; CAN'T CHOOSE
A20c. Please consider these two statements:

1. Having children without being married is immoral,
2. There is nothing necessarily immoral about having children without being married.

A20c. (The next two statements are:)

1. Homosexuality is immoral,
2. There is nothing necessarily immoral about homosexuality.

A20d. And which of these comes closest to the way you feel?

1. On the question of whether homosexuality is immoral, I have my own view but I'm not sure if it is the one true answer,
2. (On the question of whether homosexuality is immoral,) I feel there is a basic truth to the position I have taken.

A20e. (Next:)

1. Divorce is immoral,
2. There is nothing necessarily immoral about divorce.
A20f. And which of these comes closest to the way you feel?

On the question of whether divorce is immoral, I have my own view but I'm not sure if it is the one true answer,

OR

(On the question of whether divorce is immoral,) I feel there is a basic truth to the position I have taken.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. NOT SURE</th>
<th>2. BASIC TRUTH</th>
<th>3. DEPENDS</th>
<th>8. DON'T KNOW; CAN'T CHOOSE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

A20g. (The next two statements are:)

ABORTION IS IMMORAL,

OR

There is nothing necessarily immoral about abortion.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. IMMORAL</th>
<th>2. NOT IMMORAL</th>
<th>3. DEPENDS</th>
<th>8. DON'T KNOW; CAN'T CHOOSE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

A20h. And which of these comes closest to the way you feel?

On the question of whether abortion is immoral, I have my own view but I'm not sure if it is one true answer,

OR

(On the question of whether abortion is immoral,) I feel there is a basic truth to the position I have taken.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. NOT SURE</th>
<th>2. BASIC TRUTH</th>
<th>3. DEPENDS</th>
<th>8. DON'T KNOW; CAN'T CHOOSE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
A21. For the next question, I'd like you to think of a scale ranging from 1 to 7. Some people think the United States should become much less involved in the internal affairs of Central American countries. Suppose these people are at one end of the scale at point 1. Others believe that the U.S. government should become much more involved in this part of the world. Suppose these people are at the other end, at point 7. And, of course, some other people have opinions somewhere in between at points 2, 3, 4, 5, or 6. Where would you place yourself on this scale or haven't you thought much about this?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
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</tbody>
</table>

Some people think the United States should become much less involved in the internal affairs of Central American countries

The United States should become much more involved in this part of the world

ENTER NUMBER (1-7):          8. DON'T KNOW     0. HAVEN'T THOUGHT

A21a. Where would you place the Democratic party on this scale?

ENTER NUMBER (1-7):          8. DON'T KNOW     0. HAVEN'T THOUGHT

(Where would you place) the Republican party?

ENTER NUMBER (1-7):          8. DON'T KNOW     0. HAVEN'T THOUGHT

(Where would you place) Ronald Reagan?

ENTER NUMBER (1-7):          8. DON'T KNOW     0. HAVEN'T THOUGHT

A22. If you had a say in making up the federal budget this year, would you like to see spending for aid to the Contras in Nicaragua increased, decreased, or kept about the same?

1. INCREASED  2. SAME  3. KEEP ABOUT  4. DECREASED  5. (IF VOLUNTEERED)  6. CUT OFF  7. DON'T KNOW

A23. Looking ahead, do you think the problem of keeping out of war would be handled better in the next four years by the Republicans, by the Democrats, or about the same by both?

1. BETTER BY REPUBLICANS  2. SAME BY BOTH  3. BETTER BY DEMOCRATS  4. DON'T KNOW
A24. I'd like to get your feelings toward some of our political leaders who are in the news these days. I will use something we call the feeling thermometer and here is how it works: I'll read the name of a person and I'd like you to rate that person using the thermometer. Ratings between 50 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 favorable toward the person and you don't care too much for that person. If you recognize a name, but don't feel particularly warm or cold toward the person, you would rate them at the 50 degree mark.
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.

A24a. Our first person is Ronald Reagan. How would you rate him using this thermometer? (PROBE "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?)

A24b. Robert Dole? (How would you rate him using this thermometer?)

A24c. George Bush?

A24d. Jack Kemp?

A24e. Gary Hart?

A25. (Ratings between 50 and 100 degrees mean that you feel favorable and warm toward the group. Ratings between 0 and 50 degrees mean that you don't feel favorable toward the group and that you don't care too much for that group. If you recognize the name, but you don't feel particularly warm or cold toward the group, you would rate it at the 50 degree mark.)

And still using the thermometer, how would you rate the following groups?

A25a. Our first group is liberals. (How would you rate it using this thermometer?)

A25b. Poor people?

A25c. Conservatives?

A25d. Feminists?

A25e. Republicans?

A25f. Moral Majority?

A25g. Democrats?

A25h. Blacks?

A25i. Christian Fundamentalists?

A25j. People on Welfare?
A26. Some people feel the government in Washington should see to it that every person has a job and a good standard of living. Others think that the government should just let each person get ahead on their own.

A26a. Before telling me how you feel about this, could you tell me what kinds of things come to mind when you think about government making sure that every person has a good standard of living? (Any others?)

A26b. Now, what comes to mind when you are thinking about letting each person get ahead on their own? (Any others?)

A26d. Now I'd like to restate the question.

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

1. GOVERNMENT  3. (IF VOLUNTEERED:) DEPENDS  5. PERSON
A27. Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an independent, or what?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. REPUBLICAN</th>
<th>2. INDEPENDENT</th>
<th>3. NO PREFERENCE</th>
<th>4. OTHER PARTY</th>
<th>5. DEMOCRAT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

DID R MENTION OR INDICATE THAT THEY WERE ASKED THIS QUESTION EARLIER IN THE INTERVIEW?

- [ ] 1. YES, MENTIONED
- [ ] 2. YES, INDICATED (TONE OF VOICE, ETC.)
- [ ] 3. NO, NO INDICATION OR MENTION

A27a. Would you call yourself a strong Republican or a not very strong Republican?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. STRONG</th>
<th>5. NOT VERY STRONG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

A27b. Would you call yourself a strong Democrat or a not very strong Democrat?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. STRONG</th>
<th>5. NOT VERY STRONG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

A27c. Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party or to the Democratic Party?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. CLOSER TO REPUBLICAN</th>
<th>3. (IF VOLUNTEERED): NEITHER</th>
<th>5. CLOSER TO DEMOCRATIC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

A28a. Do you approve or disapprove of the way President Reagan has tried to cut taxes and reform the tax code?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. APPROVE</th>
<th>5. DISAPPROVE</th>
<th>8. DON'T KNOW</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

A28b. Do you approve or disapprove of the way President Reagan has handled the problem of inflation in the last few years?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. APPROVE</th>
<th>5. DISAPPROVE</th>
<th>8. DON'T KNOW</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
A29. Some people feel the government in Washington should make every effort to improve the social and economic position of blacks. Others feel the government should not make any special effort to help blacks because they should help themselves.

A29a. Before telling me how you feel about this, could you tell me what kinds of things come to mind when you think about "the social and economic position of blacks"? (Any others?)

A29b. What comes to mind when you think about "efforts to improve the social and economic position of blacks"? (Any others?)

A29c. And when you hear the phrase "blacks should help themselves?" (Any others?)

A29d. Now I'd like to restate the question.

Some people feel that the government in Washington should make every effort to improve the social and economic position of blacks. Others feel that the government should not make any special effort to help blacks because they should help themselves. Which is closer to the way you feel?

1. GOVERNMENT  5. HELP THEMSELVES
A30. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling his job as President?

1. APPROVE

INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

DID R MENTION OR INDICATE THAT THEY WERE ASKED THIS QUESTION EARLIER IN THE INTERVIEW?

☐ 1. YES, MENTIONED
☐ 2. YES, INDICATED (TONE OF VOICE, ETC.)
☐ 5. NO, NO INDICATION OR MENTION

A30a. Do you approve strongly or not strongly?

1. STRONGLY APPROVE

2. NOT STRONGLY APPROVE

5. STRONGLY DISAPPROVE

4. NOT STRONGLY DISAPPROVE

A30b. Still thinking about the question you just answered, I'd like you to tell me what ideas came to mind as you were answering this question. Exactly what things went through your mind? [DO NOT PROBE]

0. NOTHING

INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

PLEASE RECORD ANSWER TO A30 BELOW AND FOLLOW THE APPROPRIATE SKIP

☐ 1. APPROVE

☐ 5. DISAPPROVE ---> NEXT PAGE, A30e

☐ 8. DON'T KNOW/REFUSED ---> PAGE 18, END OF INTERVIEW

A30c. Are there any (other) reasons that you approve of the way Reagan is handling his job as President?

5. NO

1. YES ---> (What are they?) (Any others?)

NEXT PAGE, A30d
A30d. Can you think of any reasons that would lead you to disapprove of the way Reagan is handling his job as President?

5. NO 1. YES → (What are they?) (Any others?)

---

**ANSWER TO A30 - DISAPPROVE**

A30e. Are there any (other) reasons that you disapprove of the way Reagan is handling his job as President?

5. NO 1. YES → (What are they?) (Any others?)

GO TO A30f

---

A30f. Can you think of any reasons that would lead you to approve of the way Reagan is handling his job as President?

5. NO 1. YES → (What are they?) (Any others?)

---

These are all the questions I have. Thank you very much for your time and your help with our research.

EXACT TIME NOW: ____________________
A21. Some people think the government should provide fewer services, even in areas such as health and education, in order to reduce spending. Other people feel it is important for the government to provide many more services even if it means an increase in spending.

A21b. Still thinking about the question you just answered, I'd like you to tell me what ideas came to mind as you were answering that question. Exactly what things went through your mind? [DO NOT PROBE]

0. Nothing

INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

PLEASE RECORD ANSWER TO A21 BELOW AND FOLLOW THE APPROPRIATE SKIP

1. Reducing Gov't Services
2. More Gov't Services
3. Depends
4. DK
5. Return to

A21c. Are there any (other) reasons that you favor reducing government services?

5. No
1. Yes

WHAT ARE THEY? (Any others?)

NEXT PAGE, A21d
A21d. Do you see any problems with reducing government services?

[5. NO] 1. YES ——> (What are they?) (Any others?)

RETURN TO CATI INTERVIEW

A21e. Are there any (other) reasons that you favor providing more government services?

[5. NO] 1. YES ——> (What are they?) (Any others?)

GO TO A21f

A21f. Do you see any problems with providing more government services?

[5. NO] 1. YES ——> (What are they?) (Any others?)

RETURN TO CATI INTERVIEW
ANSWER TO A21 = DEPENDS

A21g. Are there any reasons that you favor reducing government services?

5. NO  1. YES → (What are they?) (Any others?)
GO TO A21h

A21h. Do you see any problems with reducing government services?

5. NO  1. YES → (What are they?) (Any others?)
GO TO A21i

A21i. Are there any reasons that you favor providing more government services?

5. NO  1. YES → (What are they?) (Any others?)
NEXT PAGE, A21j
A21j. Do you see any problems with providing more government services?

5. NO

1. YES —> (What are they?) (Any others?)

RETURN TO CATI INTERVIEW
A44. SOME PEOPLE FEEL THE GOVERNMENT IN WASHINGTON SHOULD SEE TO IT THAT EVERY PERSON HAS A JOB AND A GOOD STANDARD OF LIVING. OTHERS THINK THAT THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD JUST LET EACH PERSON GET AHEAD ON THEIR OWN.

A44b. Still thinking about the question you just answered, I'd like you to tell me what ideas came to mind as you were answering that question. Exactly what things went through your mind? [DO NOT PROBE]

0. NOTHING

INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

PLEASE RECORD ANSWER TO A44 BELOW AND FOLLOW THE APPROPRIATE SKIP

1. GOVERNMENT EFFORTS  5. GET AHEAD ALONE  3. DEPENDS  8. DK →RETURN TO CATI 1W

NEXT PAGE, A44e

A44c. Are there any (other) reasons that you favor government efforts to make certain that every person has a job and a good standard of living?

5. NO  1. YES →(What are they?) (Any others?)

NEXT PAGE, A44d
A44d. Do you see any problems with government efforts to make certain that every person has a job and a good standard of living?

5. NO  | 1. YES

RETURN TO CATI INTERVIEW

A44e. Are there any (other) reasons that you think the government should just let each person get ahead on their own?

5. NO  | 1. YES

GO TO A44f

A44f. Do you see any problems with the government letting each person get ahead on their own?

5. NO  | 1. YES

RETURN TO CATI INTERVIEW
ANSWER TO A44 = DEPENDS

A44q. Are there any reasons that you favor government efforts to make certain that every person has a job and a good standard of living?

   5. NO  1. YES   --> (What are they?) (Any others?)

   GO TO A44h

---

A44h. Do you see any problems with government efforts to make certain that every person has a job and a good standard of living?

   5. NO  1. YES   --> (What are they?) (Any others?)

   GO TO A44i

---

A44i. Are there any reasons that you think the government should just let each person get ahead on their own?

   5. NO  1. YES   --> (What are they?) (Any others?)

   NEXT PAGE,
   A44j
A44j. Do you see any problems with the government letting each person get ahead on their own?

[ ] 5. NO  [ ] 1. YES ➜ (What are they?) (Any others?)

RETURN TO CATI INTERVIEW
A47. Some people feel that the government in Washington should make every effort to improve the social and economic position of blacks. Others feel that the government should not make any special effort to help blacks because they should help themselves.

A47b. Still thinking about the question you just answered, I'd like you to tell me what ideas came to mind as you were answering that question. Exactly what things went through your mind? [DO NOT PROBE]

INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:

PLEASE RECORD ANSWER TO A47 BELOW AND FOLLOW THE APPROPRIATE SKIP

1. GOVERNMENT EFFORTS
2. ALWAYS
3. BLACKS HELP SELF
4. DEPENDS
5. NO
6. YES
7. DK
8. RETURN TO CATI IW

A47c. Are there any (other) reasons that you favor government efforts to improve the social and economic position of blacks?

5. NO
1. YES

NEXT PAGE, A47d
A47d. Do you see any problems with government efforts to improve the social and economic position of blacks?

5. NO  1. YES

RETURN TO CATI INTERVIEW

A47e. Are there any (other) reasons that you favor letting blacks help themselves?

5. NO  1. YES

GO TO A47f

A47f. Do you see any problems with letting blacks help themselves?

5. NO  1. YES

RETURN TO CATI INTERVIEW
ANSWER TO A47 = DEPENDS

A47g. Are there any reasons that you favor government efforts to improve the social and economic position of blacks?

   5. NO  1. YES

GO TO A47h

A47h. Do you see any problems with government efforts to improve the social and economic position of blacks?

   5. NO  1. YES

GO TO A47i

A47i. Are there any reasons that you favor letting blacks help themselves?

   5. NO  1. YES

NEXT PAGE, A47j
A47j. Do you see any problems with letting blacks help themselves?

5. NO  1. YES  → (What are they?) (Any others?)

RETURN TO CATI IN
A48. DO YOU APPROVE OR DISAPPROVE OF THE WAY RONALD REAGAN IS HANDLING HIS JOB AS PRESIDENT?

A48b. Still thinking about the question you just answered, I'd like you to tell me what ideas came to mind as you were answering that question. Exactly what things went through your mind? [DO NOT PROBE]

0. NOTHING

INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT: I PLEASE RECORD ANSWER TO A48 BELOW AND FOLLOW THE APPROPRIATE SKIP

PLEASE RECORD ANSWER TO A48 BELOW AND FOLLOW THE APPROPRIATE SKIP

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

NEXT PAGE, A48e

V

A48c. Are there any other reasons that you approve of the way Reagan is handling his job as President?

5. NO 1. YES

NEXT PAGE, A48d

(What are they?) (Any others?)
A48d. Can you think of any reasons that would lead you to disapprove of the way Reagan is handling his job as President?

5. NO 1. YES → (What are they?) (Any others?)

RETURN TO CATI IW

RETURN TO CATI INTERVIEW

A48e. Are there any (other) reasons that you disapprove of the way Reagan is handling his job as President?

5. NO 1. YES → (What are they?) (Any others?)

GO TO A48f

RETURN TO CATI INTERVIEW

A48f. Can you think of any reasons that would lead you to approve of the way Reagan is handling his job as President?

5. NO 1. YES → (What are they?) (Any others?)

RETURN TO CATI IW

RETURN TO CATI INTERVIEW
FORM B

A51. Some people think the government should provide fewer services, even in areas such as health and education in order to reduce spending. Other people feel it is important for the government to provide many more services, even if it means an increase in spending. We'd like to know how you feel about this, but...

A51a. Before telling me how you feel about this, could you tell me what kinds of things come to mind when you think about fewer government services? (Any others?)

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

A51b. Now, what kinds of things come to mind when you think about increases in government spending? (Any others?)

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

RETURN TO CATI INTERVIEW
A52. Some people feel the government in Washington should see to it that every person has a job and a good standard of living. Others think that the government should just let each person get ahead on their own. We'd like to know how you feel about this, but...

A52a. Before telling me how you feel about this, could you tell me what kinds of things come to mind when you think about government making sure that every person has a good standard of living? (Any others?)


A52b. Now, what comes to mind when you are thinking about letting each person get ahead on their own? (Any others?)


RETURN TO CAT1 INTERVIEW
A55. Some people feel the government in Washington should make every effort to improve the social and economic position of blacks. Others feel the government should not make any special effort to help blacks because they should help themselves. We'd like to know how you feel about this, but...

A55a. Before telling me how you feel about this, could you tell me what kinds of things come to mind when you think about "the social and economic position of blacks"? (Any others?)

__________________________________________________________________________

__________________________________________________________________________

A55b. What comes to mind when you think about "efforts to improve the social and economic position of blacks"? (Any others?)

__________________________________________________________________________

__________________________________________________________________________

A55c. And (what comes to mind) when you hear the phrase "blacks should help themselves"? (Any others?)

__________________________________________________________________________

RETURN TO CATI INTERVIEW