

ANES 2002 Pre Election Survey Questions

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

D. Don't Know
R. Refused
N.

A6.

How many days in the PAST WEEK did you watch the NATIONAL network news on TV?

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.

A7.

How many days IN THE PAST WEEK did you watch the local TV news shows, either in the late afternoon or in the early-evening?

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.

A10.

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

- 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.
-

A12.

Do you APPROVE or DISAPPROVE of the way George W. Bush is HANDLING HIS JOB AS PRESIDENT?

- 1. Approve
 - 5. Disapprove

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

A12a.

(Do you [approve/disapprove]) STRONGLY or NOT STRONGLY?

- 1. Strongly
 - 5. Not Strongly

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

B1.

As you know, representatives to Congress in Washington are being chosen in this election from congressional districts all around the country. How much would you say that you personally care about the way the election to the U.S. House of Representatives comes out: do you care VERY MUCH,

PRETTY MUCH, NOT VERY MUCH or NOT AT ALL?

1. Very much
2. Pretty much
3. Not very much
4. Not at all

D. Don't Know
R. Refused
N.

B2.

Do you APPROVE or DISAPPROVE of the way the U.S. Congress has been handling its job?

1. Approve
5. Disapprove

D. Don't Know
R. Refused
N.

B2a.

(Do you [approve/disapprove]) STRONGLY or NOT STRONGLY?

1. Strongly
5. Not Strongly

D. Don't Know
R. Refused
N.

C1.

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.

=====> C1a-C1r Thermometers randomly assigned to 2 sequential orders
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C1a.

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.

C1b.

(The next person is:)

Dick Cheney

(Where on that thermometer would you rate him?)

{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.

C1c.

(The next person is:)

Al Gore

(Where on that thermometer would you rate him?)

{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.

C1d.

(The next person is:)

Joseph Lieberman

(Where on that thermometer would you rate him?)

{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.

C1e.

(The next person is:)

Ralph Nader

(Where on that thermometer would you rate him?)

{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.

C1f.

(The next person is:)

Bill Clinton

(Where on that thermometer would you rate him?)

{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.

C1h.

(The next person is:)
Colin Powell
(Where on that thermometer would you rate him?)

{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.

C1j.

(The next person is:)
John Ashcroft
(Where on that thermometer would you rate him?)

{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.

C1m.

(The next person is:)
Jesse Jackson
(Where on that thermometer would you rate him?)

{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.

C1p.

(The next person is:)

Laura Bush

(Where on that thermometer would you rate 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.

C1r.

(The next person is:)

Hillary Clinton

(Where on that thermometer would you rate 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.

Do you think it is better when ONE PARTY CONTROLS both the presidency and Congress, better when CONTROL IS SPLIT between the Democrats and Republicans, or DOESN'T IT MATTER?

1. Better When One Party Controls Both
3. Better When Control Is Split

5. It Doesn't Matter

D. Don't Know
 R. Refused
 N.

F1.

We hear a lot of talk these days about liberals and conservatives. When it comes to politics, do you usually think of yourself as EXTREMELY LIBERAL, LIBERAL, SLIGHTLY LIBERAL, MODERATE OR MIDDLE OF THE ROAD, SLIGHTLY CONSERVATIVE, CONSERVATIVE, EXTREMELY CONSERVATIVE, or haven't you thought much about this?

-
1. Extremely Liberal
 2. Liberal
 3. Slightly Liberal
 4. Moderate; Middle of the Road
 5. Slightly Conservative
 6. Conservative
 7. Extremely Conservative
 0. Haven't Thought Much [Do Not Probe]

D. Don't Know
 R. Refused
 N.

F1a.

If you had to choose, would you consider yourself a LIBERAL or a CONSERVATIVE?

-
1. Liberal
 3. Conservative
 5. Moderate {VOL}
 7. R Refuses to Choose

D. Don't Know
 N.

G1.

We are interested in how people are getting along financially these days. Would you say that you (and your family) are BETTER OFF, WORSE OFF, or just about the same financially as you were a year ago?

-
1. Better
 3. Worse
 5. Same

D. Don't Know
R. Refused
N.

G1a.

(Is that) MUCH [better/worse] off or SOMEWHAT [better/ worse] off?

1. Much Better
2. Somewhat Better
4. Somewhat Worse
5. Much Worse

D. Don't Know
R. Refused
N.

H1.

Now thinking about the economy in the country as a whole, would you say that over the past year the nation's economy has gotten BETTER, STAYED ABOUT THE SAME, or gotten WORSE?

1. Better
3. Same
5. Worse

D. Don't Know
R. Refused
N.

H1a.

(Would you say) MUCH [better/worse] or SOMEWHAT [better/ worse]?

1. Much Better
2. Somewhat Better
4. Somewhat Worse
5. Much Worse

D. Don't Know
R. Refused
N.

-----> 1/2 SAMPLE H5 AND 1/2 SAMPLE J5
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H5.

Do you APPROVE or DISAPPROVE of the way George W. Bush is HANDLING THE ECONOMY?

- 1. Approve
- 5. Disapprove

D. Don't Know
R. Refused
N.

H5a.

(Do you [approve/disapprove]) STRONGLY or NOT STRONGLY?

- 1. Strongly
- 5. Not Strongly

D. Don't Know
R. Refused
N.

H7.

Which party do you think would do a better job of HANDLING THE NATION'S ECONOMY

the [Democrats/Republicans], the [Republicans/Democrats], or wouldn't there be much difference between them?

{IF 'DK' OR 'NEITHER PARTY' IS VOLUNTEERED, DO NOT PROBE}

- 1. Democrats
- 3. Republicans
- 5. Wouldn't Be Much Difference/no Difference
- 7. Neither Party {VOL}

D. Don't Know
R. Refused
N.

H9.

Turning to some other issues facing the country. During the past year, would you say that the United States' position in the world has grown WEAKER, STAYED ABOUT THE SAME, or has it grown STRONGER?

1. Weaker
3. Stayed about the Same
5. Stronger

D. Don't Know
R. Refused
N.

H12.

Do you AGREE or DISAGREE with this statement:

'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

D. Don't Know
R. Refused
N.

H13.

Do you APPROVE or DISAPPROVE of the way George W. Bush is HANDLING OUR RELATIONS WITH FOREIGN COUNTRIES?

1. Approve
5. Disapprove

D. Don't Know
R. Refused
N.

H13a.

(Do you [approve/disapprove]) STRONGLY or NOT STRONGLY?

1. Strongly
5. Not Strongly

D. Don't Know
R. Refused
N.

J1.

Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a REPUBLICAN, a DEMOCRAT, an INDEPENDENT, or what?

1. Democrat
2. Republican
3. Independent
4. Other Party {VOL} {SPECIFY}
5. No Preference {VOL}

D. Don't Know
R. Refused
N.

J1a.

Would you call yourself a STRONG [democrat/republican] or a NOT VERY STRONG [democrat/republican]?

1. Strong
5. Not Very Strong

D. Don't Know
R. Refused
N.

J1b.

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

1. Closer to Republican
3. Neither {VOL}
5. Closer to Democratic

D. Don't Know
R. Refused
N.

-----> 1ST 1/2 SAMPLE J4; 2ND 1/2 SAMPLE R1

J4a.

In the PAST TWELVE MONTHS, have you flown an American flag or displayed the flag in some other way, such as in a window, or on your car, or on a T-shirt or other piece of clothing?

1. Yes
5. No

D. Don't Know
R. Refused
N.

J4d.

Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with this statement:
'There are some things about America today that make me feel ashamed of America.'
Do you AGREE, NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE, or DISAGREE?

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

D. Don't Know
R. Refused
N.

=====> 1/2 SAMPLE H5 AND 1/2 SAMPLE J5

J5.

Do you APPROVE or DISAPPROVE of the way George W. Bush is HANDLING THE ECONOMY?

1. Approve
5. Disapprove

D. Don't Know
R. Refused
N.

J5a.

(Do you [approve/disapprove]) STRONGLY or NOT STRONGLY?

1. Strongly
5. Not Strongly

D. Don't Know
R. Refused
N.

J6.

Now I am going to read a statement and ask you whether you agree or disagree.

J6a.

'In the U.S. today, a poor person has the same chance of getting a fair trial as a wealthy person does'.
Do you AGREE, NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE, or DISAGREE?

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

D. Don't Know

R. Refused

N.

=====> 1/2 SAMPLE K1 SPENDING ITEMS AND 1/2 SAMPLE K2 SPENDING ITEMS

K1.

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.

=====> K1b-K1h Federal spending items randomly assigned to 2 sequential orders (K1a always 1st)

K1a.

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.

K1b.

(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.

K1c.

(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.

K1d.

(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.

K1e.

(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.

K1f.

(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.

K1g.

(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.

K1h.

(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 K1 SPENDING ITEMS AND 1/2 SAMPLE K2 SPENDING ITEMS
--

K2.

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.

=====> K2b-K2h Federal spending items randomly assigned to 2 sequential orders (K2a always 1st)

K2a.

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.

K2b.

(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.

K2c.

(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.

K2d.

(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.

K2e.

(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.

K2f.

(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.

K2g.

(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.

K2h.

(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.

L1a.

Now on a different topic.

Do you think the difference in incomes between rich people and poor people in the United States today is LARGER, SMALLER, or ABOUT THE SAME as it was 20 years ago?

-
1. Larger
 3. Smaller
 5. About the same

D. Don't Know
 R. Refused
 N.

L1a1.

(Would you say the difference in incomes is) MUCH [larger/smaller] or SOMEWHAT [larger/smaller]?

-
1. Much larger
 2. Somewhat larger
 4. Somewhat smaller
 5. Much smaller

D. Don't Know
 R. Refused

N.

L1a2.

Do you think this is A GOOD THING, A BAD THING, or haven't you thought about it?

- 1. Good thing
- 3. Bad thing
- 0. Haven't thought

D. Don't Know

R. Refused

N.

=====> 1/4 SAMPLE L2a; 1/4 SAMPLE L2b; 1/4 SAMPLE L2c; 1/4 SAMPLE L2d

L2a.

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

OPEN-END

L2b.

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

L2c.

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.

=====> L2c1-L2c7 reasons for economic inequality items randomly assigned to 2 sequential orders

L2c1.

[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.

L2c2.

[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.

L2c3.

[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.

L2c4.

[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.

L2c5.

[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.

L2c6.

[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.

L2c7.

[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.

L2d.

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.

=====> L2d1-L2d7 reasons for economic inequality items randomly assigned to 2 sequential orders

L2d1.

[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.

L2d2.

[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.

L2d3.

[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.

L2d4.

[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.

L2d5.

[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.

L2d6.

[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.

L2d7.

[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.

<p>=====> 1/2 SAMPLE "rich" IN L9a AND "poor" in L9b; =====> 1/2 SAMPLE "poor" IN L9a AND "rich" in L9b</p>
--

L9a.

Which political party do you think is generally better for [poor/rich] people - the DEMOCRATS, the REPUBLICANS, or is there NOT MUCH DIFFERENCE between them?

1. Democrats
3. Republicans
5. Not much difference

D. Don't know
 R. Refuse
 N.

L9b.

And which party do you think is generally better for [rich/poor] people - the DEMOCRATS, the REPUBLICANS, or is there NOT MUCH DIFFERENCE between them?

 1. Democrats
 3. Republicans
 5. Not much difference

D. Don't know
 R. Refuse
 N.

L11.

Next are a few questions about federal income taxes.

L11a.

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.

<p>=====> 1/2 SAMPLE L11b FIRST AND L11c SECOND; =====> 1/2 SAMPLE L11c FIRST AND L11B SECOND</p>
--

L11b.

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.

L11c.

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.

M1a.

Over the last year, investigations into a number of large corporations such as Enron have found top executives to have exaggerated profits through shady accounting procedures. The executives received huge bonuses, but their companies went bankrupt and workers lost their jobs and retirement savings. How much attention would you say you've paid to those stories -- QUITE A LOT, SOME, JUST A LITTLE, or NONE AT ALL?

-
- 1. Quite a lot
 - 2. Some
 - 3. Just a little
 - 4. None

D. Don't know
R. Refused
N.

M1a2.

Have these stories ever made you angry?

-
- 1. Yes
 - 5. No

D. Don't know
R. Refuse
N.

M1a3.

How common do you think this problem is today: would you say it affects nearly all large U.S. companies, MANY, SOME, or JUST A FEW?

1. Nearly all
2. Many
3. Some
4. Just a few
0. Haven't thought about {VOL}

D. Don't know
R. Refuse
N.

M1d.

Which party do you think would do a better job making sure that these problems do not continue to happen, the [DEMOCRATS/ REPUBLICANS], the [REPUBLICANS/DEMOCRATS], or WOULDN'T THERE BE MUCH DIFFERENCE between them?

1. Democrats
3. Republicans
5. Wouldn't be much difference
7. Neither {VOL}

D Don't Know
R. Refused
N.

=====> 1/2 SAMPLE WORDING USED IN M2 QUESTIONS
--

M2a.

As you may recall, [Congress passed/President Bush signed] a big tax cut last year. Did you FAVOR or OPPOSE the tax cut, or is this something you haven't thought about?

1. Favor
5. Oppose
7. Other/depends/neither {VOL} {SPECIFY}
0. Haven't thought about

D. Don't know
R. Refused
N.

M2b.

Did you [favor/oppose] the tax cut STRONGLY or NOT STRONGLY?

- 1. Strongly
- 5. Not strongly

D. Don't know
R. Refuse
N.

M2c.

Do you happen to remember - did the Democratic Party FAVOR or OPPOSE the tax cut that [Congress passed/President Bush signed] last year?

- 1. Favor
- 5. Oppose
- 7. Other {VOL} {SPECIFY}
- 0. Don't remember {VOL}

D. Don't know
R. Refused
N.

M2e.

What about the Republican Party - did the Republican Party FAVOR or OPPOSE the tax cut that [Congress passed/President Bush signed] last year?

- 1. Favor
- 5. Oppose
- 7. Other {VOL} {SPECIFY}
- 0. Don't remember {VOL}

D. Don't know
R. Refused
N.

M2n.

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.

M2p.

Has this issue ever made you angry?

- 1. Yes
- 5. No

D. Don't know
R. Refused
N.

N1.

Now, on another topic..

Do you consider religion to be an IMPORTANT part of your life, or NOT?

- 1. Important
- 5. Not important

D. Don't know
R. Refused
N.

N1a.

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
- 3. Quite a bit
- 5. A great deal

D. Don't know
R. Refused
N.

N3.

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

D. Don't know
R. Refused
N.

N3a.

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

D. Don't know
R. Refused
N.

N3a1.

Would you say you go to religious services ONCE A WEEK or MORE OFTEN THAN ONCE A WEEK?

- 1. Once a week
- 2. More often than once a week

D. Don't know
R. Refused
N.

N4.

Aside from attending services, in the PAST SIX MONTHS have you been an active member at your place of worship - I mean, have you done things like serve on committees, give time for special projects, or help organize meetings?

- 1. Yes
- 5. No

D. Don't know
 R. Refused
 N.

N4a.

As part of these activities, have you planned or chaired a meeting (in the last six months)?

 1. Yes
 5. No

D. Don't know
 R. Refused
 N.

N4b.

(As part of these activities,) have you given a presentation or speech (in the last six months)?

 1. Yes
 5. No

D. Don't know
 R. Refused
 N.

<p>=====> 1/4 SAMPLE P1 WITH "black/worse"; 1/4 SAMPLE P1 WITH "whites/better"; =====> 1/4 SAMPLE P2 WITH "women/worse"; 1/4 SAMPPLP P2 WITH "men/better"</p>
--

P1.

Now for some other questions.

Next, we'd like to know WHY you think it is, that in America today, [blacks/whites] tend to have [WORSE/BETTER] JOBS and [LOWER/HIGHER] INCOMES than [whites/blacks] do. I'm going to read you some possible explanations, and I want you to tell me how IMPORTANT you think each is.

<p>=====> P1a-g reasons randomly assigned to 2 sequential orders</p>

P1a.

[The first is:/(Next:)]

'Because whites 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 [blacks/ whites] tend to have [worse/better] jobs and [lower/higher] incomes than [whites/blacks] 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.

P1b.

[The first is:/(Next:)]

'Because discrimination holds blacks back'.

(Would you say that this is VERY important, SOMEWHAT important, or NOT IMPORTANT AT ALL as an explanation for why [blacks/ whites] tend to have [worse/better] jobs and [lower/higher] incomes than [whites/blacks] 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.

P1c.

[The first is:/(Next:)]

'Because blacks 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 [blacks/ whites] tend to have [worse/better] jobs and [lower/higher] incomes than [whites/blacks] 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.

P1d.

[The first is:/(Next:)]

'Because blacks 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 [blacks/ whites] tend to have [worse/better] jobs and [lower/higher] incomes than [whites/blacks] 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.

P1e.

[The first is:/(Next:)]

'Because blacks 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 [blacks/ whites] tend to have [worse/better] jobs and [lower/higher] incomes than [whites/blacks] 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.

P1f.

[The first is:/(Next:)]

'Because government policies have helped whites more'.

(Would you say that this is VERY important, SOMEWHAT important, or NOT IMPORTANT AT ALL as an explanation for why [blacks/ whites] tend to have [worse/better] jobs and [lower/higher] incomes than [whites/blacks] 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.

P1g.

[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 [blacks/ whites] tend to have [worse/better] jobs and [lower/higher] incomes than [whites/blacks] 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.

P1j.

Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with the following:

'In the U.S. today, a black person has the same chance of getting a fair trial as a white person does.'

Do you AGREE, NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE, or DISAGREE?

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

D. Don't Know

R. Refused

N.

P1k.

Which political party do you think is generally better for [white/black] people - the DEMOCRATS, the REPUBLICANS, or is there NOT MUCH DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THEM?

1. Democrats
3. Republicans
5. Not much difference between them

D. Don't Know

R. Refused

N.

P1m.

And which party do you think is generally better for [black/white] people - the DEMOCRATS, the REPUBLICANS, or is there NOT MUCH DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THEM?

1. Democrats
3. Republicans
5. Not much difference between them

D. Don't Know
 R. Refused
 N.

P2.

Now for some other questions.

Next, we'd like to know WHY you think it is, that in America today, [women/men] tend to have [WORSE/BETTER] JOBS and [LOWER/ HIGHER] INCOMES than [men/women] do. I'm going to read you some possible explanations, and I want you to tell me how IMPORTANT you think each is.

=====> P2a-g reasons randomly assigned to 2 sequential orders

P2a.

[The first is:/(Next:)]

'Because men 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 [women/ men] tend to have [worse/better] jobs and [lower/higher] incomes than [men/women] 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.

P2b.

[The first is:/(Next:)]

'Because discrimination holds women back'

(Would you say that this is VERY important, SOMEWHAT important, or NOT IMPORTANT AT ALL as an explanation for why [women/ men] tend to have [worse/better] jobs and [lower/higher] incomes than [men/women] 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.

P2c.

[The first is:/(Next:)]

'Because women 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 [women/ men] tend to have [worse/better] jobs and [lower/higher] incomes than [men/women] 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.

P2d.

[The first is:/(Next:)]

'Because women 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 [women/ men] tend to have [worse/better] jobs and [lower/higher] incomes than [men/women] 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.

P2e.

[The first is:/(Next:)]

'Because women 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 [women/ men] tend to have [worse/better] jobs and [lower/higher] incomes than [men/women] 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.

P2f.

[The first is:/(Next:)]

'Because government policies have helped men more'

(Would you say that this is VERY important, SOMEWHAT important, or NOT IMPORTANT AT ALL as an explanation for why [women/ men] tend to have [worse/better] jobs and [lower/higher] incomes than [men/women] 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.

P2g.

[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 [women/ men] tend to have [worse/better] jobs and [lower/higher] incomes than [men/women] 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.

P2j.

Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with the following:

'In the U.S. today, a woman has the same chance of a getting a fair trial as a man does.'

Do you AGREE, NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE, or DISAGREE?

- 1. Agree

- 3. Neither agree nor disagree
- 5. Disagree

D. Don't Know
 R. Refused
 N.

P2k.

Which political party do you think is generally better for [women/men] - the DEMOCRATS, the REPUBLICANS, or is there NOT MUCH DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THEM?

- 1. Democrats
- 3. Republicans
- 5. Not much difference between them

D. Don't Know
 R. Refused
 N.

P2m.

And which party do you think is generally better for [men/women] - the DEMOCRATS, the REPUBLICANS, or is there NOT MUCH DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THEM?

- 1. Democrats
- 3. Republicans
- 5. Not much difference between them

D. Don't Know
 R. Refused
 N.

=====> Q SECTION PANEL ONLY EXCEPT FOR Q3g
 =====> 1/2 PANEL Q1-Q2 1ST AND Q3-Q4 2ND; 1/2 PANEL Q3-Q4 1ST AND Q1-Q2 2ND

Q1.

Now I'd like to ask you a few questions about the 2000 Presidential election.

In 2000 George W. Bush ran on the Republican ticket against Al Gore for the Democrats, and Ralph Nader as a third party candidate. Do you remember for sure whether or not you voted in that election?
 {DO NOT PROBE 'DK' RESPONSE}

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

D. Don't know

R. Refused

N.

Q1a.

Which one did you vote for?
{DO NOT PROBE DK RESPONSE}

1. Al Gore
3. George W. Bush
5. Ralph Nader
7. Other {SPECIFY}

D. Don't Know

R. Refused

N.

Q2a.

Whether or not you voted, you might remember that the 2000 presidential election ended in a big controversy. What do you remember most about that?

OPEN-END

Q2c.

All things considered, would you say that the 2000 presidential election was decided in a way that was FAIR or UNFAIR?

1. Fair
5. Unfair

D. Don't know

R. Refused

N.

Q2c1.

Do you feel STRONGLY or NOT STRONGLY that it was [fair/unfair]?

1. Strongly
5. Not strongly

D. Don't Know

R. Refused

N.

Q3.

Now for another topic.

As you know, on September 11th 2001, a group of terrorists took control of several U.S. commercial airplanes and crashed them into the World Trade Center in New York and the Pentagon in Washington.

Q3b.

Did you happen to see the collapse of the World Trade Center towers on live television AS IT WAS ACTUALLY HAPPENING?

- 1. Yes
- 5. No

D. Don't Know
R. Refused
N.

Q3c.

What do you think the terrorists were trying to accomplish by their actions?

OPEN-END

Q3d.

Now I'm going to read you a short list of explanations people have suggested for September 11. I would like you to tell me how IMPORTANT you think each is in explaining the September 11th attack.

=====> Q3d1-Q3d6 reasons randomly assigned to 2 sequential orders

Q3d1.

[The first is:/(What about:)]

'The United States' support of Israel.'

(Would you say that U.S. support of Israel is VERY important, SOMEWHAT important, or NOT IMPORTANT AT ALL as an explanation for the terrorist attack on September 11?)

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

D. Don't Know
R. Refused
N.

Q3d2.

[The first is:/(What about:)]

'Desert Storm, the U.S. war against Iraq and Saddam Hussein in 1991'

(Would you say that Desert Storm is VERY important, SOMEWHAT important, or NOT IMPORTANT AT ALL as an explanation for the terrorist attack on September 11?)

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

D. Don't Know
R. Refused
N.

Q3d5.

[The first is:/(What about:)]

'To carry out a religious war'

(Would you say that a religious war is VERY important, SOMEWHAT important, or NOT IMPORTANT AT ALL as an explanation for the terrorist attack on September 11?)

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

D. Don't Know
R. Refused
N.

Q3d6.

[The first is:/(What about:)]

'Because the terrorists believe that America is immoral'

(Would you say that this belief about America is VERY important, SOMEWHAT important, or NOT IMPORTANT AT ALL as an explanation for the terrorist attack on September 11?)

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

D. Don't Know
 R. Refused
 N.

Q3e.

How likely do you think it is that the U.S. will suffer an attack as serious as the one in New York and Washington some time in the next 12 months? Would you say VERY LIKELY, SOMEWHAT LIKELY, SOMEWHAT UNLIKELY, or VERY UNLIKELY?

- 1. Very Likely
 2. Somewhat Likely
 3. Somewhat Unlikely
 4. Very Unlikely

D. Don't Know
 R. Refused
 N.

=====> Q3g BOTH PANEL AND CROSS

Q3g1.

All things considered, do you APPROVE or DISAPPROVE of the way George W. Bush [is handling the war on terrorism/has responded to the terrorist attack of September 11]?

- 1 Approve
 5 Disapprove

D. Don't Know
 R. Refused
 N.

Q3g2.

(Do you [approve/disapprove]) STRONGLY or NOT STRONGLY?

- 1 Strongly
 5 Not Strongly

D. Don't Know
 R. Refused
 N.

Q4a.

After the September 11 terrorist attacks, President Bush declared a war on terrorism. A first step was to

launch air strikes against the Taliban government of Afghanistan that was providing aid and protection to Osama bin Laden and the Al-Quaeda terrorists responsible for the September 11 attacks.

-----> 1/2 SAMPLE Q4a4 FIRST AND Q4a5 SECOND; 1/2 SAMPLE Q4a5 FIRST AND Q4a4 SECOND

Q4a4.

Taking everything into account, do you think the U.S. war against the Taliban government in Afghanistan was WORTH THE COST or NOT?

- 1. Worth it
- 5. Not worth it

D. Don't Know
R. Refused
N.

Q4a5.

Do you think Osama bin Laden is still alive?

- 1. Yes
- 5. No

D. Don't know
R. Refused
N.

Q4a6.

As you may know, President Bush and his top advisers are discussing the possibility of taking military action against Iraq to remove Saddam Hussein from power. Do you FAVOR or OPPOSE military action against Iraq -- or is this something you haven't thought about?

- 1. Favor
- 5. Oppose
- 7. Other; depends {VOL} {SPECIFY}
- 0. Haven't thought about it

D. Don't know
R. Refused
N.

Q4a7a.

Do you [favor/oppose] this policy STRONGLY or NOT STRONGLY?

1. Strongly
5. Not strongly

D. Don't know
R. Refuse
N.

=====> 1ST 1/2 SAMPLE J4; 2ND 1/2 SAMPLE R1

R1a.

In the PAST TWELVE MONTHS, have you flown an American flag or displayed the flag in some other way, such as in a window, or on your car, or on a T-shirt or other piece of clothing?

1. Yes
5. No

D. Don't Know
R. Refused
N.

R1d.

Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with this statement:
'There are some things about America today that make me feel ashamed of America.'
Do you AGREE, NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE, or DISAGREE?

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

D. Don't Know
R. Refused
N.

=====> Y SECTION FRESH CROSS ONLY

Y1.

Now, on a different topic.
What is the month, day and year of your birth?

01. JANUARY
02. FEBRUARY
03. MARCH

- 04. APRIL
- 05. MAY
- 06. JUNE
- 07. JULY
- 08. AUGUST
- 09. SEPTEMBER
- 10. OCTOBER
- 11. NOVEMBER
- 12. DECEMBER

N.
R.

Y2.

Are you MARRIED NOW and living with your spouse -
or are you WIDOWED, DIVORCED, SEPARATED, or have you NEVER MARRIED?

- 1. Married
- 2. Widowed
- 3. Divorced
- 4. Separated
- 5. Never married
- 6. Partnered, not married {VOL}

D. Don't Know
R. Refused
N.

Y3.

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

- 00-12 years
- 13-16 years
- 17. 17+ years

D. Don't Know
R. Refused
N.

Y3a.

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

- 1. Yes
- 5. No

D. Don't Know
R. Refused
N.

Y3b.

What is the highest degree that you have earned?

1. BACHELOR'S DEGREE
2. MASTER'S DEGREE
3. PhD, LIT, SCD, DFA, DLIT, DPH, DPHIL, JSC, SJD
4. LLB, JD
5. MD, DDS, DVM, MVSA, DSC, DO
6. JDC, STD, THD
7. ASSOCIATE DEGREE (AA)
0. None (no degree)

D. Don't Know
R. Refused
N.

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.

Y6.

Does anyone in this household belong to a labor union?

1. Yes
5. No

D. Don't Know
R. Refused
N.

Y6a.

Who is it that belongs?
 {MULTIPLE MENTIONS}

1. Respondent
2. Respondent's spouse
3. Other family member {SPECIFY}
4. Someone else {SPECIFY}

D. Don't Know
 R. Refused
 N.

Y7.

Is your religious preference PROTESTANT, ROMAN CATHOLIC, JEWISH, or something else?

1. Protestant
2. Roman Catholic
3. Jewish
7. Other {SPECIFY}
0. None/Atheist/Agnostic

D. Don't Know
 R. Refused
 N.

Y7a.

What church or denomination is that?
 {CODE MENTION. IF UNSURE CODE "OTHER" AND SPECIFY R'S RESPONSE}

1. Baptist
2. Episcopalian/anglican/church of England
3. Lutheran
4. Methodist
5. Just Protestant
6. Presbyterian
7. Reformed
8. Brethren
9. Evangelical United Brethren
10. Christian or Just Christian
11. Christian Scientist
12. Church (Or Churches) of Christ
13. United Church of Christ

- 14. Disciples of Christ
 - 15. Church of God
 - 16. Assembly of God
 - 17. Congregationalist
 - 18. Holiness
 - 19. Pentacostal
 - 20. Friends, Quaker
 - 21. Orthodox, E.g. Greek, Russian {SPECIFY}
 - 22. Non-denominational - Protestant
 - 23. Mormons
 - 24. Jehovah's Witnesses
 - 25. Latter Day Saints
 - 26. Unitarian/universalist
 - 27. Buddhist
 - 28. Hindu
 - 29. Muslim/islam
 - 30. Native American
 - 97. Other {SPECIFY}
- D. Don't Know
R. Refused
N.

Y7a1.

Is that SOUTHERN BAPTIST or SOMETHING ELSE?

- 1. Southern Baptist
- 7. Something else

D. Don't Know
R. Refused
N.

=====> Z1-Z2 FRESH CROSS ONLY

Z1.

How long have you lived in your present community?

- 98. All my life

D. Don't Know
R. Refused
N.

Z2.

How long have you lived in your current home?

98. All my life

D. Don't Know

R. Refused

N.

Z3.

{ IF PANEL: Now on a different topic. }

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

1. Own house

5. Pay rent

7. Other {SPECIFY}

D. Don't Know

R. Refused

N.

Z4.

Do you personally (or jointly with a spouse), have any MONEY INVESTED IN THE STOCK MARKET RIGHT NOW -- either in an individual stock or in a mutual fund?

1. Yes

5. No

D. Don't Know

R. Refused

N.

Z5b.

Do you (or any family member living with you) CURRENTLY receive payments from:
Medicare?

1. Yes

5. No

D. Don't Know

R. Refused

N.

Z5c.

Do you (or any family member living with you) CURRENTLY receive payments from:
Medicaid?

- 1. Yes
- 5. No

D. Don't Know
R. Refused
N.

Z5g.

Do you (or any family member living with you) CURRENTLY have retirement savings either in a
pension plan or a retirement account, like an IRA?

- 1. Yes 5. No

D. Don't Know
R. Refused
N.

Z6.

We are interested in how people are getting along financially these days. The next questions are about
the total income of all members of your family living in your house in 2001, before taxes and other
deductions. The figure should include salaries, wages, pensions, dividends, interest, and all other
income.

Z6a.

Is your total household income less than \$50,000 or more than \$50,000?

{PROBE IF NEEDED: What would be your best guess?}

- 1. Less than \$50,000
- 3. More than \$50,000
- 7. Income was (about) \$50,000 {VOL}

D. Don't know
R. Refused
N.

Z6b.

Which category best describes your total household income: \$50,000-\$64,999, \$65,000-\$84,999, or more than \$84,999?

{PROBE IF NEEDED: What would be your best guess?}

1. \$50,000-\$64,999
3. \$65,000-\$84,999
5. More than \$84,999

D. Don't know
R. Refused
N.

Z6c.

Which category best describes your total household income: \$0-\$14,999, \$15,000-\$34,999, or \$35,000-\$49,999?

{PROBE IF NEEDED: What would be your best guess?}

1. \$0-\$14,999
3. \$15,000-\$34,999
5. \$35,000-\$49,999

D. Don't know
R. Refused
N.

=====> Z7-Z9 FRESH CROSS ONLY

Z7.

What racial or ethnic group or groups best describes you? {MULTIPLE MENTIONS}

1. Black (African American)
2. Asian
3. Native American
4. Hispanic or Latino
5. White
7. Other {SPECIFY}

D. Don't Know
R. Refused
N.

Z9.

{IF HISPANIC OR LATINO MENTIONED FOR RACE, CODE AND DO NOT ASK, OTHERWISE

ASK: }

Are you of Spanish or Hispanic origin or descent?

1. Yes
5. No

D. Don't know

R. Refused

N.

Z9a.

Would you describe your Hispanic origin as MEXICAN, PUERTO RICAN, CUBAN, LATIN AMERICAN, CENTRAL AMERICAN, or SPANISH?

1. Mexican
2. Puerto Rican
3. Cuban
4. Latin American
5. Central American
6. Spanish
7. Other {VOL} {SPECIFY}

D. Don't know

R. Refused

N.

Z10.

{ASK ONLY IF UNSURE, OTHERWISE CODE WITHOUT ASKING:}

Finally, are you MALE or FEMALE?

1. Male
2. Female

R. Refused

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

ZZ10.

Do you feel R reported income accurately?

1. Yes, think R reported correctly
2. No, think R reported incorrectly
3. Refused income questions
5. No, think R reported dishonestly

D. Don't know

N.

ZZ10a.

If possible, give a reasonable estimate of what R's family income is (before taxes in 2001).

ZZ11a.

What would you estimate R's age to be?

18-96

97. 97 and older

98. Hard to guess {SPECIFY}

N.

ZZ11b.

What would you estimate R's level of education to be?

1. Low - probably less than high school diploma

2. Probably has a high school diploma but probably no college

3. Probably a little college

4. Probably a college degree

8. Hard to guess {SPECIFY}

N.

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.
