<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Extremely</th>
<th>Very</th>
<th>Somewhat</th>
<th>Not Very</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ala. How strong is the respect you have for the United States...</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>extremely strong, very strong, somewhat strong, or not very strong?</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alb. How angry does it make you feel when you hear someone criticizing the United States...</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>extremely angry, very angry, somewhat angry, or not very angry?</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alc. How proud are you to be an American? Are you extremely proud, very proud, somewhat proud, or not very proud?</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alc. How angry does it make you feel when people burn the American flag in protest...</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>extremely angry, very angry, somewhat angry, or not very angry?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ale. How good does it make you feel when you see the American flag flying...</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>extremely good, very good, somewhat good, or not very good?</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alf. How strong is your love for your country... extremely strong, very strong, somewhat strong, or not very strong?</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Alg. How mad do people who sell government secrets make you feel...</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>extremely mad, very mad, somewhat mad, or not very mad?</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Alh. How proud do you feel when you hear the national anthem...</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>extremely proud, very proud, somewhat proud, or not very proud?</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A2. I'd like to get your feelings toward some of the groups that 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 group and I'd like you to rate that group using the thermometer. Ratings between 50 and 100 degrees mean that you feel favorable and warm toward that group. Ratings between 0 degrees and 50 degrees mean that you don't feel favorable toward the group and you don't care too much for that group. If you don't feel particularly warm or cold toward them, you would rate the group at the 50 degree mark.

DEGREE

A2a. Our first group is "liberals". How would you rate liberals using this thermometer?

A2b. Poor people?

A2c. Conservatives?

A2d. Feminists?

A2e. Republicans?

A2f. The Moral Majority?

A2g. Democrats?

A2h. Blacks?

A2i. Christian Fundamentalists?

A2j. People on welfare?
A3. We are interested in people's opinions about how government works in general in the United States and how much influence ordinary people have over it. I am going to read some of the things people have said about the type of government we have in this country. After I read each statement, 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>SOBERWHAT AGREE</th>
<th>NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE</th>
<th>SOBREWHAT DISAGREE</th>
<th>STRONGLY DISAGREE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>(1)</td>
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<td>(3)</td>
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<tr>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

A3a. People like me don't have any say about what the government does.

A3b. Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on.

A3c. Whatever its faults may be, the American form of government is still the best for us.

A3d. There is not much about our form of government to be proud of.

A3e. It may be necessary to make some major changes in our form of government in order to solve the problems facing our country.

A3f. I would rather live under our system of government than any other that I can think of.

A3g. There are many legal ways for citizens to successfully influence what the government does.

A3h. In this country, a few people have all the political power and the rest of us are not given any say about how the government runs things.
A3i. I don't think public officials care much what people like me think.

A3j. Voting is an effective way for people to have a say about what the government does.

A3k. Under our form of government, the people have the final say about how the country is run, no matter who is in office.

A3l. If public officials are not interested in hearing what the people think, there is really no way to make them listen.

A4. Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican, an independent, or don't you think of yourself that way?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. REPUBLICAN</th>
<th>2. NO PREFERENCE/OTHER PARTY</th>
<th>3. INDEPENDENT</th>
<th>4. DON'T THINK OF SELF THAT WAY</th>
<th>5. DEMOCRAT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

GO TO A4b

A4a. Would you call yourself a strong Republican or a not very strong Republican?

| 1. STRONG | 5. NOT VERY STRONG |

A4b. Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican party or to the Democratic party?

| 1. REPUBLICAN | 5. DEMOCRATIC | 7. NEITHER | 8. DON'T KNOW |
A5. Here are 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></th>
<th>STRONGLY AGREE</th>
<th>SOewhat AGREE</th>
<th>NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE</th>
<th>SOewhat DISAGREE</th>
<th>STRONGLY DISAGREE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1)</td>
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<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A5a. We must respect people's own view of what is right and wrong, no matter what we think.

A5b. If we've decided something is morally wrong, it is wrong for everyone.

A5c. People have to decide for themselves what is right and wrong.

A5d. On most questions of right and wrong, it doesn't make sense for each person to determine answers for themselves.
A6. 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 (1)</th>
<th>SOMewhat IMPORTANT (2)</th>
<th>NOT VERY IMPORTANT (3)</th>
<th>NOT AT ALL IMPORTANT (4)</th>
<th>DON'T KNOW (5)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A6a. How about helping people in their district with problems they may have in dealing with the government?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A6b. Making sure their district gets its fair share of government money and projects?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A6c. Working in Congress on bills concerning national issues?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A6d. Working in Congress on bills important mainly to their districts?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A6e. Taking a leading role in Congress?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A7. 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>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>A7a. Helping people in their state with problems they may have in dealing with the government?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>A7b. Making sure their state gets its fair share of government money and projects?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A7c. Working in Congress on bills concerning national issues?</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>A7d. Working in Congress on bills important mainly to their districts?</td>
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<tr>
<td>A7e. Taking a leading role in Congress?</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A8. How much would you say you know about Ronald Reagan? Would you say you know almost nothing, a little, a fair amount, or quite a lot about Ronald Reagan?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Knowledge Level</th>
<th>Almost Nothing</th>
<th>A Little</th>
<th>A Fair Amount</th>
<th>Quite a Lot of Him</th>
<th>Never Heard</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(7)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A8b. (How much would you say you know about) where Reagan stands on important issues?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reagan's Stance</th>
<th>Almost Nothing</th>
<th>A Little</th>
<th>A Fair Amount</th>
<th>Quite a Lot of Him</th>
<th>Never Heard</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1)</td>
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<td>(7)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A8c. (How much would you say you know about) Reagan's character and values?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reagan's Values</th>
<th>Almost Nothing</th>
<th>A Little</th>
<th>A Fair Amount</th>
<th>Quite a Lot of Him</th>
<th>Never Heard</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(7)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A8d. (How much would you say you know about) Reagan's political career?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reagan's Career</th>
<th>Almost Nothing</th>
<th>A Little</th>
<th>A Fair Amount</th>
<th>Quite a Lot of Him</th>
<th>Never Heard</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(7)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### A9a.
How much would you say you know about George Bush? Would you say you know almost nothing, a little, a fair amount, or quite a lot about George Bush?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ALMOST NOTHING</th>
<th>A LITTLE</th>
<th>A FAIR AMOUNT</th>
<th>QUITE A LOT</th>
<th>NEVER HEARD</th>
<th>OF HIM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(7)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### A9b.
(How much would you say you know about) where Bush stands on important issues?

### A9c.
(How much would you say you know about) Bush's character and values?

### A9d.
(How much would you say you know about) Bush's political career?

### A10a.
How much would you say you know about Robert Dole? Would you say you know almost nothing, a little, a fair amount, or quite a lot about Robert Dole?

### A10b.
(How much would you say you know about) where Dole stands on important issues?

### A10c.
(How much would you say you know about) Dole's character and values?

### A10d.
(How much would you say you know about) Dole's political career?
A12. When it comes to politics, do you usually think of yourself as a liberal, a conservative, a moderate, or what?

1. LIBERAL  2. CONSERVATIVE  3. MODERATE  4. DON'T KNOW

GO TO A12b

A12a. Would you call yourself a strong liberal or a not very strong liberal?

1. STRONG  5. NOT VERY STRONG

A12b. Would you call yourself a strong conservative or a not very strong conservative?

1. STRONG  5. NOT VERY STRONG

A12b. Do you think of yourself as more like a liberal or more like a conservative?

1. LIBERAL  2. CONSERVATIVE

A13. There has been some discussion about abortion during recent years. I am going to read several statements. Please tell me which comes closest to your view:

By law, abortion should never be permitted; OR

The law should permit abortion only in case of rape, incest, or when the woman's life is in danger; OR

The law should permit abortion for reasons other than rape, incest or danger to the woman's life, but only after the need for the abortion is clearly established; OR

By law, a woman should always be able to obtain an abortion as a matter of personal choice.

1. NEVER PERMITTED  2. ONLY IN CASE OF RAPE, INCEST, DANGER TO LIFE  3. ONLY AFTER NEED HAS BEEN CLEARLY ESTABLISHED  4. ALWAYS AS A MATTER OF PERSONAL CHOICE
A14. Here are two statements about homosexuality. 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>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

a. There should be laws that protect homosexuals from any discrimination on the basis of their sexual preference.

b. There should be laws that prohibit homosexuality altogether.

A14. Here are several more 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>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

A14a. You can generally trust the people who run our government to do what is right.

A14b. It often seems like our government is run by a few big interests looking out for themselves rather than being run for the benefit of all the people.

A14c. Most government officials try to serve the public interest even if it is against their personal interests.
AlOd. When government leaders make statements to the American people on television or in the newspapers, they are usually telling the truth.

AlOe. Unless we keep a close watch on them, many of our elected leaders will look out for special interests rather than for all the people.

AlOf. Those we elected to public office usually try to keep the promises they have made during the election.

A14d. When government leaders make statements to the American people on television or in the newspapers, they are usually telling the truth.

A14e. Unless we keep a close watch on them, many of our elected leaders will look out for special interests rather than for all the people.

A14f. Those we elected to public office usually try to keep the promises they have made during the election.

A15. Here are some general statements about public officials. After I read each statement, 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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<tr>
<td>(1)</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A15a. Most of the people running our government are well-qualified to handle the problems that we are facing in this country.

A15b. Quite a few of the people running our government are not as honest as the voters have a right to expect.

A15c. Most public officials can be trusted to do what is right without our having to constantly check on them.

A15d. Most public officials are truly interested in what the people think.
A15e. Candidates for office are only interested in people's votes, not in their opinions.

A15f. Politicians are supposed to be the servants of the people, but too many of them think they are the masters.

A15g. Generally speaking, those we elect to public office lose touch with the people pretty quickly.

A16. For those officials who do keep in touch, is it because they really care what people think or because they are more interested in being reelected?
A18. 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 this?

1. GOVERNMENT
2. (IF VOLUNTEERED): DEPENDS
3. (IF DEPENDS): PERSON GET AHEAD ALONE
4. (IF DEPENDS): HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH

PAGE 16, A19

A18b. 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 A18 BELOW AND FOLLOW THE APPROPRIATE SKIP

☐ 1. GOVERNMENT EFFORTS
☐ 5. GET AHEAD ALONE --> NEXT PAGE, A18a
☐ 3. DEPENDS --> TURN TO PAGE 15, A18g
☐ 7. DON'T KNOW --> GO TO PAGE 16, A19

A18c. 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, A18d
A18d. 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 16, A19

A18e. 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 A18f

A18f. 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 16, A19

GO TO PAGE 16, A19
ANSWER TO A16 = DEPENDS

A16g. 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 A18h

A18h. 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 A18i

A18i. Are there any reasons that you think that government should just let each person get ahead on their own?

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

NEXT PAGE, A8j
A18j. 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?) |

GO TO A19

---

INTERVIEWER OBSERVATIONS: (TO BE COMPLETED DURING EDIT)

A18k. To what extent was R emotionally involved in and concerned about this issue?

| 1 2 3 4 5 |
| NOT AT ALL INVOLVED | VERY HIGHLY INVOLVED |

A18l. To what extent did R present a coherent and considered view of this issue, rather than a fragmented series of seemingly unconnected thoughts (or no thoughts at all)?

| 1 2 3 4 5 |
| DISCONNECTED OR FRAGMENTED | HIGHLY CONNECTED AND COHERENT VIEW |

A19a. Now I am going to read two statements. Please tell me which comes closest to your own view.

Homosexuality is immoral,

OR

There is nothing necessarily immoral about homosexuality.

| 1. IMMORAL | 2. NOT IMMORAL | 3. DEPENDS | 4. DON'T KNOW, CAN'T CHOOSE |
A19b. (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

A19c. (The next two statements are:)

Abortion is immoral,

OR

There is nothing necessarily immoral about abortion.

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

A20. Some people feel that in dealing with other nations our government should be strong and tough. Others feel that our government should be understanding and flexible. Which comes closer to the way you feel - that our government should be strong and tough or understanding and flexible?

1. STRONG AND TOUGH  5. UNDERSTANDING AND FLEXIBLE  6. BOTH/NEITHER (VOLUNTEERED)

A20a. Do you favor this position strongly or not strongly?

1. STRONGLY  3. DEPENDS (IF VOLUNTEERED)  5. NOT VERY STRONGLY

NEXT PAGE, A21
A21. Which do you think is the better way for us to keep peace - by having a very strong military so other countries won't attach us, or by working out our disagreements at the bargaining table?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. STRONG MILITARY</th>
<th>5. WORK OUT DISAGREEMENTS</th>
<th>6. BOTH/NEITHER (VOLUNTEERED)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>GO TO A22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A21a. How strongly do you feel that we should have a strong military? Do you feel strongly or not very strongly?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. STRONGLY</th>
<th>3. DEPENDS (VOLUNTEERED)</th>
<th>5. NOT VERY STRONGLY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

A21b. How strongly do you feel we should work out our disagreements? Do you feel strongly or not very strongly?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. STRONGLY</th>
<th>3. DEPENDS (VOLUNTEERED)</th>
<th>5. NOT VERY STRONGLY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

A22. Some people believe we should be much more cooperative with Russia while others believe that we should be much tougher in our dealings with Russia. Which comes closer to the way you feel?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. COOPERATIVE</th>
<th>3. TOUGHER</th>
<th>6. BOTH/NEITHER (VOLUNTEERED)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>GO TO A23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A22a. How strongly do you feel that we should be much more cooperative? Do you feel strongly or not very strongly?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. STRONGLY</th>
<th>3. DEPENDS (VOLUNTEERED)</th>
<th>5. NOT VERY STRONGLY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

A22b. How strongly do you feel that we should be much tougher? Do you feel strongly or not very strongly?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. STRONGLY</th>
<th>3. DEPENDS (VOLUNTEERED)</th>
<th>5. NOT VERY STRONGLY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

A23. How much of a threat do you think the Soviet Union is to the vital interests and security of the United States - extremely threatening, very threatening, somewhat threatening, or not at all threatening?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. EXTREMELY THREATENING</th>
<th>2. VERY THREATENING</th>
<th>3. SOMEWHAT THREATENING</th>
<th>4. NOT AT ALL THREATENING</th>
<th>7. DEPENDS (VOLUNTEERED)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
A24. Would you strongly favor, not so strongly favor, not so strongly oppose or strongly oppose the U.S. building more nuclear weapons?

1. STRONGLY FAVOR  
2. NOT SO STRONGLY FAVOR  
3. UNCERTAIN (IF VOLUNTEERED)  
4. NOT SO STRONGLY OPPOSE  
5. STRONGLY OPPOSE

A25. Would you strongly favor, not so strongly favor, not so strongly oppose or strongly oppose the United States developing a space-based Star Wars system intended to protect against nuclear attack?

1. STRONGLY FAVOR  
2. NOT SO STRONGLY FAVOR  
3. UNCERTAIN (IF VOLUNTEERED)  
4. NOT SO STRONGLY OPPOSE  
5. STRONGLY OPPOSE

A26. Would you strongly favor, not so strongly favor, not so strongly oppose or strongly oppose sending U.S. troops to Central America to stop the spread of Communism?

1. STRONGLY FAVOR  
2. NOT SO STRONGLY FAVOR  
3. UNCERTAIN (IF VOLUNTEERED)  
4. NOT SO STRONGLY OPPOSE  
5. STRONGLY OPPOSE

A27. Would you strongly favor, not so strongly favor, not so strongly oppose, or strongly oppose promoting increased trade between the United States and the Soviet Union?

1. STRONGLY FAVOR  
2. NOT SO STRONGLY FAVOR  
3. UNCERTAIN (IF VOLUNTEERED)  
4. NOT SO STRONGLY OPPOSE  
5. STRONGLY OPPOSE

A28. Would you strongly favor, not so strongly favor, not so strongly oppose, or strongly oppose sending U.S. troops to the Middle East to keep our supply of oil from being cut off?

1. STRONGLY FAVOR  
2. NOT SO STRONGLY FAVOR  
3. UNCERTAIN (IF VOLUNTEERED)  
4. NOT SO STRONGLY OPPOSE  
5. STRONGLY OPPOSE
A29. Would you strongly favor, not so strongly favor, not so strongly oppose, or strongly oppose sending U.S. troops to Poland if that country were invaded by the Soviet Union?

1. STRONGLY FAVOR
2. NOT SO STRONGLY FAVOR
3. UNCERTAIN (IF VOLUNTEERED)
4. NOT SO STRONGLY OPPOSE
5. STRONGLY OPPOSE

A30. Most people think that we must prevent nuclear war between the United States and the Soviet Union by reaching a nuclear arms agreement. Some people think the best way to do this is to negotiate with the Soviets as soon as possible; others think that the best way is first to build up our nuclear arms so that we can then negotiate from a position of strength. Which do you think is the better way to prevent nuclear war - negotiate as soon as possible, or first build up our nuclear arms?

1. NEGOTIATE
2. BUILD ARMS

A31. Some people believe we should spend much less money for defense. Others feel that defense spending should be greatly increased. What about you?

1. SPEND LESS
2. GREATLY INCREASED
3. KEPT THE SAME (IF VOLUNTEERED)

A31a. How strongly do you feel that we should spend less? Do you feel strongly or not very strongly?

1. STRONGLY
2. NOT VERY STRONGLY
3. DEPENDS (IF VOLUNTEERED)

A31b. How strongly do you feel that defense spending should be increased? Do you feel strongly or not very strongly?

1. STRONGLY
2. NOT VERY STRONGLY
3. DEPENDS (IF VOLUNTEERED)
A32. Now I’d like 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.

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<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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A32a. The U.S. should maintain its position as the world's most powerful nation, even if it means going to the brink of war.

A32b. The only way to settle disputes with our adversaries is to negotiate with them, not by using military force.

A32c. The United States should do everything it can to prevent the spread of communism to any other part of the world.

A32d. The U.S. should not worry so much about trying to stop the spread of Soviet influence everywhere in the world.

A32e. Any time a country goes Communist, it should be considered a threat to the vital interests and security of the United States.

A32f. This country would be better off if we just stayed home and did not concern ourselves with problems in other parts of the world.

A32g. We shouldn’t risk our nation’s happiness and well-being by getting involved with other nations.

A32h. When dealing with adversaries, the U.S. should use military force only as a last resort.
A33. I'd like to read you a list of different ways the United States could respond to terrorist acts and for each one I'd like you to tell me whether you would strongly approve, somewhat approve, somewhat disapprove, or strongly disapprove of our government undertaking them. The first is...

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<tr>
<th>STRONGLY APPROVE</th>
<th>SOMEWHAT APPROVE</th>
<th>(IF VOLUNTARY)</th>
<th>SOMEWHAT DISAPPROVE</th>
<th>STRONGLY DISAPPROVE</th>
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</table>

A33a. Invading countries supporting terrorists?
A33b. Bombing countries supporting terrorists?
A33c. Assassinating leaders of countries supporting terrorists?
A33d. Cutting off trade to countries supporting terrorists?

A34. Over the last few years, do you think our chances of getting into a war have increased, decreased, or haven't they changed?

1. INCREASED 3. HAVEN'T CHANGED 5. DECREASED

GO TO A35

A34a. Would you say that they have (increased/decreased) a lot or little?

1. INCREASED A LOT 2. INCREASED A LITTLE 4. DECREASED A LITTLE 5. DECREASED A LOT

A35. Over the last few years, do you think relations between the United States and the Soviet Union have gotten much better, somewhat better, stayed about the same, become somewhat worse, or much worse?

1. MUCH BETTER 2. SOMewhat BETTER 3. STAYED ABOUT THE SAME 4. SOMewhat WORSE 5. MUCH WORSE
A36. During the past year, would you say that the United States' position in the world has grown weaker, stayed about the same, or has it grown stronger?

1. WEAKER  3. STAYED ABOUT THE SAME  5. STRONGER

A36a. Has it grown much (stronger/weaker) or only somewhat (stronger/weaker)?

1. MUCH WEAKER  2. SOMEWHAT WEAKER  4. SOMEWHAT STRONGER  5. MUCH STRONGER

A37. 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  3. DEPENDS/SOMETHING RIGHT AMOUNT NOW (VOLUNTEERED)  5. MORE SERVICES; INCREASE SPENDING

7. HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH ABOUT IT

GO TO P. 28, A38
A37b. 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 A37 BELOW AND FOLLOW THE APPROPRIATE SKIP

☐ 1. REDUCING GOVERNMENT SERVICES
   ☐ 5. MORE GOVERNMENT SERVICES --> NEXT PAGE, A37e
   ☐ 3. DEPENDS --> TURN TO PAGE 26, A37g
   ☐ 7. DON'T KNOW --> GO TO PAGE 28, A38

A37c. Are there any (other) reasons that you favor reducing government services?

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

NEXT PAGE, A37d
A37d. Do you see any problems with reducing government services?

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

GO TO A38

A37e. Are there any (other) reasons that you favor providing more government services?

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

GO TO A37f

A37f. Do you see any problems with providing more government services?

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

GO TO A38
A37g. Are there any reasons that you favor reducing government services?

5. NO 1. YES → (What are they?) (Any others?)
GO TO A37h

A37h. Do you see any problems with reducing government services?

5. NO 1. YES → (What are they?) (Any others?)
GO TO A37i

A37i. Are there any reasons that you favor providing more government services?

5. NO 1. YES → (What are they?) (Any others?)
NEXT PAGE, A37j

NEXT PAGE, A37j
A37j. Do you see any problems with providing more government services?

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

A37k. To what extent was R emotionally involved in and concerned about this issue?

1 2 3 4 5
NOT AT ALL  VERY HIGHLY INVOLVED
INVOLVED

A37l. To what extent did R present a coherent and considered view of this issue, rather than a fragmented series of seemingly unconnected thoughts (or no thoughts at all)?

1 2 3 4 5
DISCONNECTED OR FRAGMENTED  HIGHLY CONNECTED AND COHERENT VIEW
A38. We are also interested in what people think of their own ability to understand and become involved in politics. I will read some statements. After each, please tell me whether you strongly agree with the statement, somewhat agree, neither agree nor disagree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree with the statement as it applies to you.

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<th>STRONGLY AGREE</th>
<th>SOMEWHAT AGREE</th>
<th>NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE</th>
<th>SOMEWHAT DISAGREE</th>
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A38a. I consider myself well-qualified to participate in politics.

A38b. I feel that I have a pretty good understanding of the important political issues facing our society.

A38c. Other people seem to have have an easier time understanding complicated issues than I do.

A38d. I feel that I could do as good a job in public office as most other people.

A38e. I often don’t feel sure of myself when talking with other people about politics and government.

A38f. I think that I am as well-informed about politics and government as most people.

A39a. People have different ideas about government in Washington. These ideas don’t refer to Democrats or Republicans in particular, but just to the government in general. We want to see how you feel about these ideas. For example - do you think that people in the government waste a lot of the money we pay in taxes, waste some of it, or don’t waste very much of it?

1. A LOT 2. SOME 3. DON’T WASTE VERY MUCH
A39b. How much of the time do you think you can trust the government in Washington to do what is right — just about always, most of the time, or only some of the time?

1. JUST ABOUT ALWAYS  2. MOST OF THE TIME  3. ONLY SOME OF THE TIME

A39c. Would you say the government is pretty much run by a few big interests looking out for themselves or that it is run for the benefit of all people?

1. FEW BIG INTERESTS  5. BENEFIT OF ALL

A39d. Do you think that quite a few of the people running the government are crooked, but not very many are, or do you think hardly any of them are crooked?

1. QUITE A FEW  2. NOT VERY MANY  3. HARDLY ANY

A39e. How much do you feel that having elections makes the government pay attention to what the people think — a good deal, some, or not much?

1. A GOOD DEAL  2. SOME  3. NOT MUCH

A39f. Over the years, how much attention do you feel the government pays to what the people think when it decided what to do — a good deal, some, or not much?

1. A GOOD DEAL  2. SOME  3. NOT MUCH

A41. On the whole, would you say that the economic position of blacks is better, about the same, or worse than whites?

1. BETTER  3. ABOUT THE SAME  5. WORSE

A41a. Is that much (better/worse) or only somewhat (better/worse)?

1. MUCH BETTER  2. SOMewhat BETTER  3. SOMewhat WORSE  4. MUCH WORSE
A42. How important is it to you that the government in Washington work to improve the social and economic position of women in this country? Is it very important, somewhat important, not very important, or not at all important?

1. VERY IMPORTANT 2. SOMEWHAT IMPORTANT 3. NOT VERY IMPORTANT 4. NOT AT ALL IMPORTANT

A43. When it comes to national politics, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or what?

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

GO TO A43b

A43a. Would you call yourself a strong Republican or a not very strong Republican?

1. STRONG 5. NOT VERY STRONG

A43b. Would you call yourself a strong Democrat or a not very strong Democrat?

1. STRONG 5. NOT VERY STRONG

A43b. 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
A44. When it comes to state politics, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or what?

1. REPUBLICAN  3. INDEPENDENT  5. DEMOCRAT  7. NO PREFERENCE/OTHER PARTY

GO TO A44b

A44a. Would you call yourself a strong Republican or a not very strong Republican?

1. STRONG  5. NOT VERY STRONG

GO TO A44b

A44a. Would you call yourself a strong Democrat or a not very strong Democrat?

1. STRONG  5. NOT VERY STRONG

A44b. 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

A45a. Do you approve or disapprove of the way President Reagan has tried to cut taxes and reform the tax codes?

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

A45b. Do you approve or disapprove of the way President Reagan has handled the problem of inflation in the last few years?

1. APPROVE  5. DISAPPROVE  8. DON'T KNOW
A17. Some people feel that the government in Washington should make every effort to improve the social and economic position of blacks. Others feel that the government should not make any special effort to help blacks because they should help themselves. Which is closer to the way you feel, or haven't you thought much about this?

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

PAGE 35, A46

A17b. 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 A17 BELOW AND FOLLOW THE APPROPRIATE SKIP

☐ 1. GOVERNMENT EFFORTS
☐ 5. BLACKS HELP SELF --> NEXT PAGE, A17e
☐ 3. DEPENDS --> TURN TO PAGE 34, A17g
☐ 7. DON'T KNOW --> GO TO PAGE 35, A46

A17c. 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?)

NEXT PAGE,
A17d
A17d. 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 35, A46

GO TO PAGE 35, A46

ANSWER TO A17 = BLACKS SHOULD HELP THEMSELVES

A17e. Are there any (other) reasons that you favor letting blacks help themselves?

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

GO TO A17f

A17f. Do you see any problems with letting blacks help themselves?

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

PAGE 35, A46

GO TO PAGE 35, A46
ANSWER TO A17 - DEPENDS

A17g. Are there any 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 A17h

A17h. 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?)

GO TO A17i

A17i. Are there any reasons that you favor letting blacks help themselves?

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

NEXT PAGE,
A17j
A17j. Do you see any problems with letting blacks help themselves?

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

GO TO A46

INTERVIEWER OBSERVATIONS: (TO BE COMPLETED DURING EDIT)

A17k. To what extent was R emotionally involved in and concerned about this issue?

1 2 3 4 5
NOT AT ALL INVOLVED VERY HIGHLY INVOLVED

A17l. To what extent did R present a coherent and considered view of this issue, rather than a fragmented series of seemingly unconnected thoughts (or no thoughts at all)?

1 2 3 4 5
DISCONNECTED OR HIGHLY CONNECTED
FRAGMENTED AND COHERENT VIEW

A46. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling his job as President?

1. APPROVE  5. DISAPPROVE

A46a. Do you approve strongly, or not strongly?

1. STRONGLY APPROVE  3. STRONGLY DISAPPROVE

2. NOT STRONGLY APPROVE  4. NOT STRONGLY DISAPPROVE
A46b. 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 A46 BELOW AND FOLLOW THE APPROPRIATE SKIP
☐ 1. APPROVE
☐ 5. DISAPPROVE -- NEXT PAGE, A46c
☐ 8. DON'T KNOW/REFUSED -- GO TO PAGE 38

A46c. 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 A46d

A46d. 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?)
GO TO PAGE 38

GO TO PAGE 38
A46e. 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 A46f

A46f. 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?)
GO TO PAGE 38
A46g. To what extent was R emotionally involved in and concerned about this issue?

1 2 3 4 5
NOT AT ALL INVOLVED

1 2 3 4 5
VERY HIGHLY INVOLVED

A46h. To what extent did R present a coherent and considered view of this issue, rather than a fragmented series of seemingly unconnected thoughts (or no thoughts at all)?

1 2 3 4 5
DISCONNECTED OR FRAGMENTED

1 2 3 4 5
HIGHLY CONNECTED AND COHERENT VIEW

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

EXACT TIME NOW: ________________________
1987 NES CATI PILOT - RESPONSE BOOKLET

FORM A

WAVE 2

INTERVIEWER ID: 

CATI CASE ID: 

DATE OF INTERVIEW: 

LENGTH OF EDIT: (MINUTES)
A18. 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.

A18b. 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)

O. NOTHING

INTERVIEWER CHECK-POINT:

PLEASE RECORD ANSWER TO A18 BELOW AND FOLLOW THE APPROPRIATE SEP:

1. GOVERNMENT EFFORTS
2. GET AHEAD ALONE
3. DEPENDS
4. Don't know
5. RETURN TO CAT IN

NEXT PAGE, A18e

A18e. 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?

S. NO 1. YES (WHAT ARE THEY?) (ANY OTHERS?)

NEXT PAGE, A18d
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?)

RETURN TO CATI INTERVIEW

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 A18f

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
A18g. 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 A18h

A18h. 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 A18i

A18i. 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, A18j
A18). Do you see any problems with the government letting each person act ahead on their own?

[ ] NO  [ ] YES  
(What are they?)  (Any others?)

RETURN TO CATI INTERVIEW
H181. To what extent was R emotionally involved in and concerned about this issue?

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<td>NOT AT ALL INVOLVED</td>
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H181. To what extent did R present a coherent and considered view of this issue, rather than a fragmented series of seemingly unconnected thoughts (or no thoughts at all)?

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<td>OR FRAGMENTED</td>
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(USE SPACE BELOW IF MORE ROOM NEEDED TO RECORD R'S ANSWERS TO H181-185)
A37. 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 MORE SERVICES EVEN IF IT MEANS AN INCREASE IN SPENDING.

A37b. 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? (I am not probing)

U. NOTHING

INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT:
PLEASE RECORD ANSWER TO A37 BELOW AND FOLLOW THE APPROPRIATE PATH

1. REDUCING GOVT SERVICES
2. MORE GOVT SERVICES
3. DEPENDS
4. OK

TURN TO P 9
A37d

A37c. Are there any (other) reasons that you favor reducing government services?

5. NO

1. YES

(What are they?) (Any others?)

NEXT PAGE, A37d
A37d. Do you see any problems with reducing government services?

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

RETURN TO CATI INTERVIEW

A37e. Are there any (other) reasons that you favor providing more government services?

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

GO TO A37f

A37f. Do you see any problems with providing more government services?

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

RETURN TO CATI INTERVIEW
A37a. Are there any reasons that you favor reducing government services?

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

GO TO A37h

A37h. Do you see any problems with reducing government services?

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

GO TO A37i

A37i. Are there any reasons that you favor providing more government services?

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

NEXT PAGE, A37j
Do you see any problems with providing more government services?

[ ] NO [ ] YES

What are they? (Any others?)

RETURN TO CATI INTERVIEW
A371. To what extent was R emotionally involved in and concerned about this issue?

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<tr>
<td>NOT AT ALL</td>
<td>INVOLVED</td>
<td>VERY HIGHLY INVOLVED</td>
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A371. To what extent did R present a coherent and considered view of this issue, rather than a fragmented series of seemingly unconnected thoughts (or no thoughts at all)?

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<td>DISCONNECTED OR FRAGMENTED</td>
<td>HIGHLY CONNECTED: A COHERENT VIEW</td>
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(USE SPACE BELOW IF MORE SPACE NEEDED TO RECORD R'S ANSWERS TO A371-2)
17. SOME PEOPLE FEEL THAT THE GOVERNMENT IN WASHINGTON SHOULD MAKE SPECIAL 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.

A17b. 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 A17b below AND FOLLOW THE APPROPRIATE C.

1. GOVERNMENT EFFORTS

S. BLACKS HELP SELF

3. DEPENDS

8. DK — AS AN

CALL 13

NEXT PAGE, A17e

A17c. Are there any other reasons that you favor government efforts to improve the social and economic position of blacks?

S. NO 1. YES

(What are they?) (Any others?)

NEXT PAGE, A17u
A17a. Do you see any problems with government efforts to improve the social and economic position of blacks?

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

RETURN TO CATI INTERVIEW

A17b. Are there any (other) reasons that you favor letting blacks help themselves?

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

GO TO A17c

A17c. Do you see any problems with letting blacks help themselves?

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

RETURN TO CATI INTERVIEW
73. Are there any reasons that you favor government efforts to improve the social and economic position of blacks?

GO TO A17

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

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

GO TO A17

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

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

NEXT PAGE, A17
417). Do you see any problems with letting blacks help themselves?

5. NO  1. YES  (what are they?) (any others?)

RETURN TO CATI INTERVIEW
417a. To what extent was an emotionally involved in and concerned about this issue?

[Scale: 1 = Not at all involved, 5 = Very highly involved]

417b. To what extent did you present a coherent and considered view of this issue, rather than a fragmented series of seemingly unconnected thoughts (or no thoughts at all)?

[Scale: 1 = Disconnected or fragmented, 5 = Highly connected & coherent view]

(USE SPACE BELOW IF MORE ROOM NEEDED TO RECORD R’s ANSWERS TO 417a-1)
A46. DO YOU APPROVE OR DISAPPROVE OF THE WAY RONALD REAGAN IS HANDLING HIS JOB AS PRESIDENT?

A46b. 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 A46 BELOW AND FOLLOW THE APPROPRIATE STEP

1. APPROVE
2. DISAPPROVE
3. DON'T KNOW
   RETURN TO
   NEXT PAGE, AGAIN

A46c. 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, A46d
A45d. 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 INTERVIEW

A46a. 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?)

RETURN TO CATI INTERVIEW

A46f. 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 INTERVIEW
To what extent was R emotionally involved in and concerned about this issue?

Not at all involved

2

3

4

Very highly involved

To what extent did R present a coherent and considered view or this issue, rather than a fragmented series of seemingly unconnected thoughts (or no thoughts at all)?

Disconnected or fragmented

2

3

4

Highly connected & coherent view

(Use space below if more room needed to record R's answers to A46-a-f)
NES 1987
WAVE 2
FORM B
**EXACT TIME NOW:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EXACT TIME NOW:</th>
<th>EXTREMELY</th>
<th>VERY</th>
<th>SOMewhat</th>
<th>NOT VERY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ala. How strong is the respect you have for the United States...extremely strong, very strong, somewhat strong, or not very strong?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Alb. How angry does it make you feel when you hear someone criticizing the United States...extremely angry, very angry, somewhat angry, or not very angry?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ale. How proud are you to be an American? Are you extremely proud, very proud, somewhat proud, or not very proud?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Aid. How angry does it make you feel when people burn the American flag in protest...extremely angry, very angry, somewhat angry, or not very angry?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ale. How good does it make you feel when you see the American flag flying...extremely good, very good, somewhat good, or not very good?</td>
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<td>Alf. How strong is your love for your country...extremely strong, very strong, somewhat strong, or not very strong?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Alg. How mad do people who sell government secrets make you feel...extremely mad, very mad, somewhat mad, or not very mad?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Alh. How proud do you feel when you hear the national anthem...extremely proud, very proud, somewhat proud, or not very proud?</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
A3. We are interested in people's opinions about how government works in general in the United States and how much influence ordinary people have over it. I am going to read some of the things people have said about the type of government we have in this country. After I read each statement, please tell me whether you strongly agree, somewhat agree, neither agree nor disagree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>STRONGLY AGREE</th>
<th>SOewhat AGREE</th>
<th>NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE</th>
<th>SOewhat DISAGREE</th>
<th>STRONGLY DISAGREE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A3a. People like me don't have any say about what the government does.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>A3b. Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on.</td>
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<tr>
<td>A3c. Whatever its faults may be, the American form of government is still the best for us.</td>
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<tr>
<td>A3d. There is not much about our form of government to be proud of.</td>
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<tr>
<td>A3e. It may be necessary to make some major changes in our form of government in order to solve the problems facing our country.</td>
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<tr>
<td>A3f. I would rather live under our system of government than any other that I can think of.</td>
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<tr>
<td>A3g. There are many legal ways for citizens to successfully influence what the government does.</td>
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<tr>
<td>A3h. In this country, a few people have all the political power and the rest of us are not given any say about how the government runs things.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
A3i. I don't think public officials care much what people like me think.

A3j. Voting is an effective way for people to have a say about what the government does.

A3k. Under our form of government, the people have the final say about how the country is run, no matter who is in office.

A3l. If public officials are not interested in hearing what the people think, there is really no way to make them listen.

A47. Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican or a Democrat?

1. REPUBLICAN  3. INDEPENDENT  4. ALL OTHER VOLUNTEERED RESPONSES  5. DEMOCRAT
GO TO A47b  GO TO A47c

A47a. Would you call yourself a strong Republican or a not very strong Republican?

1. STRONG  2. NOT VERY STRONG

A47b. When you say you are an independent, what do you mean by that?

A47c. How do you think of yourself politically?
A5. Here are 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>SOMERHAT AGREE</th>
<th>NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE</th>
<th>SOMERHAT DISAGREE</th>
<th>STRONGLY DISAGREE</th>
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</tbody>
</table>

A5a. We must respect people's own view of what is right and wrong, no matter what we think.

A5b. If we've decided something is morally wrong, it is wrong for everyone.

A5c. People have to decide for themselves what is right and wrong.

A5d. On most questions of right and wrong, it doesn't make sense for each person to determine answers for themselves.

A7. 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>VERY IMPORTANT</th>
<th>SOMEWHAT IMPORTANT</th>
<th>NOT VERY IMPORTANT</th>
<th>NOT AT ALL IMPORTANT</th>
<th>DON'T KNOW</th>
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</table>

A7a. How about helping people in their state with problems they may have in dealing with the government?

A7b. Making sure their state gets its fair share of government money and projects?

A7c. Working in Congress on bills concerning national issues?

A7d. Working in Congress on bills important mainly to their districts?

A7e. Taking a leading role in Congress?
### About Ronald Reagan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ALMOST NOTHING</th>
<th>A LITTLE</th>
<th>A FAIR AMOUNT</th>
<th>QUITE A LOT</th>
<th>NEVER HEARD OF HIM</th>
</tr>
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<td>(7)</td>
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</table>

A9a. How much would you say you know about Ronald Reagan? Would you say you know almost nothing, a little, a fair amount, or quite a lot about Ronald Reagan?

A9b. (How much would you say you know about) where Reagan stands on important issues?

A9c. (How much would you say you know about) Reagan's character and values?

A9d. (How much would you say you know about) Reagan's political career?

### About George Bush

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ALMOST NOTHING</th>
<th>A LITTLE</th>
<th>A FAIR AMOUNT</th>
<th>QUITE A LOT</th>
<th>NEVER HEARD OF HIM</th>
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<td>(7)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

A9a. How much would you say you know about George Bush? Would you say you know almost nothing, a little, a fair amount, or quite a lot about George Bush?

A9b. (How much would you say you know about) where Bush stands on important issues?

A9c. (How much would you say you know about) Bush's character and values?

A9d. (How much would you say you know about) Bush's political career?
A10a. How much would you say you know about Robert Dole? Would you say you know almost nothing, a little, a fair amount, or quite a lot about Robert Dole?

A10b. (How much would you say you know about) where Dole stands on important issues?

A10c. (How much would you say you know about) Dole's character and values?

A10d. (How much would you say you know about) Dole's political career?

A48. 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 3. MODERATE 4. DON'T THINK OF SELF THAT WAY 5. NEITHER; NO PREFERENCE 6. R INSISTS - NO UNDERSTANDING OF TERMS 7. DON'T KNOW

GO TO A48b

A48a. Would you call yourself a strong (liberal/conservative) or a not very strong (liberal/conservative)?

1. STRONG 5. NOT VERY STRONG

A48b. Do you think of yourself as more like a liberal or more like a conservative?

1. LIBERAL 2. CONSERVATIVE
A13. There has been some discussion about abortion during recent years. I am going to read several statements. Please tell me which comes closest to your view:

By law, abortion should never be permitted; OR

The law should permit abortion only in case of rape, incest, or when the woman's life is in danger; OR

The law should permit abortion for reasons other than rape, incest or danger to the woman's life, but only after the need for the abortion is clearly established; OR

By law, a woman should always be able to obtain an abortion as a matter of personal choice.

1. NEVER PERMITTED
2. ONLY IN CASE OF RAPE, INCEST, DANGER TO LIFE
3. ONLY AFTER NEED HAS BEEN CLEARLY ESTABLISHED
4. ALWAYS AS A MATTER OF PERSONAL CHOICE

A14. Here are two statements about homosexuality. 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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<td>(1)</td>
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</table>

a. There should be laws that protect homosexuals from any discrimination on the basis of their sexual preference.

b. There should be laws that prohibit homosexuality altogether.
A14. Here are several more 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></th>
<th>STRONGLY AGREE</th>
<th>SOLEMNLY AGREE</th>
<th>NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE</th>
<th>SOLEMNLY DISAGREE</th>
<th>STRONGLY DISAGREE</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A14a. You can generally trust the people who run our government to do what is right.</td>
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<tr>
<td>A14b. It often seems like our government is run by a few big interests looking out for themselves rather than being run for the benefit of all the people.</td>
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<tr>
<td>A14c. Most government officials try to serve the public interest even if it is against their personal interests.</td>
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<tr>
<td>A14d. When government leaders make statements to the American people on television or in the newspapers, they are usually telling the truth.</td>
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<tr>
<td>A14e. Unless we keep a close watch on them, many of our elected leaders will look out for special interests rather than for all the people.</td>
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<tr>
<td>A14f. Those we elected to public office usually try to keep the promises they have made during the election.</td>
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</table>
A15. Here are some general statements about public officials. After I read each statement, please tell me whether you strongly agree, somewhat agree, neither agree nor disagree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree.

<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>
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</tbody>
</table>

A15a. Most of the people running our government are well-qualified to handle the problems that we are facing in this country.

A15b. Quite a few of the people running our government are not as honest as the voters have a right to expect.

A15c. Most public officials can be trusted to do what is right without our having to constantly check on them.

A15d. Most public officials are truly interested in what the people think.

A15e. Candidates for office are only interested in people's votes, not in their opinions.

A15f. Politicians are supposed to be the servants of the people, but too many of them think they are the masters.

A15g. Generally speaking, those we elect to public office lose touch with the people pretty quickly.

A16. For those officials who do keep in touch, is it because they really care what people think or because they are more interested in being reelected?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. REALLY CARE</th>
<th>2. INTERESTED IN BEING Reelected</th>
<th>3. (IF VOLUNTEERED): BOTH</th>
<th>4. DON'T KNOW</th>
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</table>
A50. 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...

A50a. 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?)

A50b. Now, what comes to mind when you are thinking about letting each person get ahead on their own? (Any others?)

A50c. 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 GET AHEAD ALONE

INTERVIEWER OBSERVATIONS: (TO BE COMPLETED DURING EDIT)

A50d. To what extent was R emotionally involved in and concerned about this issue?

1 2 3 4 5
NOT AT ALL INVOLVED  VERY HIGHLY INVOLVED

A50e. To what extent did R present a coherent and considered view of this issue, rather than a fragmented series of seemingly unconnected thoughts (or no thoughts at all)?

1 2 3 4 5
DISCONNECTED OR FRAGMENTED  HIGHLY CONNECTED AND COHERENT VIEW
A19a. Now I am going to read two statements. Please tell me which comes closest to your own view.

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

A19b. (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

A19c. (The next two statements are:)

Abortion is immoral,

OR

There is nothing necessarily immoral about abortion.

1. IMMORAL  2. NOT IMMORAL  3. DEPENDS  8. DON’T KNOW, CAN’T CHOOSE

A20. Some people feel that in dealing with other nations our government should be strong and tough. Others feel that our government should be understanding and flexible. Which comes closer to the way you feel - that our government should be strong and tough or understanding and flexible?

1. STRONG AND TOUGH  5. UNDERSTANDING AND FLEXIBLE  6. BOTH/NEITHER (VOLUNTEERED)

NEXT PAGE, A21

A20a. Do you favor this position strongly or not strongly?

1. STRONGLY  3. DEPENDS (IF VOLUNTEERED)  5. NOT VERY STRONGLY
A21. Which do you think is the better way for us to keep peace - by having a very strong military so other countries won't attack us, or by working out our disagreements at the bargaining table?

1. STRONG MILITARY   5. WORK OUT DISAGREEMENTS   6. BOTH/NEITHER
                        (VOLUNTEERED)
GO TO A22

A21a. How strongly do you feel that we should have a strong military? Do you feel strongly or not very strongly?

1. STRONGLY   3. DEPENDS
               (VOLUNTEERED)

5. NOT VERY STRONGLY

A21a. How strongly do you feel we should work out our disagreements? Do you feel strongly or not very strongly?

1. STRONGLY   3. DEPENDS
               (VOLUNTEERED)

5. NOT VERY STRONGLY

A22. Some people believe we should be much more cooperative with Russia while others believe that we should be much tougher in our dealings with Russia. Which comes closer to the way you feel?

1. COOPERATIVE   3. TOUGHER   6. BOTH/NEITHER
                        (VOLUNTEERED)
GO TO A23

A22a. How strongly do you feel that we should be much more cooperative? Do you feel strongly or not very strongly?

1. STRONGLY   3. DEPENDS
               (VOLUNTEERED)

5. NOT VERY STRONGLY

A22a. How strongly do you feel that we should be much tougher? Do you feel strongly or not very strongly?

1. STRONGLY   3. DEPENDS
               (VOLUNTEERED)

5. NOT VERY STRONGLY

A23. How much of a threat do you think the Soviet Union is to the vital interests and security of the United States - extremely threatening, very threatening, somewhat threatening, or not at all threatening?

1. EXTREMELY
   THREATENING

2. VERY
   THREATENING

3. SOMEWHAT
   THREATENING

4. NOT AT ALL
   THREATENING

7. DEPENDS
   (VOLUNTEERED)
A24. Would you strongly favor, not so strongly favor, not so strongly oppose or strongly oppose the U.S. building more nuclear weapons?

1. STRONGLY FAVOR
2. NOT SO STRONGLY FAVOR
3. UNCERTAIN (IF VOLUNTEERED)
4. NOT SO STRONGLY OPPOSE
5. STRONGLY OPPOSE

A25. Would you strongly favor, not so strongly favor, not so strongly oppose or strongly oppose the United States developing a space-based Star Wars system intended to protect against nuclear attack?

1. STRONGLY FAVOR
2. NOT SO STRONGLY FAVOR
3. UNCERTAIN (IF VOLUNTEERED)
4. NOT SO STRONGLY OPPOSE
5. STRONGLY OPPOSE

A26. Would you strongly favor, not so strongly favor, not so strongly oppose or strongly oppose sending U.S. troops to Central America to stop the spread of Communism?

1. STRONGLY FAVOR
2. NOT SO STRONGLY FAVOR
3. UNCERTAIN (IF VOLUNTEERED)
4. NOT SO STRONGLY OPPOSE
5. STRONGLY OPPOSE

A27. Would you strongly favor, not so strongly favor, not so strongly oppose, or strongly oppose promoting increased trade between the United States and the Soviet Union?

1. STRONGLY FAVOR
2. NOT SO STRONGLY FAVOR
3. UNCERTAIN (IF VOLUNTEERED)
4. NOT SO STRONGLY OPPOSE
5. STRONGLY OPPOSE

A28. Would you strongly favor, not so strongly favor, not so strongly oppose, or strongly oppose sending U.S. troops to the Middle East to keep our supply of oil from being cut off?

1. STRONGLY FAVOR
2. NOT SO STRONGLY FAVOR
3. UNCERTAIN (IF VOLUNTEERED)
4. NOT SO STRONGLY OPPOSE
5. STRONGLY OPPOSE
A29. Would you strongly favor, not so strongly favor, not so strongly oppose, or strongly oppose sending U.S. troops to Poland if that country were invaded by the Soviet Union?

1. STRONGLY FAVOR  2. NOT SO STRONGLY FAVOR  3. UNCERTAIN (IF VOLUNTEERED)  4. NOT SO STRONGLY OPPOSE  5. STRONGLY OPPOSE

A30. Most people think that we must prevent nuclear war between the United States and the Soviet Union by reaching a nuclear arms agreement. Some people think the best way to do this is to negotiate with the Soviets as soon as possible; others think that the best way is first to build up our nuclear arms so that we can then negotiate from a position of strength. Which do you think is the better way to prevent nuclear war - negotiate as soon as possible, or first build up our nuclear arms?

1. NEGOTIATE  5. BUILD ARMS

A31. Some people believe we should spend much less money for defense. Others feel that defense spending should be greatly increased. What about you?

1. SPEND LESS  5. GREATLY INCREASED  6. KEPT THE SAME (VOLUNTEERED)

A31a. How strongly do you feel that we should spend less? Do you feel strongly or not very strongly?

1. STRONGLY  5. NOT VERY STRONGLY

A31b. How strongly do you feel that defense spending should be increased? Do you feel strongly or not very strongly?

1. STRONGLY  5. NOT VERY STRONGLY

3. DEPENDS (IF VOLUNTEERED)
A32. Now I'd like 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>
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A32a. The U.S. should maintain its position as the world's most powerful nation, even if it means going to the brink of war.

A32b. The only way to settle disputes with our adversaries is to negotiate with them, not by using military force.

A32c. The United States should do everything it can to prevent the spread of communism to any other part of the world.

A32d. The U.S. should not worry so much about trying to stop the spread of Soviet influence everywhere in the world.

A32e. Any time a country goes Communist, it should be considered a threat to the vital interests and security of the United States.

A32f. This country would be better off if we just stayed home and did not concern ourselves with problems in other parts of the world.

A32g. We shouldn't risk our nation's happiness and well-being by getting involved with other nations.

A32h. When dealing with adversaries, the U.S. should use military force only as a last resort.
A33. I'd like to read you a list of different ways the United States could respond to terrorist acts and for each one I'd like you to tell me whether you would strongly approve, somewhat approve, somewhat disapprove, or strongly disapprove of our government undertaking them. The first is...

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<tr>
<th>STRONGLY APPROVE</th>
<th>SOMewhat APPROVE</th>
<th>IF VOLUN-</th>
<th>SOMewhat DISAPPROVE</th>
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<td>TEERED:</td>
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<td>DISAPPROVE</td>
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A33a. Invading countries supporting terrorists?
A33b. Bombing countries supporting terrorists?
A33c. Assassinating leaders of countries supporting terrorists?
A33d. Cutting off trade to countries supporting terrorists?

A34. Over the last few years, do you think our chances of getting into a war have increased, decreased, or haven't they changed?

1. INCREASED
2. HAVEN'T CHANGED
3. DECREASED

GO TO A35

A34a. Would you say that they have (increased/decreased) a lot or little?

1. INCREASED A LOT
2. INCREASED A LITTLE
4. DECREASED A LITTLE
5. DECREASED A LOT

A35. Over the last few years, do you think relations between the United States and the Soviet Union have gotten much better, somewhat better, stayed about the same, become somewhat worse, or much worse?

1. MUCH BETTER
2. SOMewhat BETTER
3. STAYED ABOUT THE SAME
4. SOMewhat WORSE
5. MUCH WORSE
A36. During the past year, would you say that the United States' position in the world has grown weaker, stayed about the same, or has it grown stronger?

1. WEAKER  3. STAYED ABOUT THE SAME  5. STRONGER

A36a. Has it grown much (stronger/weaker) or only somewhat (stronger/weaker)?

1. MUCH WEAKER  2. SOMewhat WEAKER  4. SOMewhat STRONGER  5. MUCH STRONGER

A2. I'd like to get your feelings toward some of the groups that 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 group and I'd like you to rate that group using the thermometer. Ratings between 50 and 100 degrees mean that you feel favorable and warm toward that group. Ratings between 0 degrees and 50 degrees mean that you don't feel favorable toward the group and you don't care too much for that group. If you don't feel particularly warm or cold toward them, you would rate the group at the 50 degree mark.

degree

A2a. Our first group is "liberals". How would you rate liberals using this thermometer?
A2b. Poor people?
A2c. Conservatives?
A2d. Feminists?
A2e. Republicans?
A2f. The Moral Majority?
A2g. Democrats?
A2h. Blacks?
A2i. Christian Fundamentalists?
A2j. People on welfare?
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?)

A51c. 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. DEPENDS (VOLUNTEERED)

5. MORE SERVICES; INCREASE SPENDING

INTERVIEWER OBSERVATIONS: (TO BE COMPLETED DURING EDIT)

A51d. To what extent was R emotionally involved in and concerned about this issue?

1 2 3 4 5
NOT AT ALL INVOLVED

a. VERY HIGHLY INVOLVED

A51e. To what extent did R present a coherent and considered view of this issue, rather than a fragmented series of seemingly unconnected thoughts (or no thoughts at all)?

1 2 3 4 5
DISCONNECTED OR FRAGMENTED

a. HIGHLY CONNECTED AND COHERENT VIEW
A38. We are also interested in what people think of their own ability to understand and become involved in politics. I will read some statements. After each, please tell me whether you strongly agree with the statement, somewhat agree, neither agree nor disagree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree with the statement as it applies to you.

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<th>STRONGLY AGREE</th>
<th>SOMEWWHAT AGREE</th>
<th>NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE</th>
<th>SOMEWWHAT DISAGREE</th>
<th>STRONGLY DISAGREE</th>
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A38a. I consider myself well-qualified to participate in politics.

A38b. I feel that I have a pretty good understanding of the important political issues facing our society.

A38c. Other people seem to have have an easier time understanding complicated issues than I do.

A38d. I feel that I could do as good a job in public office as most other people, influence everywhere in the world.

A38e. I often don't feel sure of myself when talking with other people about politics and government.

A38f. I think that I am as well-informed about politics and government as most people.

A39a. People have different ideas about government in Washington. These ideas don't refer to Democrats or Republicans in particular, but just to the government in general. We want to see how you feel about these ideas. For example - do you think that people in the government waste a lot of the money we pay in taxes, waste some of it, or don't waste very much of it?

1. A LOT  2. SOME  3. DON'T WASTE VERY MUCH
A39a. How much of the time do you think you can trust the government in Washington to do what is right - just about always, most of the time, or only some of the time?

1. JUST ABOUT ALWAYS  
2. MOST OF THE TIME  
3. ONLY SOME OF THE TIME

A39b. Would you say the government is pretty much run by a few big interests looking out for themselves or that it is run for the benefit of all people?

1. FEW BIG INTERESTS  
2. BENEFIT OF ALL

A39c. Do you think that quite a few of the people running the government are crooked, but not very many are, or do you think hardly any of them are crooked?

1. QUITE A FEW  
2. NOT VERY MANY  
3. HARDLY ANY

A39d. How much do you feel that having elections makes the government pay attention to what the people think - a good deal, some, or not much?

1. A GOOD DEAL  
2. SOME  
3. NOT MUCH

A39e. Over the years, how much attention do you feel the government pays to what the people think when it decided what to do - a good deal, some, or not much?

1. A GOOD DEAL  
2. SOME  
3. NOT MUCH

A41. On the whole, would you say that the economic position of blacks is better, about the same, or worse than whites?

1. BETTER  
3. ABOUT THE SAME  
5. WORSE

A41a. Is that much (better/worse) or only somewhat (better/worse)?

1. MUCH BETTER  
2. SOMewhat BETTER  
3. SOMewhat WORSE  
4. MUCH WORSE
A42. How important is it to you that the government in Washington work to improve the social and economic position of women in this country? Is it very important, somewhat important, not very important, or not at all important?

<table>
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<tr>
<th>1. VERY IMPORTANT</th>
<th>2. SOMEWHAT IMPORTANT</th>
<th>3. NOT VERY IMPORTANT</th>
<th>4. NOT AT ALL IMPORTANT</th>
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A43. When it comes to national politics, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or what?

1. REPUBLICAN 3. INDEPENDENT 5. DEMOCRAT 7. NO PREFERENCE/OTHER PARTY

GO TO A43b

A43a. Would you call yourself a strong Republican or a not very strong Republican?

1. STRONG 5. NOT VERY STRONG

A43a. Would you call yourself a strong Democrat or a not very strong Democrat?

1. STRONG 5. NOT VERY STRONG

A43b. 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
A44. When it comes to state politics, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or what?

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

---

A44a. Would you call yourself a strong Republican or a not very strong Republican?

1. STRONG
2. NOT VERY STRONG

---

A44b. Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party or to the Democratic Party?

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

---

A52a. 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;
Cut spending on domestic programs such as environmental control, anti-drug smuggling, and Medicare OR
Increase taxes?

01. CUT MILITARY SPENDING
02. CUT SPENDING ON DOMESTIC PROGRAMS
03. INCREASE TAXES
04. NOT SURE/OTHER (VOLUNTEERED)
05. ALL THREE
06. CUT SPENDING; BOTH MILITARY & DOMESTIC
07. CUT DOMESTIC SPENDING AND INCREASE TAXES
08. CUT MILITARY SPENDING AND INCREASE TAXES
AS2b. Do you approve or disapprove of the way President Reagan has handled the federal deficit problem?

1. APPROVE  5. DISAPPROVE

AS2c. Last year the United States sent the Contra rebels $100 million to help them in their fight to overthrow the Sandinista government in Nicaragua. Do you favor sending this foreign aid to the Contras or not?

1. FAVOR  5. DO NOT FAVOR

AS2d. 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
A49. 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...

A49a. 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?)

A49b. What comes to mind when you think about "efforts to improve the social and economic position of blacks"? (Any others?)

A49c. And (what comes to mind) when you hear the phrase "blacks should help themselves"? (Any others?)

A49d. 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
INTERVIEWER OBSERVATIONS: (TO BE COMPLETED DURING EDIT)

A49f. To what extent was R emotionally involved in and concerned about this issue?

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A49g. To what extent did R present a coherent and considered view of this issue, rather than a fragmented series of seemingly unconnected thoughts (or no thoughts at all)?

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A46. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling his job as President?

1. APPROVE

A46a. Do you approve strongly, or not strongly?

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A46a. Do you disapprove strongly, or not strongly?

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A46d. 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]

O: NOTHING

INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT

PLEASE RECORD ANSWER TO A46 BELOW AND FOLLOW THE APPROPRIATE SKIP

☐ 1. APPROVE
☐ 5. DISAPPROVE --> NEXT PAGE, A46e
☐ 8. DON'T KNOW/REFUSED --> GO TO PAGE 28

A46c. 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 A46d

A46d. 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?)

GO TO PAGE 28

GO TO PAGE 28
A46e. 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 A46f

A46f. 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?)

GO TO PAGE 28
INTERVIEWER OBSERVATIONS: (TO BE COMPLETED DURING EDIT)

A46g. To what extent was R emotionally involved in and concerned about this issue?

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A46h. To what extent did R present a coherent and considered view of this issue, rather than a fragmented series of seemingly unconnected thoughts (or no thoughts at all)?

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

EXACT TIME NOW: __________________________
1987 NES CATI PILOT - RESPONSE BOOKLET
FORM B
WAVE 2

INTERVIEWER ID: 

CATI CASE ID: 

DATE OF INTERVIEW: 

LENGTH OF EDIT: (MINUTES)
A50. 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...

A50A. 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?)

A50B. Now, what comes to mind when you are thinking about letting each person get ahead on their own? (Any others?)

RETURN TO CATI INTERVIEW
ASQd. To what extent was R emotionally involved in and concerned about this issue?

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ASQvE. To what extent did R present a coherent and considered view of this issue, rather than a fragmented series of seemingly unconnected thoughts (or no thoughts at all)?

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(USE SPACE BELOW IF MORE ROOM NEEDED TO RECORD R's ANSWERS TO ASQd-E)
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
ASID. To what extent was R emotionally involved in and concerned about this issue?

1 2 3 4 5

NOT AT ALL INVOLVED

VERY HIGHLY INVOLVED

ASIDc. To what extent did R present a coherent and considered view of this issue, rather than a fragmented series of seemingly unconnected thoughts (or no thoughts at all)?

1 2 3 4 5

DISCONNECTED OR FRAGMENTED

HIGHLY CONNECTED & COHERENT VIEW

(USE SPACE BELOW IF MORE ROOM NEEDED TO RECORD R'S ANSWERS TO ASIa-b)
A49. 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...

A49a. 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?)

____________________________________________________________________________________

____________________________________________________________________________________

A49b. What comes to mind when you think about "efforts to improve the social and economic position of blacks"? (Any others?)

____________________________________________________________________________________

____________________________________________________________________________________

A49c. And (what comes to mind) when you hear the phrase "blacks should help themselves"? (Any others?)

____________________________________________________________________________________

____________________________________________________________________________________

RETURN TO CATI INTERVIEW
INTERVIEWER OBSERVATIONS: (TO BE COMPLETED DURING EDITING)

A49d. To what extent was R emotionally involved in and concerned about this issue?

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A49f. To what extent did R present a coherent and considered view of this issue, rather than a fragmented series of seemingly unconnected thoughts (or no thoughts at all)?

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(USE SPACE BELOW IF MORE ROOM NEEDED TO RECORD R's ANSWERS TO A49a-c)
A46. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling his job as President?

A46b. 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 A46 BELOW AND FOLLOW THE APPROPRIATE SKIP

1. Approve

S. Disapprove

8. Don't know/Refused

RETURN TO CATI IM

A46c. 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, A46d
A46d. Can you think of any reasons that would lead you to disapprove of the way Reagan is handling his job as President?

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

RETURN TO CATI IW

A46e. Are there any (other) reasons that you disapprove of the way Reagan is handling his job as President?

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

GO TO A46f

A46f. Can you think of any reasons that would lead you to approve of the way Reagan is handling his job as President?

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

RETURN TO CATI IW
A46a. To what extent was R emotionally involved in and concerned about this issue?

[ ] 2 3 4 5

NOT AT ALL INVOLVED   VERY HIGHLY INVOLVED

A46b. To what extent did R present a coherent and considered view of this issue, rather than a fragmented series of seemingly unconnected thoughts (or no thoughts at all)?

[ ] 2 3 4 5

DISCONNECTED OR FRAGMENTED   HIGHLY CONNECTED & COHERENT VIEW

(USE SPACE BELOW IF MORE ROOM NEEDED TO RECORD R's ANSWERS TO A46a-f)