

For Office Use Only

1992 National Election Studies  
Pre-Election Study

Project: 117 (495968)  
Fall 1992  
Study Phase Code: 5



The University of Michigan  
Survey Research Center  
Institute for Social Research  
Ann Arbor, MI 48106

1. IWER LABEL

2. SAMPLE ID:

5. Your Interview Number: \_\_\_\_\_

2a. Release Code from Sample Label: \_\_\_\_\_

6. Date Interview Completed: \_\_\_\_\_

3. Form Type:

1. PANEL

2. CROSS-SECTION

7. Length of Interview: \_\_\_\_\_ (Minutes)

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

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

4. Interview taken in Primary Area:

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)



1992 NATIONAL ELECTION STUDIES

PRE-ELECTION

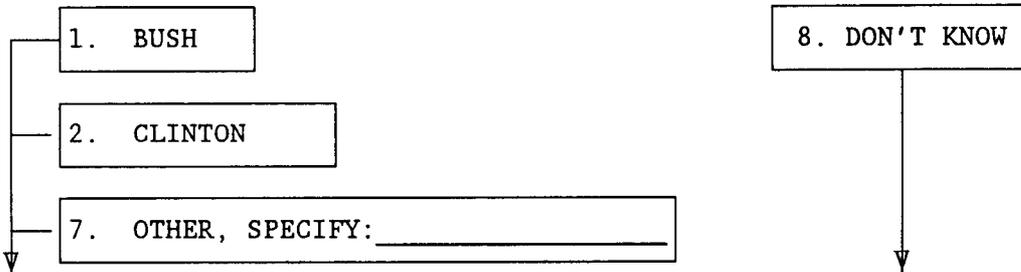
SECTION A

A0. 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?



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	8. DON'T KNOW
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
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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
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NEXT PAGE, SECTION B

A5a. Which one did you vote for?

1. BUSH	2. DUKAKIS	5. OTHER	8. DON'T KNOW
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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."]

Horizontal lines for handwritten responses.

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?

NUMBER OF DAYS

7. EVERY DAY

0. NONE

8. DON'T KNOW

GO TO C2

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?

1. A GREAT DEAL

2. QUITE A BIT

3. SOME

4. VERY LITTLE

5. NONE

8. DK

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

NUMBER OF DAYS

7. EVERY DAY

0. NONE

8. DON'T KNOW

NEXT PAGE, C3

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

1. YES

5. NO

----->NEXT PAGE, C3

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?

1. A GREAT DEAL

2. QUITE A BIT

3. SOME

4. VERY LITTLE

5. NONE

8. DK

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

1. YES	5. NO
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NEXT PAGE, SECTION D

C6a. Please tell me, what do you remember about any of these ads?  
(Do you remember any others?)

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**SECTION D**

<p>D1. ARIZONA, IOWA, MINNESOTA, MISSOURI, VIRGINIA, WYOMING</p>	<p>D1. ALL OTHER STATES</p>
<p>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?</p>	<p>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)?</p>
<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around; align-items: center;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;">1. YES, VOTED</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;">5. NO, DIDN'T VOTE</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;">8. DK, CAN'T REMEMBER</div> </div> <p style="text-align: center; margin-top: 10px;">NEXT PAGE, D2</p>	

<p>D1a. Did you vote in the Republican or the Democratic (primary/caucus)?</p>		
<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; margin: 0 auto; width: 80%;">1. REPUBLICAN</div> <p style="text-align: center; margin-top: 5px;">↓</p>	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; margin: 0 auto; width: 80%;">5. DEMOCRATIC</div> <p style="text-align: center; margin-top: 5px;">↓</p>	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; margin: 0 auto; width: 80%;">8. DON'T KNOW, CAN'T REMEMBER</div> <p style="text-align: center; margin-top: 10px;">NEXT PAGE, D2</p>
<p>D1b. (BALLOT CARD) Here is a list of the Republican Presidential candidates in your state's (primary/caucus). Who did you vote for?</p> <hr style="width: 80%; margin: 10px auto;"/> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; margin: 10px auto; width: 80%;">98. DON'T KNOW, CAN'T REMEMBER</div>	<p>D1c. (BALLOT CARD) Here is a list of the Democratic Presidential candidates in your state's (primary/caucus). Who did you vote for?</p> <hr style="width: 80%; margin: 10px auto;"/> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; margin: 10px auto; width: 80%;">98. DON'T KNOW, CAN'T REMEMBER</div>	

D2. (RB, P. 3) 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?

PROBE FOR "I 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?	RATING (RECORD ACTUAL NUMBER)	DK PROBE USED? (X=YES)	R DOESN'T RECOGNIZE NAME 997.	DK WHERE TO RATE; CAN'T JUDGE 998.
a. GEORGE BUSH	a			
b. Bill Clinton	b			
c. Ross Perot	c			
d. Dan Quayle	d			
e. Albert Gore	e			
f. Anita Hill	f			
g. Tom Foley	g			
h. Barbara Bush	h			
j. Hillary Clinton	j			
k. Clarence Thomas	k			
m. Pat Buchanan	m			
n. Jesse Jackson	n			

D3. (RB, STILL ON P. 3) And still using the thermometer, how would you rate the following:

- a. The Democratic Party
- b. The Republican Party

RATING (RECORD ACTUAL NUMBER)	DK WHERE TO RATE; CAN'T JUDGE 998
a.	
b.	

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			
<p>D4a. Do you approve <u>strongly</u> or <u>not strongly</u>?</p> <table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; width: 50%;">1. STRONGLY</td> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; width: 50%;">2. NOT STRONGLY</td> </tr> </table>	1. STRONGLY	2. NOT STRONGLY	<p>D4b. Do you disapprove <u>strongly</u> or <u>not strongly</u>?</p> <table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; width: 50%;">5. STRONGLY</td> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; width: 50%;">4. NOT STRONGLY</td> </tr> </table>	5. STRONGLY	4. NOT STRONGLY
1. STRONGLY	2. 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			
<p>D5a. Do you approve <u>strongly</u> or <u>not strongly</u>?</p> <table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; width: 50%;">1. STRONGLY</td> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; width: 50%;">2. NOT STRONGLY</td> </tr> </table>	1. STRONGLY	2. NOT STRONGLY	<p>D5b. Do you disapprove <u>strongly</u> or <u>not strongly</u>?</p> <table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; width: 50%;">5. STRONGLY</td> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; width: 50%;">4. NOT STRONGLY</td> </tr> </table>	5. STRONGLY	4. NOT STRONGLY
1. STRONGLY	2. 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			
<p>D6a. Do you approve <u>strongly</u> or <u>not strongly</u>?</p> <table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; width: 50%;">1. STRONGLY</td> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; width: 50%;">2. NOT STRONGLY</td> </tr> </table>	1. STRONGLY	2. NOT STRONGLY	<p>D6b. Do you disapprove <u>strongly</u> or <u>not strongly</u>?</p> <table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; width: 50%;">5. STRONGLY</td> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; width: 50%;">4. NOT STRONGLY</td> </tr> </table>	5. STRONGLY	4. NOT STRONGLY
1. STRONGLY	2. 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...)	BUSH (1)	CLINTON (2)	NO DIFF (3)	DK (8)
D8a. HANDLING THE NATION'S ECONOMY?				
D8b. handling foreign affairs?				
D8c. solving the problem of poverty?				
D8d. handling the problem of pollution and protecting the environment?				
D8e. making health care more affordable?				
D8f. reducing the budget deficit?				

SECTION E

E1. 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

E1a. [IF NECESSARY: What is that?] [PROBE: Anything else you like about the Democratic Party? -- until R says "NO"]

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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"]

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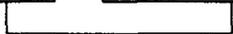
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E3. Is there anything in particular that you like about the Republican Party?

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"]

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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"]

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## 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				
↓	GO TO F2	↓	GO TO F2				
<p>F1a. Is that <u>much</u> better off or <u>somewhat</u> better off?</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td>1. MUCH BETTER</td> <td>2. SOMEWHAT BETTER</td> </tr> </table>		1. MUCH BETTER	2. SOMEWHAT BETTER	<p>F1b. Is that <u>much</u> worse off or <u>somewhat</u> worse off?</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td>5. MUCH WORSE</td> <td>4. SOMEWHAT WORSE</td> </tr> </table>		5. MUCH WORSE	4. SOMEWHAT WORSE
1. MUCH BETTER	2. SOMEWHAT BETTER						
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				
↓	GO TO F3	↓	GO TO F3				
<p>F2a. Is that <u>much</u> better off or <u>somewhat</u> better off?</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td>1. MUCH BETTER</td> <td>2. SOMEWHAT BETTER</td> </tr> </table>		1. MUCH BETTER	2. SOMEWHAT BETTER	<p>F2b. Is that <u>much</u> worse off or <u>somewhat</u> worse off?</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td>5. MUCH WORSE</td> <td>4. SOMEWHAT WORSE</td> </tr> </table>		5. MUCH WORSE	4. SOMEWHAT WORSE
1. MUCH BETTER	2. SOMEWHAT BETTER						
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				
↓	NEXT PAGE, F4	↓	NEXT PAGE, F4				
<p>F3a. Has it gone up <u>a lot</u> more or <u>a little</u> more?</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td>1. A LOT</td> <td>2. A LITTLE</td> </tr> </table>		1. A LOT	2. A LITTLE	<p>F3b. Has it fallen behind <u>a lot</u> or <u>a little</u>?</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td>5. A LOT</td> <td>4. A LITTLE</td> </tr> </table>		5. A LOT	4. A LITTLE
1. A LOT	2. 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	3. HAVEN'T MADE MUCH DIFFERENCE	5. WORSE OFF	8. DON'T KNOW				
↓	GO TO F5	↓	GO TO F5				
<p>F4a. Is that <u>much</u> better off or <u>somewhat</u> better off?</p> <table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="width: 50%; text-align: center; padding: 5px;">1. MUCH BETTER</td> <td style="width: 50%; text-align: center; padding: 5px;">2. SOMEWHAT BETTER</td> </tr> </table>		1. MUCH BETTER	2. SOMEWHAT BETTER	<p>F4b. Is that <u>much</u> worse off or <u>somewhat</u> worse off?</p> <table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="width: 50%; text-align: center; padding: 5px;">5. MUCH WORSE</td> <td style="width: 50%; text-align: center; padding: 5px;">4. SOMEWHAT WORSE</td> </tr> </table>		5. MUCH WORSE	4. SOMEWHAT WORSE
1. MUCH BETTER	2. SOMEWHAT BETTER						
5. MUCH WORSE	4. 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	5. HAD TO PUT OFF BUYING	8. DK
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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	5. NO	8. DK
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F7. In order to make ends meet this past year did (any of) you do any of the following:

	YES (1)	NO (5)
F7a. borrow money from a bank, a lending institution, or from relatives or friends?		
F7b. dip into your savings?		
F7c. look for a job, look for a second job, or try to work more hours at your present job?		

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. (RB, P. 5) Do you (or any family member living with you) currently receive payments from...

	YES (1)	NO (5)	DK (8)
F10a. ...Social Security?			
F10b. ...Food Stamps?			
F10c. ...Medicare?			
F10d. ...Medicaid?			
F10e. ...Unemployment Compensation?			
F10f. ...Aid to Families with Dependent Children?			
F10g. ...Veterans Benefits?			
F10h. ...Retirement pensions for federal government employees?			
F10j. ...Disability payments?			
F10k. ...workman's compensation?			

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.

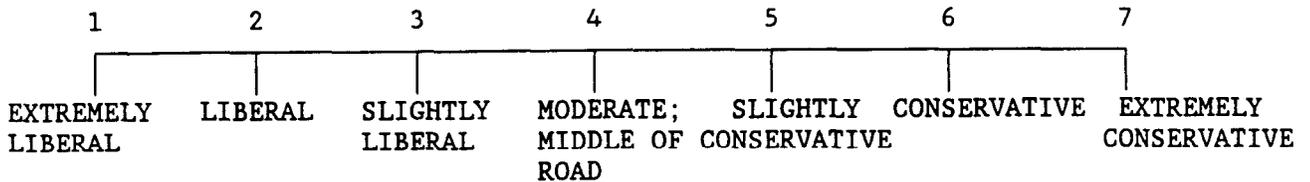
Has George Bush -- because of the kind of person he is, or because of something he has done--ever made you feel:

	1. YES, HAVE FELT	5. NO; NEVER FELT
G1a. angry?		
G1b. hopeful?		
G1c. afraid?		
G1d. proud?		

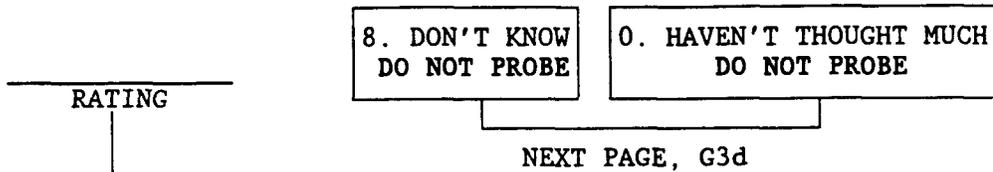
G2. Think about Bill Clinton. Has Bill Clinton (-- because of the kind of person he is, or because of something he has done --) ever made you feel:

	1. YES, HAVE FELT	5. NO; NEVER FELT
G2a. angry?		
G2b. hopeful?		
G2c. afraid?		
G2d. proud?		

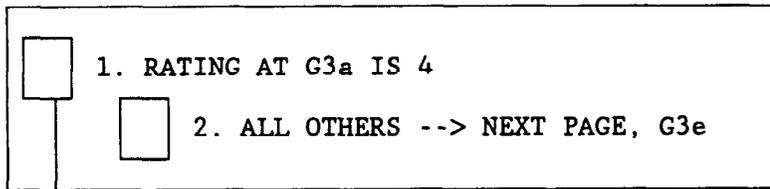
G3. (RB, P. 6) We hear a lot of talk these days about liberals and conservatives. Here is a 7-point scale on which the political views that people might hold are arranged from extremely liberal to extremely conservative.



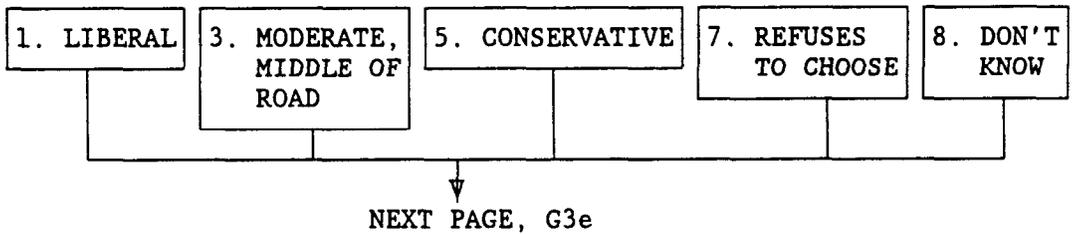
G3a. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?



G3b. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT



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



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
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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

G3e. (RB, STILL ON P. 6) Where would you place George Bush on this scale?

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

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

G3h. The Republican party?

G3j. The Democratic party?

	RATING	DO NOT PROBE 8. DK
e.		
f.		
g.		
h.		
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.

	EXTREMELY IMPORTANT (1)	VERY IMPORTANT (2)	SOMEWHAT IMPORTANT (3)	NOT AT ALL IMPORTANT (4)	DON'T KNOW (8)
G5a. Trying to get ahead on your own effort?					
G5b. (How about) believing in God?					
G5c. Treating people of all races and backgrounds equally?					
G5d. Speaking English?					

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

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## 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

GO TO H3

H2a. Would you say much better or somewhat better?

1. MUCH BETTER

2. SOMEWHAT BETTER

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

GO TO H4

H3a. Would you say much better or somewhat better?

1. MUCH BETTER

2. SOMEWHAT BETTER

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

NEXT PAGE, H5

H4a. Would you say much better or somewhat better?

1. MUCH BETTER

2. SOMEWHAT BETTER

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	↓	GO TO H6

<p>H5a. Would you say <u>much</u> better or <u>somewhat</u> better?</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td>1. MUCH BETTER</td> <td>2. SOMEWHAT BETTER</td> </tr> </table>	1. MUCH BETTER	2. SOMEWHAT BETTER	<p>H5b. Would you say <u>much</u> worse or <u>somewhat</u> worse?</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td>5. MUCH WORSE</td> <td>4. SOMEWHAT WORSE</td> </tr> </table>	5. MUCH WORSE	4. SOMEWHAT WORSE
1. MUCH BETTER	2. SOMEWHAT BETTER				
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	↓	GO TO H7

<p>H6a. Would you say <u>much</u> better or <u>somewhat</u> better?</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td>1. MUCH BETTER</td> <td>2. SOMEWHAT BETTER</td> </tr> </table>	1. MUCH BETTER	2. SOMEWHAT BETTER	<p>H6b. Would you say <u>much</u> worse or <u>somewhat</u> worse?</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td>5. MUCH WORSE</td> <td>4. SOMEWHAT WORSE</td> </tr> </table>	5. MUCH WORSE	4. SOMEWHAT WORSE
1. MUCH BETTER	2. SOMEWHAT BETTER				
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				
↓	GO TO H9	↓	GO TO H9				
<p>H8a. Would you say <u>much</u> better or <u>somewhat</u> better?</p> <table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="width: 50%; text-align: center; padding: 5px;">1. MUCH BETTER</td> <td style="width: 50%; text-align: center; padding: 5px;">2. SOMEWHAT BETTER</td> </tr> </table>		1. MUCH BETTER	2. SOMEWHAT BETTER	<p>H8b. Would you say <u>much</u> worse or <u>somewhat</u> worse?</p> <table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="width: 50%; text-align: center; padding: 5px;">5. MUCH WORSE</td> <td style="width: 50%; text-align: center; padding: 5px;">4. SOMEWHAT WORSE</td> </tr> </table>		5. MUCH WORSE	4. SOMEWHAT WORSE
1. MUCH BETTER	2. SOMEWHAT BETTER						
5. MUCH WORSE	4. SOMEWHAT WORSE						

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	↓	GO TO H11				
<p>H10a. Would you say <u>much</u> better or <u>somewhat</u> better?</p> <table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="width: 50%; text-align: center; padding: 5px;">1. MUCH BETTER</td> <td style="width: 50%; text-align: center; padding: 5px;">2. SOMEWHAT BETTER</td> </tr> </table>		1. MUCH BETTER	2. SOMEWHAT BETTER	<p>H10b. Would you say <u>much</u> worse or <u>somewhat</u> worse?</p> <table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="width: 50%; text-align: center; padding: 5px;">5. MUCH WORSE</td> <td style="width: 50%; text-align: center; padding: 5px;">4. SOMEWHAT WORSE</td> </tr> </table>		5. MUCH WORSE	4. SOMEWHAT WORSE
1. MUCH BETTER	2. SOMEWHAT BETTER						
5. MUCH WORSE	4. SOMEWHAT WORSE						

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				
↓	NEXT PAGE, H12	↓	NEXT PAGE, H12				
<p>H11a. Would you say <u>much</u> better or <u>somewhat</u> better?</p> <table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="width: 50%; text-align: center; padding: 5px;">1. MUCH BETTER</td> <td style="width: 50%; text-align: center; padding: 5px;">2. SOMEWHAT BETTER</td> </tr> </table>		1. MUCH BETTER	2. SOMEWHAT BETTER	<p>H11b. Would you say <u>much</u> worse or <u>somewhat</u> worse?</p> <table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="width: 50%; text-align: center; padding: 5px;">5. MUCH WORSE</td> <td style="width: 50%; text-align: center; padding: 5px;">4. SOMEWHAT WORSE</td> </tr> </table>		5. MUCH WORSE	4. SOMEWHAT WORSE
1. MUCH BETTER	2. SOMEWHAT BETTER						
5. MUCH WORSE	4. SOMEWHAT WORSE						

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?

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

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 weaker, stayed about the same, or has it grown stronger?

1. WEAKER

3. STAYED THE SAME

5. STRONGER

8. 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 the Republicans, by the Democrats, or about the same by both?

1. BETTER BY  
REPUBLICANS5. BETTER BY  
DEMOCRATS3. SAME BY  
BOTH8. 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 agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, disagree strongly?

1. AGREE  
STRONGLY2. AGREE  
SOMEWHAT3. NEITHER AGREE  
OR DISAGREE4. DISAGREE  
SOMEWHAT5. 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 agree or 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. AGREE

5. DISAGREE

8. 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, very willing, somewhat willing, not very willing, or never willing?

1. EXTREMELY

2. VERY

3. SOMEWHAT

4. NOT VERY

5. NEVER

8. DON'T  
KNOW

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

1. VERY WORRIED

3. SOMEWHAT WORRIED

5. NOT WORRIED

8. 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
-------------------	----------------	---------------

GO TO J10

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

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

J10. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT

<input type="checkbox"/>	1. J11 PRE-EDITED WITH NAME #33 OR #36 FROM INSTRUCTION BOOK
<input type="checkbox"/>	2. NO NAME #33 OR #36 IN INSTRUCTION BOOK--->GO TO J12

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

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				
↓	↓	GO TO J13				
<p>J12a. Do you approve <u>strongly</u> or <u>not strongly</u>?</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td style="text-align: center;">1. STRONGLY</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2. NOT STRONGLY</td> </tr> </table>		1. STRONGLY	2. NOT STRONGLY	<p>J12b. Do you disapprove <u>strongly</u> or <u>not strongly</u>?</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td style="text-align: center;">5. STRONGLY</td> <td style="text-align: center;">4. NOT STRONGLY</td> </tr> </table>	5. STRONGLY	4. NOT STRONGLY
1. STRONGLY	2. 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.)
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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

K1a. Would you call yourself a strong Republican or a not very strong Republican?

1. STRONG

5. NOT VERY STRONG

K1b. Would you call yourself a strong Democrat or a not very strong Democrat?

1. STRONG

5. NOT VERY STRONG

K1c. 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?

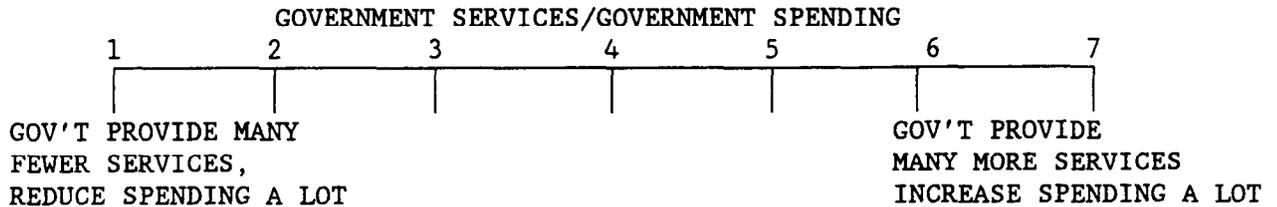
	EXTREMELY WELL (1)	QUITE WELL (2)	NOT TOO WELL (3)	NOT WELL AT ALL (4)	DO NOT PROBE DON'T KNOW (8)
a. INTELLIGENT?					
b. (How about) Compassionate?					
c. Moral?					
d. Inspiring?					
e. Provides strong leadership?					
f. Really cares about people like you?					
g. Knowledgeable?					
h. Honest?					
i. Gets things done?					

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?

	EXTREMELY WELL (1)	QUITE WELL (2)	NOT TOO WELL (3)	NOT WELL AT ALL (4)	DO NOT PROBE DON'T KNOW (8)
a. INTELLIGENT?					
b. (How about) Compassionate?					
c. Moral?					
d. Inspiring?					
e. Provides strong leadership?					
f. Really cares about people like you?					
g. Knowledgeable?					
h. Honest?					
i. Gets things done?					

SECTION L

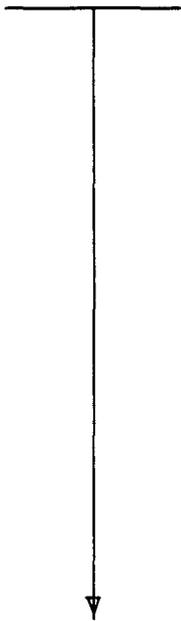
L1. (RB, P. 13) Some people think the government should provide fewer services, even in areas such as health and education in order to reduce spending. Suppose these people are at one end of the scale at point 1. Other people feel it is important for the government to provide many more services even 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.



L1a. 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 8. DK
d. Where would you place the Republican party on this scale?	d.	
e. the Democratic Party?	e.	

NEXT PAGE, L2

L1b. Where would you place George Bush on this scale?

L1c. (Where would you place) Bill Clinton (on this scale)?

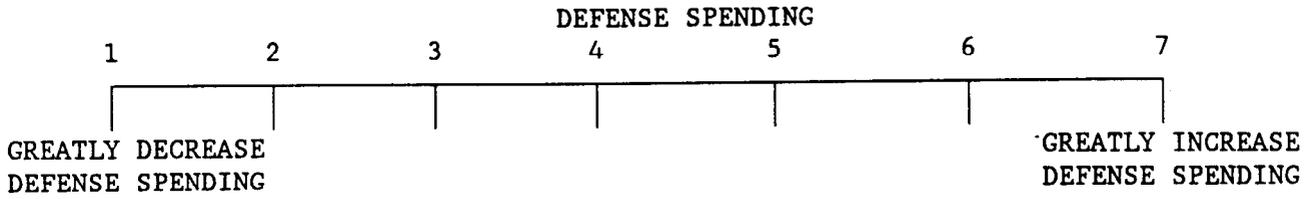
L1d. The Republican party?

L1e. The Democratic party?

L1f. What the federal government is doing now? f.

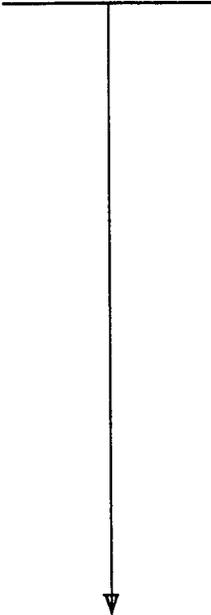
		DO NOT PROBE 8. DK
b.		
c.		
d.		
e.		
f.		

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.



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
↓	↓



	DO NOT PROBE 8. DK
d. Where would you place the Republican party on this scale?	d.
e. the Democratic Party?	e.
NEXT PAGE, L3	

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

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

L2d. The Republican party?

L2e. The Democratic party?

L2f. What the federal government is doing now? f.

RATING	DO NOT PROBE 8. DK
b.	
c.	
d.	
e.	
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

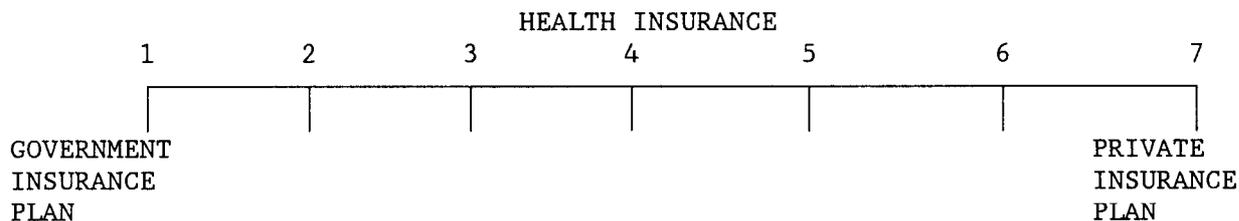
5. NO

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.



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

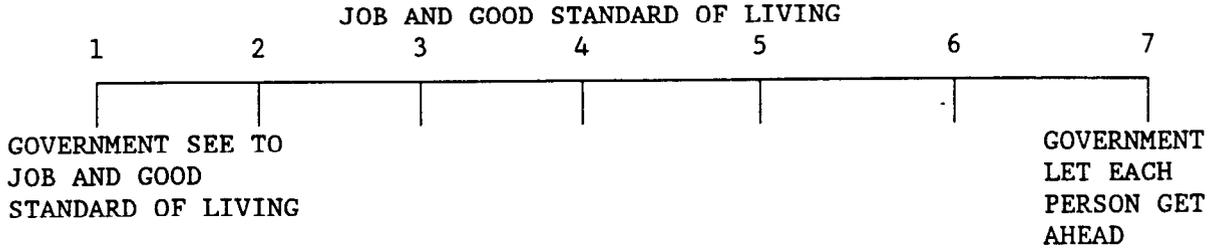
L6. Do you think the government should require companies to allow up to six months unpaid leave for parents to spend time with their newborn or newly adopted children, or is this something that should be left up to the individual employer?

1. GOVERNMENT SHOULD REQUIRE

2. LEFT TO INDIVIDUAL EMPLOYER

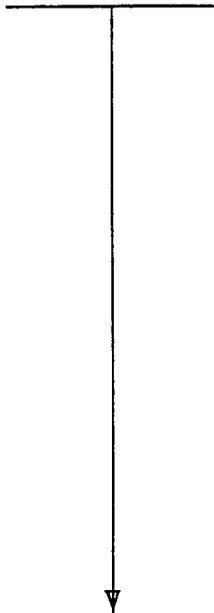
8. DK

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.



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
---------------	---



	DO NOT PROBE 8. DK
b. Where would you place George Bush on this scale?	b.
c. Bill Clinton?	c.
NEXT PAGE, L8	

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? f.

	DO NOT PROBE 8. DK
b.	
c.	
d.	
e.	
f.	



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	5. OPPOSE	8. DON'T KNOW
↓	↓	GO TO L12
<p>L11a. Do you favor this law <u>strongly</u> or <u>not strongly</u>?</p> <p style="text-align: center;">1. STRONGLY    2. NOT STRONGLY</p>		<p>L11b. Do you oppose this law <u>strongly</u> or <u>not strongly</u>?</p> <p style="text-align: center;">5. STRONGLY    4. NOT STRONGLY</p>

- 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	5. OPPOSE	8. DON'T KNOW
↓	↓	GO TO L13
<p>L12a. Do you favor government funding for abortions <u>strongly</u> or <u>not strongly</u>?</p> <p style="text-align: center;">1. STRONGLY    2. NOT STRONGLY</p>		<p>L12b. Do you oppose government funding for abortion <u>strongly</u> or <u>not strongly</u>?</p> <p style="text-align: center;">5. STRONGLY    4. NOT STRONGLY</p>

- 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	5. OPPOSE	8. DON'T KNOW
↓	↓	NEXT PAGE, L14
<p>L13a. Do you favor this law <u>strongly</u> or <u>not strongly</u>?</p> <p style="text-align: center;">1. STRONGLY    2. NOT STRONGLY</p>		<p>L13b. Do you oppose this law <u>strongly</u> or <u>not strongly</u>?</p> <p style="text-align: center;">5. STRONGLY    4. NOT STRONGLY</p>

L14. Recently there has been a lot of discussion about sexual harassment. How serious a problem do you think sexual harassment in the work place 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

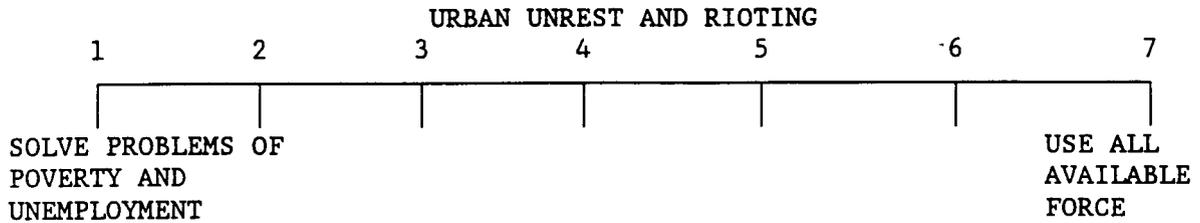
L18. Do you think government should provide child care assistance to low and middle income working parents, or isn't it the government's responsibility?

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.



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
--------	-------	---------------

NEXT PAGE, SECTION M

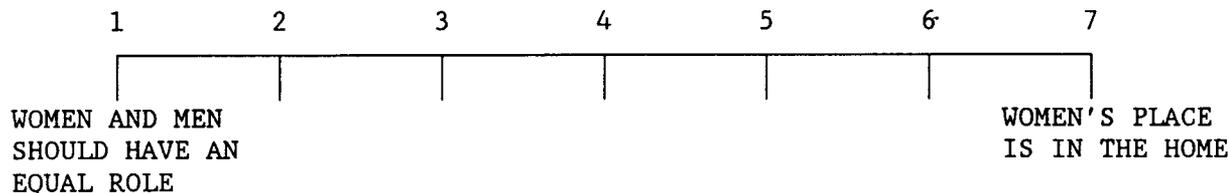
L21a. Who do you think is more to blame for the problems of the savings and loans business--former president Reagan, President Bush, the Congress, or the owners and managers of the savings and loans?

1. REAGAN	2. BUSH	3. CONGRESS
4. OWNERS & MANAGERS	5. ALL OF THEM (VOL.)	6. NONE OF THEM (VOL.)
7. OTHER, SPECIFY:  _____	8. DK	

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SECTION M

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.



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	0. 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 5IS 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

SECTION N

N1. 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...

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

## 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

Q6. (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

## SECTION X

- 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

5. NO

X1a. 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 ---&gt;GO TO X3

5. NO ---&gt;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

GO TO X4

2. CATHOLIC

TURN TO  
P. 55, X7

3. JEWISH

TURN TO  
P. 55, X64. 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, X64. 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"
-------------	-------------------	----------------------	------------------	-----------------------

TURN TO P. 55, X7

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. DONT 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 PRESBYTER."
--	-----------------------------	---------------------------------

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 →FACING PAGE, X4g

9. EVANGELICAL UNITED BRETHREN  
TURN TO P. 55, X7

10. CHRISTIAN OR JUST CHRISTIAN →FACING PAGE, X4h

11. CHRISTIAN SCIENTIST  
TURN TO P. 56, SECTION Y

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

13. UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST  
14. DISCIPLES OF CHRIST →TURN TO P. 55, X7

15. CHURCH OF GOD →FACING PAGE, X4j

16. ASSEMBLY OF GOD  
17. CONGREGATIONALIST →TURN TO P. 55, X7

18. HOLINESS  
19. PENTECOSTAL →FACING PAGE, X4k

20. FRIENDS, QUAKER  
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 BRETHREN

2. PLYMOUTH BRETHREN

7. OTHER, SPECIFY:  
\_\_\_\_\_

8. 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

7. OTHER, CHRISTIAN (SPECIFY:)  
\_\_\_\_\_

2. JUST CHRISTIAN

8. 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

7. OTHER, SPECIFY:  
\_\_\_\_\_

8. 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, TN

3. IN CHRIST

7. OTHER, SPECIFY:  
\_\_\_\_\_

8. DON'T KNOW

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

25. LATTER DAY SAINTS

26. UNITARIAN/UNIVERSALIST

----->NEXT PAGE, X7

27. BUDDHIST

28. HINDU

29. MUSLIM/ISLAM

30. NATIVE AMERICAN

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

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

<input type="checkbox"/>	1. R ATTENDS RELIGIOUS SERVICES (1-4 AT X2)
<input type="checkbox"/>	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?

1. ORTHODOX	2. REFORM	3. CONSERVATIVE	7. OTHER, SPECIFY: _____	8. DON'T KNOW
-------------	-----------	-----------------	-----------------------------	---------------

GO TO X9

X6b. Do you consider yourself Orthodox, Conservative, Reform, or what?

1. ORTHODOX	2. REFORM	3. CONSERVATIVE	7. OTHER, SPECIFY: _____	8. DON'T KNOW
-------------	-----------	-----------------	-----------------------------	---------------

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?

1. FUNDAMENTALIST	2. EVANGELICAL	3. CHARISMATIC/SPIRIT FILLED
4. MODERATE TO LIBERAL	5. SOMETHING ELSE (VOLUNTEERED, SPECIFY:) _____	8. DON'T KNOW

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?

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

X9. Are you officially a member of a parish, congregation, temple, or other place of worship?

1. YES	5. NO
--------	-------

X10. Do you participate in a religious organization, society or group outside of (your/a) (parish/congregation/temple/place of worship)?

1. YES	5. NO
--------	-------

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?

GRADES OF SCHOOL	COLLEGE																		
<table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="width: 5%;">00</td><td style="width: 5%;">01</td><td style="width: 5%;">02</td><td style="width: 5%;">03</td><td style="width: 5%;">04</td><td style="width: 5%;">05</td><td style="width: 5%;">06</td><td style="width: 5%;">07</td><td style="width: 5%;">08</td><td style="width: 5%;">09</td><td style="width: 5%;">10</td><td style="width: 5%;">11</td><td style="width: 5%;">12</td> </tr> </table>	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	<table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="width: 10%;">13</td><td style="width: 10%;">14</td><td style="width: 10%;">15</td><td style="width: 10%;">16</td><td style="width: 10%;">17+</td> </tr> </table>	13	14	15	16	17+
00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12							
13	14	15	16	17+															

<p>Y3a. Did you get a high school diploma or pass a high school equivalency test?</p> <table style="width: 100%;"> <tr> <td style="width: 50%; text-align: center; padding: 5px;">1. YES</td> <td style="width: 50%; text-align: center; padding: 5px;">5. NO</td> </tr> </table>	1. YES	5. NO	<p>Y3b. What is the highest degree that you have earned?</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p>
1. YES	5. NO		

EDUCATION SEQUENCE FOR R's SPOUSE OR PARTNER

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?

GRADES OF SCHOOL													COLLEGE				
00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17+

<p>Y3e. Did (he/she) get a high school degree or pass a high school equivalency test?</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 1. YES      <input type="checkbox"/> 5. NO</p>	<p>Y3f. What is the highest degree that (he/she) has earned?</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p>
--	--

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

---->NEXT PAGE, Y5

2. TEMPORARILY LAID OFF

4. UNEMPLOYED

Y4a. Have you ever done any work for pay?

1. YES

5. NO

TURN TO  
P. 61, Y10

TURN TO  
P. 64, Y21

5. RETIRED

Y4b. When did you retire?

\_\_\_\_\_ YEAR

TURN TO P. 61, Y10

6. PERMANENTLY DISABLED

Y4c. Have you ever done any work for pay?

1. YES

5. NO

TURN TO  
P. 61, Y10

TURN TO  
P. 64, Y21

7. HOMEMAKER

8. STUDENT

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  
P. 63, Y16

TURN TO  
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?

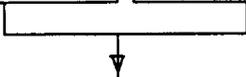
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Y6. Do you work for someone else, are you self-employed, or what?

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

UNEMPLOYED. RETIRED OR PERMANENTLY DISABLED

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

HOMEMAKER OR STUDENT
----------------------

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
--------------

GO TO Y19

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

<input type="checkbox"/>	1. R IS MARRIED (OR PARTNERED)
<input type="checkbox"/>	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? <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around; margin-top: 10px;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;">1. YES</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;">5. NO</div> </div> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around; margin-top: 5px;"> <div style="text-align: center;">TURN TO P. 67, Y28</div> <div style="text-align: center;">TURN TO P. 70, Y38</div> </div>
---------------	---

5. RETIRED	Y22b. When did (he/she) retire? <div style="text-align: center; margin-top: 10px;">_____ YEAR</div> <div style="text-align: center; margin-top: 5px;">TURN TO P. 67, Y28</div>
------------	---

6. PERMANENTLY DISABLED	Y22c. Has (he/she) ever done any work for pay? <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around; margin-top: 10px;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;">1. YES</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;">5. NO</div> </div> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around; margin-top: 5px;"> <div style="text-align: center;">TURN TO P. 67, Y28</div> <div style="text-align: center;">TURN TO P. 70, Y38</div> </div>
-------------------------	---

7. HOMEMAKER	Y22d. Is (he/she) doing <u>any</u> work for pay at the present time? <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around; margin-top: 10px;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;">1. YES</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;">5. NO</div> </div> <div style="text-align: center; margin-top: 5px;">NEXT PAGE, Y23, WORKING NOW</div> <div style="text-align: center; margin-top: 10px;">↓</div>
8. STUDENT	
	Y22e. In the last six months, did (he/she) do any work for pay? <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around; margin-top: 10px;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;">1. YES</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;">5. NO</div> </div> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around; margin-top: 5px;"> <div style="text-align: center;">TURN TO P. 69, Y33</div> <div style="text-align: center;">TURN TO P. 70, Y38</div> </div>

## 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

5. NO

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

1. YES

5. NO -->NEXT PAGE, 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

<input type="checkbox"/>	1. SPOUSE IS UNEMPLOYED--->GO TO Y32
<input type="checkbox"/>	2. SPOUSE IS RETIRED OR PERMANENTLY DISABLED

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

<input type="checkbox"/> 1. YES	<input type="checkbox"/> 5. NO
---------------------------------	--------------------------------

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

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

<input type="checkbox"/> 1. YES	<input type="checkbox"/> 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?

<input type="checkbox"/> 1. A LOT	<input type="checkbox"/> 3. SOMEWHAT	<input type="checkbox"/> 5. NOT MUCH AT ALL	<input type="checkbox"/> 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
--------

5. 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

5. 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

Y39. INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT

<input type="checkbox"/>	1. R ONLY FAMILY MEMBER AGE 14 OR OLDER--->TURN TO P. 73, Y41
<input type="checkbox"/>	2. ALL OTHERS

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

88. DK

A. NONE OR LESS THAN \$2,999	01	P. \$20,000-\$21,999	13
B. \$3,000-\$4,999	02	Q. \$22,000-\$24,999	14
C. \$5,000-\$6,999	03	R. \$25,000-\$29,999	15
D. \$7,000-\$8,999	04	S. \$30,000-\$34,999	16
E. \$9,000-\$9,999	05	T. \$35,000-\$39,999	17
F. \$10,000-\$10,999	06	U. \$40,000-\$44,999	18
G. \$11,000-\$11,999	07	V. \$45,000-\$49,999	19
H. \$12,000-\$12,999	08	W. \$50,000-\$59,999	20
J. \$13,000-\$13,999	09	X. \$60,000-\$74,999	21
K. \$14,000-\$14,999	10	Z. \$75,000-89,999	22
M. \$15,000-\$16,999	11	AA. \$90,000-\$104,999	23
N. \$17,000-\$19,999	12	BB. \$105,000 AND OVER	24

Y40a. (RB, STILL ON P. 26) 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?)

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

88. DK

A. NONE OR LESS THAN \$2,999	01	P. \$20,000-\$21,999	13
B. \$3,000-\$4,999	02	Q. \$22,000-\$24,999	14
C. \$5,000-\$6,999	03	R. \$25,000-\$29,999	15
D. \$7,000-\$8,999	04	S. \$30,000-\$34,999	16
E. \$9,000-\$9,999	05	T. \$35,000-\$39,999	17
F. \$10,000-\$10,999	06	U. \$40,000-\$44,999	18
G. \$11,000-\$11,999	07	V. \$45,000-\$49,999	19
H. \$12,000-\$12,999	08	W. \$50,000-\$59,999	20
J. \$13,000-\$13,999	09	X. \$60,000-\$74,999	21
K. \$14,000-\$14,999	10	Z. \$75,000-89,999	22
M. \$15,000-\$16,999	11	AA. \$90,000-\$104,999	23
N. \$17,000-\$19,999	12	BB. \$105,000 AND OVER	24

TURN TO P. 74, Y42

R ONLY FAMILY MEMBER AGE 14 OR OLDER

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

88. DK

A. NONE OR LESS THAN \$2,999	01	P. \$20,000-\$21,999	13
B. \$3,000-\$4,999	02	Q. \$22,000-\$24,999	14
C. \$5,000-\$6,999	03	R. \$25,000-\$29,999	15
D. \$7,000-\$8,999	04	S. \$30,000-\$34,999	16
E. \$9,000-\$9,999	05	T. \$35,000-\$39,999	17
F. \$10,000-\$10,999	06	U. \$40,000-\$44,999	18
G. \$11,000-\$11,999	07	V. \$45,000-\$49,999	19
H. \$12,000-\$12,999	08	W. \$50,000-\$59,999	20
J. \$13,000-\$13,999	09	X. \$60,000-\$74,999	21
K. \$14,000-\$14,999	10	Z. \$75,000-89,999	22
M. \$15,000-\$16,999	11	AA. \$90,000-\$104,999	23
N. \$17,000-\$19,999	12	BB. \$105,000 AND OVER	24

Y42. 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)

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

1. MIDDLE CLASS

2. WORKING CLASS

7. OTHER (SPECIFY):

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
NEXT PAGE, Y43

Y42c. Would you say that you are about 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 about 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

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

<input type="checkbox"/> 1. <u>ONE</u> GROUP MENTIONED IN Y43	<input type="checkbox"/> 5. <u>MORE THAN ONE</u> 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

<input type="checkbox"/>	1. SOME HISPANIC GROUP MENTIONED IN Y43 ASK Y46a, IF NECESSARY
<input type="checkbox"/>	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  YEARS OR  MONTHS  
 IF LESS THAN TWO YEARS

NEXT PAGE, Y53

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? [IWER: 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

Z1. Respondent's sex is:

1. MALE

2. FEMALE

Z2. Respondent's race is:

1. WHITE

2. BLACK

3. AMERICAN INDIAN OR  
ALASKAN NATIVE4. ASIAN OR PACIFIC  
ISLANDER

Z3. Other persons present at interview were (CHECK MORE THAN ONE BOX IF NECESSARY):

NONE

A. CHILDREN  
UNDER 6B. OLDER  
CHILDREN

C. SPOUSE

D. OTHER  
RELATIVESE. OTHER  
ADULTS

Z4. Respondent's cooperation was:

1. VERY GOOD

2. GOOD

3. FAIR

4. POOR

5. VERY POOR

Z5. 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

Z6. Rate R's apparent intelligence:

1. VERY HIGH

2. ABOVE AVERAGE

3. AVERAGE

4. BELOW AVERAGE

5. VERY LOW

Z7. 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.

---



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Z11. Do you feel R reported income correctly?

1. YES, THINK R  
REPORTED  
CORRECTLY

2. NO, THINK R  
REPORTED  
INCORRECTLY

5. NO, THINK R  
REPORTED  
DISHONESTLY

3. R REFUSED  
INCOME  
QUESTIONS

GO TO Z12

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

\$ \_\_\_\_\_ 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?

---

- Z13. 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/REPETITIOUS
  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

NEXT PAGE, THUMBNAIL SKETCH
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