

## ANES 2002 Post Election Survey Questions

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### 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?

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- 1. Very much interested
- 3. Somewhat interested
- 5. Not much interested

D. Don't Know  
R. Refused  
N.

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### A2.

Did you watch any programs about the campaign on television?

-----

- 1. Yes
- 5. No

D. Don't Know  
R. Refused  
N.

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### A3.

Do you ever discuss politics with your family or friends?

-----

- 1. Yes
- 5. No

D. Don't Know  
R. Refused  
N.

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### A3a.

How many days IN THE PAST WEEK did you talk about politics with family or friends?

-----

- 0. None

1. One Day
2. Two Days
3. Three Days
4. Four Days
5. Five Days
6. Six Days
7. Every Day

D. Don't Know  
R. Refused  
N.

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**B1.**

As you know, the political parties try to talk to as many people as they can to get them to vote for their candidate. Did anyone from one of the POLITICAL PARTIES call you up or come around and talk to you about the campaign this year?

-----

1. Yes
5. No

D. Don't Know  
R. Refused  
N.

---

**B1a.**

Which party was that?

-----

1. Democrats
5. Republicans
6. Both
7. Other {SPECIFY}

D. Don't Know  
R. Refused  
N.

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**B2.**

We would like to find out about some of the things people do to help a party or a candidate win an election. During the campaign, did you talk to any people and try to show them why they should vote for or against one of the parties or candidates?

-----

- 1. Yes
- 5. No

D. Don't Know  
R. Refused  
N.

---

**B3.**

Did you wear a campaign button, put a campaign sticker on your car, or place a sign in your window or in front of your house?

- 
- 1. Yes
  - 5. No

D. Don't Know  
R. Refused  
N.

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**B4.**

Did you go to any political meetings, rallies, speeches, dinners, or things like that in support of a particular candidate?

- 
- 1. Yes
  - 5. No

D. Don't Know  
R. Refused  
N.

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**B5.**

Did you do any ((other)) work for one of the parties or candidates?

- 
- 1. Yes
  - 5. No

D. Don't Know  
R. Refused  
N.

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**B6.**

During an election year people are often asked to make a contribution to support campaigns. Did you give money to AN INDIVIDUAL CANDIDATE running for public office?

-----

- 1. Yes
- 5. No

D. Don't Know  
R. Refused  
N.

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**B7.**

Did you give money to A POLITICAL PARTY during this election year?

-----

- 1. Yes
- 5. No

D. Don't Know  
R. Refused  
N.

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**B8.**

Did you give any money to ANY OTHER GROUP that supported or opposed candidates?

-----

- 1. Yes
- 5. No

D. Don't Know  
R. Refused  
N.

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**B9.**

During the campaign this year, did anyone talk to you about REGISTERING TO VOTE or GETTING OUT TO VOTE?

-----

- 1. Yes, someone did
- 5. No, no one did

D. Don't Know  
R. Refused  
N.

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1/2 SAMPLE C1a AND 1/2 SAMPLE C1b

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**C1a.**

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

-----

1. Yes, voted
5. No, didn't vote
6. R refused to say whether voted

D. Don't Know  
R. Refused  
N.

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**C1b.**

In talking to people about elections, we often find that a lot of people were not able to vote because they weren't registered, they were sick, or they just didn't have time. Which of the following statements best describes you:

One, I did not vote (in the election this November);

Two, I thought about voting this time - but didn't;

Three, I usually vote, but didn't this time; or

Four, I am sure I voted?

{INTERVIEWER: PLEASE READ ALL OPTIONS }

-----

1. I did not vote (in the election this November)
2. I thought about voting this time but didn't
3. I usually vote but didn't this time
4. I am sure I voted

D. Don't Know  
R. Refused  
N.

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**C2.**

Were you registered to vote in this election?

-----

1. Yes
5. No
6. VOL: Not required to register in R's state

D. Don't Know

R. Refused

N.

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IF NO COUNTY PRELOAD, C2a1 (NOT C2a) IS ASKED

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**C2a.**

{IF NOT WASHINGTON D.C AND NOT LOUISIANA:}

Your residence is located in county.

Are you registered to vote in county?

{IF LOUISIANA:}

Your residence is located in parish?

Are you registered to vote in parish?

{IF WASHINGTON D.C.:}

Your residence is located in Washington D.C.

Are you registered to vote in Washington D.C.?

-----

1. Yes, registered in

5. No, registered elsewhere

D. Don't Know

R. Refused

N.

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**C2a1.**

In what county and state are you registered?

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OPENEND

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VOTERS C4-C15a2a IN-COUNTY - C11a1 AND C15a1; OUTSIDE OR NO PRELOAD - C11a2 AND C15a2

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**C4.**

Did you vote ON ELECTION DAY -- that is, November 5, 2002, or did you vote at SOME TIME BEFORE this?

-----

1. On election day

5. Some time before this

D. Don't Know

R. Refused

N.

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**C4a1.**

How long before November 5th did you vote?

{PROBE: A FEW DAYS, A WEEK, LONGER THAN THAT?}

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OPENEND

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**C4a2.**

Did you vote IN PERSON or by ABSENTEE BALLOT?

-----

1. In person

5. Absentee ballot

7. R VOLUNTEERS: by mail {OREGON ONLY}

D. Don't Know

R. Refused

N.

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**C11a.**

How about the election for the HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES in Washington. Did you vote for a candidate for the U.S. House of Representatives?

-----

1. Yes, voted for House of Representatives

5. No, didn't vote for House of Representatives

D. Don't Know

R. Refused

N.

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=====> C11a1 - R VOTED WITHIN COUNTY OF INTERVIEW: FOR DISTRICTS WITH 2 MAJOR PARTY CANDIDATES: 1/2 SAMPLE DEM HOUSE CAND NAME READ 1ST- REP CAND NAME READ 2ND 1/2 SAMPLE REP HOUSE CAND NAME READ 1ST- DEM CAND NAME READ 2ND

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**C11a1.**

Who did you vote for? Did you vote for ((the [Democrat/Republican], [DEM CAND NAME/REP CAND NAME])) ((or)) ((the [Republican/Democrat], [REP CAND NAME/DEM CAND NAME])) ((or the candidate, OTHER CAND NAME)) ((or someone else?))?

- 
1. PRELOAD DEM CAND NAME
  5. PRELOAD REP CAND NAME
  3. PRELOAD IND/3RD PARTY CAND NAME
  7. Other {SPECIFY}
  0. R says these are not the candidates in R's district {SPECIFY}

D. Don't Know  
R. Refused  
N.

---

=====> C11a2-C11a2a - R VOTED OUTSIDE COUNTY OF IW OR NO PRELOAD

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**C11a2.**

Who did you vote for?

-----  
OPENEND

D.  
R.  
N.

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**C11a2a.**

Which party was that?

- 
1. Democratic
  5. Republican
  7. Other {SPECIFY}

D. Don't Know  
R. Refused  
N.

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=====> C15a NOT ASKED IF R VOTED IN COUNTY OF INTERVIEW AND NO RACE IN STATE

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**C15a.**

How about the election for the UNITED STATES SENATE? Did you vote for a candidate for the U.S. Senate?

- 
1. Yes, voted for Senate
  5. No, didn't vote for Senate



## 7. R VOLUNTEERS: no race in state of vote (R VOTED OUTSIDE COUNTY OF RESIDENCE)

D. Don't Know  
 R. Refused  
 N.

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=====> C15a1 - R VOTED IN DISTRICT OF INTERVIEW : FOR STATES WITH 2 MAJOR PARTY CANDIDATES: 1/2 SAMPLE DEM SENATE CAND NAME READ 1ST- REP CAND NAME READ 2ND 1/2 SAMPLE REP SENATE CAND NAME READ 1ST- DEM CAND NAME READ 2ND NOTE: SAME PARTY FIRST AS IN C11a1

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**C15a1.**

Who did you vote for? Did you vote for ((the [Democrat/Republican], [DEM CAND NAME/REP CAND NAME])) ((or)) ((the [Republican/Democrat], [REP CAND NAME/DEM CAND NAME])) ((or the OTHER PARTY candidate, OTHER CAND NAME)) ((or someone else?))?

- 
1. PRELOAD DEM CAND NAME
  5. PRELOAD REP CAND NAME
  3. PRELOAD IND/3RD PARTY CAND NAME
  7. Other {SPECIFY}
  0. R says these are not the candidates in R's state {SPECIFY}

D. Don't Know  
 R. Refused  
 N.

---

=====> C15a2-C15a2a - R VOTED OUTSIDE COUNTY OF IW OR NO PRELOAD

---

**C15a2.**

Who did you vote for?

-----  
 OPENEND

D.  
 R.  
 N.

**C15a2a.**

Which party was that?

- 
1. Democratic
  5. Republican

## 7. Other {SPECIFY}

D. Don't Know  
 R. Refused  
 N.

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\*\*\* NONVOTER CANDIDATE PREFERENCE C18-C19 CANDIDATES OF IW LOCATION  
 REGARDLESS OF REGISTRATION LOCATION \*\*\*

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**C18a.**

How about the election for the HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES in Washington? Did you PREFER one of the candidates for the U.S. House of Representatives?

-----

1. Yes  
 5. No

D. Don't Know  
 R. Refused  
 N.

---

=====> C18a1 - DISTRICTS WITH 2 MAJOR PARTY CANDIDATES: 1/2 SAMPLE DEM HOUSE  
 CAND NAME READ 1ST- REP CAND NAME READ 2ND 1/2 SAMPLE REP HOUSE CAND  
 NAME READ 1ST- DEM CAND NAME READ 2ND

---

**C18a1.**

Who did you prefer? Did you prefer ((the [Democrat/Republican], [DEM CAND NAME/ REP CAND NAME])) ((or)) ((the [Republican/Democrat], [REP CAND NAME/DEM CAND NAME])) ((or the OTHER PARTY candidate, OTHER CAND NAME)) ((or someone else?))?

-----

1. PRELOAD DEM CAND NAME  
 5. PRELOAD REP CAND NAME  
 3. PRELOAD IND/3RD PARTY CAND NAME  
 7. Other {SPECIFY}  
 0. R says these are not the candidates in R's district {SPECIFY}  
 D. Don't Know  
 R. Refused  
 N.

---

=====> C18a2-C18a2a ONLY FOR CASES WITHOUT PRELOAD

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**C18a2.**

Who did you prefer?

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OPENEND

D. Don't Know  
R. Refused  
N.

---

**C18a2a.**

Which party was that?

-----

1. Democratic  
5. Republican  
7. Other {SPECIFY}

D. Don't Know  
R. Refused  
N.

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=====> C19a-C19a1 ASKED ONLY IF SENATE RACE IN STATE OF INTERVIEW

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**C19a.**

How about the election for the UNITED STATES SENATE? Did you PREFER one of the candidates for the U.S. Senate?

-----

1. Yes  
5. No

D. Don't Know  
R. Refused  
N.

---

=====> C19a1 - STATES WITH 2 MAJOR PARTY CANDIDATES: 1/2 SAMPLE DEM SENATE CAND NAME READ 1ST- REP CAND NAME READ 2ND 1/2 SAMPLE REP SENATE CAND NAME READ 1ST- DEM CAND NAME READ 2ND NOTE: SAME PARTY FIRST AS IN C18a1

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**C19a1.**

Who did you prefer? Did you prefer ((the [Democrat/Republican], [DEM CAND NAME/ REP CAND NAME])) ((or)) ((the [Republican/Democrat], [REP CAND NAME/DEM CAND NAME])) ((or the OTHER PARTY candidate, OTHER CAND NAME)) ((or someone else?))?

-----

1. PRELOAD DEM CAND NAME  
5. PRELOAD REP CAND NAME  
3. PRELOAD IND/3RD PARTY CAND NAME

7. Other {SPECIFY}

0. R says these are not the candidates in R's state {SPECIFY}

D. Don't Know

R. Refused

N.

---

=====> C19a2-C19a2a ONLY FOR CASES WITHOUT PRELOAD

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### **C19a2.**

Who did you prefer?

-----

OPENEND

D. Don't Know

R. Refused

N.

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### **C19a2a.**

Which party was that?

-----

1. Democratic

5. Republican

7. Other {SPECIFY}

D. Don't Know

R. Refused

N.

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### **C20.**

In some countries, people believe their elections are conducted fairly. In other countries, people believe that their elections are conducted unfairly. Thinking of the Congressional elections we've just had, do you believe they were VERY FAIR, SOMEWHAT FAIR, NEITHER FAIR NOT UNFAIR, SOMEWHAT UNFAIR, or VERY UNFAIR?

-----

1. Very fair

2. Somewhat fair

3. Neither fair nor unfair

4. Somewhat unfair

5. Very unfair

D. Don't Know

R. Refused

N.

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### D1.

I'd like to get your feelings toward some people in the news these days. I'll read the name of a person and I'll ask you to rate that person on a thermometer that runs from 0 to 100 degrees. Rating above 50 means that you feel favorable and warm toward the person. Rating below 50 means that you feel unfavorable and cool toward the person. Rating right at the 50 degree mark means you don't feel particularly warm or cold. You may use any number from 0 to 100 to tell me how favorable or unfavorable your feelings are. If we come to a person whose name you don't recognize, just tell me and we'll move on to the next one.

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=====> D1a-D1n Thermometers randomly assigned to 2 sequential orders

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### D1a.

The first person is: George W. Bush Where on that thermometer would you rate George W. Bush?  
 {PROBE FOR DON'T KNOW RESPONSE: WHEN YOU SAY "DON'T KNOW" DO YOU MEAN THAT YOU DON'T KNOW WHO THE PERSON IS OR DO YOU HAVE SOMETHING ELSE IN MIND?}

-----

0-100.

997. Don't Recognize

998. Don't Know where to rate

R. Refused

N.

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### D1g.

((The next person is:)) ((Where on that thermometer would you rate [him/her]?)) {PROBE FOR DON'T KNOW RESPONSE: WHEN YOU SAY "DON'T KNOW" DO YOU MEAN THAT YOU DON'T KNOW WHO THE PERSON IS OR DO YOU HAVE SOMETHING ELSE IN MIND?}

-----

0-100.

997. Don't Recognize

998. Don't Know where to rate

R. Refused

N.

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**D1h.**

((The next person is:)) ((Where on that thermometer would you rate [him/her]?)) {PROBE FOR DON'T KNOW RESPONSE: WHEN YOU SAY "DON'T KNOW" DO YOU MEAN THAT YOU DON'T KNOW WHO THE PERSON IS OR DO YOU HAVE SOMETHING ELSE IN MIND?}

-----

0-100.

997. Don't Recognize

998. Don't Know where to rate

R. Refused

N.

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**D1j.**

((The next person is:)) ((Where on that thermometer would you rate [him/her]?)) {PROBE FOR DON'T KNOW RESPONSE: WHEN YOU SAY "DON'T KNOW" DO YOU MEAN THAT YOU DON'T KNOW WHO THE PERSON IS OR DO YOU HAVE SOMETHING ELSE IN MIND?}

-----

0-100.

997. Don't Recognize

998. Don't Know where to rate

R. Refused

N.

---

**D1k.**

((The next person is:)) ((Where on that thermometer would you rate [him/her]?)) {PROBE FOR DON'T KNOW RESPONSE: WHEN YOU SAY "DON'T KNOW" DO YOU MEAN THAT YOU DON'T KNOW WHO THE PERSON IS OR DO YOU HAVE SOMETHING ELSE IN MIND?}

-----

0-100.

997. Don't Recognize

998. Don't Know where to rate

R. Refused

N.

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**D1m.**

((The next person is:)) ((Where on that thermometer would you rate [him/her]?)) {PROBE FOR DON'T KNOW RESPONSE: WHEN YOU SAY "DON'T KNOW" DO YOU MEAN THAT YOU DON'T KNOW WHO THE PERSON IS OR DO YOU HAVE SOMETHING ELSE IN MIND?}

-----

0-100.

997. Don't Recognize

998. Don't Know where to rate

R. Refused

N.

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=====> D1m1 is asked only when R's state of residence is Louisiana, which has 2 Republican Senate candidates.

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### **D1m1.**

((The next person is:)) ((Where on that thermometer would you rate [him/her]?)) {PROBE FOR DON'T KNOW RESPONSE: WHEN YOU SAY "DON'T KNOW" DO YOU MEAN THAT YOU DON'T KNOW WHO THE PERSON IS OR DO YOU HAVE SOMETHING ELSE IN MIND?}

-----

0-100.

997. Don't Recognize

998. Don't Know where to rate

R. Refused

N.

---

=====> FOR LOUISIANA, D1n CAPTURES THE 2ND REPUBLICAN HOUSE CANDIDATE

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### **D1n.**

((The next person is:)) ((Where on that thermometer would you rate [him/her]?)) {PROBE FOR DON'T KNOW RESPONSE: WHEN YOU SAY "DON'T KNOW" DO YOU MEAN THAT YOU DON'T KNOW WHO THE PERSON IS OR DO YOU HAVE SOMETHING ELSE IN MIND?}

-----

0-100.

997. Don't Recognize

998. Don't Know where to rate

R. Refused

N.

### **D2.**

Still using the thermometer, how would you rate:

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=====> D2 Thermometers randomly assigned to 2 sequential orders

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**D2a.**

((How would you rate:)) the Supreme Court? {PROBE FOR DON'T KNOW RESPONSE: WHEN YOU SAY "DON'T KNOW" DO YOU MEAN THAT YOU HAVE NEVER HEARD THE TERM BEFORE OR DO YOU HAVE SOMETHING ELSE IN MIND?}

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0-100.

997. Don't Recognize

998. Don't Know where to rate

R. Refused

N.

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**D2b.**

((How would you rate:)) Congress? {PROBE FOR DON'T KNOW RESPONSE: WHEN YOU SAY "DON'T KNOW" DO YOU MEAN THAT YOU HAVE NEVER HEARD THE TERM BEFORE OR DO YOU HAVE SOMETHING ELSE IN MIND?}

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0-100.

997. Don't Recognize

998. Don't Know where to rate

R. Refused

N.

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**D2c.**

((How would you rate:)) the Military? {PROBE FOR DON'T KNOW RESPONSE: WHEN YOU SAY "DON'T KNOW" DO YOU MEAN THAT YOU HAVE NEVER HEARD THE TERM BEFORE OR DO YOU HAVE SOMETHING ELSE IN MIND?}

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0-100.

997. Don't Recognize

998. Don't Know where to rate

R. Refused

N.

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**D2d.**

((How would you rate:)) the federal government in Washington? {PROBE FOR DON'T KNOW RESPONSE: WHEN YOU SAY "DON'T KNOW" DO YOU MEAN THAT YOU HAVE NEVER HEARD THE TERM BEFORE OR DO YOU HAVE SOMETHING ELSE IN MIND?}



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0-100.

997. Don't Recognize  
998. Don't Know where to rate  
R. Refused  
N.

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**D2e.**

((How would you rate:)) blacks? {PROBE FOR DON'T KNOW RESPONSE: WHEN YOU SAY "DON'T KNOW" DO YOU MEAN THAT YOU HAVE NEVER HEARD THE TERM BEFORE OR DO YOU HAVE SOMETHING ELSE IN MIND?}

-----  
0-100.

997. Don't Recognize  
998. Don't Know where to rate  
R. Refused  
N.

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**D2f.**

((How would you rate:)) whites? {PROBE FOR DON'T KNOW RESPONSE: WHEN YOU SAY "DON'T KNOW" DO YOU MEAN THAT YOU HAVE NEVER HEARD THE TERM BEFORE OR DO YOU HAVE SOMETHING ELSE IN MIND?}

-----  
0-100.

997. Don't Recognize  
998. Don't Know where to rate  
R. Refused  
N.

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**D2g.**

((How would you rate:)) conservatives? {PROBE FOR DON'T KNOW RESPONSE: WHEN YOU SAY "DON'T KNOW" DO YOU MEAN THAT YOU HAVE NEVER HEARD THE TERM BEFORE OR DO YOU HAVE SOMETHING ELSE IN MIND?}

-----  
0-100.

997. Don't Recognize  
998. Don't Know where to rate  
R. Refused

N.

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**D2h.**

((How would you rate:)) liberals? {PROBE FOR DON'T KNOW RESPONSE: WHEN YOU SAY "DON'T KNOW" DO YOU MEAN THAT YOU HAVE NEVER HEARD THE TERM BEFORE OR DO YOU HAVE SOMETHING ELSE IN MIND?}

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0-100.

997. Don't Recognize

998. Don't Know where to rate

R. Refused

N.

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**D2j.**

((How would you rate:)) labor unions? {PROBE FOR DON'T KNOW RESPONSE: WHEN YOU SAY "DON'T KNOW" DO YOU MEAN THAT YOU HAVE NEVER HEARD THE TERM BEFORE OR DO YOU HAVE SOMETHING ELSE IN MIND?}

-----

0-100.

997. Don't Recognize

998. Don't Know where to rate

R. Refused

N.

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**D2k.**

((How would you rate:)) big business? {PROBE FOR DON'T KNOW RESPONSE: WHEN YOU SAY "DON'T KNOW" DO YOU MEAN THAT YOU HAVE NEVER HEARD THE TERM BEFORE OR DO YOU HAVE SOMETHING ELSE IN MIND?}

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0-100.

997. Don't Recognize

998. Don't Know where to rate

R. Refused

N.

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**D2m.**

((How would you rate:)) poor people? {PROBE FOR DON'T KNOW RESPONSE: WHEN YOU SAY "DON'T KNOW" DO YOU MEAN THAT YOU HAVE NEVER HEARD THE TERM BEFORE OR DO YOU HAVE SOMETHING ELSE IN MIND?}

-----  
0-100.

997. Don't Recognize

998. Don't Know where to rate

R. Refused

N.

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### **D2n.**

((How would you rate:)) people on welfare? {PROBE FOR DON'T KNOW RESPONSE: WHEN YOU SAY "DON'T KNOW" DO YOU MEAN THAT YOU HAVE NEVER HEARD THE TERM BEFORE OR DO YOU HAVE SOMETHING ELSE IN MIND?}

-----  
0-100.

997. Don't Recognize

998. Don't Know where to rate

R. Refused

N.

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### **D2p.**

((How would you rate:)) Hispanics ((Hispanic-Americans))? {PROBE FOR DON'T KNOW RESPONSE: WHEN YOU SAY "DON'T KNOW" DO YOU MEAN THAT YOU HAVE NEVER HEARD THE TERM BEFORE OR DO YOU HAVE SOMETHING ELSE IN MIND?}

-----  
0-100.

997. Don't Recognize

998. Don't Know where to rate

R. Refused

N.

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### **D2q.**

((How would you rate:)) Christian fundamentalists? {PROBE FOR DON'T KNOW RESPONSE: WHEN YOU SAY "DON'T KNOW" DO YOU MEAN THAT YOU HAVE NEVER HEARD THE TERM BEFORE OR DO YOU HAVE SOMETHING ELSE IN MIND?}

-----  
0-100.

997. Don't Recognize  
998. Don't Know where to rate  
R. Refused  
N.

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**D2r.**

((How would you rate:)) older people ((the elderly))? {PROBE FOR DON'T KNOW RESPONSE: WHEN YOU SAY "DON'T KNOW" DO YOU MEAN THAT YOU HAVE NEVER HEARD THE TERM BEFORE OR DO YOU HAVE SOMETHING ELSE IN MIND?}

-----  
0-100.

997. Don't Recognize  
998. Don't Know where to rate  
R. Refused  
N.

---

**D2s.**

((How would you rate:)) environmentalists? {PROBE FOR DON'T KNOW RESPONSE: WHEN YOU SAY "DON'T KNOW" DO YOU MEAN THAT YOU HAVE NEVER HEARD THE TERM BEFORE OR DO YOU HAVE SOMETHING ELSE IN MIND?}

-----  
0-100.

997. Don't Recognize  
998. Don't Know where to rate  
R. Refused  
N.

---

**D2t.**

((How would you rate:)) gay men and lesbians, that is, homosexuals? {PROBE FOR DON'T KNOW RESPONSE: WHEN YOU SAY "DON'T KNOW" DO YOU MEAN THAT YOU HAVE NEVER HEARD THE TERM BEFORE OR DO YOU HAVE SOMETHING ELSE IN MIND?}

-----  
0-100.

997. Don't Recognize  
998. Don't Know where to rate  
R. Refused  
N.

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**D2u.**

((How would you rate:)) Catholics? {PROBE FOR DON'T KNOW RESPONSE: WHEN YOU SAY "DON'T KNOW" DO YOU MEAN THAT YOU HAVE NEVER HEARD THE TERM BEFORE OR DO YOU HAVE SOMETHING ELSE IN MIND?}

-----

0-100.

997. Don't Recognize

998. Don't Know where to rate

R. Refused

N.

---

**D2v.**

((How would you rate:)) Jews? {PROBE FOR DON'T KNOW RESPONSE: WHEN YOU SAY "DON'T KNOW" DO YOU MEAN THAT YOU HAVE NEVER HEARD THE TERM BEFORE OR DO YOU HAVE SOMETHING ELSE IN MIND?}

-----

0-100.

997. Don't Recognize

998. Don't Know where to rate

R. Refused

N.

---

**D2w.**

((How would you rate:)) Protestants? {PROBE FOR DON'T KNOW RESPONSE: WHEN YOU SAY "DON'T KNOW" DO YOU MEAN THAT YOU HAVE NEVER HEARD THE TERM BEFORE OR DO YOU HAVE SOMETHING ELSE IN MIND?}

-----

0-100.

997. Don't Recognize

998. Don't Know where to rate

R. Refused

N.

---

**D2y.**

((How would you rate:)) feminists? {PROBE FOR DON'T KNOW RESPONSE: WHEN YOU SAY "DON'T KNOW" DO YOU MEAN THAT YOU HAVE NEVER HEARD THE TERM BEFORE OR DO YOU HAVE SOMETHING ELSE IN MIND?}

-----  
0-100.

997. Don't Recognize  
998. Don't Know where to rate  
R. Refused  
N.

---

**D2z.**

((How would you rate:)) Asian-Americans? {PROBE FOR DON'T KNOW RESPONSE: WHEN YOU SAY "DON'T KNOW" DO YOU MEAN THAT YOU HAVE NEVER HEARD THE TERM BEFORE OR DO YOU HAVE SOMETHING ELSE IN MIND?}

-----  
0-100.

997. Don't Recognize  
998. Don't Know where to rate  
R. Refused  
N.

---

**D2za.**

((How would you rate:)) the news media? {PROBE FOR DON'T KNOW RESPONSE: WHEN YOU SAY "DON'T KNOW" DO YOU MEAN THAT YOU HAVE NEVER HEARD THE TERM BEFORE OR DO YOU HAVE SOMETHING ELSE IN MIND?}

-----  
0-100.

997. Don't Recognize  
998. Don't Know where to rate  
R. Refused  
N.

---

**D2zb.**

((How would you rate:)) the Catholic Church? {PROBE FOR DON'T KNOW RESPONSE: WHEN YOU SAY "DON'T KNOW" DO YOU MEAN THAT YOU HAVE NEVER HEARD THE TERM BEFORE OR DO YOU HAVE SOMETHING ELSE IN MIND?}

-----  
0-100.

997. Don't Recognize  
998. Don't Know where to rate  
R. Refused

N.

---

=====> 1/2 SAMPLE ADMINISTERED D3 TRAITS; 1/2 SAMPLE ADMINISTERED D4 TRAITS

---

### **D3.**

I am going to read a list of words and phrases people may use to describe George W. Bush. For each, please tell me whether the word or phrase describes him.

-----

---

=====> D3b-d Bush traits randomly assigned to 2 sequential orders (D3a always 1st)

---

### **D3a.**

In your opinion, does the phrase 'he PROVIDES STRONG LEADERSHIP' describe George W. Bush EXTREMELY WELL, QUITE WELL, NOT TOO WELL, or NOT WELL AT ALL?

-----

1. Extremely Well
2. Quite Well
3. Not Too Well
4. Not Well at All

D. Don't Know

R. Refused

N.

---

### **D3b.**

What about 'he is MORAL'? ((Does this phrase describe George W. Bush EXTREMELY WELL, QUITE WELL, NOT TOO WELL, or NOT WELL AT ALL?))

-----

1. Extremely Well
2. Quite Well
3. Not Too Well
4. Not Well at All

D. Don't Know

R. Refused

N.

---

### **D3c.**

What about 'he is OUT OF TOUCH WITH ORDINARY PEOPLE'? ((Does this phrase describe George W. Bush EXTREMELY WELL, QUITE WELL, NOT TOO WELL, or NOT WELL AT ALL?))

-----

1. Extremely Well
2. Quite Well
3. Not Too Well
4. Not Well at All

D. Don't Know  
R. Refused  
N.

---

### **D3d.**

What about 'he is KNOWLEDGEABLE'? ((Does this phrase describe George W. Bush EXTREMELY WELL, QUITE WELL, NOT TOO WELL, or NOT WELL AT ALL?))

-----

1. Extremely Well
2. Quite Well
3. Not Too Well
4. Not Well at All

D. Don't Know  
R. Refused  
N.

---

=====> 1/2 SAMPLE ADMINISTERED D3 TRAITS; 1/2 SAMPLE ADMINISTERED D4 TRAITS

---

### **D4.**

I am going to read a list of words and phrases people may use to describe George W. Bush. For each, please tell me whether the word or phrase describes him.

-----

=====> D4b-d Bush traits randomly assigned to 2 sequential orders (D4a always 1st)

---

### **D4a.**

In your opinion, does the phrase 'he PROVIDES STRONG LEADERSHIP' describe George W. Bush EXTREMELY WELL, QUITE WELL, NOT TOO WELL, or NOT WELL AT ALL?

-----

1. Extremely Well
2. Quite Well
3. Not Too Well
4. Not Well at All

D. Don't Know



R. Refused

N.

---

**D4b.**

What about 'he REALLY CARES ABOUT PEOPLE LIKE YOU'? ((Does this phrase describe George W. Bush EXTREMELY WELL, QUITE WELL, NOT TOO WELL, or NOT WELL AT ALL?))

-----

1. Extremely Well
2. Quite Well
3. Not Too Well
4. Not Well at All

D. Don't Know

R. Refused

N.

---

**D4c.**

What about 'he is DISHONEST'? ((Does this phrase describe George W. Bush EXTREMELY WELL, QUITE WELL, NOT TOO WELL, or NOT WELL AT ALL?))

-----

1. Extremely Well
2. Quite Well
3. Not Too Well
4. Not Well at All

D. Don't Know

R. Refused

N.

---

**D4d.**

What about 'he is INTELLIGENT'? ((Does this phrase describe George W. Bush EXTREMELY WELL, QUITE WELL, NOT TOO WELL, or NOT WELL AT ALL?))

-----

1. Extremely Well
2. Quite Well
3. Not Too Well
4. Not Well at All

D. Don't Know

R. Refused

N.

---

**E1.**

Do you happen to know which party had the most members in the House of Representatives in Washington BEFORE the election [this/last] month? {IF NECESSARY: WHICH ONE?} {DON'T PROBE DK}

-----

1. The Democrats
5. The Republicans

D. Don't Know  
R. Refused  
N.

---

**F5.**

Some people seem to follow what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time, whether there's an election going on or not. Others aren't that interested. Would you say you follow what's going on in government and public affairs MOST OF THE TIME, SOME OF THE TIME, ONLY NOW AND THEN, or HARDLY AT ALL?

-----

1. Most of the time
2. Some of the time
3. Only now and then
4. Hardly at all

D. Don't Know  
R. Refused  
N.

---

**G1.**

We hear a lot of talk these days about liberals and conservatives.

-----

---

=====> 1/2 SAMPLE DEM HOUSE CAND NAME G1a AND REP HOUSE CAND NAME G1b 1/2 SAMPLE REP HOUSE CAND NAME G1a AND DEM HOUSE CAND NAME G1b

---

=====> SPECIAL NOTES: FOR VT01 (DISTRICT AT LARGE) ONLY -- THE DEMOCRATIC QUESTON SHOULD BE ASKED ABOUT THE INDEPENDENT INCUMENT (THERE IS NO DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE). FOR LOUISIANA 05 ONLY, G1c IS ASKED ABOUT THE 2ND LEADING REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE (REPRESENTED IN THE HOUSE INDEPENDENT CANDIDATE FIELDS OF THE PRELOAD)

---

**G1a.**

When it comes to politics, do you think of [DEM HOUSE CAND NAME/REP HOUSE CAND NAME] as a LIBERAL, a CONSERVATIVE, or a MODERATE?

-----

1. Liberal
  2. Conservative
  3. Moderate
  
  8. Don't Know
  9. Refused
  - N. NA
- 

**G1a1.**

Would you call [him/her] a STRONG liberal or a NOT VERY STRONG liberal?

-----

1. Strong liberal
  5. Not very strong liberal
  
  - D. Don't Know
  - R. Refused
  - N. NA
- 

**G1a2.**

Would you call [him/her] a STRONG conservative or a NOT VERY STRONG conservative?

-----

1. Strong conservative
  5. Not very strong conservative
  
  - D. Don't Know
  - R. Refused
  - N. NA
- 

**G1a3.**

Do you think [he/she] is more like a LIBERAL or more like a CONSERVATIVE?

-----

1. Liberal
2. Conservative
3. Moderate {VOL}
7. Can't choose; neither {VOL}
  
- D. Don't Know
- R. Refused

N. NA

---

**G1b.**

What about [DEM HOUSE CAND NAME/REP HOUSE CAND NAME]? Do you think [he/she] is a LIBERAL, a CONSERVATIVE, or a MODERATE?

-----

1. Liberal
2. Conservative
3. Moderate

8. Don't Know
  9. Refused
  - N. NA
- 

**G1b1.**

Would you call [him/her] a STRONG liberal or a NOT VERY STRONG liberal?

-----

1. Strong liberal
5. Not very strong liberal

- D. Don't Know
  - R. Refused
  - N. NA
- 

**G1b2.**

Would you call [him/her] a STRONG conservative or a NOT VERY STRONG conservative?

-----

1. Strong conservative
5. Not very strong conservative

- D. Don't Know
  - R. Refused
  - N. NA
- 

**G1b3.**

Do you think [he/she] is more like a LIBERAL or more like a CONSERVATIVE?

-----

1. Liberal
2. Conservative

- 3. Moderate {VOL}
- 7. Can't choose; neither {VOL}

D. Don't Know  
R. Refused  
N. NA

---

=====> G1c is asked only when district is LA05, which has 2 leading Republican candidates

---

### **G1c.**

What about [LA05 2ND HOUSE REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE]? Do you think [he/she] is a LIBERAL, a CONSERVATIVE, or a MODERATE?

-----

- 1. Liberal
- 2. Conservative
- 3. Moderate

8. Don't Know  
9. Refused  
N. NA

---

### **G1c1.**

Would you call [him/her] a STRONG liberal or a NOT VERY STRONG liberal?

-----

- 1. Strong liberal
- 5. Not very strong liberal

D. Don't Know  
R. Refused  
N. NA

---

### **G1c2.**

Would you call [him/her] a STRONG conservative or a NOT VERY STRONG conservative?

-----

- 1. Strong conservative
- 5. Not very strong conservative

D. Don't Know  
R. Refused  
N. NA

---

**G1c3.**

Do you think [he/she] is more like a LIBERAL or more like a CONSERVATIVE?

-----

1. Liberal
2. Conservative
3. Moderate {VOL}
7. Can't choose; neither {VOL}

D. Don't Know  
R. Refused  
N. NA

---

**K2.**

Many people say they have less time these days to do volunteer work. What about you, were you able to devote any time to volunteer work IN THE LAST 12 MONTHS or did you not do so?

-----

1. Yes
5. No

D. Don't Know  
R. Refused  
N.

---

**K3.**

Generally speaking, would you say that MOST PEOPLE CAN BE TRUSTED, or that you CAN'T BE TOO CAREFUL in dealing with people?

-----

1. Most people can be trusted
5. Can't be too careful

D. Don't Know  
R. Refused  
N.

---

=====> 1/2 SAMPLE K4 AND 1/2 SAMPLE K5

---

**K4.**

Do you think most people would try to TAKE ADVANTAGE of you if they got the chance or would they TRY TO BE FAIR?

-----

1. Take advantage
5. Try to be fair

D. Don't Know  
 R. Refused  
 N.

---

### **K5.**

Would you say that most of the time people TRY TO BE HELPFUL, or that they are JUST LOOKING OUT FOR THEMSELVES?

-----

1. Try to be helpful
5. Just looking out for themselves

D. Don't Know  
 R. Refused  
 N.

---

=====> 1/2 SAMPLE L1 SPENDING SERIES AND 1/2 SAMPLE L2 SPENDING SERIES  
 ALTERNATE SERIES WITH PRE K1 AND K2 SERIES

---

### **L1.**

Next I am going to read you a list of federal programs. For each one, I would like you to tell me whether you would like to see spending INCREASED or DECREASED.

-----

=====> L1c-L1h Federal spending items randomly assigned to 2 sequential orders (L1a and L1b always 1st and 2nd)

---

### **L1a.**

The first program is : building and repairing highways. If you had a say in making up the federal budget this year, should federal spending on building and repairing highways be INCREASED, DECREASED or KEPT ABOUT THE SAME?

-----

1. Increased
2. Decreased
3. Kept about the same
4. Cut out entirely {VOL}

D. Don't know  
 R. Refused  
 N.

---

**L1b.**

((What about)) defense? ((Should federal spending on defense be INCREASED, DECREASED, or KEPT ABOUT THE SAME?))

-----

1. Increased
2. Decreased
3. Kept about the same
4. Cut out entirely {VOL}

D. Don't know  
R. Refused  
N.

---

**L1c.**

((What about)) spending on AIDS research? ((Should federal spending on AIDS research be INCREASED, DECREASED, or KEPT ABOUT THE SAME?))

-----

1. Increased
2. Decreased
3. Kept about the same
4. Cut out entirely {VOL}

D. Don't know  
R. Refused  
N.

---

**L1d.**

((What about)) welfare programs? ((Should federal spending on welfare programs be INCREASED, DECREASED, or KEPT ABOUT THE SAME?))

-----

1. Increased
2. Decreased
3. Kept about the same
4. Cut out entirely {VOL}

D. Don't know  
R. Refused  
N.

---



**L1e.**

((What about)) [public schools/big-city schools]? ((Should federal spending on [public schools/big-city schools] be INCREASED, DECREASED, or KEPT ABOUT THE SAME?))

-----

1. Increased
2. Decreased
3. Kept about the same
4. Cut out entirely {VOL}

D. Don't know

R. Refused

N.

---

**L1f.**

((What about)) dealing with crime? ((Should federal spending on dealing with crime be INCREASED, DECREASED, or KEPT ABOUT THE SAME?))

-----

1. Increased
2. Decreased
3. Kept about the same
4. Cut out entirely {VOL}

D. Don't know

R. Refused

N.

---

**L1g.**

((What about)) child care? ((Should federal spending on child care be INCREASED, DECREASED, or KEPT ABOUT THE SAME?))

-----

1. Increased
2. Decreased
3. Kept about the same
4. Cut out entirely {VOL}

D. Don't know

R. Refused

N.

---

**L1h.**

((What about)) [homeland security/the war on terrorism]? ((Should federal spending on homeland

security be INCREASED, DECREASED, or KEPT ABOUT THE SAME?))

-----

1. Increased
2. Decreased
3. Kept about the same
4. Cut out entirely {VOL}

D. Don't know

R. Refused

N.

### **L1j.**

((What about)) unemployment insurance? ((Should federal spending on unemployment insurance be INCREASED, DECREASED, or KEPT ABOUT THE SAME?))

-----

1. Increased
2. Decreased
3. Kept about the same
4. Cut out entirely {VOL}

D. Don't know

R. Refused

N.

=====> 1/2 SAMPLE L1 SPENDING ITEMS AND 1/2 SAMPLE L2 SPENDING ITEMS  
ALTERNATE SERIES WITH PRE K1 AND K2

### **L2.**

Next I am going to read you a list of federal programs. For each one, I would like you to tell me whether you would like to see spending INCREASED or DECREASED.

-----

=====> L2c-L2j Federal spending items randomly assigned to 2 sequential orders (L2a and L2b always 1st and 2nd)

### **L2a.**

The first program is : environmental protection If you had a say in making up the federal budget this year, should federal spending on environmental protection be INCREASED, DECREASED or KEPT ABOUT THE SAME?

-----

1. Increased
2. Decreased
3. Kept about the same

4. Cut out entirely {VOL}

- D. Don't know
  - R. Refused
  - N.
- 

**L2b.**

((What about)) defense? ((Should federal spending on defense be INCREASED, DECREASED, or KEPT ABOUT THE SAME?))

-----

1. Increased
2. Decreased
3. Kept about the same
4. Cut out entirely {VOL}

- D. Don't know
  - R. Refused
  - N.
- 

**L2c.**

((What about)) [aid to poor people/aid to the working poor]? ((Should federal spending on [aid to poor people /aid to the working poor] be INCREASED, DECREASED, or KEPT ABOUT THE SAME?))

-----

1. Increased
2. Decreased
3. Kept about the same
4. Cut out entirely {VOL}

- D. Don't know
  - R. Refused
  - N.
- 

**L2d.**

((What about)) foreign aid? ((Should federal spending on foreign aid be INCREASED, DECREASED, or KEPT ABOUT THE SAME?))

-----

1. Increased
2. Decreased
3. Kept about the same
4. Cut out entirely {VOL}

- D. Don't know

R. Refused  
N.

---

**L2e.**

((What about)) Social Security? ((Should federal spending on Social Security be INCREASED, DECREASED, or KEPT ABOUT THE SAME?))

-----

1. Increased
2. Decreased
3. Kept about the same
4. Cut out entirely {VOL}

D. Don't know  
R. Refused  
N.

---

**L2f.**

((What about)) tightening border security to prevent illegal immigration? ((Should federal spending on tightening border security to prevent illegal immigration be INCREASED, DECREASED, or KEPT ABOUT THE SAME?))

-----

1. Increased
2. Decreased
3. Kept about the same
4. Cut out entirely {VOL}

D. Don't know  
R. Refused  
N.

---

**L2g.**

((What about)) aid to blacks? ((Should federal spending on aid to blacks be INCREASED, DECREASED, or KEPT ABOUT THE SAME?))

-----

1. Increased
2. Decreased
3. Kept about the same
4. Cut out entirely {VOL}

D. Don't know  
R. Refused  
N.

---

**L2h.**

((What about)) preventing infant mortality? ((Should federal spending on preventing infant mortality be INCREASED, DECREASED, or KEPT ABOUT THE SAME?))

-----

1. Increased
2. Decreased
3. Kept about the same
4. Cut out entirely {VOL}

D. Don't know  
R. Refused  
N.

---

**L2j.**

((What about)) [pre-school and early education for poor children/ pre-school and early education for black children]? ((Should federal spending on [pre-school and early education for poor children/ pre-school and early education for black children] be INCREASED, DECREASED, or KEPT ABOUT THE SAME?))

-----

1. Increased
2. Decreased
3. Kept about the same
4. Cut out entirely {VOL}

D. Don't know  
R. Refused  
N.

---

**M4.**

Some people feel the government in Washington should see to it that every person has A JOB AND A GOOD STANDARD OF LIVING. Others think the government should just LET EACH PERSON GET AHEAD ON THEIR OWN. Which is closer to the way you feel or haven't you thought much about this?

-----

1. Government should see to jobs and standard of living
5. Government should let each person get ahead on own
0. Haven't thought much about this
7. Other, it depends, neither {SPECIFY} {VOL}

D. Don't know  
R. Refused

N.

---

**M4c.**

How important is this issue to you personally - VERY important, SOMEWHAT important, or NOT IMPORTANT AT ALL?

-----

1. Very important
3. Somewhat important
5. Not important at all

D. Don't Know

R. Refused

N.

---

**M4d.**

Has this issue ever made you angry?

-----

1. Yes
5. No

D. Don't know

R. Refused

N.

---

**M5.**

Some people think that if a company has a history of discriminating against blacks when making hiring decisions, then they should be required to have an affirmative action program that gives blacks preference in hiring. What do you think? Should companies that have discriminated against blacks have to have an affirmative action program?

-----

1. Yes, they should have to have affirmative action
5. No, they should not have to have affirmative action
7. Other (specify) {VOL}

D. Don't know

R. Refused

N.

---

=====> M5a-M5d ASKED IF P1 IN PRE (RACE) =====> 1/2 M5 Rs M5a 1st AND M5b 2nd; 1/2 M5 Rs M5b 1st AND M5a 2nd

---

**M5a.**

Which would you say is CLOSER to the Democratic Party's position -- that companies that have discriminated against blacks should have an affirmative action program, or not? {DO NOT PROBE DON'T KNOW}

-----

1. Yes, they should have to have affirmative action
5. No, they should not have to have affirmative action
7. Other (specify) {VOL}

D. Don't know

R. Refused

N.

---

**M5b.**

Which would you say is CLOSER to the Republican Party's position -- that companies that have discriminated against blacks should have an affirmative action program, or not? {DO NOT PROBE DON'T KNOW}

-----

1. Yes, they should have to have affirmative action
5. No, they should not have to have affirmative action
7. Other (specify) {VOL}

D. Don't know

R. Refused

N.

---

**M5c.**

How important is this issue to you personally - VERY important, SOMEWHAT important, or NOT IMPORTANT AT ALL?

-----

1. Very important
3. Somewhat important
5. Not important at all

D. Don't Know

R. Refused

N.

---

**M5d.**

Has this issue ever made you angry?

-----

- 1. Yes
- 5. No

D. Don't know  
R. Refused  
N.

---

### **M6.**

How much do you think the federal government should be doing to make sure that women get equal pay for equal work - A LOT, SOME, or NOT MUCH AT ALL?

-----

- 1. A lot
- 3. Some
- 5. Not much at all

D. Don't know  
R. Refused  
N.

---

=====> M6a-M6d ASKED IF P2 IN PRE (GENDER) =====> 1/2 M6 Rs M6a 1st AND M6b 2nd; 1/2 M6 Rs M6b 1st AND M6a 2nd

---

### **M6a.**

Which would you say is CLOSER to the Democratic Party's position -- that the federal government should be doing - A LOT, SOME, or NOT MUCH AT ALL to make sure that women get equal pay for equal work? {DO NOT PROBE DON'T KNOW}

-----

- 1. A lot
- 3. Some
- 5. Not much at all

D. Don't know  
R. Refused  
N.

---

### **M6b.**

Which would you say is CLOSER to the Republican Party's position -- that the federal government should be doing - A LOT, SOME, or NOT MUCH AT ALL to make sure that women get equal pay for equal work? {DO NOT PROBE DON'T KNOW}

-----

- 1. A lot



- 3. Some
- 5. Not much at all

D. Don't know  
R. Refused  
N.

---

**M6c.**

How important is this issue to you personally - VERY important, SOMEWHAT important, or NOT IMPORTANT AT ALL?

- 
- 1. Very important
  - 3. Somewhat important
  - 5. Not important at all

D. Don't Know  
R. Refused  
N.

---

**M6d.**

Has this issue ever made you angry?

- 
- 1. Yes
  - 5. No

D. Don't know  
R. Refused  
N.

---

=====> 1/2 SAMPLE "estate tax"; 1/2 SAMPLE "death tax" SAME WORDING USED IN ALL M7 QUESTIONS HAVING THESE OPTIONS

---

**M7b.**

There has been a lot of talk recently about doing away with the tax on large inheritances, the so-called "[estate/death] tax". Do you FAVOR or OPPOSE doing away with the [estate/death tax]?

- 
- 1. Favor
  - 5. Oppose
  - 7. Other; depends {VOL}

D. Don't know  
R. Refused

N.

---

**M7b2.**

Do you [favor/oppose] doing away with the [estate/death] tax STRONGLY or NOT STRONGLY?

-----

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

D. Don't know

R. Refuse

N.

---

=====> 1/2 SAMPLES WITH ORDER OF M7c AND M7e RANDOMIZED

---

**M7c.**

Which would you say is closer to the Democratic Party's position -- that they FAVOR or OPPOSE doing away with the [estate/death] tax? {DO NOT PROBE DON'T KNOW}

-----

1. Favor
5. Oppose
7. Other; depends {VOL}

D. Don't know

R. Refused

N.

---

**M7e.**

Which would you say is closer to the Republican Party's position -- that they FAVOR or OPPOSE doing away with of the [estate/death] tax? {DO NOT PROBE DON'T KNOW}

-----

1. Favor
5. Oppose
7. Other; depends {VOL}

D. Don't know

R. Refused

N.

---

**M7h.**

How important is this issue to you personally - VERY important, SOMEWHAT important or NOT IMPORTANT AT ALL?

-----

1. Very important
3. Somewhat important
5. Not important at all

D. Don't Know  
R. Refused  
N.

---

**M7j.**

Has this issue ever made you feel angry?

-----

1. Yes
5. No

D. Don't know  
R. Refused  
N.

---

**M9.**

Next are a few miscellaneous questions.

-----

---

**M9a.**

Do you feel you are asked to pay MORE THAN YOU SHOULD in federal income taxes, about the RIGHT AMOUNT, or LESS THAN YOU SHOULD?

-----

1. More than should pay
3. About right
5. Less than should pay
7. Don't pay at all {VOL}

D. Don't know  
R. Refuse  
N.

---

=====> 1/2 SAMPLE M9b FIRST AND M9c SECOND; 1/2 SAMPLE M9c FIRST AND M9b

**SECOND**

---

**M9b.**

What about rich people? Do you feel rich people are asked to pay MORE THAN THEY SHOULD in federal income taxes, about the RIGHT AMOUNT, or LESS THAN THEY SHOULD?

-----

1. More than should pay
3. About right
5. Less than should pay
7. Don't pay at all {VOL}

D. Don't know  
R. Refuse  
N.

---

**M9c.**

What about poor people? Do you feel poor people are asked to pay MORE THAN THEY SHOULD in federal income taxes, about the RIGHT AMOUNT, or LESS THAN THEY SHOULD?

-----

1. More than should pay
3. About right
5. Less than should pay
7. Don't pay at all {VOL}

D. Don't know  
R. Refuse  
N.

---

**M10a.**

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 at all

D. Don't Know  
R. Refused  
N.

---

**M10b.**

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 at all

D. Don't Know  
R. Refused  
N.

---

### **M10d.**

Recently, there has been a lot of talk about campaign finance reform. In general, which of the following statements best represents what you feel about the way political campaigns are financed in this country: it needs to be completely overhauled, it needs major changes, it needs minor changes, or it is basically fine the way it is?

-----

1. Completely overhauled
3. Major changes
5. Minor changes
7. Fine the way it is

D. Don't Know  
R. Refused  
N.

---

### **M11a.**

In America today, some people have BETTER JOBS and HIGHER INCOMES than others do. WHY do you think that is -- why do some Americans have better jobs and higher incomes than others do?

-----

OPEN-END

---

PRE L2a - POST M11c PRE L2b - POST M11d PRE L2c - POST M11a PRE L2d - POST M11b

---

### **M11b.**

In America today, some people have WORSE JOBS and LOWER INCOMES than others do. WHY do you think that is -- why do some Americans have worse jobs and lower incomes than others do?

-----

OPEN-END

---

**M11c.**

Next, we'd like to know WHY you think it is, that in America today, some people have BETTER JOBS and HIGHER INCOMES than others do. I'm going to read you some possible explanations, and I want you to tell me how IMPORTANT you think each is.

-----

---

=====> M11c1-M11c7 reasons for economic inequality items randomly assigned to 2 sequential orders

---

**M11c1.**

[The first is:/(Next:)] 'Because some people have more in-born ability to learn.' ((Would you say that this is VERY important, SOMEWHAT important, or NOT IMPORTANT AT ALL as an explanation for why some people have better jobs and higher incomes than others do ?))

-----

1. Very important
3. Somewhat important
5. Not important at all
7. Statement isn't true {VOL}

D. Don't Know  
R. Refused  
N.

---

**M11c2.**

[The first is:/(Next:)] 'Because discrimination holds some people back.' ((Would you say that this is VERY important, SOMEWHAT important, or NOT IMPORTANT AT ALL as an explanation for why some people have better jobs and higher incomes than others do ?))

-----

1. Very important
3. Somewhat important
5. Not important at all
7. Statement isn't true {VOL}

D. Don't Know  
R. Refused  
N.

---

**M11c3.**

[The first is:/(Next:)] 'Because some people just don't work as hard.' ((Would you say that this is VERY important, SOMEWHAT important, or NOT IMPORTANT AT ALL as an explanation for why

some people have better jobs and higher incomes than others do ?))

-----

1. Very important
3. Somewhat important
5. Not important at all
7. Statement isn't true {VOL}

D. Don't Know

R. Refused

N.

---

#### **M11c4.**

[The first is:/(Next:)] 'Because some people don't get a chance to get a good education.' ((Would you say that this is VERY important, SOMEWHAT important, or NOT IMPORTANT AT ALL as an explanation for why some people have better jobs and higher incomes than others do ?))

-----

1. Very important
3. Somewhat important
5. Not important at all
7. Statement isn't true {VOL}

D. Don't Know

R. Refused

N.

---

#### **M11c5.**

[The first is:/(Next:)] 'Because some people just choose low-paying jobs.' ((Would you say that this is VERY important, SOMEWHAT important, or NOT IMPORTANT AT ALL as an explanation for why some people have better jobs and higher incomes than others do ?))

-----

1. Very important
3. Somewhat important
5. Not important at all
7. Statement isn't true {VOL}

D. Don't Know

R. Refused

N.

---

#### **M11c6.**

[The first is:/(Next:)] 'Because government policies have helped high-income workers more.' ((Would you say that this is VERY important, SOMEWHAT important, or NOT IMPORTANT AT ALL as an

explanation for why some people have better jobs and higher incomes than others do ?))

-----

1. Very important
3. Somewhat important
5. Not important at all
7. Statement isn't true {VOL}

D. Don't Know

R. Refused

N.

### **M11c7.**

[The first is:/(Next:)] 'Because God made people different from one another.' ((Would you say that this is VERY important, SOMEWHAT important, or NOT IMPORTANT AT ALL as an explanation for why some people have better jobs and higher incomes than others do ?))

-----

1. Very important
3. Somewhat important
5. Not important at all
7. Statement isn't true {VOL}

D. Don't Know

R. Refused

N.

### **M11d.**

Next, we'd like to know WHY you think it is, that in America today, some people have WORSE JOBS and LOWER INCOMES than others do. I'm going to read you some possible explanations, and I want you to tell me how IMPORTANT you think each is.

-----

=====> M11d1-M11d7 reasons for economic inequality items randomly assigned to 2 sequential orders

### **M11d1.**

[The first is:/(Next:)] 'Because some people have more in-born ability to learn.' ((Would you say that this is VERY important, SOMEWHAT important, or NOT IMPORTANT AT ALL as an explanation for why some people have worse jobs and lower incomes than others do ?))

-----

1. Very important
3. Somewhat important
5. Not important at all
7. Statement isn't true {VOL}



D. Don't Know  
R. Refused  
N.

---

**M11d2.**

[The first is:/(Next:)] 'Because discrimination holds some people back.' ((Would you say that this is VERY important, SOMEWHAT important, or NOT IMPORTANT AT ALL as an explanation for why some people have worse jobs and lower incomes than others do ?))

- 
1. Very important
  3. Somewhat important
  5. Not important at all
  7. Statement isn't true {VOL}

D. Don't Know  
R. Refused  
N.

---

**M11d3.**

[The first is:/(Next:)] 'Because some people just don't work as hard.' ((Would you say that this is VERY important, SOMEWHAT important, or NOT IMPORTANT AT ALL as an explanation for why some people have worse jobs and lower incomes than others do ?))

- 
1. Very important
  3. Somewhat important
  5. Not important at all
  7. Statement isn't true {VOL}

D. Don't Know  
R. Refused  
N.

---

**M11d4.**

[The first is:/(Next:)] 'Because some people don't get a chance to get a good education.' ((Would you say that this is VERY important, SOMEWHAT important, or NOT IMPORTANT AT ALL as an explanation for why some people have worse jobs and lower incomes than others do ?))

- 
1. Very important
  3. Somewhat important
  5. Not important at all
  7. Statement isn't true {VOL}

D. Don't Know  
R. Refused  
N.

---

**M11d5.**

[The first is:/(Next:)] 'Because some people just choose low-paying jobs.' ((Would you say that this is VERY important, SOMEWHAT important, or NOT IMPORTANT AT ALL as an explanation for why some people have worse jobs and lower incomes than others do ?))

- 
1. Very important
  3. Somewhat important
  5. Not important at all
  7. Statement isn't true {VOL}

D. Don't Know  
R. Refused  
N.

---

**M11d6.**

[The first is:/(Next:)] 'Because government policies have helped high-income workers more.' ((Would you say that this is VERY important, SOMEWHAT important, or NOT IMPORTANT AT ALL as an explanation for why some people have worse jobs and lower incomes than others do ?))

- 
1. Very important
  3. Somewhat important
  5. Not important at all
  7. Statement isn't true {VOL}

D. Don't Know  
R. Refused  
N.

---

**M11d7.**

[The first is:/(Next:)] 'Because God made people different from one another.' ((Would you say that this is VERY important, SOMEWHAT important, or NOT IMPORTANT AT ALL as an explanation for why some people have worse jobs and lower incomes than others do ?))

- 
1. Very important
  3. Somewhat important
  5. Not important at all
  7. Statement isn't true {VOL}

D. Don't Know  
R. Refused  
N.

---

**M12a.**

DURING THE PAST 12 MONTHS, have you worked with other people to deal with some issue facing your community?

-----

1. Yes  
5. No

D. Don't Know  
R. Refused  
N.

---

**M12b.**

DURING THE PAST TWELVE MONTHS, have you telephoned, written a letter to, or visited a government official to express your views on a public issue?

-----

1. Yes  
5. No

D. Don't Know  
R. Refused  
N.

---

**M12c.**

DURING THE PAST TWELVE MONTHS, did you attend a meeting about an issue facing your community or schools?

-----

1. Yes  
5. No

D. Don't Know  
R. Refused  
N.

---

**M12d.**

Here is a list of some organizations people can belong to. There are labor unions, associations of people who do the same kinds of work, fraternal groups such as Lions or Kiwanis, hobby clubs or sports teams, groups working on political issues, community groups, and school groups. Of course, there are lots of other types of organizations, too. Not counting membership in a local church or synagogue, are you a member of any of these kinds of organizations?

-----

- 1. Yes
- 5. No

D. Don't Know  
R. Refused  
N.

---

### **M12e.**

Many people are finding it more difficult to make contributions to church or charity as much as they used to. How about you -- were you able to contribute any money to church or charity in the LAST 12 MONTHS?

-----

- 1. Yes
- 5. No

D. Don't Know  
R. Refused  
N.

---

### **M12f.**

Aside from a strike against your employer, in the PAST TWELVE MONTHS, have you taken part in a protest, march, or demonstration on some national or local issue?

-----

- 1. Yes
- 5. No

D. Don't Know  
R. Refused  
N.

---

### **N2.**

Now I'd like to read you a few statements about public life. I'll read them one at a time. Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with each of them.

-----

---

**N2b.**

' I consider myself well-qualified to participate in politics. ' Do you AGREE, NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE, or DISAGREE with this statement?

-----

1. Agree
3. Neither agree nor disagree
5. Disagree

D. Don't Know  
R. Refused  
N.

---

**N2c.**

' I think that I am better informed about politics and government than most people. ' ((Do you AGREE, NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE, or DISAGREE with this statement))?

-----

1. Agree
3. Neither agree nor disagree
5. Disagree

D. Don't Know  
R. Refused  
N.

---

**N3.**

'So many other people vote in the national election that it doesn't matter much to me whether I vote or not.' ((Do you AGREE, NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE, or DISAGREE with this statement))?

-----

1. Agree
3. Neither agree nor disagree
5. Disagree

D. Don't Know  
R. Refused  
N.

---

**Q1.**

Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with these statements about the government. The first is:

-----

---

**Q1a.**

' Public officials don't care much what people like me think. ' Do you AGREE, NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE, or DISAGREE with this statement?

-----

- 1. Agree
- 3. Neither agree nor disagree
- 5. Disagree

D. Don't Know

R. Refused

N.

---

**Q1b.**

' People like me don't have any say about what the government does. ' ((Do you AGREE, NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE, or DISAGREE with this statement))?

-----

- 1. Agree
- 3. Neither agree nor disagree
- 5. Disagree

D. Don't Know

R. Refused

N.

---

**Q2.**

We're nearly at the end of the interview now, and have just a few more questions on a couple of topics.

-----

---

**Q3.**

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

-----

---

**Q3a.**

How much of the time do you think you can trust the government in Washington to do what is right --

JUST ABOUT ALWAYS, MOST OF THE TIME, or only SOME OF THE TIME?

-----

1. Just about always
2. Most of the time
3. Only some of the time
4. Never {VOL}

D. Don't Know

R. Refused

N.

---

#### Q4.

Do you think that people in government waste A LOT of the money we pay in taxes, waste SOME of it, or DON'T WASTE VERY MUCH of it?

-----

1. Waste a lot
3. Waste some
5. Don't waste very much

D. Don't Know

R. Refused

N.

---

#### Q5.

Would you say the government is pretty much run by A FEW BIG INTERESTS looking out for themselves or that it is run for THE BENEFIT OF ALL THE PEOPLE?

-----

1. Government run by a few big interests
5. Government run for the benefit of all

D. Don't Know

R. Refused

N.

---

#### Q6.

Do you think that QUITE A FEW of the people running the government are crooked, NOT VERY MANY are, or do you think HARDLY ANY of them are crooked?

-----

1. Quite a few are crooked
3. Not very many are crooked
5. Hardly any are crooked

D. Don't Know  
R. Refused  
N.

---

**Q7.**

How much do you feel that having elections makes the government pay attention to what the people think -- a GOOD DEAL, SOME, or NOT MUCH?

-----

1. A good deal
3. Some
5. Not much

D. Don't Know  
R. Refused  
N.

---

**T6.**

On the whole, are you SATISFIED, FAIRLY SATISFIED, NOT VERY SATISFIED, or NOT AT ALL SATISFIED with the way democracy works in the United States?

-----

1. Satisfied
2. Fairly satisfied
3. Not very satisfied
4. Not at all satisfied

D. Don't Know  
R. Refused  
N.

---

**T7a.**

When you see the American flag flying does it make you feel EXTREMELY GOOD, VERY GOOD, SOMEWHAT GOOD, or NOT VERY GOOD?

-----

1. Extremely good
2. Very good
3. Somewhat good
4. Not very good

D. Don't Know  
R. Refused  
N.



---

**T7b.**

How strong is your love for your country... EXTREMELY STRONG, VERY STRONG, SOMEWHAT STRONG, or NOT VERY STRONG?

-----

1. Extremely Strong
2. Very Strong
4. Somewhat Strong
5. Not Very Strong

D. Don't Know

R. Refused

N.

---

=====> Y4 ASKED ONLY IF PANEL

---

**Y4.**

We'd like to know if you are working now, or are you unemployed, retired, a homemaker, ((a student)), or what? {MULTIPLE RESPONSES}

-----

1. working now
2. temporarily laid off
3. unemployed
4. retired
5. permanently disabled
6. homemaker
7. student

R. Refused

N.

---

=====> Y8 ASKED ONLY IF WORKING IN PRE (Y4 FRESH CROSS) OR POST (PANEL Y4)

---

**Y8.**

Here are a couple of things people sometimes do as part of their job. After I read each, please tell me whether or not you have done this, DURING THE LAST SIX MONTHS, as part of your job.

-----

---

**Y8a.**

Have you planned or chaired a meeting ((in the last 6 months?))

-----

- 1. Yes
- 5. No
- 7. Not currently employed {VOL}

D. Don't Know  
R. Refused  
N.

---

**Y8b.**

Have you given a presentation or speech ((in the last 6 months?))

-----

- 1. Yes
- 5. No

D. Don't Know  
R. Refused  
N.

---

**Z1.**

Finally, I'd like to ask you a few questions about life in your neighborhood. During the PAST TWELVE MONTHS, have you worked with others from your neighborhood to deal with a common issue or problem?

-----

- 1. Yes
- 5. No

D. Don't Know  
R. Refused  
N.

---

**Z2.**

Next some questions about the people you regularly see in your neighborhood. In general, with these people in mind, would you say that they are just looking out for themselves ALL OF THE TIME, MOST OF THE TIME, SOME OF THE TIME, HARDLY EVER, or NEVER?

-----

- 1. All of the time
- 2. Most of the time
- 3. Some of the time
- 4. Hardly ever
- 5. Never

D. Don't Know {DO NOT PROBE}

R. Refused {DO NOT PROBE}

N.

---

**Z3a.**

Would you say those people you see regularly in your neighborhood try to take advantage of others ALL OF THE TIME, MOST OF THE TIME, SOME OF THE TIME, HARDLY EVER, or NEVER?

-----

1. All of the time
2. Most of the time
3. Some of the time
4. Hardly ever
5. Never

D. Don't Know {DO NOT PROBE}

R. Refused {DO NOT PROBE}

N.

---

**Z3b.**

(Again, thinking about those people you see in your neighborhood,) Would you say they treat others with respect ALL OF THE TIME, MOST OF THE TIME, SOME OF THE TIME, HARDLY EVER, or NEVER?

-----

1. All of the time
2. Most of the time
3. Some of the time
4. Hardly ever
5. Never

D. Don't Know {DO NOT PROBE}

R. Refused {DO NOT PROBE}

N.

---

**Z3c.**

Would you say that HONEST describes the people in your neighborhood EXTREMELY WELL, QUITE WELL, NOT TOO WELL, or NOT WELL AT ALL?

-----

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

D. Don't Know {DO NOT PROBE}

R. Refused {DO NOT PROBE}

N.

---

**ZZ4.**

R's cooperation was:

-----

1. Very good
2. Good
3. Fair
4. Poor
5. Very poor

N.

---

**ZZ5.**

R'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

N.

---

**ZZ6.**

R's apparent intelligence:

-----

1. Very high
2. Fairly high
3. Average
4. Fairly low
5. Very low

N.

---

**ZZ7.**

How suspicious did R seem to be about the study before the interview?:

-----

1. Not at all suspicious
3. Somewhat suspicious
5. Very suspicious

N.

---

**ZZ8.**

Overall, how great was R's interest in the interview?

-----

1. Very high
2. Fairly high
3. Average
4. Fairly low
5. Very low

N.

---

**ZZ9.**

How sincere did R seem to be in his/her answers?

-----

1. Completely sincere
3. Usually sincere
5. Often seemed to be insincere

N.

---

**ZZ9a.**

Were there any particular parts of the interview for which you doubted R's sincerity?

-----

1. Yes
5. No

N.

---

**ZZ9a1.**

{IF SO, NAME THEM BY SECTION OR QUESTION NUMBER}

-----

OPEN-END

**ZZ12.**

Rs reaction to interview {MULTIPLE MENTIONS}

-----

- 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 he/she regretted 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"; interview was obviously hard for R
- 30. R expressed (especially repeatedly) doubts/apologies/ embarrassment over lack of knowledge or own suitability for interview
- 31. R expressed (especially repeatedly) doubts/apologies/ embarrassment over lack of POLITICAL knowledge
- 40. R was agitated or stressed by interview PROCESS
- 41. R became angry at interview CONTENT
- 45. R became concerned about sampling purpose or bias: "why do you come to the old folks home?" "why THIS neighborhood?" "why/why not blacks/Hispanics?" "why me?" etc.
- 70. R appeared to enjoy the interview (R was "cooperative" /"interested"/"pleasant" etc.)
- 80. Neutral or no feedback (1st mention only)

N.

**PROB1.**

Is there any difficulty administering an interview by phone to this R? {EXAMPLES: hard of hearing, illness that makes it difficult for R to stay on the phone very long, etc.}

-----

- 1 Yes {SPECIFY}
- 5 No

R. Refused

N.

**PROB2.**

Is there any reason we should not contact this R again or is there any special care that should be taken when contacting R again? {EXAMPLES: R was threatening or otherwise indicated emphatically that we must never contact him again; R was hostile/drunk/ disoriented/dementia etc.}?

-----

- 1 Yes {SPECIFY}

5 No

R. Refused

N.

---

**TNAIL1.**

PLEASE DESCRIBE ANY AMBIGUOUS OR CONFLICTING SITUATION THAT YOU WANT PROJECT STAFF TO KNOW ABOUT. DESCRIBE ANY PROBLEMS YOU ENCOUNTERED WHILE ADMINISTERING ANY QUESTION OR PORTION OF THE INTERVIEW, OR IN GENERAL

-----

OPEN-END

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**TNAIL2.**

PLEASE PROVIDE A FEW WORDS ABOUT THIS RESPONDENT WHICH WOULD HELP YOU REMEMBER THE INTERVIEW IF YOU HAD TO CALL BACK.

-----

OPEN-END

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