



Production Version
September 10, 1997

Section A0

A0. Let me begin by asking, other than this University of Michigan study, since last year's Presidential election, did you participate in any other survey or poll about politics?

- 1 Yes
- 5 No
- 8 Don't know/recall, not sure

[skip to A1 or B0, depending on the random split half experiment w/A1-S1]

Section A1

[Random Split Half A1-A5 and S1-S5]

A1. Some people seem to follow what's going on in the government and public affairs most of the time, whether there is an election or not. Others aren't that interested.

Would you say that you follow what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time, some of the time, only now and then, or hardly at all?

- 1 Most of the time
- 3 Some of the time
- 5 Only now and then
- 7 Hardly at all

A2. In terms of general attitudes and beliefs, how similar would you say other people are to you -- very similar, somewhat similar, not very similar, or not at all similar?

- 1 Very similar
- 3 Somewhat similar
- 5 Not very similar
- 7 Not at all similar

A3. Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted, or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people?

- 1 Most people can be trusted
- 5 Can't be too careful in dealing with people

A4. Do you think that most people would try to take advantage of you if they got the chance or would they try to be fair?

- 1 Take advantage
- 5 Try to be fair

A5. People have different ideas about the government in Washington. These ideas don't

refer to the Democrats or Republicans in particular, but just to the government in general. We want to see how you feel about these ideas. For example:

How much of the time can you 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
- 3 Most of the time
- 5 Only some of the time
- 7 None of the time [VOL]

Section B

B0. [FIRST USE OF THE RB] Please take out the booklet, and open it to page 1. Please tell me how much you agree with the statement: "People like me don't have any say in what the government does."

- 1 Agree strongly
- 2 Agree somewhat
- 3 Neither agree nor disagree
- 4 Disagree somewhat
- 5 Disagree strongly

B1. Putting the booklet aside for a moment, this group of questions is about the media: TV, newspapers, and radio. First, how many days IN THE PAST WEEK did you watch the national news on TV?

- 0 None
- 1 One
- 2 Two
- 3 Three
- 4 Four
- 5 Five
- 6 Six
- 7 Seven

B2. How many days IN THE PAST WEEK did you watch the local TV news, for example, "Eyewitness News" or "Action News"?

- 0 None
- 1 One
- 2 Two
- 3 Three
- 4 Four
- 5 Five
- 6 Six
- 7 Seven

B3. How many days IN THE PAST WEEK did you read a daily newspaper?

- 0 None
- 1 One
- 2 Two

- 3 Three
- 4 Four
- 5 Five
- 6 Six
- 7 Seven

B4. There are a number of programs on radio in which people call in to voice their opinions about politics.

Do you ever listen to political talk radio programs of this type?

- 1 Yes, listen
- 5 No, don't listen [skip to C1]

B4a. How often do you listen to those programs -- every day, most days, once or twice a week, or only occasionally?

- 1 Every day
- 3 Most days
- 5 Once or twice a week
- 7 Only occasionally

B4b. Some people listen carefully to these talk radio programs while others just keep them on in the background while they do other things.

How about you? When you turn on a political talk radio program, would you say you pay very close attention, fairly close attention, occasional attention, or very little attention?

- 1 Very close attention
- 3 Fairly close attention
- 5 Occasional attention
- 7 Very little attention

B4c. Do you ever listen to the Rush Limbaugh Show?

[IF R VOLUNTEERS THAT THEY ONLY WATCH HIM ON TV, CODE '5'
AND CONTINUE W/OUT COMMENT]

- 1 Yes, listen
- 5 No, don't listen [skip to C1]

B4d. How often do you listen to Rush Limbaugh -- every day, most days, once or twice a week, or only occasionally?

- 1 Every day
- 3 Most days
- 5 Once or twice a week
- 7 Only occasionally

B4e. Thinking about the Rush Limbaugh radio program, do you happen to know what the initials E.I.B. stand for?

- 1 Excellence In Broadcasting

- 5 Anything else
- 8 Don't know, can't say

Section C

C1. We are interested in finding out what kinds of people you think are most like you -- in their ideas and interests and feelings about things. Thinking about the different GROUPS in society, which ones would you say are MOST LIKE YOU?

[PROBE UNTIL R SAYS 'No'] Any other groups?

INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT

- 1 R mentioned only 1 group at C1
- 5 R mentioned more than 1 group at C1

C1a. Of the groups you just mentioned, which one do you feel closest too?

C2. Thinking about specific political leaders, do you happen to remember the name of your representative in congress -- that is, your member of the House of Representatives in Washington?

[IF NECESSARY] What is the name?

- 1 Yes; Name [PRELOAD NAME OF THE CONGRESSPERSON]
- 3 Yes; Names somebody else [SPECIFY]
- 5 No; Don't know can't recall

C3. And how about the two U.S. Senators from your state. Do you happen to remember what their names are?

[IF NECESSARY] What are their names?

- 1 Yes; Names [PRELOAD SENATOR 1 AND SENATOR 2]
- 2 Yes; Names [PRELOAD SENATOR 1] but DK other Senator
- 3 Yes; Names [PRELOAD SENATOR 2] but DK other Senator
- 4 Yes; but names one or two other Senators [SPECIFY]
- 5 No

Section D

D1. [USING RB] Now looking at page 2 of the booklet, I'd like to get your feelings toward some of our political leaders and other people who are in the news these days. I'll read the name of a person and I'd like you to rate that person using something we call the feeling thermometer.

Ratings between 50 degrees and 100 degrees mean that you feel favorable and warm toward the person. Ratings between 0 and 50 degrees mean that you don't feel favorable toward the person and that you don't care too much for that person.

You would rate the person at the 50 degree mark if you don't feel particularly warm or cold toward the person. If we come to a person whose name you don't recognize, you don't need to rate that person. Just tell me and we'll move on to the next one.

[PROBE FOR '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?"]

How would you rate Bill Clinton?

(How would you rate) [Congressperson's name]?

(How would you rate) [Senator #1]?

(How would you rate) [Senator #2]?

[randomize order of e-i]

(How would you rate) Trent Lott?

(How would you rate) Hillary Clinton?

(How would you rate) Al Gore?

(How would you rate) Rush Limbaugh?

(How would you rate) Newt Gingrich?

[Random - Opponents of abortion or pro-life people and Supporters of abortion or pro-choice people - pair together]

D2. And still using the feeling thermometer, how would you rate the following groups?

[DON'T PROBE DKs]

[Randomize a-p]

(How would you rate ...) Blacks?

(How would you rate ...) Whites?

(How would you rate ...) Hispanics, Hispanic-Americans?

(How would you rate ...) Men?

(How would you rate ...) Women?

(How would you rate ...) The Federal Government?

(How would you rate ...) Congress?

(How would you rate ...) The Supreme Court?

(How would you rate ...) Christian Fundamentalists?

(How would you rate ...) Opponents of abortion/pro-life people?

(How would you rate ...) Supporters of abortion/pro-choice people?

(How would you rate ...) Feminists?

(How would you rate ...) Gays and lesbians?

(How would you rate ...) Labor Unions?

(How would you rate ...) Big Business?

(How would you rate ...) People on Welfare?

Section E

[Split Ballot: Early v Late Placement: Either Ela or Elb gets asked here - the other goes later in Section L]

Ela. Now, not using the booklet, if an election were held today, how likely is it that you would vote for your current representative, [first name last name]?

Very likely, somewhat likely, not very likely, or not at all likely?

1 Very likely

- 3 Somewhat likely
- 5 Not very likely
- 7 Not at all likely
- 8 R doesn't vote [VOL]

Elb. Now, not using the booklet , if an election were held today, how likely is it that you would vote for your current representative, [first name last name], where zero means there is no chance you would vote for [FILL CORRECT PRONOUN: him/her] and 100 means you would be certain to vote for [FILL CORRECT PRONOUN: him/her].

- 0-100 Percentage chance of voting for current representative
- 997 R doesn't vote [VOL]
- 998 Not sure, DK

Section F

F0. For the next few questions, I need to know the color of the cover on your booklet. (Could you please tell me the color of your booklet?)

- 1 Blue [goto Fla]
- 3 Yellow [goto Flb]
- 7 R doesn't have booklet [goto Flb]

[Split Ballot: Either Fla and Fla1 OR Flb and Flb1 get asked]
[Format and codes same as 1996 Post]

Fla. [USING RB] Looking at page 3 of the booklet, there is a list of groups. Please read over the list and tell me the number for those groups you feel particularly close to -- people who are most like you in their ideas and interests and feelings about things.

- 01 Poor people
- 02 Asian-Americans
- 03 Liberals
- 04 The elderly
- 05 Blacks
- 06 Labor unions
- 07 Feminists
- 08 Southerners
- 09 Business people
- 10 Young people
- 11 Conservatives
- 12 Hispanic-Americans
- 13 Women
- 14 Working-class people
- 15 Whites
- 16 Middle-class people
- 17 Men

[Skip Fla1, F2 and F3 if R says 'none']

Fla1. Look at the list again. Of the groups you just mentioned, which one do you feel the closest to?

[Goto F2 - skip F2 and F3 if R says 'none']

F1b. [USING RB, IF AVAILABLE] The next several questions concern different groups in society. please turn to page three in the booklet. Please read over the list and tell me the number for those groups you feel particularly close to -- people who are most like you in their ideas and interests and feelings about things.

[IF NO RB: I'll read a list of groups. Please listen to the list and tell me the number for those groups you feel particularly close to -- people who are most like you in their ideas and interests and feelings about things]

- 01 Blacks
- 02 Whites
- 03 Christian fundamentalists
- 04 Middle-class people
- 05 Working class people
- 06 Hispanic-Americans
- 07 Young people
- 08 Women
- 09 Poor people
- 10 People at your place of worship
- 11 People in your neighborhood
- 12 People at work
- 13 Americans in general

[SKIP F1b, F2, and F3 if R says 'None' to F1b]

F1b1. (Look at the list again.) Of the groups you just mentioned, which one do you feel the closest to?

[Skip F2-F3 if R says 'none' to F1b1; Skip F2 is R says 'Americans in General']

F2. How many days in the past week did you talk to [fill name of closest group]?

[PROBE: "What would be your best guess?"]

- 0 None
- 1 One
- 2 Two
- 3 Three
- 4 Four
- 5 Five
- 6 Six
- 7 Seven

F3. Do you belong to any organizations or take part in any activities that represent the interests and viewpoints of [fill name of closest group].

- 1 Yes
- 5 No

Section G

[Same formats and codes from 1996 Post]

G1. [USING RB] Please turn to page 4 of the booklet.

Some people think the government should provide fewer services even in areas such as health and education in order to reduce spending. Suppose these people are at one end of a scale, at point 1. Other people feel it is important for the government to provide many more services even if it means an increase in spending. Suppose these people are at the other end, 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?

1 Government should provide many fewer services; reduce spending a lot

2 .

3 .

4 .

5 .

6 .

7 Government should provide many more services; increase spending a lot

96 Haven't thought much about this [Skip to H1]

[Randomize asking-order of G2a-G2b]

G2a .Where would you place the Democratic party (on this scale)?

1 Government should provide many fewer services; reduce spending a lot

2 .

3 .

4 .

5 .

6 .

7 Government should provide many more services; increase spending a lot

G2b .(Where would you place) the Republican party (on this scale)?

1 Government should provide many fewer services; reduce spending a lot

2 .

3 .

4 .

5 .

6 .

7 Government should provide many more services; increase spending a lot

[Randomize order of G3-G8]

G3. (Where would you place) most Blacks (on this scale)?

1 Government should provide many fewer services; reduce spending a lot

2 .

3 .

4 .

5 .

6 .
7 Government should provide many more services; increase spending a lot

G4. Where would you place) most Whites (on this scale)?

1 Government should provide many fewer services; reduce spending a lot
2 .
3 .
4 .
5 .
6 .
7 Government should provide many more services; increase spending a lot

G7. (Where would you place) most gays and lesbians (on this scale)?

1 Government should provide many fewer services; reduce spending a lot
2 .
3 .
4 .
5 .
6 .
7 Government should provide many more services; increase spending a lot

G8. (Where would you place) most Christian Fundamentalists (on this scale)?

1 Government should provide many fewer services; reduce spending a lot
2 .
3 .
4 .
5 .
6 .
7 Government should provide many more services; increase spending a lot

Section H

H1. The next few questions do not require the booklet. Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat an Independent, or what?

1 Democrat [Goto H1a]
2 Republican [Goto H1a]
3 Independent [Goto H1b]
4 Other party [SPECIFY] [Goto H1b]
5 No preference [Goto H1b]

H1a. [If R considers self Republican/Democrat]

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

1 Strong [Goto H2]
5 Not very strong [Goto H2]

H1b. [If R considers self independent, no preference, other]

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

- 1 Closer to Republican
- 3 Neither
- 5 Closer to Democratic

[Randomize order H2-H8 - Randomly select a or b follow-ups]

[Within each question presented, H2-H8, randomly use 'Republican or 'Democrat' first]

H2. Generally, how do you think Blacks tend to vote in national elections? Do Blacks tend to vote Republican, tend to vote Democratic, or are they evenly split?

- 1 Vote Republican
- 3 Vote Democratic
- 5 Evenly split [Skip to H3]

H2a. Would you say that almost all Blacks vote [Fill in Party]?

- 1 Yes
- 5 No

H2b. What percentage do you think vote [fill party selected]? If you think all Blacks vote [fill party selected], then you would say 100 percent. If you think only a few more than half vote [fill party selected], you might use a number closer to 50 percent. You can use any percentage between 50 and 100 percent.

- 50-100 Percent
- 998 DK, not sure

H3. Generally, how do you think Whites tend to vote in national elections? Do Whites tend to vote Republican, tend to vote Democratic, or are they evenly split?

- 1 Vote Republican
- 3 Vote Democratic
- 5 Evenly split [Skip to H4]

H3a. Would you say that almost all Whites vote [Fill in Party]?

- 1 Yes
- 5 No

H3b. What percentage do you think vote [fill party selected]? (If you think all Whites vote [fill party selected], then you would say 100 percent. If you think only a few more than half vote [fill party selected], you might use a number closer to 50 percent. You can use any percentage between 50 and 100 percent.)

- 50-100 Percent
- 998 DK, not sure

H4. Generally, how do you think Men tend to vote in national elections? Do men tend to vote Republican, tend to vote Democratic, or are they evenly split?

- 1 Vote Republican

3 Vote Democratic
5 Evenly split [Skip to H5]

H4a. Would you say that almost all men vote [Fill in Party]?

1 Yes
5 No

H4b. What percentage do you think vote [fill party selected]? (If you think all Men vote [fill party selected], then you would say 100 percent. If you think only a few more than half vote [fill party selected], you might use a number closer to 50 percent. You can use any percentage between 50 and 100 percent.)

H5. Generally, how do you think women tend to vote in national elections? Do women tend to vote Republican, tend to vote Democratic, or are they evenly split?

1 Vote Republican
3 Vote Democratic
5 Evenly split [Skip to H6]

H5a. Would you say that almost all Women vote [Fill in Party]?

1 Yes
5 No

H5b. What percentage do you think vote [fill party selected]? (If you think all women vote [fill party selected], then you would say 100 percent. If you think only a few more than half vote [fill party selected], you might use a number closer to 50 percent. You can use any percentage between 50 and 100 percent.)

50-100 Percent
998 DK, not sure

H6. Generally, how do you think Christian Fundamentalists tend to vote in national elections? Do Christian Fundamentalists tend to vote Republican, tend to vote Democratic, or are they evenly split?

1 Vote Republican
3 Vote Democratic
5 Evenly split [Skip to H7]

H6a. Would you say that almost all Christian Fundamentalists vote [Fill in Party]?

1 Yes
5 No

H6b. What percentage do you think vote [fill party selected]? (If you think all Christian Fundamentalists vote [fill party selected], then you would say 100 percent. If you think only a few more than half vote [fill party selected], you might use a number closer to 50 percent. You can use any percentage between 50 and 100 percent.)

50-100 Percent
998 DK, not sure

H7. Generally, how do you think gays and lesbians tend to vote in national elections? Do Gays and Lesbians tend to vote Republican, tend to vote Democratic, or are they

evenly split?

- 1 Vote Republican
- 3 Vote Democratic
- 5 Evenly split [Skip to H8]

H7a. Would you say that almost all gays and lesbians vote [Fill in Party]?

- 1 Yes
- 5 No

H7b. What percentage do you think vote [fill party selected]? (If you think all gays and lesbians vote [fill party selected], then you would say 100 percent. If you think only a few more than half vote [fill party selected], you might use a number closer to 50 percent. You can use any percentage between 50 and 100 percent.)

- 50-100 Percent
- 998 DK, not sure

Section J - Part I

[Random choice between Jb1-Jb3|Jb4-Jb6 (Blacks) OR Jc1-Jc3|Jc4-Jc6 (Christian Fundamentalists) then randomly select 1-3 OR 4-6 then randomize the order of presentation of 1-3|4-6 then with Jb7-Jb8 OR Jc7-Jc8 with 7,8 randomly first. Group not presented here starts after Section K part 1]

Jb1. Some leaders in the black community feel that American youth should be educated about black history. To remedy this, it has been proposed that high schools require students to take a course in African-American history. Do you favor or oppose this proposal?

- 1 Favor
- 5 Oppose

Jb2. Some Black leaders are worried that the government does not pay enough attention to the opinions of Blacks. To remedy this, it has been proposed that governors be required to appoint more Blacks to public office. Do you favor or oppose this proposal?

- 1 Favor
- 5 Oppose

Jb3. Studies show that Blacks have a much higher unemployment rate than Whites. To remedy this, it has been proposed that large businesses be required to hire at least 15% Blacks. Do you favor or oppose this proposal?

- 1 Favor
- 5 Oppose

Jb4. Some leaders in the Black community feel that American youth should be able to learn about black history in school. To remedy this, it has been proposed that high school courses include some information on African-American history. Do you favor or oppose this proposal?

- 1 Favor
- 5 Oppose

Jb5. Some Black leaders are worried that the government does not pay enough attention to the opinions of Blacks. To remedy this, it has been proposed that governors do more to find out about the opinions of Black citizens. Do you favor or oppose this proposal?

- 1 Favor
- 5 Oppose

Jb6. Studies show that Blacks have a much higher unemployment rate than Whites. To remedy this, it has been proposed that large businesses try to hire more Blacks. Do you favor or oppose this proposal?

- 1 Favor
- 5 Oppose

[Jb7 and Jb8 should be presented in random order as should Jc7 and Jc8]

Jb7. [USING RB] (Please look/Still looking on page 5) Please tell me how much you agree with the following statement:

"It's really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; if Blacks would only try harder, they could be just as well off as Whites."

- 1 Agree Strongly
- 2 Agree Somewhat
- 3 Neither Agree nor Disagree
- 4 Disagree Somewhat
- 5 Disagree Strongly

Jb8. [USING RB] (Please look/Still looking on page 5) Please tell me how much you agree with the following statement:

"Irish, Italian, and Jewish, and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same without any special favors."

- 1 Agree Strongly
- 2 Agree Somewhat
- 3 Neither Agree nor Disagree
- 4 Disagree Somewhat
- 5 Disagree Strongly

Section K - Part I

K1. For the next question you will not need the booklet. First, do you approve or disapprove of the way that Bill Clinton is handling his job as president?

- 1 Approve
- 5 Disapprove

K1a.

IF R APPROVES OF THE WAY THAT BILL CLINTON HAS BEEN HANDLING HIS JOB: /
IF R DISAPPROVES OF THE WAY THAT BILL CLINTON HAS BEEN HANDLING HIS JOB:

1. Do you approve strongly or not strongly?
2. Do you disapprove strongly or not strongly?

- 1 Approve strongly
- 2 Approve not strongly
- 4 Disapprove not strongly
- 5 Disapprove strongly

K2. Do you approve or disapprove of the way the U.S. Congress has been handling its job?

- 1 Approve
- 5 Disapprove

K2b.

IF R APPROVES OF THE WAY THAT CONGRESS HAS BEEN HANDLING ITS JOB: /
IF R DISAPPROVES OF THE WAY THAT CONGRESS HAS BEEN HANDLING ITS JOB:

1. Do you approve strongly or not strongly?
2. Do you disapprove strongly or not strongly?

- 1 Approve strongly
- 2 Approve not strongly
- 4 Disapprove not strongly
- 5 Disapprove strongly

K3. Do you approve or disapprove of the way that [Representative - preload name] has been handling [preload gender] his/her job?

- 1 Approve
- 5 Disapprove

K3b.

IF R APPROVES OF THE WAY THAT [REPRESENTATIVE] HAS BEEN HANDLING HIS/HER JOB:
IF R DISAPPROVES OF THE WAY THAT [REPRESENTATIVE] HAS BEEN HANDLING HIS/HER JOB:

1. Do you approve strongly or not strongly?
2. Do you disapprove strongly or not strongly?

- 1 Approve strongly
- 2 Approve not strongly
- 4 Disapprove not strongly
- 5 Disapprove strongly

Section J - Part II

[See randomization design instructions at section J part I]

Jc1. Some Christian Fundamentalist leaders feel that American youth should understand that this is a Christian nation. To remedy this, it has been proposed that high schools require students to take a course that shows how Christians and Christian

principles were responsible for the founding of our country. Do you favor or oppose this proposal?

1 Favor
5 Oppose

Jc2. Some Christian Fundamentalist leaders are worried that the government does not pay enough attention to the opinions of Christian Fundamentalists. To remedy this, it has been proposed that governors be required to appoint more Christian Fundamentalists to public office. Do you favor or oppose this proposal?

1 Favor
5 Oppose

Jc3. Some Christian Fundamentalist leaders are concerned about the financial well-being of Christian schools. To remedy this, it has been proposed that Christian schools receive money from local property taxes, just like the public schools. Do you favor or oppose this proposal?

1 Favor
5 Oppose

Jc4. Some Christian Fundamentalist leaders feel that American youth should be more aware of the role of Christians in American history. To remedy this, it has been proposed that high school courses include some information about the role of Christians in American history. Do you favor or oppose this proposal?

1 Favor
5 Oppose

Jc5. Some leaders of Christian groups are worried that the government does not pay enough attention to the concerns of Christian Fundamentalists. To remedy this, it has been proposed that governors do more to find out the opinions of Christian Fundamentalists. Do you favor or oppose this proposal?

1 Favor
5 Oppose

Jc6. Some Christian Fundamentalist leaders have become concerned about the financial well-being of Christian schools. To remedy this, it has been proposed that Christian schools not have to pay property taxes. Do you favor or oppose this proposal?

1 Favor
5 Oppose

Jc7. [USING RB] (Please look/Still looking at page 5 of the booklet) Please tell me how much you agree with the following statement: "Religious leaders are pushing too hard to have their beliefs written into law."

1 Agree Strongly
2 Agree Somewhat
3 Neither Agree nor Disagree
4 Disagree Somewhat
5 Disagree Strongly

Jc8. [USING RB] (Please look/Still looking at page 5) Please tell me how much you

agree with the following statement:

"Catholics, Jews, and most Protestants have overcome their prejudices and have lived peacefully together without demanding that everybody should adopt their beliefs. Christian Fundamentalists should do the same."

- 1 Agree Strongly
- 2 Agree Somewhat
- 3 Neither Agree nor Disagree
- 4 Disagree Somewhat
- 5 Disagree Strongly

Jb9. [USING RB] Now I have some more questions about different groups in our society. Please turn to page 6 in the booklet. There you see a 7-point scale on which the characteristics of the people in a group can be rated. In the first scale a score of 1 means that you think almost all of the people in that group tend to be "trustworthy." A score of 7 means that you think most people in the group are "not trustworthy." A score of 4 means that you think that most people in the group are not closer to one end or the other, and of course, you may choose any number in between.

Where would you rate Blacks in general on this scale?

- 1 Trustworthy
- 2 .
- 3 .
- 4 .
- 5 .
- 6 .
- 7 Not Trustworthy

Jc9. Where would you rate Christian Fundamentalists in general on this scale?

- 1 Trustworthy
- 2 .
- 3 .
- 4 .
- 5 .
- 6 .
- 7 Not Trustworthy

Jb10. The next set asks if people in each group tend to be 'intelligent' or 'unintelligent.' Turning to page 7 in the booklet:

Where would you rate Blacks in general on this scale?

- 1 Intelligent
- 2 .
- 3 .
- 4 .
- 5 .
- 6 .
- 7 Unintelligent

Jc10. (Where would you rate) Christian Fundamentalists (in general on this scale)?

- 1 Intelligent
- 2 .
- 3 .
- 4 .
- 5 .
- 6 .
- 7 Unintelligent

Jb11. Do people in these groups tend to be 'tolerant' or do they tend to be 'intolerant?' Turing to page 8 in the booklet:

Where would you rate Blacks in general on this scale?

- 1 Tolerant
- 2 .
- 3 .
- 4 .
- 5 .
- 6 .
- 7 Intolerant

Jc11. (Where would you rate) Christian fundamentalists (in general on this scale)?

- 1 Tolerant
- 2 .
- 3 .
- 4 .
- 5 .
- 6 .
- 7 Intolerant

J12. [USING RB] Looking at page 9 of the booklet, which of the following views comes closest to your opinion on the issue of school prayer? Just give me the number of your choice.

- 1 By law, prayers should not be allowed in public schools.
- 2 The law should allow public schools to schedule time when children can pray silently if they want to.
- 3 The law should allow public schools to schedule time when children, as a group, can say a general prayer not tied to a particular religious faith.
- 4 By law, public schools should schedule a time when all children would say a chosen Christian prayer.

J13. [USING RB] Please look at page 10 of the booklet. Some people feel that the government in Washington should make every effort to improve the social and economic position of Blacks. Suppose these people are at one end of a scale, at point 1. Others feel that the government should not make any special effort to help Blacks because they should help themselves. 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?

1 Government should help Blacks

2 .

3 .

4 .

5 .

6 .

7 Blacks should help themselves

96 Haven't thought much about this [SKIP L0a-L0g (later in interview)]

Section K - Part II

K4. Now, using page 11 in the booklet, we return to a few more questions about the federal government in Washington. Think about the U.S. Congress. In your opinion, does the phrase: "Doesn't Get Much Accomplished" describe the US Congress extremely well, quite well, not too well, or not well at all?

1 Extremely well

2 Quite well

3 Not too well

4 Not well at all

K5. What about "Too involved in partisan politics?"

Does the phrase "Too involved in partisan politics" describe the U.S. Congress extremely well, quite well, not too well, or not well at all?

1 Extremely well

2 Quite well

3 Not too well

4 Not well at all

[Randomize asking "too conservative" and "too liberal" first]

K6. What about "Too [liberal/conservative]?"

(Does the phrase "[too liberal/too conservative]" describe the U.S. Congress extremely well, quite well, not too well, or not well at all?)

1 Extremely well [SKIP to K9]

2 Quite well [SKIP to K9]

3 Not too well [ask K7 using opposite label from K6]

4 Not well at all [ask K7 using opposite label from K6]

[DK, RF SKIP to K9]

K7. What about "Too [liberal/conservative?]"

(Does the phrase "[too liberal/too conservative]" describe the U.S. Congress extremely well, quite well, not too well, or not well at all?)

1 Extremely well

2 Quite well

3 Not too well

4 Not well at all

K9. What about "Doesn't care about what ordinary Americans think"? (Does the phrase "Doesn't care about what ordinary Americans think." describe the US Congress extremely well, quite well, not too well, or not well at all?)

- 1 Extremely well
- 2 Quite well
- 3 Not too well
- 4 Not well at all

K10. What about "Corrupt?"

(Does the word "Corrupt" describe the US Congress extremely well, quite well, not too well, or not well at all?)

- 1 Extremely well
- 2 Quite well
- 3 Not too well
- 4 Not well at all

K11. Think about President Clinton. In your opinion, does the phrase "Doesn't Get Much Accomplished" describe President Clinton extremely well, quite well, not too well, or not well at all?

- 1 Extremely well
- 2 Quite well
- 3 Not too well
- 4 Not well at all

K12. What about "Too involved in partisan politics?"

(Does the phrase "Too involved in partisan politics" describe President Clinton extremely well, quite well, not too well, or not well at all?)

- 1 Extremely well
- 2 Quite well
- 3 Not too well
- 4 Not well at all

[Randomize asking "too conservative" and "too liberal" first]

K13. What about "[too liberal/too conservative?]"

(Does the phrase "[too liberal/too conservative]" describe President Clinton extremely well, quite well, not too well, or not well at all?)

- 1 Extremely well [SKIP to K15]
- 2 Quite well [SKIP to K15]
- 3 Not too well [ask K14 w/ opposite label than in K13]
- 4 Not well at all [ask K14 w/ opposite label than in K13]

K14. What about "[too liberal/too conservative?]"

(Does the phrase "[too liberal/too conservative]" describe President Clinton extremely well, quite well, not too well, or not well at all?)

- 1 Extremely well
- 2 Quite well
- 3 Not too well
- 4 Not well at all

K16. What about "Doesn't care about what ordinary Americans think?"

(Does the phrase " Doesn't care about what ordinary Americans think." describe President Clinton extremely well, quite well, not too well, or not well at all?)

- 1 Extremely well
- 2 Quite well
- 3 Not too well
- 4 Not well at all

K17. What about "Corrupt?"

(Does the word "corrupt" describe President Clinton extremely well, quite well, not too well, or not well at all?)

- 1 Extremely well
- 2 Quite well
- 3 Not too well
- 4 Not well at all

K18. Think about the Supreme Court. In your opinion, does the phrase "doesn't get much accomplished" describe the Supreme Court extremely well, quite well, not too well, or not well at all?

- 1 Extremely well
- 2 Quite well
- 3 Not too well
- 4 Not well at all

K19. What about "Too involved in partisan politics?"

(Does the phrase "Too involved in partisan politics" describe the Supreme Court extremely well, quite well, not too well, or not well at all?)

- 1 Extremely well
- 2 Quite well
- 3 Not too well
- 4 Not well at all

[Randomize asking "too conservative" and "too liberal" first]

K20. What about "[too liberal/too conservative]?"

(Does the phrase "[too liberal/too conservative]" describe the Supreme Court extremely well, quite well, not too well, or not well at all?)

- 1 Extremely well [SKIP to K22]
- 2 Quite well [SKIP to K22]

- 3 Not too well [ask K21 w/ opposite label than in K20]
- 4 Not well at all [ask K21 w/ opposite label than in K20]

K21. What about "[too liberal/too conservative]?"

(Does the phrase "[too liberal/too conservative]" describe the Supreme Court extremely well, quite well, not too well, or not well at all?)

- 1 Extremely well
- 2 Quite well
- 3 Not too well
- 4 Not well at all

K23. What about, "Doesn't care about what ordinary Americans think?"

(Does the phrase " Doesn't care about what ordinary Americans think." describe the Supreme Court extremely well, quite well, not too well, or not well at all?)

- 1 Extremely well
- 2 Quite well
- 3 Not too well
- 4 Not well at all

K24. What about, "Corrupt." (Does the word "Corrupt" describe the Supreme Court extremely well, quite well, not too well, or not well at all?)

- 1 Extremely well
- 2 Quite well
- 3 Not too well
- 4 Not well at all

Section L

[If R answers "haven't thought much ... " to J12 skip L0a1-L0g]

[Randomize asking order of L0a1- L0a2]

L0a. [USING RB] Once again a few questions about groups. Please TURN BACK to page 10 in the booklet. Some people feel that the government in Washington should make every effort to improve the social and economic position of Blacks. Suppose these people are at one end of a scale, at point 1. Others feel that the government should not make any special effort to help Blacks because they should help themselves. 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) the Democratic Party (on this scale)?

- 1 Government should help Blacks
- 2 .
- 3 .
- 4 .
- 5 .
- 6 .
- 7 Blacks should help themselves

L0b. (Where would you place) the Republican Party (on this scale)?

- 1 Government should help Blacks
- 2 .
- 3 .
- 4 .
- 5 .
- 6 .
- 7 Blacks should help themselves

[Randomize order of L0b-L0g]

L0c. (Where would you place) most Blacks (on this scale)?

- 1 Government should help Blacks
- 2 .
- 3 .
- 4 .
- 5 .
- 6 .
- 7 Blacks should help themselves

L0d. (Where would you place) most Whites (on this scale)?

- 1 Government should help Blacks
- 2 .
- 3 .
- 4 .
- 5 .
- 6 .
- 7 Blacks should help themselves

L0g. (Where would you place) most Christian Fundamentalists (on this scale)?

- 1 Government should help Blacks
- 2 .
- 3 .
- 4 .
- 5 .
- 6 .
- 7 Blacks should help themselves

L0h. (Where would you place) most gays and lesbians (on this scale)?

- 1 Government should help Blacks
- 2 .
- 3 .
- 4 .
- 5 .
- 6 .
- 7 Blacks should help themselves

L1. [USING RB] Next, please turn to page 12, the page in the booklet labeled 'Women's Rights.' [PAUSE AS NEEDED UNTIL R IS ON PAGE 12] Recently, there has been a lot of talk about women's rights. Some people feel that women should have an equal role with men in running business, industry, and government. Suppose these people are at one end of a scale, at point 1. Others feel that a woman's place is in the home. 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?

1 Women and men should have equal roles

2 .

3 .

4 .

5 .

6 .

7 A woman's place is in the home

96 Haven't thought much about this [Skip to L9]

[Present L2a-L2b in random order]

L2a. (Where would you place) the Democratic Party (on this scale)?

1 Women and men should have equal roles

2 .

3 .

4 .

5 .

6 .

7 A woman's place is in the home

L2b. (Where would you place) the Republican Party (on this scale)?

1 Women and men should have equal roles

2 .

3 .

4 .

5 .

6 .

7 A woman's place is in the home

[Present L3-L8 in random order]

L3. (Where would you place) most Blacks (on this scale)?

1 Women and men should have equal roles

2 .

3 .

4 .

5 .

6 .

7 A woman's place is in the home

L4. (Where would you place) most Whites (on this scale)?

- 1 Women and men should have equal roles
- 2 .
- 3 .
- 4 .
- 5 .
- 6 .
- 7 A woman's place is in the home

L5. (Where would you place) most Christian Fundamentalists (on this scale)?

- 1 Women and men should have equal roles
- 2 .
- 3 .
- 4 .
- 5 .
- 6 .
- 7 A woman's place is in the home

L6. (Where would you place) most gays and lesbians (on this scale)?

- 1 Women and men should have equal roles
- 2 .
- 3 .
- 4 .
- 5 .
- 6 .
- 7 A woman's place is in the home

L7. (Where would you place) most women (on this scale)?

- 1 Women and men should have equal roles
- 2 .
- 3 .
- 4 .
- 5 .
- 6 .
- 7 A woman's place is in the home

L8. (Where would you place) most men (on this scale)?

- 1 Women and men should have equal roles
- 2 .
- 3 .
- 4 .
- 5 .
- 6 .
- 7 A woman's place is in the home

[Split Ballot: Early v Late Placement: Either L17 or L18 gets asked here - whichever wasn't asked in E]

L17a. Now, not using the booklet, if an election were held today, how likely is it that you would vote for your current representative, [first name last name]?

Very likely, somewhat likely, not very likely, or not at all likely?

- 1 Very likely
- 3 Pretty likely
- 5 Not very likely
- 7 Not at all likely
- 8 R doesn't vote [VOL]

L17b. Now, not using the booklet, if an election were held today, how likely is it that you would vote for your current representative, [first name last name], where zero means there is no chance you would vote for [FILL CORRECT PRONOUN: him/her] and 100 means you would be certain to vote for [FILL CORRECT PRONOUN: him/her].

- 1-100 Percent chance
- 997 R doesn't vote [VOL]
- 998 DK

Section M

[Split ballot - M1 OR M2]

M1. Now I want to ask you a few questions about contacts you may have initiated with government officials, or someone on the staff of such officials, about problems or issues that you were concerned about. We're interested in any kind of contact you might have initiated -- either in person or by phone, letter, fax or Email.

First, have you ever contacted Representative [pre-load name] or anyone in [pre-load pronoun] his/her office?

- 1 Yes
- 5 No [Skip to M4]

M2. Have you ever contacted Representative [pre-load name] or anyone in [pre-load pronoun] his/her office?

- 1 Yes
- 5 No [Skip to M4]

M3. Now, think just about this year, that is, since January first, 1997. Did you contact Representative [pre-load name] or anyone in [pre-load pronoun] his/her office this year?

- 1 Yes
- 5 No [Skip to M4]

M3a. Was it to express an opinion, get information, or to get help with a problem that you had? [CHECK ALL THAT R MENTIONS, BUT DO NOT PROBE]

- 1 Express an opinion
- 3 Get information [Skip to M4a]
- 5 Get help with problem R had [Skip to M4a]

7 Other reason for contact [DO NOT PROBE]

M3b. What issue or issues were involved? [ENTER ALL ISSUES R MENTIONS, BUT DO NOT PROBE]

M4. Still thinking about this year, what about Senator [pre-load name] - did you contact Senator [pre-load name] or someone in [pre-load pronoun] his/her office this year?

1 Yes

5 No [Skip to M5]

M4a. Was it to express an opinion, get information, or to get help with a problem that you had? [CHECK ALL THAT R MENTIONS, BUT DO NOT PROBE]

1 Express an opinion

3 Get information [Skip to M5]

5 Get help with problem R had [Skip to M5]

7 Other reason for contact [DO NOT PROBE]

M4b. What issue or issues were involved? [ENTER ALL ISSUES R MENTIONS, BUT DO NOT PROBE]

M5. (Still thinking about this year,) what about Senator [pre-load name] - (did you contact Senator [pre-load name] or someone in [pre-load pronoun] his/her office this year)?

1 Yes

5 No [Skip to M6]

M5a. Was it to express an opinion, get information, or to get help with a problem that you had? [CHECK ALL THAT R MENTIONS, BUT DO NOT PROBE]

1 Express an opinion

3 Get information [Skip to M6]

5 Get help with problem R had [Skip to M6]

7 Other reason for contact [DO NOT PROBE]

M5b. What issue or issues were involved? [ENTER ALL ISSUES R MENTIONS, BUT DO NOT PROBE]

M6. What about someone in the White House (did you contact someone in the White House this year)?

1 Yes

5 No [Skip to M7]

M6a. Was it to express an opinion, get information, or to get help with a problem that you had? [CHECK ALL THAT R MENTIONS, BUT DO NOT PROBE]

1 Express an opinion

3 Get information [Skip to M7]

5 Get help with problem R had [Skip to M7]

7 Other reason for contact [DO NOT PROBE]

M6b. What issue or issues were involved? [ENTER ALL ISSUES R MENTIONS, BUT DO NOT

PROBE]

M7. What about your state Senator or Representative in [pre-load state capital] (did you contact one of these public officials or someone in their office this year?

- 1 Yes
- 5 No [Skip to M8]

M7a. Was it to express an opinion, get information, or to get help with a problem that you had? [CHECK ALL THAT R MENTIONS, BUT DO NOT PROBE]

- 1 Express an opinion
- 3 Get information [Skip to M8]
- 5 Get help with problem R had [Skip to M8]
- 7 Other reason for contact [DO NOT PROBE]

M7b. What issue or issues were involved? [ENTER ALL ISSUES R MENTIONS, BUT DO NOT PROBE]

M8. What about a local official (did you contact a local public official this year)?

- 1 Yes
- 5 No [Skip to M9]

M8a. Was it to express an opinion, get information, or to get help with a problem that you had? [CHECK ALL THAT R MENTIONS, BUT DO NOT PROBE]

- 1 Express an opinion
- 3 Get information [Skip to M9]
- 5 Get help with problem R had [Skip to M9]
- 7 Other reason for contact [DO NOT PROBE]

M8b. What issue or issues were involved? [ENTER ALL ISSUES R MENTIONS, BUT DO NOT PROBE]

M9. [USING RB] People are sometimes asked to call or write to government officials in Washington about a political issue. We're interested in whether this has happened to you this year, that is, since the first of January of 1997. Please look at page 13 of the booklet, and tell me if any of these types of people encouraged you to contact your Senator or Representative in Congress, or someone in the White House, about a political issue this year? [CHECK ALL THAT R REPORTS, BUT DO NOT PROBE]

- 1 A family member
- 2 A friend or neighbor
- 3 Your employer
- 4 Somebody else at work
- 5 Somebody at your place of worship
- 6 Somebody from an organization that you belong to
- 7 No One [VOL]
- 8 Other [SPECIFY]

M10. Thinking about this year, do you recall seeing or hearing any advertisements on the television or in the newspaper encouraging people to contact their Senator or Representative in Congress, or someone in the White House?

1 Yes
5 No [Skip to M11]

M10a. What was the issue involved?

M11. Received Mail Urging Contact

Thinking about this year, do you recall receiving any mail encouraging people to contact their Senator or Representative in Congress, or someone in the White House?

1 Yes
5 No [Skip to N1]

M10a. What was the issue involved?

Section N

[INSERT CHECKPOINT TO ALERT INTERVIEWERS OF UPCOMING TIME - STAMPS]

Program a timestamp here (BEGINS PASSIVE TIMING OF #1)

N1. [USING RB] Please turn to page 14 in the booklet. We hear a lot of talk these days about liberals and conservatives. In your booklet is a seven-point scale on which the political views that people might hold are arranged from extremely liberal to extremely conservative.

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

[INTERVIEWER ENTER '1' WHEN YOU FINISH READING THE QUESTION]

1 FINISHED READING QUESTION--TIMING STARTED

Program a timestamp here (BEGINS ACTIVATED TIMING OF #1)

[INTERVIEWER ENTER '1' WHEN RESPONDENT BEGINS TO ANSWER]

1 RESPONDENT BEGINS TO ANSWER--TIMING STOPS

Program a timestamp here (ENDS ACTIVATED TIMING OF #1)

[INTERVIEWER ENTER RESPONSE:]

1 Extremely liberal [goto N2]
2 Liberal [goto N2]
3 Slightly liberal [goto N2]
4 Moderate; middle of the road [goto N1a]
5 Slightly conservative [goto N2]
6 Conservative [goto N2]
7 Extremely conservative [goto N2]
96 Haven't thought much about this (goto 1a; also for DK/RF)

Program a timestamp here (ENDS PASSIVE TIMING OF #1)

[INTERVIEWER CODE WHETHER THIS WAS AN ACCURATE TIMING OR NOT]

- 1 YES
- 2 NO-R interrupted my reading the question to give a response
- 3 NO-R asked me to RQ or asked a question before giving her/his answer
- 4 NO-ALL OTHER INACCURATE TIMINGS

Program a timestamp here (JUST FOR THE HELL OF IT)

Program a timestamp here (BEGINS PASSIVE TIMING OF #1a)

N1a. If you had to choose, would you consider yourself a liberal or a conservative?
[INTERVIEWER ENTER '1' WHEN YOU FINISH READING THE QUESTION]

1 FINISHED READING QUESTION--TIMING STARTED

Program a timestamp here

[INTERVIEWER ENTER '1' WHEN RESPONDENT BEGINS TO ANSWER]

1 RESPONDENT BEGINS TO ANSWER--TIMING STOPS

Program a timestamp here

[INTERVIEWER ENTER RESPONSE:]

- 1 Liberal
- 3 Moderate; middle of the road [VOL]
- 5 Conservative
- 7 Refuses to choose [VOL]

Program a timestamp here (ENDS PASSIVE TIMING OF #1a)

[INTERVIEWER CODE WHETHER THIS WAS AN ACCURATE TIMING OR NOT]

- 1 YES
- 2 NO-R interrupted my reading the question to give a response
- 3 NO-R asked me to RQ or asked a question before giving her/his answer
- 4 NO-ALL OTHER INACCURATE TIMINGS

Program a timestamp here

Program a timestamp here (BEGINS PASSIVE TIMING OF #2)

N2. (Still using the booklet) (Where would you place) Bill Clinton (on this scale)?

[INTERVIEWER ENTER '1' WHEN YOU FINISH READING THE QUESTION]

1 FINISHED READING QUESTION--TIMING STARTED

Program a timestamp here

[INTERVIEWER ENTER '1' WHEN RESPONDENT BEGINS TO ANSWER]

1 RESPONDENT BEGINS TO ANSWER--TIMING STOPS

Program a timestamp here

[INTERVIEWER ENTER RESPONSE:]

- 1 Extremely liberal
- 2 Liberal
- 3 Slightly liberal
- 4 Moderate; middle of the road
- 5 Slightly conservative
- 6 Conservative
- 7 Extremely conservative

Program a timestamp here (ENDS PASSIVE TIMING OF #2)

[INTERVIEWER CODE WHETHER THIS WAS AN ACCURATE TIMING OR NOT]

- 1 YES
- 2 NO-R interrupted my reading the question to give a response
- 3 NO-R asked me to RQ or asked a question before giving her/his answer
- 4 NO-ALL OTHER INACCURATE TIMINGS

Program a timestamp here

Program a timestamp here (BEGINS PASSIVE TIMING OF #3)

N3. (Still using the booklet) (Where would you place) [NAME - Congressperson] (on this scale)?

[INTERVIEWER ENTER '1' WHEN YOU FINISH READING THE QUESTION]

- 1 FINISHED READING QUESTION--TIMING STARTED

Program a timestamp here

[INTERVIEWER ENTER '1' WHEN RESPONDENT BEGINS TO ANSWER]

- 1 RESPONDENT BEGINS TO ANSWER--TIMING STOPS

Program a timestamp here

[INTERVIEWER ENTER RESPONSE:]

- 1 Extremely liberal
- 2 Liberal
- 3 Slightly liberal
- 4 Moderate; middle of the road
- 5 Slightly conservative
- 6 Conservative
- 7 Extremely conservative

Program a timestamp here (ENDS PASSIVE TIMING OF #3)

[INTERVIEWER CODE WHETHER THIS WAS AN ACCURATE TIMING OR NOT]

- 1 YES
- 2 NO-R interrupted my reading the question to give a response
- 3 NO-R asked me to RQ or asked a question before giving her/his answer
- 4 NO-ALL OTHER INACCURATE TIMINGS

Program a timestamp here

[if R didn't place self at N1 or N1a, skip to N16]

[Randomize N4 and N5]

N4. (Where would you place) the US Congress (on this scale)?

- 1 Extremely liberal
- 2 Liberal
- 3 Slightly liberal
- 4 Moderate; middle of the road
- 5 Slightly conservative
- 6 Conservative
- 7 Extremely conservative

N5. (Where would you place) the Supreme Court (on this scale)?

- 1 Extremely liberal
- 2 Liberal
- 3 Slightly liberal
- 4 Moderate; middle of the road
- 5 Slightly conservative
- 6 Conservative
- 7 Extremely conservative

[Randomize N6 and N7]

N6. (Where would you place) the Democratic Party (on this scale)?

- 1 Extremely liberal
- 2 Liberal
- 3 Slightly liberal
- 4 Moderate; middle of the road
- 5 Slightly conservative
- 6 Conservative
- 7 Extremely conservative

N7. (Where would you place) the Republican Party (on this scale)?

- 1 Extremely liberal
- 2 Liberal
- 3 Slightly liberal
- 4 Moderate; middle of the road
- 5 Slightly conservative
- 6 Conservative
- 7 Extremely conservative

N8. (Where would you place) "Current U.S. government policy" (on this scale)?

- 1 Extremely liberal
- 2 Liberal
- 3 Slightly liberal

- 4 Moderate; middle of the road
- 5 Slightly conservative
- 6 Conservative
- 7 Extremely conservative

[Randomize N9-N14]

N9. (Where would you place) most Blacks (on this scale)?

- 1 Extremely liberal
- 2 Liberal
- 3 Slightly liberal
- 4 Moderate; middle of the road
- 5 Slightly conservative
- 6 Conservative
- 7 Extremely conservative

N10. (Where would you place) most Whites (on this scale)?

- 1 Extremely liberal
- 2 Liberal
- 3 Slightly liberal
- 4 Moderate; middle of the road
- 5 Slightly conservative
- 6 Conservative
- 7 Extremely conservative

N11. (Where would you place) most men (on this scale)?

- 1 Extremely liberal
- 2 Liberal
- 3 Slightly liberal
- 4 Moderate; middle of the road
- 5 Slightly conservative
- 6 Conservative
- 7 Extremely conservative

N12. (Where would you place) most women (on this scale)?

- 1 Extremely liberal
- 2 Liberal
- 3 Slightly liberal
- 4 Moderate; middle of the road
- 5 Slightly conservative
- 6 Conservative
- 7 Extremely conservative

N13. (Where would you place) most Christian fundamentalists (on this scale)?

- 1 Extremely liberal
- 2 Liberal
- 3 Slightly liberal
- 4 Moderate; middle of the road

- 5 Slightly conservative
- 6 Conservative
- 7 Extremely conservative

N14. (Where would you place) most gays and lesbians (on this scale)?

- 1 Extremely liberal
- 2 Liberal
- 3 Slightly liberal
- 4 Moderate; middle of the road
- 5 Slightly conservative
- 6 Conservative
- 7 Extremely conservative

N16. These next two questions are about the Federal government in Washington. First, do you think that people in government waste a lot of the money we pay in taxes, waste some of it, or don't waste very much of it?

- 1 Waste a lot
- 3 Waste some
- 5 Don't waste very much
- 8 Not sure [VOL]

N17. What types of government spending do you consider to be wasteful?

[PROBE: 'Anything else?' UNTIL R SAYS 'No']

Section P

P0. In this section, we're interested in the role of religion in politics. First, do you consider religion to be an important part of your political thinking, or not?

- 1 Important part
- 5 Not important [Skip P1]

P1. Would you say that your religion provides some guidance in your political thinking, quite a bit of guidance, or a great deal of guidance in your political thinking?

- 1 Some guidance
- 3 Quite a bit of guidance
- 5 A great deal of guidance

P2. Religion has had an increasing impact on the political views of many Americans. Which of the following two statements comes closer to your view: "Organized religious groups of all kinds should stay out of politics," or "It is important for organized religious groups to stand up for their beliefs in politics."

[PROBE ONCE: "If you had to choose " THEN RQ]

- 1 Organized religious groups of all types should stay out of politics
- 5 It is important for organized religious groups to stand up for their beliefs in politics

P3. Which comes closer to your view: "The government should take special steps to

protect America's religious heritage," or "There should be a high degree of separation between church and state."

[PROBE ONCE: "If you had to choose " THEN RQ]

1 The Government should take special steps to protect America's religious heritage
5 There should be a high degree of church/state separation

P4. Which comes closer to your view: "The influence of religion on American politics threatens to divide us as a country" or "religious people must take political action in order to protect their rights."

[PROBE ONCE: "If you had to choose " THEN RQ]

1 The influence of religion on American politics threatens to divide us as a country
5 Religious people must take political action in order to protect their rights

P5. [USING RB] Please turn to page 15 of the booklet. I'd like you to think for a moment about religious organizations in the United States. Churches and synagogues have many different goals. On page 15 of the booklet, several different goals are listed. If you had to choose among them, which one would be THE HIGHEST PRIORITY, the most important thing religious groups should do? You can just give me the number of your choice.

Religious groups should:

1 Give their members a place of shelter from the burdens of life.
2 Encourage their members to become active in politics.
3 Protect their members from the false teachings of other religious groups
4 Encourage their members to form social action groups in the congregation.

P5a. (Still on page 15 of the booklet) Which would be your second choice?

Religious groups should:

1 Give their members a place of shelter from the burdens of life.
2 Encourage their members to become active in politics.
3 Protect their members from the false teachings of other religious groups
4 Encourage their members to form social action groups in the congregation.

P5b. (Still on page 15 of the booklet) Of those remaining, which is the LEAST IMPORTANT goal of religious groups?

Religious groups should:

1 Give their members a place of shelter from the burdens of life.
2 Encourage their members to become active in politics.
3 Protect their members from the false teachings of other religious groups
4 Encourage their members to form social action groups in the congregation.

P6. The next several questions do not use the booklet. There has been discussion recently about a proposed law to ban certain types of late-term abortions, sometimes called partial birth abortions. Do you favor or oppose a ban on these types of abortions?

- 1 Favor
- 5 Oppose

P6a. If R favors banning late-term abortions / If R opposes banning late-term abortions

Do you favor such a ban strongly or not strongly?
Do you oppose such a ban strongly or not strongly?

- 1 Favor strongly
- 2 Favor not strongly
- 4 Oppose strongly
- 5 Oppose not strongly

[Half Sample w/ Section b]

S1. Some people seem to follow what's going on in the government and public affairs most of the time, whether there is an election or not. Others aren't that interested.

Would you say that you follow what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time, some of the time, only now and then, or hardly at all?

- 1 Most of the time
- 3 Some of the time
- 5 Only now and then
- 7 Hardly at all

S2. In terms of general attitudes and beliefs, how similar would you say other people are to you -- very similar, somewhat similar, not very similar, or not at all similar?

- 1 Very similar
- 3 Somewhat similar
- 5 Not very similar
- 7 Not at all similar

S3. Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted, or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people?

- 1 Can be trusted
- 5 Can't be too careful dealing with people

S4. Do you think that most people would try to take advantage of you if they got the chance or would they try to be fair?

- 1 Take advantage
- 5 Try to be fair

S5. People have different ideas about the government in Washington. These ideas don't refer to the Democrats or Republicans in particular, but just to the government in general. We want to see how you feel about these ideas. For example:

How much of the time can you 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
- 3 Most of the time
- 5 Only some of the time

Section T

T1. These last few questions concern other times we've interviewed you in the past. We have contacted you several times to ask you to participate in the National Election Studies and you've always been very generous with your time. Do you recall ever feeling that you would prefer not to do an interview when we contacted you?

- 1 Yes (ask T1a)
- 5 No (skip to T2)

T1a. [RB] Looking at page 16 of the booklet, which of the following was MOST IMPORTANT in making you feel like you didn't want to be interviewed? Was it [READ LIST, THEN PROBE "Which one was MOST important?" AS NEEDED UNTIL RESPONDENT CHOOSES MOST IMPORTANT ONE]

- 1 LACK OF INTEREST IN POLITICS
- 2 INCONVENIENT TIMES TO BE INTERVIEWED
- 3 LENGTH OF THE INTERVIEW
- 4 BEING INTERVIEWED TOO MANY TIMES
- 5 WORRIED ABOUT WHO WILL SEE THE ANSWERS YOU GIVE

- 6 OTHER [SPECIFY] [VOL]

T2. How many times were you interviewed by the National Election Studies? [IF 'NOT SURE' PROBE, "What would be your best guess?"]

- 1 [Skip T4]
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5
- 6
- 7 More than 6 times
- 8 Not sure; don't remember [AFTER PROBE]

T3. Think back to when we FIRST contacted you for an interview. If we had told you in advance that we would want to interview you several more times over the next few years, do you think you would have agreed to do an interview?

- 1 Yes, would have done an interview
- 3 No, would not have done an interview
- 5 Wouldn't have made any difference [VOL]

- 8 Don't know, can't say [VOL] [DON'T PROBE]

T4. Did the same person interview you for all the surveys or did you talk to more than one interviewer?

- 1 Same person interviewed me
- 3 Talked to more than one interviewer [skip to T5]
- 5 Don't recall [skip to T5]

T4a. Please tell me if you agree or disagree with the following statement: "Having

the same interviewer every time made me feel more like participating in the study."

1 Agree [ask T4b]

5 Disagree [ask T4b]

6 Didn't make any difference [VOL] [skip to T5]

7 Other [VOL] [specify][skip to T5]

T5. Still thinking about other times we've interviewed you in the past, did receiving money for being interviewed make you more likely or less likely to agree to be interviewed?

1 More likely

5 Less likely

6 Made no difference [VOL]

7 Don't recall receiving any money [VOL]

8 Don't know, not sure [VOL]

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