1. IWER LABEL

2. SAMPLE ID: ____________________________

2a. Release Code from Sample Label: __________

5. Your Interview Number: __________

6. Date Interview Completed: __________

7. Length of Interview: _______ (Minutes)

3. Form Type:

   1. PANEL
   2. CROSS-SECTION

4. Interview taken in Primary Area: ____________________________

8. Time at the beginning of post-interview editing: __________

9. Time at the end of post-interview editing: __________

10. Total Time to post-interview edit: __________

THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT MUST BE READ TO ALL RESPONDENTS:

This interview is completely voluntary—if we should come to any question that you don't want to answer, just let me know and we'll go on to the next question.

REVIEWED BY:

☐ SUPERVISOR ___________ (DATE)

☐ FIELD OFFICE ___________ (DATE)
AO. EXACT TIME NOW: ________________________________

A1. Some people don’t pay much attention to political campaigns. How about you? Would you say that you have been very much interested, somewhat interested, or not much interested in the political campaigns so far this year?

1. VERY MUCH INTERESTED 3. SOMEWHAT INTERESTED 5. NOT MUCH INTERESTED

A2. Who do you think will be elected President in November?

1. BUSH 2. CLINTON 7. OTHER, SPECIFY: ________________________________ 8. DON’T KNOW

A2a. Do you think the Presidential race will be close, or will (NAME GIVEN IN A2) win by quite a bit?

☐ 1. CLOSE RACE ☐ 3. WIN BY QUITE A BIT ☐ 8. DON’T KNOW

A2b. Do you think the Presidential race will be close or will one candidate win by quite a bit?

☐ 1. CLOSE RACE ☐ 3. WIN BY QUITE A BIT ☐ 8. DON’T KNOW
A3. How about here in (R's STATE)? Which candidate for President do you think will carry this state? (IF NECESSARY: Which candidate will win in this state?)

1. BUSH
2. CLINTON
7. OTHER, SPECIFY:

A3a. Do you think the Presidential race will be close here in (R's STATE) or will (NAME GIVEN A3) win by quite a bit?

1. CLOSE RACE
3. WIN BY QUITE A BIT
8. DON'T KNOW

A3b. Do you think the Presidential race will be close here in (R's STATE) or will one candidate win by quite a bit?

1. CLOSE RACE
3. WIN BY QUITE A BIT
8. DON'T KNOW

A4. Generally speaking, would you say that you personally care a good deal who wins the presidential election this fall, or that you don't care very much who wins?

1. CARE A GOOD DEAL
3. DON'T CARE VERY MUCH
8. DON'T KNOW

A5. In 1988 George Bush ran on the Republican ticket against Michael Dukakis for the Democrats. Do you remember for sure whether or not you voted in that election?

1. YES, DID VOTE
5. NO, DIDN'T VOTE
8. DON'T KNOW

A5a. Which one did you vote for?

1. BUSH
2. DUKAKIS
5. OTHER
8. DON'T KNOW
SECTION B

Bl. Now I'd like to ask you about the good and bad points of the major candidates for President. Is there anything in particular about Mr. Bush that might make you want to vote for him?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW

NEXT PAGE, B2

Bla. (What is that?) [PROBE: "Anything Else?" Until R says "NO."]
B2. Is there anything in particular about Mr. Bush that might make you want to vote **against** him?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW

NEXT PAGE, B3

B2a. (What is that?) [PROBE: "Anything Else?" Until R says "NO."]
B3. Is there anything in particular about Mr. Clinton that might make you want to vote for him?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW

NEXT PAGE, B4

B3a. (What is that?) [PROBE: "Anything Else?" Until R says "NO." ]
B4. Is there anything in particular about Mr. Clinton that might make you want to vote against him?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW

GO TO, B5

B4a. (What is that?) [PROBE: "Anything Else?" Until R says "NO."]

B5. (RB, P. 1) Please turn to page one of this booklet. How satisfied are you with the choice you have among the candidates running for president—very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, not very satisfied, or not at all satisfied?

1. VERY SATISFIED

2. SOMEWHAT SATISFIED

3. NOT VERY SATISFIED

4. NOT AT ALL SATISFIED
**SECTION C**

C1. **How many days in the past week did you watch the news on TV?**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NUMBER OF DAYS</th>
<th>7. EVERY DAY</th>
<th>0. NONE</th>
<th>8. DON'T KNOW</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

C1a. (RB, P. 2) **How much attention did you pay to news on TV about the campaign for President -- a great deal, quite a bit, some, very little, or none?**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. A GREAT DEAL</th>
<th>2. QUITE A BIT</th>
<th>3. SOME</th>
<th>4. VERY LITTLE</th>
<th>5. NONE</th>
<th>8. DK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

C2. **How many days in the past week did you read a daily newspaper?**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NUMBER OF DAYS</th>
<th>7. EVERY DAY</th>
<th>0. NONE</th>
<th>8. DON'T KNOW</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>NEXT PAGE, C3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

C2a. **Did you read about the campaign in any newspaper?**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. YES</th>
<th>5. NO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

C2b. (RB, STILL P. 2) **How much attention did you pay to newspaper articles about the campaign for President -- a great deal, quite a bit, some, very little, or none?**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. A GREAT DEAL</th>
<th>2. QUITE A BIT</th>
<th>3. SOME</th>
<th>4. VERY LITTLE</th>
<th>5. NONE</th>
<th>8. DK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
C3. How about magazines -- did you read about the campaign in any magazines?

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

GO TO C4

C3a. (RB, STILL P. 2) How much attention did you pay to magazine articles about the campaign for President -- a great deal, quite a bit, some, very little, or none?

1. A GREAT DEAL  
2. QUITE A BIT  
3. SOME  
4. VERY LITTLE  
5. NONE  
8. DK

C4. Did you listen to any speeches or discussions about the campaign on the radio?

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

GO TO C5

C4a. Would you say you listened to a good many, several, or just one or two?

1. GOOD MANY  
3. SEVERAL  
5. ONE OR TWO  
8. DON'T KNOW

C5. Do you listen to or watch talk shows on radio or TV where people call in to voice their opinions?

1. YES  
5. NO

C6. Do you recall seeing any presidential campaign advertisements on television?

1. YES  
5. NO

NEXT PAGE, SECTION D

C6a. Please tell me, what do you remember about any of these ads? (Do you remember any others?)
### D1. Arizona, Iowa, Minnesota, Missouri, Virginia, Wyoming

This state held its Democratic presidential nominating caucus in [___] and its Republican caucus in [___]. In talking to people about caucuses, we find that many people did not vote for a variety of reasons. How about you -- did you vote in either of those caucuses?

- **1. Yes, voted**
- **5. No, didn’t vote**
- **8. Don’t know, can’t remember**

### D1. All Other States

This state held a Presidential (primary/caucus) election in [___]. In talking to people about elections, we find that many people did not vote for a variety of reasons. How about you -- did you vote in that (primary election/caucus)?

- **1. Yes, voted**
- **5. No, didn’t vote**
- **8. Don’t know, can’t remember**

---

#### D1a. Did you vote in the Republican or the Democratic (primary/caucus)?

- **1. Republican**
- **5. Democratic**
- **8. Don’t know, can’t remember**

#### D1b. (Ballot Card)

Here is a list of the Republican Presidential candidates in your state’s (primary/caucus). Who did you vote for?

- **98. Don’t know, can’t remember**

#### D1c. (Ballot Card)

Here is a list of the Democratic Presidential candidates in your state’s (primary/caucus). Who did you vote for?

- **98. Don’t know, can’t remember**

---
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 degrees 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.

Our first person is George Bush. How would you rate him using the thermometer?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PROBE FOR &quot;I DON'T KNOW&quot; RESPONSE:</th>
<th>RATING (RECORD ACTUAL NUMBER)</th>
<th>DK PROBE USED? (X-YES)</th>
<th>R DOESN'T RECOGNIZE NAME</th>
<th>DK WHERE TO RATE; CAN'T JUDGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>When you say &quot;don't know&quot; do you mean that you don't know who the person is, or do you have something else in mind?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>997.</td>
<td>998.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. GEORGE BUSH</td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Bill Clinton</td>
<td>b</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Ross Perot</td>
<td>c</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. Dan Quayle</td>
<td>d</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. Albert Gore</td>
<td>e</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. Anita Hill</td>
<td>f</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g. Tom Foley</td>
<td>g</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h. Barbara Bush</td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j. Hillary Clinton</td>
<td>j</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k. Clarence Thomas</td>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m. Pat Buchanan</td>
<td>m</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n. Jesse Jackson</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
D3. (RB, STILL ON P. 3) And still using the thermometer, how would you rate the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RATING (RECORD ACTUAL NUMBER)</th>
<th>DK WHERE TO RECORD RATE; CAN'T JUDGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. The Democratic Party</td>
<td>a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. The Republican Party</td>
<td>b.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

D4. Do you approve or disapprove of the way George Bush is handling his job as president?

1. APPROVE

5. DISAPPROVE

8. DON'T KNOW

GO TO D5

D4a. Do you approve strongly or not strongly?

1. STRONGLY

2. NOT STRONGLY

D4b. Do you disapprove strongly or not strongly?

5. STRONGLY

4. NOT STRONGLY

D5. Do you approve or disapprove of the way George Bush is handling our relations with foreign countries?

1. APPROVE

5. DISAPPROVE

8. DON'T KNOW

GO TO D6

D5a. Do you approve strongly or not strongly?

1. STRONGLY

2. NOT STRONGLY

D5b. Do you disapprove strongly or not strongly?

5. STRONGLY

4. NOT STRONGLY

D6. Do you approve or disapprove of the way George Bush is handling the economy?

1. APPROVE

5. DISAPPROVE

8. DON'T KNOW

NEXT PAGE, D7

D6a. Do you approve strongly or not strongly?

1. STRONGLY

2. NOT STRONGLY

D6b. Do you disapprove strongly or not strongly?

5. STRONGLY

4. NOT STRONGLY
D7. Do you approve or disapprove of the way George Bush is handling the crisis in the Persian Gulf?

1. APPROVE

5. DISAPPROVE

8. DON'T KNOW

GO TO D8

D7a. Do you approve strongly or not strongly?

1. STRONGLY

2. NOT STRONGLY

D7b. Do you disapprove strongly or not strongly?

5. STRONGLY

4. NOT STRONGLY

D8. (RB, P. 4) Which presidential candidate do you think would do a better job at ... handling the nation's economy - George Bush, Bill Clinton, or wouldn't there be any difference between them:

(Who do you think would do a better job at...)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BUSH (1)</th>
<th>CLINTON (2)</th>
<th>NO DIFF (3)</th>
<th>DK (8)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>D8a. Handling the nation's economy?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D8b. Handling foreign affairs?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D8c. Solving the problem of poverty?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D8d. Handling the problem of pollution and protecting the environment?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D8e. Making health care more affordable?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D8f. Reducing the budget deficit?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
SECTION E

El. I'd like to ask you what you think are the good and bad points about the two national parties. Is there anything in particular that you like about the Democratic Party?

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

GO TO E2

Ela. [IF NECESSARY: What is that?] [PROBE: Anything else you like about the Democratic Party? -- until R says "NO"]

E2. Is there anything in particular that you don't like about the Democratic Party?

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

NEXT PAGE, E3

E2a. [IF NECESSARY: What is that?] [PROBE: Anything else you don't like about the Democratic Party? -- until R says "NO"]
E3. Is there anything in particular that you **like** about the Republican Party?

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

GO TO E4

E3a. [IF NECESSARY: What is that?] [PROBE: Anything else you like about the Republican Party? -- until R says "NO"]

---

E4. Is there anything in particular that you **don't like** about the Republican Party?

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

NEXT PAGE, SECTION F

E4a. [IF NECESSARY: What is that?] [PROBE: Anything else you don't like about the Republican Party? -- until R says "NO"]

---
SECTION F

F1. We are interested in how people are getting along financially these days. Would you say that you (and your family living here) are **better off** or **worse off** financially than you were a year ago?

1. BETTER OFF  
3. SAME  
5. WORSE OFF  
8. DON'T KNOW

F1a. Is that **much** better off or **somewhat** better off?

1. MUCH BETTER  
2. SOMewhat BETTER

F1b. Is that **much** worse off or **somewhat** worse off?

5. MUCH WORSE  
4. SOMewhat WORSE

F2. Now looking ahead, do you think that a year from now you (and your family living here) will be **better off** financially, or **worse off**, or just **about the same** as now?

1. BETTER YEAR FROM NOW  
3. SAME  
5. WORSE YEAR FROM NOW  
8. DK

F2a. Is that **much** better off or **somewhat** better off?

1. MUCH BETTER  
2. SOMewhat BETTER

F2b. Is that **much** worse off or **somewhat** worse off?

5. MUCH WORSE  
4. SOMewhat WORSE

F3. Do you think that over the last year (your/your family's) income has gone up more than the cost of living, has it fallen behind, or has it stayed about even with the cost of living?

1. GONE UP MORE  
3. STAYED ABOUT EVEN  
5. FALLEN BEHIND  
8. DON'T KNOW

F3a. Has it gone up a **lot** more or a **little** more?

1. A LOT  
2. A LITTLE

F3b. Has it fallen behind a **lot** or a **little**?

5. A LOT  
4. A LITTLE
F4. Over the past year have the economic policies of the federal government made you (and your family living here) **better off**, **worse off**, or **haven't they made much of a difference** either way?

1. BETTER OFF
2. HAVEN'T MADE MUCH DIFFERENCE
3. WORSE OFF
4. DON'T KNOW

**GO TO F5**

F4a. Is that **much** better off or **somewhat** better off?

1. MUCH BETTER
2. SOMEWHAT BETTER

**GO TO F5**

F4b. Is that **much** worse off or **somewhat** worse off?

1. MUCH WORSE
2. SOMEWHAT WORSE

F5. During the past year (have you/has your family living here) been able to buy most of the things you needed and planned on buying or have you had to put off buying these things?

1. BEEN ABLE TO BUY
2. HAD TO PUT OFF BUYING
3. DK

F6. In the past year did you (or anyone in your family living here) put off medical or dental treatment because you didn't have the money?

1. YES
2. NO
3. DK

F7. In order to make ends meet this past year did (any of) you do any of the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>YES (1)</th>
<th>NO (5)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>F7a.</td>
<td>borrow money from a bank, a lending institution, or from relatives or friends?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F7b.</td>
<td>dip into your savings?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F7c.</td>
<td>look for a job, look for a second job, or try to work more hours at your present job?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
F8. Over the past year have you (and your family) been able to save any money?

1. **YES**  
5. **NO**  
8. **DK**

F9. This past year have you (or anyone in your family living here) fallen behind in rent or house payments?

1. **YES**  
5. **NO**  
8. **DK**

F10. (RR, p. 5) Do you (or any family member living with you) currently receive payments from...

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>YES (1)</th>
<th>NO (5)</th>
<th>DK (8)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>F10a. ...Social Security?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F10b. ...Food Stamps?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F10c. ...Medicare?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F10d. ...Medicaid?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F10e. ...Unemployment Compensation?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F10f. ...Aid to Families with Dependent Children?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F10g. ...Veterans Benefits?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F10h. ...Retirement pensions for federal government employees?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F10i. ...Disability payments?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F10k. ...workman's compensation?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

F11. Which candidate for President would be more likely to try to raise taxes: George Bush or Bill Clinton, or wouldn't there be much difference between them?

1. **BUSH**  
2. **CLINTON**  
3. **NO DIFFER**  
8. **DK**
**SECTION G**

G1. Now we would like to know something about the feelings you have toward the candidates for President. I am going to name a candidate, and I want you to tell me whether something about that person, or something he has done, has made you have certain feelings like anger or pride.

Has George Bush -- because of the kind of person he is, or because of something he has done--ever made you feel:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1. YES, HAVE FELT</th>
<th>5. NO; NEVER FELT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>G1a.</td>
<td>angry?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G1b.</td>
<td>hopeful?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G1c.</td>
<td>afraid?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G1d.</td>
<td>proud?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

G2. Think about Bill Clinton. Has Bill Clinton (-- because of the kind of person he is, or because of something he has done --) ever made you feel:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1. YES, HAVE FELT</th>
<th>5. NO; NEVER FELT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>G2a.</td>
<td>angry?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G2b.</td>
<td>hopeful?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G2c.</td>
<td>afraid?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G2d.</td>
<td>proud?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
We hear a lot of talk these days about liberals and conservatives. Here is a 7-point scale on which the political views that people might hold are arranged from extremely liberal to extremely conservative.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
EXTREMELY LIBERAL SLIGHTLY MODERATE; SLIGHTLY CONSERVATIVE EXTREMELY LIBERAL LIBERAL MIDDLE OF CONSERVATIVE CONSERVATIVE ROAD

G3a. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?

8. DON'T KNOW
0. HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH
DO NOT PROBE DO NOT PROBE

G3b. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT

1. RATING AT G3a IS 4
2. ALL OTHERS --> NEXT PAGE, G3e

G3c. If you had to choose would you consider yourself a liberal or a conservative?

1. LIBERAL 3. MODERATE, MIDDLE OF ROAD 5. CONSERVATIVE 7. REFUSES TO CHOOSE 8. DON'T KNOW

NEXT PAGE, G3e
G3d. If you had to choose would you consider yourself a liberal or a conservative?

1. LIBERAL  3. MODERATE, MIDDLE OF ROAD  5. CONSERVATIVE  7. REFUSES TO CHOOSE  8. DO NOT PROBE DON'T KNOW

G3d1. Where would you place George Bush on the scale?

RATING  8. DO NOT PROBE DON'T KNOW

G3d2. Where would you place Bill Clinton on the scale?

RATING  8. DO NOT PROBE DON'T KNOW

G3d3. Where would you place Ross Perot on the scale?

RATING  8. DO NOT PROBE DON'T KNOW

NEXT PAGE, G4

G3a. (RR, STILL ON P. 6) Where would you place George Bush on this scale? e.

G3f. (Where would you place) Bill Clinton (on this scale)? f.

G3g. (Where would you place) Ross Perot (on this scale)? g.

G3h. The Republican party? h.

G3j. The Democratic party? j.
G4. Do you think people who run for high public office should display higher moral standards in their personal life than does the average citizen?

1. YES  5. NO  8. DK

G5. (RB, P. 7) Some people say that there are certain qualities that make a person a true American. Others say that there isn't anything that makes one person more American than another. I'm going to read some of the things that have been mentioned. For each of the following, tell me how important you think it is in making someone a true American -- extremely important, very (important), somewhat (important), or not at all important.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>EXTREMELY IMPORTANT</th>
<th>VERY IMPORTANT</th>
<th>SOMewhat IMPORTANT</th>
<th>NOT AT ALL IMPORTANT</th>
<th>DON'T KNOW</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>G5a. Trying to get ahead on your own effort?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G5b. (How about) believing in God?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G5c. Treating people of all races and backgrounds equally?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G5d. Speaking English?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

G6. (RB, P. 8) Some people say that it is better for America if different racial and ethnic groups maintain their distinct cultures. Others say that it is better if groups change so that they blend into the larger society as in the idea of a melting pot. Which of these positions comes closer to your own opinion: Racial and ethnic groups should maintain their distinct cultures, or groups should change so that they blend into the larger society?

1. GROUPS SHOULD MAINTAIN THEIR DISTINCT CULTURES  3. NEITHER/BOTH, ETC. (VOLUNTEERED)  5. GROUPS SHOULD CHANGE AND BLEND INTO THE LARGER SOCIETY  8. DK

G7. Do you think that most men who tried to avoid military service during the Vietnam War should have served regardless of their personal beliefs?

1. YES, SHOULD HAVE SERVED  2. NO, NEED NOT HAVE SERVED  8. DK
This is a blank page.
SECTION H

H1. Do you feel things in this country are generally going in the right direction, or do you feel things have pretty seriously gotten off on the wrong track?

1. RIGHT DIRECTION  5. WRONG TRACK  8. DON'T KNOW

H2. Would you say that over the past year, the level of unemployment in the country has gotten better, stayed about the same, or gotten worse?

1. BETTER  3. STAYED SAME  5. WORSE  8. DON'T KNOW

GO TO H3

H2a. Would you say much better or somewhat better?

1. MUCH BETTER  2. SOMewhat BETTER

GO TO H3

H2b. Would you say much worse or somewhat worse?

5. MUCH WORSE  4. SOMewhat WORSE

H3. Would you say that over the past year, inflation has gotten better, stayed about the same, or gotten worse?

1. BETTER  3. STAYED SAME  5. WORSE  8. DON'T KNOW

GO TO H4

H3a. Would you say much better or somewhat better?

1. MUCH BETTER  2. SOMewhat BETTER

GO TO H4

H3b. Would you say much worse or somewhat worse?

5. MUCH WORSE  4. SOMewhat WORSE

H4. How about the economy. Would you say that over the past year the nation's economy has gotten better, stayed about the same, or gotten worse?

1. GOTTEN BETTER  3. STAYED THE SAME  5. GOTTEN WORSE  8. DK

NEXT PAGE, H5

H4a. Would you say much better or somewhat better?

1. MUCH BETTER  2. SOMewhat BETTER

NEXT PAGE, H5

H4b. Would you say much worse or somewhat worse?

5. MUCH WORSE  4. SOMewhat WORSE
H5. What about in the last few months, since about the 4th of July. Would you say that the nation's economy has gotten better, stayed about the same, or gotten worse?

1. GOTTEN BETTER  3. STAYED THE SAME  5. GOTTEN WORSE  8. DK

GO TO H6

H5a. Would you say much better or somewhat better?

1. MUCH BETTER

2. SOMewhat BETTER

GO TO H6

H5b. Would you say much worse or somewhat worse?

5. MUCH WORSE

4. SOMEWHAT WORSE

H6. Compared to four years ago, would you say that the nation's economy has gotten better, stayed about the same, or gotten worse?

1. GOTTEN BETTER  3. STAYED THE SAME  5. GOTTEN WORSE  8. DK

GO TO H7

H6a. Would you say much better or somewhat better?

1. MUCH BETTER

2. SOMEWHAT BETTER

GO TO H7

H6b. Would you say much worse or somewhat worse?

5. MUCH WORSE

4. SOMEWHAT WORSE

H7. What about the next 12 months? Do you expect the national economy to get better, get worse, or stay about the same?

1. GET BETTER  5. GET WORSE  3. STAY THE SAME  8. DON'T KNOW
H8. What about America’s ability to compete in the world economy? Over the past year has that gotten better, stayed the same, or gotten worse?

1. BETTER  
3. STAYED SAME  
5. WORSE  
8. DON'T KNOW

H8a. Would you say much better or somewhat better?

1. MUCH BETTER
2. SOMewhat BETTER

H8b. Would you say much worse or somewhat worse?

5. MUCH WORSE  
4. SOMEWHAT WORSE

GO TO H9

H9. Do you think that twenty years from now, the standard of living for the people who are just children now will be better, about the same, or worse than it is today?

1. BETTER  
3. SAME  
5. WORSE  
8. DK

H10. Over the past year would you say that the economic policies of the federal government have made the nation's economy better, worse, or haven't they made much difference either way?

1. BETTER  
3. HAVEN'T MADE MUCH DIFFERENCE  
5. WORSE  
8. DON'T KNOW

GO TO H11

H10a. Would you say much better or somewhat better?

1. MUCH BETTER
2. SOMewhat BETTER

H10b. Would you say much worse or somewhat worse?

5. MUCH WORSE  
4. SOMEWHAT WORSE

GO TO H11

H11. What about the economic conditions in this state. Would you say that over the past year economic conditions in this state have gotten better, stayed about the same, or gotten worse?

1. GOTten BETTER  
3. STAYED THE SAME  
5. GOTten WORSE  
8. DK

H11a. Would you say much better or somewhat better?

1. MUCH BETTER
2. SOMEWHAT BETTER

H11b. Would you say much worse or somewhat worse?

5. MUCH WORSE  
4. SOMEWHAT WORSE

NEXT PAGE, H12

NEXT PAGE, H12
H12. (RB, P. 9) Which party do you think would do a better job of handling the nation's economy..., the Democrats, the Republicans, or wouldn't there be much difference between them?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>DEM. (1)</th>
<th>REP. (2)</th>
<th>NO DIFF. (3)</th>
<th>NEITHER (VOL) (7)</th>
<th>DK (8)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>H12a. HANDLING THE NATION'S ECONOMY?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H12b. handling foreign affairs?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H12c. solving the problem of poverty?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H12d. making health care more affordable?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

H13. (RB, STILL P. 9) Which party is more likely to cut social security benefits; the Democrats, the Republicans, or wouldn't there be much difference between them?

1. DEMOCRATS 3. NOT MUCH DIFFERENCE 5. REPUBLICANS 8. DON'T KNOW

H14. (RB, STILL P. 9) Which party is more likely to raise taxes; the Democrats, the Republicans or wouldn't there be much difference between them?

1. DEMOCRATS 3. NOT MUCH DIFFERENCE 5. REPUBLICANS 8. DON'T KNOW

H15. Who do you think is more to blame for the federal budget deficit, the Bush administration or the Democratic Congress?

1. BUSH ADMINISTRATION 2. DEMOCRATIC CONGRESS 3. BOTH (VOL) 8. DK
SECTION J

J1. During the past year, would you say that the United States' position in the world has grown \textbf{weaker}, \textit{stayed about the same}, or has it grown \textbf{stronger}?

1. \textbf{WEAKER} \hspace{1cm} 3. \textbf{STAYED THE SAME} \hspace{1cm} 5. \textbf{STRONGER} \hspace{1cm} 8. \textbf{DON'T KNOW}

J2. Looking ahead, do you think the problem of keeping out of war would be handled better in the next four years by \textit{the Republicans}, by \textit{the Democrats}, or \textit{about the same by both}?

1. \textbf{BETTER BY REPUBLICANS} \hspace{1cm} 5. \textbf{BETTER BY DEMOCRATS} \hspace{1cm} 3. \textbf{SAME BY BOTH} \hspace{1cm} 8. \textbf{DON'T KNOW}

J3. (RB, P. 10) Some people say the U.S. should maintain its position as the world's strongest military power even if it means continuing high defense spending. Would you say that you \textit{agree strongly}, agree somewhat, \textit{neither agree nor disagree}, disagree somewhat, or \textit{disagree strongly}?

1. \textbf{AGREE STRONGLY} \hspace{1cm} 2. \textbf{AGREE SOMEWHAT} \hspace{1cm} 3. \textbf{NEITHER AGREE OR DISAGREE} \hspace{1cm} 4. \textbf{DISAGREE SOMEWHAT} \hspace{1cm} 5. \textbf{DISAGREE STRONGLY}

J4. I am going to read you a statement about U.S. foreign policy and I would like you to tell me whether you \textit{agree} or \textit{disagree}.

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

1. \textbf{AGREE} \hspace{1cm} 5. \textbf{DISAGREE} \hspace{1cm} 8. \textbf{DON'T KNOW}

J5. (RB, P. 11) In the future, how willing should the United States be to use military force to solve international problems... extremely willing, \textit{very willing}, somewhat willing, \textit{not very willing}, or never willing?

1. \textbf{EXTREMELY} \hspace{1cm} 2. \textbf{VERY} \hspace{1cm} 3. \textbf{SOMewhat} \hspace{1cm} 4. \textbf{NOT VERY} \hspace{1cm} 5. \textbf{NEVER} \hspace{1cm} 8. \textbf{DON'T KNOW}

J6. How worried are you about our country getting into a nuclear war at this time? Are you \textit{very worried}, somewhat worried, or \textit{not worried at all}?

1. \textbf{VERY WORRIED} \hspace{1cm} 3. \textbf{SOMewhat WORRIED} \hspace{1cm} 5. \textbf{NOT WORRIED} \hspace{1cm} 8. \textbf{DK}
J7. How worried are you about our country getting into a conventional war at this time, one in which nuclear weapons are not used? Are you very worried, somewhat worried, or not worried at all?

1. VERY WORRIED  3. SOMEWHAT WORRIED  5. NOT WORRIED  8. DK

J8. Now we want to ask you about the Persian Gulf war that took place in early 1991. Do you think we did the right thing in sending U.S. military forces to the Persian Gulf or should we have stayed out?

1. DID THE RIGHT THING  3. DEPENDS (VOL.)  5. SHOULD HAVE STAYED OUT  7. OTHER - SPECIFY  8. DON'T KNOW

J9. Before the war actually started, do you think one political party was more in favor of using military force in the Persian Gulf than the other party was, or do you think they were about equal in their support for using force?

1. ONE PARTY MORE  5. ABOUT EQUAL  8. DON'T KNOW

J9a. (Which party supported the use of force more?)

1. DEMOCRATIC  5. REPUBLICAN  8. DON'T KNOW

J10. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT

1. J11 PRE-EDITED WITH NAME #33 OR #36 FROM INSTRUCTION BOOK
2. NO NAME #33 OR #36 IN INSTRUCTION BOOK--->GO TO J12

J11. Do you remember how (NAME #33, #36) who is running for reelection in this district, voted on the use of force in the Persian Gulf?

1. YES  5. NO/DON'T REMEMBER/DON'T KNOW [DO NOT PROBE]

J11a. Did (he/she) vote for or against the use of force?

1. FOR  5. AGAINST  8. DON'T KNOW

J11b. Would you guess that (he/she) probably voted for or against the use of force?

1. FOR  5. AGAINST  8. DON'T KNOW
J12. Do you approve or disapprove of the way George Bush handled the war in the Persian Gulf?

1. APPROVE

5. DISAPPROVE

8. DON'T KNOW

J12a. Do you approve strongly or not strongly?

1. STRONGLY

2. NOT STRONGLY

J12b. Do you disapprove strongly or not strongly?

5. STRONGLY

4. NOT STRONGLY

J13. As you look back on the Persian Gulf War now, do you think that anything good came out of it for the United States?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW

GO TO J14

J13a. What did you have in mind?


J14. Other than losing lives, do you think anything bad came out of the war for the United States?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW

GO TO J15

J14a. What did you have in mind?


J15. All things considered, do you think the war was worth the cost or not?

1. WORTH IT

5. NOT WORTH IT

8. DON'T KNOW

J16. Some people think that the U.S. and its allies should have continued to fight Iraq until Saddam Hussein was driven from power. Others think that the U.S. was right to stop fighting after Kuwait was liberated. What do you think? Should the war have continued or should it have stopped?

1. SHOULD HAVE CONTINUED

3. SHOULD HAVE STOPPED

5. DON'T KNOW/NEITHER/BOTH, ETC. (VOL.)
SECTION K

K1. Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or what?

1. REPUBLICAN

5. DEMOCRAT

2. INDEPENDENT

3. NO PREFERENCE

4. OTHER PARTY

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

1. STRONG

5. NOT VERY STRONG

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

1. STRONG

5. NOT VERY STRONG

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

1. CLOSER TO REPUBLICAN

5. CLOSER TO DEMOCRATIC

3. NEITHER
K2. (RB, P. 12) I am going to read a list of words and phrases people may use to describe political figures. For each, tell me whether the word or phrase describes the candidate I name.

Think about George Bush. In your opinion does the phrase "he is intelligent" describe George Bush **extremely well**, **quite well**, **not too well**, or **not well at all**?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>EXTREMELY WELL (1)</th>
<th>QUITE WELL (2)</th>
<th>NOT TOO WELL (3)</th>
<th>NOT WEL AT ALL (4)</th>
<th>DO NOT PROBE DON'T KNOW (8)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. INTELLIGENT?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. (How about) Compassionate?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Moral?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. Inspiring?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. Provides strong leadership?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. Really cares about people like you?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g. Knowledgeable?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h. Honest?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i. Gets things done?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
K3. (RB, STILL ON P. 12) Think about Bill Clinton. In your opinion, does “intelligent” describe Bill Clinton extremely well, quite well, not too well, or not well at all?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>EXTREMELY WELL (1)</th>
<th>QUITE WELL (2)</th>
<th>NOT TOO WELL (3)</th>
<th>NOT WELL AT ALL (4)</th>
<th>DO NOT PROBE DON’T KNOW (8)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. INTELLIGENT?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. (How about) Compassionate?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Moral?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. Inspiring?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. Provides strong leadership?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. Really cares about people like you?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g. Knowledgeable?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h. Honest?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i. Gets things done?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
SECTION L

L1. (RB, P. 13) 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 the 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.

GOVERNMENT SERVICES/GOVERNMENT SPENDING

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

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

2. Where would you place the Republican party on this scale?

3. The Democratic party?

4. What the federal government is doing now?
L2. (RB, P. 14) Some people believe that we should spend much less money for defense. Others feel that defense spending should be greatly increased.

DEFENSE SPENDING

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

GREATLY DECREASE
DEFENSE SPENDING

GREATLY INCREASE
DEFENSE SPENDING

L2a. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven’t you thought much about this?

8. DON’T KNOW 0. HAVEN’T THOUGHT MUCH DO NOT PROBE

d. Where would you place the Republican party on this scale?

e. the Democratic Party?

NEXT PAGE, L3

L2b. Where would you place George Bush on this scale?

b.

L2c. (Where would you place) Bill Clinton (on this scale)?

c.

L2d. The Republican party?

d.

L2e. The Democratic party?

e.

L2f. What the federal government is doing now? f.
L3. Now, thinking about health care. Can you (and your family) afford to pay for the health care that you need?

1. YES  
5. NO

L3a. Do you presently have any kind of health insurance?

1. YES  
5. NO

L4. Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the quality of the health care available to you and your family?

1. SATISFIED  
5. DISSATISFIED

L5. (RB, P. 15) There is much concern about the rapid rise in medical and hospital costs. Some people feel there should be a government insurance plan which would cover all medical and hospital expenses for everyone. Others feel that all medical expenses should be paid by individuals, and through private insurance plans like Blue Cross or other company paid plans.

| HEALTH INSURANCE |
|------------------|------------------|
| 1   | 2   | 3   | 4   | 5   | 6   | 7   |
| GOVERNMENT INSURANCE PLAN | PRIVATE INSURANCE PLAN |

L5a. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven’t you thought much about this?

8. DON’T KNOW  
0. HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH DO NOT PROBE

L6. Do you think the government should require companies to allow up to six months unpaid leave for parents to spend time with their newborn or newly adopted children, or is this something that should be left up to the individual employer?

1. GOVERNMENT SHOULD REQUIRE  
2. LEFT TO INDIVIDUAL EMPLOYER  
8. DK
L7. (RB, p. 16) 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>JOB AND GOOD STANDARD OF LIVING</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GOVERNMENT SEE TO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LET EACH</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

L7a. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven’t you thought much about this?

- 8. DON’ T KNOW
- 0. HAVEN’ T THOUGHT MUCH

- DO NOT PROBE

L7b. Where would you place George Bush on this scale?

L7c. Where would you place Bill Clinton on this scale?

L7d. The Republican Party?

L7e. The Democratic Party?

L7f. What the federal government is doing now?
L8. (RB, P. 17) 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>GOVERNMENT SHOULD</td>
<td>BLACKS</td>
<td>SHOULD HELP</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HELP BLACKS</td>
<td>THEMSELVES</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

L9a. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?  

- 0. HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH
- 8. DON'T KNOW

L9. If you had a say in making up the federal budget this year, for which of the following programs would you like to see spending increased and for which would you like to see spending decreased?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Increased</th>
<th>Same</th>
<th>Decreased</th>
<th>Cut Out Entirely</th>
<th>Don't Know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(8)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

L9a. Should federal spending on a. Food stamps be increased, decreased, or kept about the same?

L9b. (Should federal spending b. on) Welfare programs (be increased, decreased, or kept about the same?)

L9c. Spending on AIDS research? c.

L9d. Financial aid for college d. students?

L9e. Programs that assist e. Blacks?

L9f. Solving the problem of the f. Homeless?

L9g. Aid to countries of the g. former Soviet Union?
L10. (RB, P. 18) There has been some discussion about abortion during recent years. Which one of the opinions on this page best agrees with your view? You can just tell me the number of the opinion you choose.

☐ 1. BY LAW, ABORTION SHOULD NEVER BE PERMITTED

☐ 2. THE LAW SHOULD PERMIT ABORTION ONLY IN CASE OF RAPE, INCEST OR WHEN THE WOMAN’S LIFE IS IN DANGER

☐ 3. 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 HAS BEEN CLEARLY ESTABLISHED

☐ 4. BY LAW, A WOMAN SHOULD ALWAYS BE ABLE TO OBTAIN AN ABORTION AS A MATTER OF PERSONAL CHOICE

☐ 7. OTHER, SPECIFY: _______________________________________

☐ 8. DON’T KNOW

L10a. (RB, STILL ON P. 18) What do you think is George Bush’s position?

_________ ENTER NUMBER HERE 8. DK

L10b. (RB, STILL ON P. 18) What do you think is Bill Clinton’s position?

_________ ENTER NUMBER HERE 8. DK
L11. Would you favor or oppose a law in your state that would require parental consent before a teenager under 18 can have an abortion?

1. FAVOR

L11a. Do you favor this law strongly or not strongly?

1. STRONGLY 2. NOT STRONGLY

L11b. Do you oppose this law strongly or not strongly?

1. STRONGLY 2. NOT STRONGLY

5. OPPOSE 8. DON'T KNOW

GO TO L12

L12. Would you favor or oppose a law in your state that would allow the use of government funds to help pay for the costs of abortion for women who cannot afford them?

1. FAVOR

L12a. Do you favor government funding for abortions strongly or not strongly?

1. STRONGLY 2. NOT STRONGLY

L12b. Do you oppose government funding for abortion strongly or not strongly?

5. STRONGLY 4. NOT STRONGLY

1. STRONGLY 2. NOT STRONGLY

5. OPPOSE 8. DON'T KNOW

GO TO L13

L13. Would you favor or oppose a law in your state that would require a married woman to notify her husband before she can have an abortion?

1. FAVOR

L13a. Do you favor this law strongly or not strongly?

1. STRONGLY 2. NOT STRONGLY

L13b. Do you oppose this law strongly or not strongly?

5. STRONGLY 4. NOT STRONGLY

5. OPPOSE 8. DON'T KNOW

NEXT PAGE, L14
L14. Recently there has been a lot of discussion about sexual harassment. How serious a problem do you think sexual harassment in the workplace is? Is it very serious, somewhat serious or not too serious?

1. VERY SERIOUS  2. SOMEWHAT SERIOUS  3. NOT TOO SERIOUS  8. DK

L15. Have you or has anyone you know been subjected to sexual harassment in the workplace?

1. YES  5. NO  8. DON’T KNOW

L16. Do you think that enough is being done to protect women from being sexually harassed in the workplace, is too much being done or too little being done?

2. ENOUGH  1. TOO MUCH  3. TOO LITTLE  8. DON’T KNOW

L17. If a woman says that she has been sexually harassed at work and the man denies it, would you be more inclined to believe the woman or the man?

1. WOMAN  2. MAN  3. IT DEPENDS (VOL)  8. DON’T KNOW

L18. Do you think government should provide child care assistance to low and middle income working parents, or isn’t it the government’s responsibility?

1. GOVERNMENT SHOULD PROVIDE  5. NOT GOVERNMENT RESPONSIBILITY  8. DK
L19. (RB, P. 19) There is much discussion about the best way to deal with the problem of urban unrest and rioting. Some say it is more important to use all available force to maintain law and order — no matter what results. Others say it is more important to correct the problems of poverty and unemployment that give rise to the disturbances. And, of course, other people have opinions in between.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SOLVE PROBLEMS OF POVERTY AND UNEMPLOYMENT</td>
<td>USE ALL AVAILABLE FORCE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

L19a. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?

8. DON'T KNOW 0. HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH DO NOT PROBE

L20. A law has been proposed that would limit members of Congress to no more than 12 years of service in that office. Do you favor or oppose such a law?

1. FAVOR 5. OPPOSE 8. DON'T KNOW

L21. Have you heard or read anything about the problems in the savings and loan business?

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

L21a. Who do you think is more to blame for the problems of the savings and loans business—former President Reagan, President Bush, the Congress, or the owners and managers of the savings and loans?

1. REAGAN 2. BUSH 3. CONGRESS

4. OWNERS & MANAGERS 5. ALL OF THEM (VOL.) 6. NONE OF THEM (VOL.)

7. OTHER, SPECIFY: 8. DK
this is a blank page
M1. (RB, p. 20) 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. Others feel that women’s place is in the home.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

| WOMEN AND MEN SHOULD HAVE AN EQUAL ROLE | WOMEN’S PLACE IS IN THE HOME |

M1a. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven’t you thought much about this?

8. DON’T KNOW

0. HAVEN’T THOUGHT MUCH DO NOT PROBE

M2. Some people have suggested placing new limits on foreign imports in order to protect American jobs. Others say that such limits would raise consumer prices and hurt American exports. Do you favor or oppose placing new limits on imports, or haven’t you thought much about this?

1. FAVOR NEW LIMITS 5. OPPOSE NEW LIMITS 8. DON’T KNOW

U. HAVEN’T THOUGHT MUCH DO NOT PROBE

M3. Which of the following statements comes closer to your opinion—one, Japanese companies are competing unfairly with American companies; or two, the United States is blaming Japan for its own economic problems.

1. COMPETING UNFAIRLY 2. U.S. BLAMING JAPAN FOR OWN PROBLEMS 3. BOTH/DEPENDS (VOL.)

8. DK
M4. So far as you know now, do you expect to vote in the national elections this coming November or not?

1. YES, WILL VOTE
5. NO, WILL NOT VOTE
8. DON'T KNOW

M4a. Who do you think you will vote for in the election for President?

(PROBE: We all know the election is some time away and people are not certain at this point who they will vote for. Still, who do you think you will vote for in the election for President?)

1. GEORGE BUSH
2. BILL CLINTON
5. ROSS PEROT (VOL)
7. OTHER, SPECIFY:
8. DON'T KNOW -> NEXT PAGE, M5

M4b. Would you say that your preference for this candidate is strong or not strong?

1. STRONG
5. NOT STRONG
8. DON'T KNOW

M4c. If you were going to vote, who do you think you would vote for in the election for President?

(PROBE: We all know the election is some time away and that people are not certain at this point who they will vote for. Still, who do you think you would vote for in the election for President?)

1. GEORGE BUSH
2. BILL CLINTON
5. ROSS PEROT (VOL)
7. OTHER, SPECIFY:
8. DON'T KNOW --> NEXT PAGE, M5

M4d. Would you say that your preference for this candidate is strong or not strong?

1. STRONG
5. NOT STRONG
8. DON'T KNOW
M5. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT

SEE M4a, or M4c, P. 44

☐ 1. BOX 5 IS MARKED (R VOLUNTEERED ROSS PEROT) ---> NEXT PAGE, SECTION N

☐ 2. ALL OTHERS

M6. Was Ross Perot ever your first choice for president?

1. YES
5. NO
Here are some more questions about federal spending. If you had a say in making up the federal budget this year, for which of the following programs would you like to see spending increased and for which would you like to see spending decreased...

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>INCREASED (1)</th>
<th>SAME (2)</th>
<th>DECREASED (3)</th>
<th>CUT OUT ENTIRELY (VOL) (7)</th>
<th>DON'T KNOW (8)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N1a.</td>
<td>Should federal spending on social security be increased, decreased, or kept about the same?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N2b.</td>
<td>(Should federal spending on science and technology be increased, decreased, or kept about the same?)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N2c.</td>
<td>Child Care?</td>
<td>c.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N2d.</td>
<td>Dealing with crime?</td>
<td>d.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N2e.</td>
<td>Improving and protecting the environment?</td>
<td>e.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N2f.</td>
<td>Government assistance to the unemployed?</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N2g.</td>
<td>Poor people?</td>
<td>g.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N2h.</td>
<td>Public schools?</td>
<td>h.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N2j.</td>
<td>Aid to big cities?</td>
<td>j.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
SECTION Q

Q1. Do you consider religion to be an important part of your life, or not?

1. YES, IMPORTANT  5. NO, NOT IMPORTANT  8. DON'T KNOW

GO TO Q3

Q2. Would you say your religion provides some guidance in your day-to-day living, quite a bit of guidance, or a great deal of guidance in your day-to-day life?

1. SOME  2. QUITE A BIT  3. A GREAT DEAL  8. DON'T KNOW

Q3. (RB, P. 21) People practice their religion in different ways. Outside of attending religious services, do you pray several times a day, once a day, a few times a week, once a week or less or never?

1. SEVERAL TIMES A DAY  2. ONCE A DAY  3. FEW TIMES A WEEK  4. ONCE A WEEK OR LESS  5. NEVER

Q4. (RB, STILL ON P. 21) Outside of attending religious services, do you read the Bible several times a day, once a day, a few times a week, once a week or less or never?

1. SEVERAL TIMES A DAY  2. ONCE A DAY  3. FEW TIMES A WEEK  4. ONCE A WEEK OR LESS  5. NEVER

Q5. (RB, P. 22) Which of these statements comes closest to describing your feelings about the Bible? You can just tell me the number of the statement you choose.

1. ONE, THE BIBLE IS THE ACTUAL WORD OF GOD AND IS TO BE TAKEN LITERALLY, WORD FOR WORD, OR

2. TWO, THE BIBLE IS THE WORD OF GOD BUT NOT EVERYTHING IN IT SHOULD BE TAKEN LITERALLY, WORD FOR WORD, OR

3. THREE, THE BIBLE IS A BOOK WRITTEN BY MEN AND IS NOT THE WORD OF GOD.

7. OTHER, SPECIFY: __________________________

8. DON'T KNOW
06. (RB, P. 23) How often during the past week did you watch religious programs on TV?

| 1. DAILY | 2. SEVERAL DAYS | 3. ONCE OR TWICE | 4. NEVER | 8. DK |
X1. Lots of things come up that keep people from attending religious services even if they want to. Thinking about your life these days, do you ever attend religious services, apart from occasional weddings, baptisms or funerals?

1. YES  
1a. Regardless of whether you now attend any religious services do you ever think of yourself as part of a particular church or denomination?

   1. YES ---GO TO X3  
   5. NO ---TURN TO P. 56, SECTION Y

X2. Do you go to religious services every week, almost every week, once or twice a month, a few times a year, or never?

1. EVERY WEEK  
2. ALMOST EVERY WEEK  
3. ONCE OR TWICE A MONTH  
4. A FEW TIMES A YEAR  
5. NEVER

GO TO X3

X2a. Would you say you go to religious services once a week or more often than once a week?

1. MORE OFTEN  
2. JUST ONCE A WEEK

X3. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT

1. R ATTENDS RELIGIOUS SERVICES (1-4 AT X2)  
2. R DOESN'T ATTEND RELIGIOUS SERVICES (5 AT X1, X2) ---GO TO X3b

X3a. Do you mostly attend a place of worship that is Protestant, Roman Catholic, Jewish, or what?

1. PROTESTANT  
G0 TO X4  
2. CATHOLIC  
TURN TO P. 55, X7  
3. JEWISH  
TURN TO P. 55, X6  
4. ANY OTHER RESPONSE  
GO TO X4

X3b. Do you consider yourself Protestant, Roman Catholic, Jewish, or what?

1. PROTESTANT  
GO TO X4  
2. CATHOLIC  
TURN TO P. 55, X7  
3. JEWISH  
TURN TO P. 55, X6  
4. ANY OTHER RESPONSE  
GO TO X4
X4. (What church or denomination is that?)

1. BAPTIST
   >FACING PAGE, X4a

2. EPISCOPALIAN/ANGLICAN/CHURCH OF ENGLAND
   TURN TO P. 55, X7

3. LUTHERAN
   >FACING PAGE, X4c

4. METHODIST
   >FACING PAGE, X4d

5. "JUST PROTESTANT"
   TURN TO P. 55, X7

6. PRESBYTERIAN
   >FACING PAGE, X4e

7. REFORMED
   >FACING PAGE, X4f

NOT LISTED ABOVE TURN TO P. 52, X4 (CONTINUED)
X4a. With which Baptist group is your church associated? Is it the Southern Baptist Convention, the American Baptist Churches in the U.S.A., the American Baptist Association, the National Baptist Convention USA, an independent Baptist church or some other Baptist group?

1. SOUTHERN  2. AMER. BAP. USA  3. AMER. BAP. ASSOC.  5. NAT. BAP. USA  8. DK: "JUST BAPTIST"

7. OTHER, SPECIFY:

4. INDEPENDENT BAPTIST

TURN TO P. 55, X7

X4b. Are you affiliated with any larger Baptist group or is this strictly a local church?

1. LOCAL  7. AFFILIATED WITH LARGER GROUP: (SPECIFY)  8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 55, X7

X4c. Is this church part of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, the Missouri Synod, or some other Lutheran group?

1. EVAN. LUTH. CHURCH IN AMER. (ELCA) (formerly Luth. Ch. in Amer., Amer. Luth. Ch.)
2. MISSOURI SYNOD
7. OTHER; (SPECIFY)

8. DON'T KNOW, "JUST LUTHERAN"

TURN TO P. 55, X7

X4d. Is your church part of the United Methodist Church, African Methodist Episcopal, or some other Methodist group?

1. UNITED METHODIST
2. AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL (AME)
7. OTHER, SPECIFY:

8. DON'T KNOW; "JUST METHODIST"

TURN TO P. 55, X7

X4e. Is this the Presbyterian Church in the USA or some other Presbyterian group?

1. PRESbyterian Church in the U.S.A (formerly United Presbyterian Church)
7. OTHER, SPECIFY:

8. DON'T KNOW "JUST PRESBYTERIAN"

TURN TO P. 55, X7

X4f. Is this the Christian Reformed Church, the Reformed Church in America, or some other Reformed group?

1. CHRISTIAN REFORMED
2. REFORMED CH. IN AMERICA
7. OTHER SPECIFY:

8. DON'T KNOW JUST REFORMED

TURN TO P. 55, X7
X4. (What church or denomination is that)?

8. BRETHREN
   \(\rightarrow\) FACING PAGE, X4g

9. EVANGELICAL UNITED BRETHREN
   \(\rightarrow\) TURN TO P. 55, X7

10. CHRISTIAN OR JUST CHRISTIAN
    \(\rightarrow\) FACING PAGE, X4h

11. CHRISTIAN SCIENTIST
    \(\rightarrow\) TURN TO P. 56, SECTION Y

12. CHURCH (or CHURCHES) OF CHRIST
    \(\rightarrow\) FACING PAGE, X4i

13. UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST
    \(\rightarrow\) TURN TO P. 55, X7

14. DISCIPLES OF CHRIST
    \(\rightarrow\) TURN TO P. 55, X7

15. CHURCH OF GOD
    \(\rightarrow\) FACING PAGE, X4j

16. ASSEMBLY OF GOD
    \(\rightarrow\) TURN TO P. 55, X7

17. CONGREGATIONALIST

18. HOLINESS
    \(\rightarrow\) FACING PAGE, X4k

19. PENTECOSTAL

20. FRIENDS, QUAKER
    \(\rightarrow\) TURN TO P. 55, X7

NOT LISTED ABOVE TURN TO P. 54, X4 (CONTINUED)
### X4g. Is this the Church of the Brethren, the Plymouth Brethren, or what?

1. CHURCH OF THE BROTHERS  
2. PLYMOUTH BROTHERS  
3. OTHER, SPECIFY:  
4. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 55, X7

### X4h. When you say “Christian” does that mean the denomination called the “Christian Church (Disciples of Christ),” or some other Christian denomination, or do you mean to say “I am just a Christian”?

1. DISCIPLES OF CHRIST  
2. JUST CHRISTIAN  
3. OTHER, CHRISTIAN (SPECIFY:)  
4. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 55, X7

### X4i. Is this the Church of Christ or the United Church of Christ?

1. CHURCH OF CHRIST  
2. UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST  
3. OTHER, SPECIFY:  
4. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 55, X7

### X4j. Is this the Church of God of Anderson, Indiana; the Church of God of Cleveland, Tennessee; the Church of God in Christ; or some other Church of God?

1. ANDERSON, IN  
2. CLEVELAND, IN  
3. IN CHRIST  
4. OTHER, SPECIFY:

TURN TO P. 55, X7

### X4k. What kind of church is that? What is it called exactly? Is that part of a larger church or denomination? What is that church called? (THESE QUESTIONS ARE PROBES. USE THESE AND OTHERS TO GET AS MUCH SPECIFIC INFORMATION AS POSSIBLE)

TURN TO P. 55, X7
X4. (CONTINUE) (What church or denomination is that?)

21. ORTHODOX, e.g. Greek, Russian. SPECIFY: ------------->NEXT PAGE, X8

22. NON-DENOMINATIONAL -- PROTESTANT ------------->NEXT PAGE, X7

23. MORMONS

24. JEHOVAH'S WITNESSES ------------->NEXT PAGE, X7

25. LATTER DAY SAINTS

26. UNITARIAN/UNIVERSALIST

27. BUDDHIST

28. HINDU ------------->TURN TO P. 56, SECTION Y

29. MUSLIM/ISLAM

30. NATIVE AMERICAN

31. OTHER ------------->

X5. SPECIFY: What is it called exactly? Is that church part of a denomination? (USE ANY OR ALL AS NECESSARY, GET AS MUCH DETAIL AS POSSIBLE)

X5a. Is that group Christian?

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

NEXT PAGE, X7  TURN TO P. 56, SECTION Y
### X6. Interviewer Checkpoint: If R is Jewish

**1. R attends religious services (1-4 at X2)**

**2. R doesn't attend religious services (5 at X2) --- > Go to X6b**

### X6a.

Do you usually attend a synagogue or temple that is **Orthodox**, **Conservative**, **Reform** or what?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>1. Orthodox</strong></th>
<th><strong>2. Reform</strong></th>
<th><strong>3. Conservative</strong></th>
<th><strong>7. Other, specify:</strong></th>
<th><strong>8. Don't know</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**Go to X9**

### X6b.

Do you consider yourself **Orthodox**, **Conservative**, **Reform**, or what?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>1. Orthodox</strong></th>
<th><strong>2. Reform</strong></th>
<th><strong>3. Conservative</strong></th>
<th><strong>7. Other, specify:</strong></th>
<th><strong>8. Don't know</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**Go to X9**

### X7.

(Ask of Protestants, Catholics or other Christians) (RB, P. 24) Which one of these words best describes your kind of Christianity, **fundamentalist**, **evangelical**, **charismatic or spirit filled**, **moderate to liberal**?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>1. Fundamentalist</strong></th>
<th><strong>2. Evangelical</strong></th>
<th><strong>3. Charismatic/Spirit Filled</strong></th>
<th><strong>4. Moderate to Liberal</strong></th>
<th><strong>5. Something Else (Volunteered, Specify):</strong></th>
<th><strong>8. Don't know</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

### X8.

(Ask of all Protestants, Catholics or other Christians) Would you call yourself a born-again Christian, that is, have you personally had a conversion experience related to Jesus Christ?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>1. Yes</strong></th>
<th><strong>5. No</strong></th>
<th><strong>8. Don't know</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

### X9.

Are you officially a member of a parish, congregation, temple, or other place of worship?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>1. Yes</strong></th>
<th><strong>5. No</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

### X10.

Do you participate in a religious organization, society or group outside of (your/a) (parish/congregation/temple/place of worship)?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>1. Yes</strong></th>
<th><strong>5. No</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
SECTION Y

Y1. What is the month, day and year of your birth?

MONTH		DAY		YEAR

Y2. Are you married now and living with your (husband/wife)--or are you widowed, divorced, separated, or have you never married?

1. MARRIED AND LIVING WITH SPOUSE (OR SPOUSE IN SERVICE)
   5. WIDOWED
   3. DIVORCED
   4. SEPARATED
   2. NEVER MARRIED
   7. PARTNERS NOT MARRIED (VOL.)

Y3. What is the highest grade of school or year of college you have completed?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GRADES OF SCHOOL</th>
<th>COLLEGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>00 01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08 09 10 11 12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 14 15 16 17+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Y3a. Did you get a high school diploma or pass a high school equivalency test?

1. YES	5. NO

Y3b. What is the highest degree that you have earned?

______________________________
Y3c. Interviewer Checkpoint

See previous page, Y2

1. R is married or living with partner (box '1' or '7' marked at Y2)

2. All others --> next page, Y4

Y3d. What is the highest grade of school or year of college (your husband/your wife/your partner) has completed?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grades of School</th>
<th>College</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>00 01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08 09 10 11 12</td>
<td>13 14 15 16 17+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Y3e. Did (he/she) get a high school degree or pass a high school equivalency test?

| 1. Yes | 5. No |

Y3f. What is the highest degree that (he/she) has earned?

______________________________
Y4. (RB, P. 25) We'd like to know if you are working now, temporarily laid off, or are you unemployed, retired, permanently disabled, (a homemaker), (a student), or what? (MARK ALL THAT APPLY)

1. WORKING NOW

2. TEMPORARILY LAYED OFF

4. UNEMPLOYED

5. RETIRED

6. PERMANENTLY DISABLED

7. HOMEMAKER

8. STUDENT

Y4a. Have you ever done any work for pay?

1. YES 5. NO

TURN TO TURN TO
P. 61, Y10 P. 64, Y21

Y4b. When did you retire?

_________________ YEAR

TURN TO P. 61, Y10

Y4c. Have you ever done any work for pay?

1. YES 5. NO

TURN TO TURN TO
P. 61, Y10 P. 64, Y21

Y4d. Are you doing any work for pay at the present time?

1. YES 5. NO

NEXT PAGE, Y5, WORKING NOW

Y4e. In the last six months, did you do any work for pay?

1. YES 5. NO

TURN TO TURN TO
P. 63, Y16 P. 64, Y21
WORKING NOW OR TEMPORARILY LAID OFF

Y5. What is your main occupation? (What sort of work do you do?)

Y5a. What are your most important activities or duties?

Y5b. What kind of (business/industry) is that?

Y6. Do you work for someone else, are you self-employed, or what?

1. SOMEONE ELSE 2. BOTH SOMEONE ELSE AND SELF 3. SELF ONLY

NEXT PAGE, Y7

Y6a. Are you employed by a federal, state or local government?

1. YES 5. NO
Y7. About how many hours do you work on your job in the average week?

HOURS A WEEK

Y7a. Is that more hours than you want to work, fewer hours than you want to work, or generally about right?

5. MORE  1. FEWER  3. ABOUT RIGHT

Y8. How worried are you about losing your job in the near future; a lot, somewhat, or not much at all?

1. A LOT  3. SOMEWHAT  5. NOT MUCH AT ALL  8. DON'T KNOW; REFUSED

Y9. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT

SEE Y4 (P. 61)

1. R IS WORKING NOW

2. R TEMPORARILY LAID OFF--->TURN TO P. 64, Y21

Y9a. Were you out of work or laid off at any time during the last six months?

1. YES  5. NO

Y9b. During the last six months, have you had a reduction in your work hours or had to take a cut in pay at any time for reasons other than illness or personal choice?

1. YES  5. NO

TURN TO P. 64, Y21
Y10. What kind of work did you do on your last regular job? (What was your occupation?)

Y10a. What were your most important activities or duties?

Y10b. What kind of (business/industry) was that?

Y11. Did you work for someone else, were you self-employed, or what?

1. SOMEONE ELSE  2. BOTH SOMEONE ELSE AND SELF  3. SELF ONLY

GO TO Y12

Y11a. Were you employed by a federal, state or local government?

1. YES  5. NO

Y12. Have you had a job in the past six months?

1. YES  5. NO --->NEXT PAGE, Y13

Y12a. About how many hours did you work on your job in the average week?

__________ HOURS A WEEK
Y13. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT: EMPLOYMENT STATUS

SEE Y4 (P. 58)

1. R IS UNEMPLOYED—→GO TO Y15
2. R IS RETIRED OR PERMANENTLY DISABLED

Y14. Are you doing any work for pay at the present time?

1. YES
5. NO

TURN BACK TO Y5, P. 59, "WORKING NOW"

Y15. Are you looking for work at the present time?

1. YES
5. NO

TURN TO P. 64, Y21

Y15a. How worried are you about not being able to find a job in the near future; a lot, somewhat, or not much at all?

1. A LOT
3. SOMewhat
5. NOT MUCH AT ALL
8. DON'T KNOW; REFUSED

TURN TO P. 64, Y21
Y16. What kind of work did you do on your last regular job? (What was your occupation?)

Y16a. What were your most important activities or duties?

Y17. What kind of (business/industry) was that?

Y18. Did you work for someone else, were you self-employed, or what?

1. SOMEONE ELSE  2. BOTH SOMEONE ELSE AND SELF  3. SELF ONLY

Y18a. Were you employed by a federal, state or local government?

1. YES  5. NO

Y19. About how many hours did you work on your job in the average week?

HOURS A WEEK

Y20. Are you looking for work at the present time?

1. YES  5. NO

Y20a. How worried are you about not being able to find a job in the near future; a lot, somewhat, or not much at all?

1. A LOT  3. SOMEWHAT  5. NOT MUCH AT ALL  8. DON'T KNOW; REFUSED
Y21. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT

1. R IS MARRIED (OR PARTNERED)

2. ALL OTHERS --> TURN TO P. 70, Y38

Y22. (RB, STILL ON P. 25) We'd like to know about (your husband/your wife/your partner). Is he/she working now, temporarily laid off, or is he/she unemployed, retired, permanently disabled, (a homemaker), (a student), or what? (MARK ALL THAT APPLY)

1. WORKING NOW --> NEXT PAGE, Y23

2. TEMPORARILY LAID OFF

4. UNEMPLOYED

--- Y22a. Has (he/she) ever done any work for pay?

1. YES

5. NO

--- TURN TO P. 67, Y28

--- TURN TO P. 70, Y38

5. RETIRED

--- Y22b. When did (he/she) retire?

--- YEAR

--- TURN TO P. 67, Y28

6. PERMANENTLY DISABLED

--- Y22c. Has (he/she) ever done any work for pay?

1. YES

5. NO

--- TURN TO P. 67, Y28

--- TURN TO P. 70, Y38

7. HOMEMAKER

--- Y22d. Is (he/she) doing any work for pay at the present time?

1. YES

5. NO

--- NEXT PAGE, Y23, WORKING NOW

8. STUDENT

--- Y22e. In the last six months, did (he/she) do any work for pay?

1. YES

5. NO

--- TURN TO P. 69, Y33

--- TURN TO P. 70, Y38
WORKING NOW OR TEMPORARILY LAID OFF

Y23. What is (his/her) main occupation? (What sort of work does (he/she) do?)

Y23a. What are (his/her) most important activities or duties?

Y23b. What kind of (business/industry) is that?

Y24. Does (he/she) work for someone else, is (he/she) self-employed, or what?

1. SOMEONE ELSE
2. BOTH SOMEONE ELSE AND SELF
3. SELF ONLY

GO TO Y25

Y24a. Is (he/she) employed by a federal, state or local government?

1. YES
5. NO

Y25. About how many hours does (he/she) work on (his/her) job in the average week?

HOURS A WEEK

Y25a. Is that more hours than (he/she) wants to work, fewer hours than (he/she) wants to work, or generally about right?

5. MORE
1. FEWER
3. ABOUT RIGHT

Y26. How worried is (he/she) about losing (his/her) job in the near future; a lot, somewhat, or not much at all?

1. A LOT
3. SOMEWHAT
5. NOT MUCH AT ALL
8. DON'T KNOW; REFUSED
Y27. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT

SEE Y22, (P. 64)

☐ 1. SPOUSE/PARTNER IS WORKING NOW (1 AT Y22)

☐ 2. SPOUSE/PARTNER TEMPORARILY LAID OFF--->TURN TO P. 70, Y38

Y27a. Was (he/she) out of work or laid off at any time during the last six months?

1. YES  5. NO

Y27b. During the last six months, has (he/she) had a reduction in (his/her) work hours or had to take a cut in pay at any time for reasons other than illness or personal choice?

1. YES  5. NO

TURN TO P. 70, Y38
UNEMPLOYED, RETIRED, OR PERMANENTLY DISABLED

Y28. What kind of work did (he/she) do on his last regular job? (What was (his/her) occupation?)

Y28a. What were (his/her) most important activities or duties?

Y28b. What kind of (business/industry) was that?

Y29. Did (he/she) work for someone else, was (he/she) self-employed, or what?

1. SOMEONE ELSE  2. BOTH SOMEONE ELSE AND SELF  3. SELF ONLY

GO TO Y30

Y29a. Was (he/she) employed by a federal, state or local government?

1. YES  2. NO

Y30. Has (he/she) had a job in the past six months?

1. YES  5. NO

GO TO Y31

Y30a. About how many hours did (he/she) work on (his/her) job in the average week?

______________ HOURS A WEEK
Y31. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT: EMPLOYMENT STATUS

1. SPOUSE IS UNEMPLOYED ---> GO TO Y32
2. SPOUSE IS RETIRED OR PERMANENTLY DISABLED

Y31a. Is (he/she) doing any work for pay at the present time?

1. YES 5. NO

TURN BACK TO Y23, P. 65
"WORKING NOW"

Y32. Is (he/she) looking for work at the present time?

1. YES 5. NO

TURN TO P. 70, Y38

Y32a. How worried is (he/she) about not being able to find a job in the near future; a lot, somewhat, or not much at all?

1. A LOT 3. SOMEWHAT 5. NOT MUCH AT ALL
8. DON'T KNOW; REFUSED

TURN TO P. 70, Y38
HOMEMAKER OR STUDENT

Y33. What kind of work did (he/she) do on his last regular job? (What was (his/her) occupation?)

Y33a. What were (his/her) most important activities or duties?

Y34. What kind of (business/industry) was that?

Y35. Did (he/she) work for someone else, was (he/she) self-employed, or what?

1. SOMEONE ELSE  2. BOTH SOMEONE ELSE AND SELF  3. SELF ONLY

GO TO Y36

Y35a. Was (he/she) employed by a federal, state or local government?

1. YES  3. NO

Y36. About how many hours did (he/she) work on his job in the average week?

HOURS A WEEK

Y37. Is (he/she) looking for work at the present time?

1. YES  5. NO

Y37a. How worried is (he/she) about not being able to find a job in the near future; a lot, somewhat, or not much at all?

1. A LOT  3. SOMewhat  5. NOT MUCH AT ALL  8. DON'T KNOW; REFUSED

NEXT PAGE, Y38
Y38. Do you or anyone else in this household belong to a labor union?

1. YES

S. NO

--- NEXT PAGE, Y39

Y38a. Who is it that belongs?
(CHECK ALL THAT APPLY)

A. RESPONDENT

C. R’s WIFE

D. R’s HUSBAND

E. SOMEONE ELSE
Y40. (RB, P. 26) Please look at this page and tell me the letter of the income group that includes the income of all members of your family living here in 1991 before taxes. This figure should include salaries, wages, pensions, dividends, interest, and all other income. (IF UNCERTAIN: What would be your best guess?)

98. R REFUSED TO ANSWER --->TURN TO P. 74, Y42

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Letter</th>
<th>Income Range</th>
<th>Selection</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>None or less than $2,999</td>
<td>01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>$3,000-$4,999</td>
<td>02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>$5,000-$6,999</td>
<td>03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>$7,000-$8,999</td>
<td>04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>$9,000-$9,999</td>
<td>05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>$10,000-$10,999</td>
<td>06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>$11,000-$11,999</td>
<td>07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>$12,000-$12,999</td>
<td>08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J</td>
<td>$13,000-$13,999</td>
<td>09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K</td>
<td>$14,000-$14,999</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>$15,000-$16,999</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>$17,000-$19,999</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>$20,000-$21,999</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q</td>
<td>$22,000-$24,999</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td>$25,000-$29,999</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>$30,000-$34,999</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td>$35,000-$39,999</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U</td>
<td>$40,000-$44,999</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>$45,000-$49,999</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W</td>
<td>$50,000-$59,999</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>$60,000-$74,999</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Z</td>
<td>$75,000-$89,999</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AA</td>
<td>$90,000-$104,999</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BB</td>
<td>$105,000 AND OVER</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Now we are interested in the income that you yourself received in 1991, not including any of the income received by (your spouse and) the rest of your family. Please look at this page and tell me the income you yourself had in 1991 before taxes. This figure should include salaries, wages, pensions, dividends, interest, and all other income. (IF UNCERTAIN: What would be your best guess?)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income Range</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$0 - $2,999</td>
<td>A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$3,000 - $4,999</td>
<td>B.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$5,000 - $6,999</td>
<td>C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$7,000 - $8,999</td>
<td>D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$9,000 - $9,999</td>
<td>E.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$10,000 - $10,999</td>
<td>F.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$11,000 - $11,999</td>
<td>G.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$12,000 - $12,999</td>
<td>H.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$13,000 - $13,999</td>
<td>J.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$14,000 - $14,999</td>
<td>K.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$15,000 - $16,999</td>
<td>M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$17,000 - $19,999</td>
<td>N.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$20,000 - $21,999</td>
<td>P.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$22,000 - $24,999</td>
<td>Q.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$25,000 - $29,999</td>
<td>R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$30,000 - $34,999</td>
<td>S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$35,000 - $39,999</td>
<td>T.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$40,000 - $44,999</td>
<td>U.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$45,000 - $49,999</td>
<td>V.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$50,000 - $59,999</td>
<td>W.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$60,000 - $74,999</td>
<td>X.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$75,000 - $89,999</td>
<td>Z.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$90,000 - $104,999</td>
<td>AA.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$105,000 AND OVER</td>
<td>BB.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

98. R REFUSED TO ANSWER --->TURN TO P. 74, Y42

88. DK
Y41. (RB, STILL ON P. 26) Please look at this page and tell me the letter of the income group that includes the income you had in 1991 before taxes. This figure should include salaries, wages, pensions, dividends, interest, and all other income.

98. R REFUSED TO ANSWER --->NEXT PAGE, Y42

A. NONE OR LESS THAN $2,999
B. $3,000-$4,999
C. $5,000-$6,999
D. $7,000-$8,999
E. $9,000-$9,999
F. $10,000-$10,999
G. $11,000-$11,999
H. $12,000-$12,999
J. $13,000-$13,999
K. $14,000-$14,999
M. $15,000-$16,999
N. $17,000-$19,999
P. $20,000-$21,999
Q. $22,000-$24,999
R. $25,000-$29,999
S. $30,000-$34,999
T. $35,000-$39,999
U. $40,000-$44,999
V. $45,000-$49,999
W. $50,000-$59,999
X. $60,000-$74,999
Z. $75,000-$89,999
AA. $90,000-$104,999
BB. $105,000 AND OVER

88. DK
There's been some talk these days about different social classes. Most people say they belong either to the middle class or the working class. Do you ever think of yourself as belonging in one of these classes?

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

Y42a. Which one?
(RECORD ONE)

1. MIDDLE CLASS 2. WORKING CLASS 7. OTHER (SPECIFY):

Y42b. Well, if you had to make a choice, would you call yourself middle class or working class?

Y42c. Would you say that you are average middle class or that you are in the upper part of the middle class?

4. AVERAGE MIDDLE 6. UPPER MIDDLE

Y42d. Would you say you feel pretty close to middle class people, or that you don't feel much closer to them than to people in other classes?

2. CLOSE 5. NOT CLOSER

Y42e. Would you say that you are average working class or that you are in the upper part of the working class?

4. AVERAGE WORKING 6. UPPER WORKING

Y42f. Would you say you feel pretty close to working class people, or that you don't feel much closer to them than to people in other classes?

2. CLOSE 5. NOT CLOSER

NEXT PAGE, Y43
Y43. In addition to being American, what do you consider your **main** ethnic group or nationality group?

---

00. **NONE** ---› GO TO Y44

Y43a. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT

1. **ONE GROUP MENTIONED IN Y43**

5. **MORE THAN ONE GROUP MENTIONED IN Y43**

Y43b. With which of these groups do you most closely identify?

---

90. **NONE, NEITHER**

Y44. Were both your parents born in this country?

1. **YES**

5. **NO**

8. **DON'T KNOW**
Y45. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT

1. SOME HISPANIC GROUP MENTIONED IN Y43
   ASK Y46a, IF NECESSARY
2. NO HISPANIC GROUP MENTIONED IN Y43

Y46. Are you of Spanish or Hispanic origin or descent?

1. YES   5. NO   8. DON'T KNOW
          DO NOT PROBE

GO TO Y47

Y46a. (RB, P. 27) Please look at the booklet and tell me which category best describes your Hispanic origin.

1. MEXICAN
2. PUERTO RICAN
3. CUBAN
4. LATIN AMERICAN
5. CENTRAL AMERICAN
6. SPANISH

7. OTHER, SPECIFY

Y47. Where were you born? (IF UNITED STATES: Which state?)
Y48. Where was it that you grew up? (IF UNITED STATES: Which state or states?)

Y49. What kind of work did your father (OR FATHER SUBSTITUTE) do for a living while you were growing up? (What was his main occupation?)

Y49a. What were his most important activities or duties?

Y49b. What kind of business or industry was that?

Y50. Other than being a homemaker, did your mother (OR MOTHER SUBSTITUTE) have a job while you were growing up?

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

NEXT PAGE, Y51

Y50a. What kind of work did she do while you were growing up? (What was her main occupation?)

Y50b. What were her most important activities or duties?

Y50c. What kind of business or industry was that?
Y51. (RB, P. 28) Looking at this list, please tell me where you were mostly brought up?

- [ ] 1. ON A FARM
- [ ] 2. IN THE COUNTRY, NOT ON A FARM
- [ ] 3. IN A SMALL CITY OR TOWN (UNDER 50,000 PEOPLE)
- [ ] 4. IN A MEDIUM-SIZED CITY (50,000 - 100,000)
- [ ] 5. IN A LARGE CITY (100,000 - 500,000)
- [ ] 6. IN A SUBURB OF A LARGE CITY
- [ ] 7. IN A VERY LARGE CITY (OVER 500,000)
- [ ] 8. IN A SUBURB OF A VERY LARGE CITY

Y52. How long have you lived in your present (CITY/TOWN/TOWNSHIP/COUNTY)?

- [ ] 90. ALL OF LIFE

  NEXT PAGE, Y53

  IF LESS THAN TWO YEARS

Y52a. Where did you live before you moved here? (PROBE FOR COUNTY IF LIVED IN RURAL AREA)

  CITY  COUNTY  STATE

  FOREIGN COUNTRY (SPECIFY):

Y52b. How far away is that?
Y53. How long have you lived in this (house/condo/apartment)?

90. ALL OF LIFE

YEARS OR MONTHS IF LESS THAN TWO YEARS

Y54. (Do you/Does your family) own your home, pay rent, or what?

1. OWN  2. RENT  7. OTHER (SPECIFY):

Y55. These are our last few questions. Do you have any children? [IER: INCLUDE ADOPTED AND STEPCHILDREN]

1. YES  2. YES, STEPCHILDREN/ADOPTED (VOLUNTEERED)  5. NO

GO TO Y56

Y55a. How many children do you have who are less than 6 years old?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6

Y55b. How many of these live with you at least half of the time?

# CHILDREN

Y55c. How many children do you have who are between 6 and 18 years old?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6

Y55d. How many of these live with you at least half of the time?

# CHILDREN

Y56. Are you responsible for raising any children other than those we just talked about?

1. YES  5. NO

GO TO Y57

Y56d. How many of these live with you at least half of the time?

Y57. EXACT TIME NOW:

TURN TO COVERSHEET, PAGE 3 FOR "RECONTACT INFORMATION"
INTERVIEWER'S SUPPLEMENT

21. Respondent's sex is:  
   1. MALE  2. FEMALE

22. Respondent's race is:  
   1. WHITE  2. BLACK  3. AMERICAN INDIAN OR ALASKAN NATIVE  4. ASIAN OR PACIFIC ISLANDER

23. Other persons present at interview were (CHECK MORE THAN ONE BOX IF NECESSARY):  
   A. CHILDREN UNDER 6  B. OLDER CHILDREN  C. SPOUSE  D. OTHER RELATIVES  E. OTHER ADULTS

24. Respondent’s cooperation was:  
   1. VERY GOOD  2. GOOD  3. FAIR  4. POOR  5. VERY POOR

25. Respondent's general level of information about politics and public affairs seemed:  
   1. VERY HIGH  2. FAIRLY HIGH  3. AVERAGE  4. FAIRLY LOW  5. VERY LOW

26. Rate R's apparent intelligence:  
   1. VERY HIGH  2. ABOVE AVERAGE  3. AVERAGE  4. BELOW AVERAGE  5. VERY LOW

27. How suspicious did R seem to be about the study, before the interview?  
   1. NOT AT ALL SUSPICIOUS  3. SOMEWHAT SUSPICIOUS  5. VERY SUSPICIOUS
Z8. Overall, how great was R's interest in the interview?

1. VERY HIGH 2. ABOVE AVERAGE 3. AVERAGE 4. BELOW AVERAGE 5. VERY LOW

Z9. How sincere did R seem to be in (his/her) answers?

1. COMPLETELY SINCERE 2. USUALLY SINCERE 3. OFTEN SEEMED TO BE INSINCERE

GO TO Z11

Z10. Were there any particular parts of the interview for which you doubted R's sincerity? If so, name them by section or question numbers.


Z11. Do you feel R reported income correctly?

1. YES, THINK R REPORTED CORRECTLY 2. NO, THINK R REPORTED INCORRECTLY 3. NO, THINK R REPORTED DISHONESTLY 4. R REFUSED INCOME QUESTIONS

GO TO Z12

Z11a. If possible, give a reasonable estimate of what R's family income is:

$\underline{\quad} BEFORE TAXES IN 1991

Z12. Was this interview conducted entirely in English, or was it necessary to translate some (or all) questions into another language?

1. INTERVIEW CONDUCTED ENTIRELY IN ENGLISH 2. SOME (OR ALL) QUESTIONS TRANSLATED INTO ANOTHER LANGUAGE

Z12a. What language?
213. What was R's reaction to interview, after completion or expressed during interview? (CIRCLE CODES OF ALL THAT APPLY.)

10. NEGATIVE--GENERAL
11. NEGATIVE--TOO LONG
12. NEGATIVE--TOO COMPLICATED
13. NEGATIVE--BORING/TEDIOUS/REPETITIVE
15. R WANTED TO STOP BEFORE INTERVIEW COMPLETED. AFTER STARTING THE INTERVIEW R MADE COMMENTS INDICATING SHE/HE REGRETS HAVING AGREED TO BE INTERVIEWED.
20. R COMPLAINED AND/OR INTERVIEWER OBSERVED THAT R WAS ILL/DEAF/TIRED/HAD BAD EYESIGHT, ETC.; INTERVIEW WAS OBVIOUSLY HARD FOR R.
22. R COMPLAINED AND/OR INTERVIEWER OBSERVED THAT R WAS CONFUSED BY QUESTIONS, "COULDN'T UNDERSTAND THE SCALES", R WAS SLOW READER OR NON-READER; INTERVIEW WAS OBVIOUSLY HARD FOR R.
30. R EXPRESSED (ESPECIALLY IF REPEATEDLY) DOUBTS/APOLOGIES/EMBARRASSMENT OVER LACK OF KNOWLEDGE OR OWN SUITABILITY FOR INTERVIEW.
31. R EXPRESSED (ESPECIALLY IF REPEATEDLY) DOUBTS/APOLOGIES/EMBARRASSMENT OVER LACK OF POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE: CANDIDATES: NAMES, ELECTION ISSUES; OR OWN LACK OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION.
40. R WAS AGITATED OR STRESSED BY INTERVIEW PROCESS.
41. R BECAME ANGRY AT INTERVIEW CONTENT.
45. R BECAME CONCERNED ABOUT SAMPLING PURPOSES OR BIAS: "WHY DO YOU COME TO THE OLD FOLKS HOME?" "WHY THIS NEIGHBORHOOD?" "WHY/WHY NOT BLACKS/HISPANICS?" "WHY ME?", ETC.
50. R COULD NOT READ RESPONDENT BOOKLET.
70. R APPEARED TO ENJOY THE INTERVIEW (R WAS "COOPERATIVE"/"INTERESTED"/"PLEASANT", ETC.)
80. NEUTRAL OR NO FEEDBACK