

NES 2004 Pre-Election Questionnaire

September 8, 2004

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
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

A1a.

**In 2000 Al Gore ran on the Democratic ticket against George W. Bush for the Republicans and Ralph Nader as the Reform 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
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

A1a1.

IF R SAYS VOTED FOR PRESIDENT IN 2000:

Which one did you vote for?

{DO NOT PROBE 'DK' RESPONSE}

- 1. Al Gore
- 3. George W. Bush
- 5. Pat Buchanan
- 6. Ralph Nader
- 7. Other (SPECIFY)
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

A2.

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
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused

0. NA

A2a.

IF R FELT 2000 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OUTCOME WAS FAIR / IF R FELT 2000 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OUTCOME WAS UNFAIR:

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

- 1. Strongly
- 5. Not strongly
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

A3.

Now I'd like to ask you about the good and bad points of the major candidates for President.

A3a.

Is there anything in particular about George W. Bush that might make you want to vote for him?

- 1. Yes
- 5. No
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

Note: Randomize order of Pres candidates.

A3b.

IF R SAYS THERE IS SOMETHING THAT WOULD MAKE R VOTE FOR GEORGE W. BUSH:

(What is that?)

{PROBE: ANYTHING ELSE? UNTIL R SAYS NO}

Open

A4a.

Is there anything in particular about George W. Bush that might make you want to vote AGAINST him?

- 1. Yes
- 5. No
- 8. Don't Know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

A4b.

IF R SAYS THERE IS SOMETHING THAT WOULD MAKE R VOTE AGAINST GEORGE W. BUSH:

(What is that?)

{PROBE: ANYTHING ELSE? UNTIL R SAYS NO}

Open

A5a.**Is there anything in particular about John Kerry that might make you want to vote FOR him?**

- 1. Yes
- 5. No
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

A5b.**IF R SAYS THERE IS SOMETHING THAT WOULD MAKE R VOTE FOR JOHN KERRY:****(What is that?)***{PROBE: ANYTHING ELSE? UNTIL R SAYS NO}*

Open

A6a.**Is there anything in particular about John Kerry that might make you want to vote AGAINST him?**

- 1. Yes
- 5. No
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

A6b.**IF R SAYS THERE IS SOMETHING THAT WOULD MAKE R VOTE AGAINST JOHN KERRY:****(What is that?)***{PROBE: ANYTHING ELSE? UNTIL R SAYS NO}*

Open

A7.**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
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

A7a.**IF R WATCHED NATIONAL NETWORK TV NEWS IN PAST WEEK:**

Please look at page 1 of the booklet.

How much attention do you pay to news on NATIONAL news shows about the campaign for President -
- a GREAT DEAL, QUITE A BIT, SOME, VERY LITTLE, or NONE?

1. A great deal
2. Quite a bit
3. Some
4. Very little
5. None
8. Don't know
9. Refused
0. NA

A8a.

How many days in the PAST WEEK did you watch the LOCAL TV news shows such as "Eyewitness News" or "Action News" in the LATE AFTERNOON or EARLY-EVENING?

00. None
01. One day
02. Two days
03. Three days
04. Four days
05. Five days
06. Six days
07. Every day
88. Don't know
89. Refused
99. NA

A8b.

How many days in the PAST WEEK did you watch the LOCAL TV news shows in the LATE EVENING?

00. None
01. One day
02. Two days
03. Three days
04. Four days
05. Five days
06. Six days
07. Every day
88. Don't know
89. Refused
99. NA

A8c.

IF NUMBER OF DAYS WATCHED IS NOT 0/DK/RF FOR BOTH EARLY AND LATE LOCAL NEWS:

(Please look at page 1 of the booklet.)

How much attention do you pay to news on LOCAL news shows about the campaign for President -- a
GREAT DEAL, QUITE A BIT, SOME, VERY LITTLE, or NONE?

1. A great deal
2. Quite a bit
3. Some
4. Very little
5. None
8. Don't know

9. Refused
0. NA

A9.

How many days in the PAST WEEK did you read a daily newspaper?

00. None
01. One day
02. Two days
03. Three days
04. Four days
05. Five days
06. Six days
07. Every day
88. Don't know
89. Refused
99. NA

A9(1).

How many days in the PAST WEEK did you read a daily newspaper on the Internet (online)?

00. None
01. One day
02. Two days
03. Three days
04. Four days
05. Five days
06. Six days
07. Every day
88. Don't know
89. Refused
99. NA

A9a.

IF R READ/DK IF READ NEWSPAPER ANY DAYS IN PAST WEEK: IF R READ/DK IF READ ONLINE NEWSPAPER ANY DAYS PAST WK:

Did you read about the campaign in any newspaper?

1. Yes
5. No
8. Don't know
9. Refused
0. NA

A9a1.

IF R READ/DK IF READ NEWSPAPER ANY DAYS IN PAST WEEK: IF R READ ABOUT THE CAMPAIGN:

(Please look at page 1 of the booklet.)

How much attention do you pay to newspaper articles about the campaign for President -- a GREAT DEAL, QUITE A BIT, SOME, VERY LITTLE, or NONE?

1. A great deal
2. Quite a bit
3. Some
4. Very little

- 5. None
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

A10.

Do you feel things in this country are generally going in the RIGHT DIRECTION, or do you feel things have pretty seriously gotten off on the WRONG TRACK?

- 1. Right direction
- 5. Wrong track
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

Note: 1/2 sample asked TRACK1a or TRACK1b module (A10 or A11)

A10a.

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

- 1. Approve
- 5. Disapprove
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

A10a1.

IF R APPROVES GEORGE W. BUSH HANDLING JOB AS PRESIDENT / IF R DISAPPROVES GEORGE W. BUSH HANDLING JOB AS PRESIDENT:

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

- 1. Strongly
- 5. Not strongly
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

A10b.

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

- 1. Approve
- 5. Disapprove
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

A10b1.

IF R APPROVES OF GEORGE W. BUSH'S HANDLING ECONOMY / IF R DISAPPROVES OF GEORGE W. BUSH'S HANDLING ECONOMY:

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

- 1. Strongly

- 5. Not strongly
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

A10c.

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

- 1. Approve
- 5. Disapprove
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

A10c1.

IF R APPROVES GEORGE W. BUSH'S HANDLING OF FOREIGN RELATIONS / IF R DISAPPROVES GEORGE W. BUSH'S HANDLING OF FOREIGN RELATIONS:

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

- 1. Strongly
- 5. Not strongly
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

A10d.

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

- 1. Approve
- 5. Disapprove
- 8. DK
- 9. RF
- 0. NA

A10d1.

IF R APPROVES GEORGE W. BUSH'S HANDLING OF BUDGET DEFICIT / IF R DISAPPROVES GEORGE W. BUSH'S HANDLING OF BUDGET DEFICIT:

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

- 1. Strongly
- 5. Not strongly
- 8. DK
- 9. RF
- 0. NA

A10e.

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

- 1. Approve
- 5. Disapprove

- 8. DK
- 9. RF
- 0. NA

A10e1.

IF R APPROVES GEORGE W. BUSH'S HANDLING OF WAR ON TERROR / IF R DISAPPROVES GEORGE W. BUSH'S HANDLING OF WAR ON TERROR:

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

- 1. Strongly
- 5. Not strongly
- 8. DK
- 9. RF
- 0. NA

A11.

Do you feel things in this country are generally going in the RIGHT DIRECTION, or do you feel things have pretty seriously gotten off on the WRONG TRACK?

- 1. Right direction
- 5. Wrong track
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

Note: 1/2 sample asked TRACK1a or TRACK1b module (A10 or A11)

A12.

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
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

A13.

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

- 1. Approve
- 5. Disapprove
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

A13a.

IF R APPROVES U.S. CONGRESS HANDLING ITS JOB / IF R DISAPPROVES U.S. CONGRESS HANDLING ITS JOB::

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

- 1. Strongly
- 5. Not strongly
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

B1.

Please look at page 2 of the booklet.

I'd like to get your feelings toward some of our political leaders and other people who are in the news these days. I'll read the name of a person and I'd like you to rate that person using something we call the feeling thermometer.

Ratings between 50 degrees and 100 degrees mean that you feel favorable and warm toward the person. Ratings between 0 degrees and 50 degrees mean that you don't feel favorable toward the person and that you don't care too much for that person. You would rate the person at the 50 degree mark if you don't feel particularly warm or cold toward the person.

If we come to a person whose name you don't recognize, you don't need to rate that person. Just tell me and we'll move on to the next one.

B1a.

Looking at page 2 of the booklet

How 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?

- 777. Don't recognize
- 888. Don't know where to rate
- 889. Refused
- 999. NA

Note: 0-100. After Bush randomize order of other 2 pres cand's, then randomize order of remaining individual political figures, then randomize order of parties, with Reagan as final thermometer.

B1b.

(Looking at page 2 of the booklet)

(How would you rate:)

JOHN KERRY

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?

- 777. Don't recognize
- 888. Don't know where to rate
- 889. Refused
- 999. NA

B1c.

(Looking at page 2 of the booklet)

(How would you rate:)

RALPH NADER

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?

777. Don't recognize
888. Don't know where to rate
889. Refused
999. NA

B1d.

(Looking at page 2 of the booklet)
(How would you rate:)
DICK CHENEY

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?

777. Don't recognize
888. Don't know where to rate
889. Refused
999. NA

B1e.

(Looking at page 2 of the booklet)
(How would you rate:)
JOHN EDWARDS

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?

777. Don't recognize
888. Don't know where to rate
889. Refused
999. NA

B1f.

(Looking at page 2 of the booklet)
(How would you rate:)
LAURA 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?

777. Don't recognize
888. Don't know where to rate
889. Refused
999. NA

B1g.

(Looking at page 2 of the booklet)
(How would you rate:)
HILLARY CLINTON

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?

777. Don't recognize
888. Don't know where to rate

889. Refused
999. NA

B1h.

(Looking at page 2 of the booklet)
(How would you rate:)
BILL CLINTON

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?

777. Don't recognize
888. Don't know where to rate
889. Refused
999. NA

B1j.

(Looking at page 2 of the booklet)
(How would you rate:)
COLIN POWELL

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?

777. Don't recognize
888. Don't know where to rate
889. Refused
999. NA

B1k.

(Looking at page 2 of the booklet)
(How would you rate:)
JOHN ASHCROFT

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?

777. Don't recognize
888. Don't know where to rate
889. Refused
999. NA

B1m.

(Looking at page 2 of the booklet)
(How would you rate:)
JOHN MCCAIN

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?

777. Don't recognize
888. Don't know where to rate
889. Refused
999. NA

B1n.

(Looking at page 2 of the booklet)
(How would you rate:)
the DEMOCRATIC PARTY

PROBE FOR DON'T KNOW RESPONSE: WHEN YOU SAY DON'T KNOW DO YOU MEAN THAT YOU DON'T KNOW WHO THIS IS OR DO YOU HAVE SOMETHING ELSE IN MIND?

777. Don't recognize
 888. Don't know where to rate
 889. Refused
 999. NA

B1p.

(Looking at page 2 of the booklet)
(How would you rate:)
the REPUBLICAN PARTY

PROBE FOR DON'T KNOW RESPONSE: WHEN YOU SAY DON'T KNOW DO YOU MEAN THAT YOU DON'T KNOW WHO THIS IS OR DO YOU HAVE SOMETHING ELSE IN MIND?

777. Don't recognize
 888. Don't know where to rate
 889. Refused
 999. NA

B1q.

(Looking at page 2 of the booklet)
And finally, in retrospect, how would you rate:
RONALD REAGAN

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?

777. Don't recognize
 888. Don't know where to rate
 889. Refused
 999. NA

C1.

I'd like to ask you what you think are the good and bad points about the two NATIONAL PARTIES.

C1a.

Is there anything in particular that you LIKE about the Democratic party?

1. Yes
 5. No
 8. Don't know
 9. Refused
 0. NA

Note: Randomize order of administration for parties

C1b.

IF R SAYS THERE IS SOMETHING R LIKES ABOUT DEMOCRATIC PARTY:

(What is that?)

PROBE: ANYTHING ELSE YOU LIKE ABOUT THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY? UNTIL R SAYS NO.

Open

C1c.

Is there anything in particular that you DONT' LIKE about the Democratic party?

- 1. Yes
- 5. No
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

C1d.

IF R SAYS THERE IS SOMETHING R DISLIKES ABOUT DEMOCRATIC PARTY:

(What is that?)

PROBE: ANYTHING ELSE YOU DONT' LIKE ABOUT THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY? UNTIL R SAYS NO.

Open

C2a.

Is there anything in particular that you LIKE about the Republican party?

- 1. Yes
- 5. No
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

C2b.

IF R SAYS THERE IS SOMETHING R LIKES ABOUT REPUBLICAN PARTY:

(What is that?)

PROBE: ANYTHING ELSE YOU LIKE ABOUT THE REPUBLICAN PARTY? UNTIL R SAYS NO.

Open

C2c.

Is there anything in particular that you DONT' LIKE about the Republican party?

- 1. Yes
- 5. No
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

C2d.

IF R SAYS THERE IS SOMETHING R DISLIKES ABOUT REPUBLICAN PARTY:

(What is that?)

PROBE: ANYTHING ELSE YOU DON'T LIKE ABOUT THE REPUBLICAN PARTY? UNTIL R SAYS NO.

Open

C3.

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
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

C4.

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

- 1. Better
- 3. Worse
- 5. The same [VOL]
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

C4a.

IF R'S FAMILY HAS BEEN BETTER OFF IN LAST YEAR / IF R'S FAMILY HAS BEEN WORSE OFF IN LAST YEAR:

MUCH [better/worse] or SOMEWHAT [better/worse]?

- 1. Much
- 5. Somewhat
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

C5.

Now looking ahead, do you think that a year from now you (and your family living here) will be BETTER OFF financially, WORSE OFF, or JUST ABOUT THE SAME as now?

- 1. Better
- 3. Worse
- 5. The same
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

C5a.

IF R THINKS FAMILY WILL BE BETTER OFF A YEAR FROM NOW / IF R THINKS FAMILY WILL BE WORSE OFF A YEAR FROM NOW:

MUCH [better/worse] or SOMEWHAT [better/worse]?

- 1. Much
- 5. Somewhat
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

C6.

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
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

C7.

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

- 1. Yes
- 5. No
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

C8.

**Now thinking about health care.
Can you (and your family) afford to pay for the health care that you need?**

- 1. Yes
- 5. No
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

C9.

Do you presently have any kind of health insurance?

- 1. Yes
- 5. No
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

D1.

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

D1a.

[Think about GEORGE W. BUSH.

Has George W. Bush -- because of the kind of person he is or because of something he has done, ever made you feel:/ (Has George W. Bush -- because of the kind of person he is or because of something he has done, ever made you feel:)]

ANGRY

- 1. Yes
- 5. No
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

Note: Randomize order of administration for Pres cand. Randomize order of affects for each.

D1a1.

IF R SAYS GEORGE W. BUSH HAS MADE R ANGRY:

How often would you say you've felt angry -- VERY OFTEN, FAIRLY OFTEN, OCCASIONALLY, or RARELY?

- 1. Very often
- 2. Fairly often
- 3. Occasionally
- 4. Rarely
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

D1b.

[Think about GEORGE W. BUSH.

Has George W. Bush -- because of the kind of person he is or because of something he has done, ever made you feel:/ (Has George W. Bush -- because of the kind of person he is or because of something he has done, ever made you feel:)]

HOPEFUL

- 1. Yes
- 5. No
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

D1b1.

IF R SAYS GEORGE W. BUSH HAS MADE R HOPEFUL:

How often would you say you've felt hopeful -- VERY OFTEN, FAIRLY OFTEN, OCCASIONALLY, or RARELY?

- 1. Very often
- 2. Fairly often
- 3. Occasionally
- 4. Rarely
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

D1c.

[Think about GEORGE W. BUSH.

Has George W. Bush -- because of the kind of person he is or because of something he has done, ever made you feel:/ (Has George W. Bush -- because of the kind of person he is or because of something he has done, ever made you feel:)]

AFRAID

- 1. Yes
- 5. No
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

D1c1.

IF R SAYS GEORGE W. BUSH HAS MADE R AFRAID:

How often would you say you've felt afraid -- VERY OFTEN, FAIRLY OFTEN, OCCASIONALLY, or RARELY?

- 1. Very often
- 2. Fairly often
- 3. Occasionally
- 4. Rarely
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

D1d.

[Think about GEORGE W. BUSH.

Has George W. Bush -- because of the kind of person he is or because of something he has done, ever made you feel:/ (Has George W. Bush -- because of the kind of person he is or because of something he has done, ever made you feel:)]

PROUD

- 1. Yes
- 5. No
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

D1d1.

IF R SAYS GEORGE W. BUSH HAS MADE R PROUD:

How often would you say you've felt proud -- VERY OFTEN, FAIRLY OFTEN, OCCASIONALLY, or RARELY?

- 1. Very often
- 2. Fairly often
- 3. Occasionally
- 4. Rarely
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

D2a.

[Think about JOHN KERRY.

Has John Kerry -- because of the kind of person he is or because of something he has done, ever

made you feel:/(Has John Kerry -- because of the kind of person he is or because of something he has done, ever made you feel:)]

ANGRY

- 1. Yes
- 5. No
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

D2a1.

IF R SAYS JOHN KERRY HAS MADE R FEEL ANGRY:

How often would you say you've felt angry -- VERY OFTEN, FAIRLY OFTEN, OCCASIONALLY, or RARELY?

- 1. Very often
- 2. Fairly often
- 3. Occasionally
- 4. Rarely
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

D2b.

[Think about JOHN KERRY.

Has John Kerry -- because of the kind of person he is or because of something he has done, ever made you feel:/(Has John Kerry -- because of the kind of person he is or because of something he has done, ever made you feel:)]

HOPEFUL

- 1. Yes
- 5. No
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

D2b1.

IF R SAYS JOHN KERRY HAS MADE R FEEL HOPEFUL:

How often would you say you've felt hopeful -- VERY OFTEN, FAIRLY OFTEN, OCCASIONALLY, or RARELY?

- 1. Very often
- 2. Fairly often
- 3. Occasionally
- 4. Rarely
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

D2c.

[Think about JOHN KERRY.

Has John Kerry -- because of the kind of person he is or because of something he has done, ever made you feel:/(Has John Kerry -- because of the kind of person he is or because of something he has done, ever made you feel:)]

AFRAID

- 1. Yes
- 5. No
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

D2c1.**IF R SAYS JOHN KERRY HAS MADE R FEEL AFRAID:**

How often would you say you've felt afraid -- VERY OFTEN, FAIRLY OFTEN, OCCASIONALLY, or RARELY?

- 1. Very often
- 2. Fairly often
- 3. Occasionally
- 4. Rarely
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

D2d.

[Think about JOHN KERRY.

Has John Kerry -- because of the kind of person he is or because of something he has done, ever made you feel:/ (Has John Kerry -- because of the kind of person he is or because of something he has done, ever made you feel:)]

PROUD

- 1. Yes
- 5. No
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

D2d1.**IF R SAYS JOHN KERRY HAS MADE R FEEL PROUD:**

How often would you say you've felt proud -- VERY OFTEN, FAIRLY OFTEN, OCCASIONALLY, or RARELY?

- 1. Very often
- 2. Fairly often
- 3. Occasionally
- 4. Rarely
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

E1.

Please look at page 3 of the booklet.

We hear a lot of talk these days about liberals and conservatives. Here is a seven-point scale on which the political views that people might hold are arranged from extremely liberal to extremely conservative.

E1a.

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

- 01. Extremely liberal
- 02. Liberal
- 03. Slightly liberal
- 04. Moderate; middle of the road
- 05. Slightly conservative
- 06. Conservative
- 07. Extremely conservative
- 80. Haven't thought much [DO NOT PROBE]
- 88. Don't know
- 89. Refused
- 00. NA

E1b.

IF SELF-PLACEMENT IS MODERATE, DK OR HAVEN'T THOUGHT:

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

- 1. Liberal
- 3. Conservative
- 5. Moderate [VOL]
- 8. Don't know
- 9. RF
- 0. NA

E2.

(Still looking at page 3)

Where would you place GEORGE W. BUSH on this scale?

DO NOT PROBE DON'T KNOW

- 1. Extremely liberal
- 2. Liberal
- 3. Slightly liberal
- 4. Moderate; middle of the road
- 5. Slightly conservative
- 6. Conservative
- 7. Extremely conservative
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

Note: After Bush randomize order of admin for other 2 pres cand, then randomize order for 2 parties.

E3.

(Still looking at page 3)

Where would you place JOHN KERRY on this scale?

DO NOT PROBE DON'T KNOW

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

- 6. Conservative
- 7. Extremely conservative
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

E4.

(Still looking at page 3)
Where would you place RALPH NADER on this scale?

DO NOT PROBE DON'T KNOW

- 1. Extremely liberal
- 2. Liberal
- 3. Slightly liberal
- 4. Moderate; middle of the road
- 5. Slightly conservative
- 6. Conservative
- 7. Extremely conservative
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

E5.

(Still looking at page 3)
Where would you place the DEMOCRATIC PARTY on this scale?

DO NOT PROBE DON'T KNOW

- 1. Extremely liberal
- 2. Liberal
- 3. Slightly liberal
- 4. Moderate; middle of the road
- 5. Slightly conservative
- 6. Conservative
- 7. Extremely conservative
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

E6.

(Still looking at page 3)
Where would you place the REPUBLICAN PARTY on this scale?

DO NOT PROBE DON'T KNOW

- 1. Extremely liberal
- 2. Liberal
- 3. Slightly liberal
- 4. Moderate; middle of the road
- 5. Slightly conservative
- 6. Conservative
- 7. Extremely conservative
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

E7.

Generally speaking, would you say that you personally CARE A GOOD DEAL who wins the presidential election this fall, or that you DON'T CARE VERY MUCH who wins?

1. Care a good deal
3. Don't care very much
8. Don't know
9. Refused
0. NA

E8.

Who do you think will be elected President in November?

1. John Kerry
3. George W. Bush
5. Ralph Nader
7. Other (SPECIFY) [VOL]
8. Don't know
9. Refused
0. NA

E8a.

IF R NAMES PRES. CANDIDATE WHO R THINKS WILL WIN ELECTION/ IF R SAYS DOESN'T KNOW WHO WILL WIN THE PRES. ELECTION:

Do you think the Presidential race will be CLOSE or will [CANDIDATE NAMED/ one candidate] WIN BY QUITE A BIT?

1. Will be close
5. Win by quite a bit
8. Don't know
9. Refused
0. NA

E9.

What about here in {STATE}?

Which candidate for President do you think will carry this state?

IF NECESSARY: Which candidate will WIN in this state?

1. John Kerry
3. George W. Bush
5. Ralph Nader
7. Other (SPECIFY) [VOL]
8. Don't know
9. Refused
0. NA

E9a.

IF R NAMES CANDIDATE THINKS WILL WIN PRES ELECTION IN STATE/ IF R SAYS DOESN'T KNOW WHO WILL WIN PRES ELECTION IN R's STATE:

Do you think the Presidential race will be CLOSE here in (STATE) or will [CANDIDATE NAMED/one candidate] WIN BY QUITE A BIT?

- 1. Will be close
- 5. Win by quite a bit
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

F1.

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. Gotten better
- 3. Stayed about the same
- 5. Gotten worse
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

F1a.

IF R THINKS ECONOMY HAS GOTTEN BETTER IN THE LAST YEAR / IF R THINKS ECONOMY HAS GOTTEN WORSE IN THE LAST YEAR:

MUCH [better/worse] or SOMEWHAT [better/worse]?

- 1. Much
- 5. Somewhat
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

F2.

What about the next 12 months? Do you expect the economy, in the country as a whole, to get BETTER, stay ABOUT THE SAME, or get WORSE?

- 1. Get better
- 3. Stay about the same
- 5. Get worse
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

F2a.

IF R EXPECTS ECONOMY TO GET BETTER IN THE NEXT 12 MONTHS / IF R EXPECTS ECONOMY TO GET WORSE IN THE NEXT 12 MONTHS:

MUCH [better/worse] or SOMEWHAT [better/worse]?

- 1. Much
- 5. Somewhat
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

F3.

Would you say that OVER THE PAST YEAR, the level of unemployment in the country has gotten BETTER, stayed ABOUT THE SAME, or gotten WORSE?

- 1. Better
- 3. Stayed same
- 5. Worse
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

Note: Randomize order of unemployment and inflation items

F3a.

IF R SAYS UNEMPLOYMENT IN LAST YEAR HAS GOTTEN BETTER / IF R SAYS UNEMPLOYMENT IN LAST YEAR HAS GOTTEN WORSE:

Would you say MUCH [better/worse] or SOMEWHAT [better/worse]

- 1. Much
- 5. Somewhat
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

F4.

How about people out of work during THE COMING 12 MONTHS-- do you think that there will be MORE unemployment than now, ABOUT THE SAME, or LESS?

- 1. More unemployment
- 3. About the same
- 5. Less unemployment
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

F5.

Would you say that OVER THE PAST YEAR, inflation has gotten BETTER, stayed ABOUT THE SAME, or gotten WORSE?

- 1. Better
- 3. Stayed same
- 5. Worse
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

F5a.

IF R SAYS INFLATION HAS GOTTEN BETTER IN PAST YEAR / IF R SAYS INFLATION HAS GOTTEN WORSE IN PAST YEAR:

Would you say MUCH [better/worse] or SOMEWHAT [better/worse]

- 1. Much
- 5. Somewhat
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

F6.

How about inflation during the COMING 12 MONTHS -- do you think that there will be HIGHER inflation than now, ABOUT THE SAME, or LOWER inflation?

- 1. Higher inflation
- 3. About the same
- 5. Lower inflation
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

F7.

Please look at page 4 of the booklet.

Some people believe the United States should solve international problems by using diplomacy and other forms of international pressure and use military force only if absolutely necessary. Suppose we put such people at "1" on this scale. Others believe diplomacy and pressure often fail and the US must be ready to use military force. Suppose we put them at number 7. And of course others fall in positions in-between, at points 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6.

F7a.

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

- 01. U.S. should solve with diplomacy and international pressure
- 02.
- 03.
- 04.
- 05.
- 06.
- 07. U.S. must be ready to use military force
- 80. Haven't thought much about this
- 88. Don't know
- 89. Refused
- 00. NA

F7a1.

ALL RESPONDENTS ANSWERING INTERVENTIONISM/DIPLOMACY SELF-PLACEMENT:

How important is this issue to you personally?

EXTREMELY important, VERY important, SOMEWHAT important, NOT TOO important, or NOT AT ALL important?

- 1. Extremely important
- 2. Very important
- 3. Somewhat important
- 4. Not too important
- 5. Not at all important
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

G1.

Not looking at the booklet now.

Which party do you think would do a better job of HANDLING THE NATION'S ECONOMY...[the DEMOCRATS, the REPUBLICANS/ the REPUBLICANS, the 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 between them/no difference
7. Neither party [VOL]
8. Don't know
9. Refused
0. NA

Note: Randomize order of parties in question text (same for all party performance items)

G2.

Which party do you think would do a better job of HANDLING THE WAR ON TERRORISM...[the DEMOCRATS, the REPUBLICANS /the REPUBLICANS, the DEMOCRATS], or WOUDLN'T THERE BE MUCH DIFFERENCE between them?

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

1. Democrats
3. Republicans
5. About the same by both
7. Neither party [VOL]
8. Don't know
9. Refused
0. NA

G3.

Looking ahead, do you think the problem of KEEPING OUT OF WAR would be handled better in the next four years by [the DEMOCRATS, the REPUBLICANS/ the REPUBLICANS, the DEMOCRATS], or ABOUT THE SAME by both?

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

1. Democrats
3. Republicans
5. About the same by both
7. Neither party [VOL]
8. Don't know
9. Refused
0. NA

H1.

Turning to some other types of 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
8. Don't know
9. Refused
0. NA

H2.

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
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

J1.

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

- 1. Republican
- 2. Democrat
- 3. Independent
- 4. Other party (SPECIFY)
- 5. No preference
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

J1a.

IF R CONSIDERS SELF A DEMOCRAT/REPUBLICAN:

Would you call yourself a STRONG [Democrat/Republican] or a NOT VERY STRONG [Democrat/Republican]?

- 1. Strong
- 5. Not very strong
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

J1b.

IF R'S PARTY PREFERENCE IS INDEPENDENT, NO PREFERENCE, OTHER, DK:

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
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

K1.

Please look at page 5 of the booklet.

I am going to read a list of words and phrases people may use to describe political figures. For each, tell me whether the word or phrase describes the candidate I name.

K1a.

(Looking at page 5 of the booklet.)

[Think about GEORGE W. BUSH. In your opinion, does the phrase 'he is MORAL' describe George W. Bush EXTREMELY WELL, QUITE WELL, NOT TOO WELL, or NOT WELL AT ALL?/

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

{DO NOT PROBE DON'T KNOW}

1. Extremely well
2. Quite well
3. Not too well
4. Not well at all
8. Don't know
9. Refused
0. NA

Note: Randomize order of administration for Pres cand. Randomize order of traits for each.

K1b.

(Looking at page 5 of the booklet.)

[Think about GEORGE W. BUSH. 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?]

(What about) PROVIDES STRONG LEADERSHIP? (Does this phrase describe George W. Bush EXTREMELY WELL, QUITE WELL, NOT TOO WELL, or NOT WELL AT ALL?)

{DO NOT PROBE DON'T KNOW}

1. Extremely well
2. Quite well
3. Not too well
4. Not well at all
8. Don't know
9. Refused
0. NA

K1c.

(Looking at page 5 of the booklet.)

[Think about GEORGE W. BUSH. In your opinion, does the phrase 'he REALLY CARES ABOUT PEOPLE LIKE YOU' describe George W. Bush EXTREMELY WELL, QUITE WELL, NOT TOO WELL, or NOT WELL AT ALL?]

(What about) 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?)

{DO NOT PROBE DON'T KNOW}

1. Extremely well
2. Quite well
3. Not too well
4. Not well at all
8. Don't know
9. Refused
0. NA

K1d.

(Looking at page 5 of the booklet.)

[Think about GEORGE W. BUSH. In your opinion, does the phrase 'he is KNOWLEDGEABLE' describe George W. Bush EXTREMELY WELL, QUITE WELL, NOT TOO WELL, or NOT WELL AT ALL?]

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

{DO NOT PROBE DON'T KNOW}

1. Extremely well
2. Quite well
3. Not too well
4. Not well at all
8. Don't know
9. Refused
0. NA

K1e.

(Looking at page 5 of the booklet.)

[Think about GEORGE W. BUSH. In your opinion, does the phrase 'he is INTELLIGENT' describe George W. Bush EXTREMELY WELL, QUITE WELL, NOT TOO WELL, or NOT WELL AT ALL?/

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

{DO NOT PROBE DON'T KNOW}

1. Extremely well
2. Quite well
3. Not too well
4. Not well at all
8. Don't know
9. Refused
0. NA

K1f.

(Looking at page 5 of the booklet.)

[Think about GEORGE W. BUSH. In your opinion, does the phrase 'he is DISHONEST' describe George W. Bush EXTREMELY WELL, QUITE WELL, NOT TOO WELL, or NOT WELL AT ALL?/

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

{DO NOT PROBE DON'T KNOW}

1. Extremely well
2. Quite well
3. Not too well
4. Not well at all
8. Don't know
9. Refused
0. NA

K1g.

(Looking at page 5 of the booklet.)

[Think about GEORGE W. BUSH. In your opinion, does the phrase 'he CAN'T MAKE UP HIS MIND' describe George W. Bush EXTREMELY WELL, QUITE WELL, NOT TOO WELL, or NOT WELL AT ALL?/

(What about) CAN'T MAKE UP HIS MIND? (Does this phrase describe George W. Bush EXTREMELY WELL, QUITE WELL, NOT TOO WELL, or NOT WELL AT ALL?)]

{DO NOT PROBE DON'T KNOW}

1. Extremely well
2. Quite well
3. Not too well

- 4. Not well at all
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

K2a.

(Looking at page 5 of the booklet.)

[Think about JOHN KERRY. In your opinion, does the phrase 'he is MORAL' describe John Kerry EXTREMELY WELL, QUITE WELL, NOT TOO WELL, or NOT WELL AT ALL?/

(What about) MORAL? (Does this phrase describe John Kerry EXTREMELY WELL, QUITE WELL, NOT TOO WELL, or NOT WELL AT ALL?)]

{DO NOT PROBE DON'T KNOW}

- 1. Extremely well
- 2. Quite well
- 3. Not too well
- 4. Not well at all
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

K2b.

(Looking at page 5 of the booklet.)

[Think about JOHN KERRY. In your opinion, does the phrase 'he PROVIDES STRONG LEADERSHIP' describe John Kerry EXTREMELY WELL, QUITE WELL, NOT TOO WELL, or NOT WELL AT ALL?/

(What about) PROVIDES STRONG LEADERSHIP? (Does this phrase describe John Kerry EXTREMELY WELL, QUITE WELL, NOT TOO WELL, or NOT WELL AT ALL?)]

{DO NOT PROBE DON'T KNOW}

- 1. Extremely well
- 2. Quite well
- 3. Not too well
- 4. Not well at all
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

K2c.

(Looking at page 5 of the booklet.)

[Think about JOHN KERRY. In your opinion, does the phrase 'he REALLY CARES ABOUT PEOPLE LIKE YOU' describe John Kerry EXTREMELY WELL, QUITE WELL, NOT TOO WELL, or NOT WELL AT ALL?/

(What about) REALLY CARES ABOUT PEOPLE LIKE YOU? (Does this phrase describe John Kerry EXTREMELY WELL, QUITE WELL, NOT TOO WELL, or NOT WELL AT ALL?)]

{DO NOT PROBE DON'T KNOW}

- 1. Extremely well
- 2. Quite well
- 3. Not too well
- 4. Not well at all
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

K2d.

(Looking at page 5 of the booklet.)

[Think about JOHN KERRY. In your opinion, does the phrase 'he is KNOWLEDGEABLE' describe John Kerry EXTREMELY WELL, QUITE WELL, NOT TOO WELL, or NOT WELL AT ALL?/

(What about) KNOWLEDGEABLE? (Does this phrase describe John Kerry EXTREMELY WELL, QUITE WELL, NOT TOO WELL, or NOT WELL AT ALL?)]

{DO NOT PROBE DON'T KNOW}

1. Extremely well
2. Quite well
3. Not too well
4. Not well at all
8. Don't know
9. Refused
0. NA

K2e.

(Looking at page 5 of the booklet.)

[Think about JOHN KERRY. In your opinion, does the phrase 'he is INTELLIGENT' describe John Kerry EXTREMELY WELL, QUITE WELL, NOT TOO WELL, or NOT WELL AT ALL?/

(What about) INTELLIGENT? (Does this phrase describe John Kerry EXTREMELY WELL, QUITE WELL, NOT TOO WELL, or NOT WELL AT ALL?)]

{DO NOT PROBE DON'T KNOW}

1. Extremely well
2. Quite well
3. Not too well
4. Not well at all
8. Don't know
9. Refused
0. NA

K2f.

(Looking at page 5 of the booklet.)

[Think about JOHN KERRY. In your opinion, does the phrase 'he is DISHONEST' describe John Kerry EXTREMELY WELL, QUITE WELL, NOT TOO WELL, or NOT WELL AT ALL?/

(What about) DISHONEST? (Does this phrase describe John Kerry EXTREMELY WELL, QUITE WELL, NOT TOO WELL, or NOT WELL AT ALL?)]

{DO NOT PROBE DON'T KNOW}

1. Extremely well
2. Quite well
3. Not too well
4. Not well at all
8. Don't know
9. Refused
0. NA

K2g.

(Looking at page 5 of the booklet.)

[Think about JOHN KERRY. In your opinion, does the phrase 'he CAN'T MAKE UP HIS MIND' describe John Kerry EXTREMELY WELL, QUITE WELL, NOT TOO WELL, or NOT WELL AT ALL?/

(What about) CAN'T MAKE UP HIS MIND? (Does this phrase describe John Kerry EXTREMELY WELL,

QUITE WELL, NOT TOO WELL, or NOT WELL AT ALL?)]

{DO NOT PROBE DON'T KNOW}

1. Extremely well
2. Quite well
3. Not too well
4. Not well at all
8. Don't know
9. Refused
0. NA

M1.

Now for another topic. 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-Qaeda terrorists responsible for the September 11 attacks.

M1a.

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
8. Don't know
9. Refused
0. NA

M2.

Now we want to ask you about the current war in Iraq.

M2a.

Do you APPROVE or DISAPPROVE of the way George Bush is HANDLING THE WAR IN IRAQ?

1. Approve
5. Disapprove
8. Don't know
9. Refused
0. NA

M2a1.

IF R APPROVES GEORGE W. BUSH'S HANDLING OF WAR IN IRAQ / IF R DISAPPROVES GEORGE W. BUSH'S HANDLING OF WAR IN IRAQ :

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

1. Strongly
5. Not strongly
8. Don't know
9. Refused
0. NA

M3.

Taking everything into account, do you think the war in Iraq has been WORTH THE COST or NOT?

1. Worth it
5. Not worth it
8. Don't know
9. Refused
0. NA

M4.

As a result of the United States military action in Iraq, do you think the threat of terrorism against the United States has INCREASED, DECREASED, or stayed ABOUT THE SAME?

1. Increased
3. Decreased
5. Stayed about the same
8. Don't know
9. Refused
0. NA

N1.

Please look at page 6 of the booklet.

Some people think the government should provide fewer services even in areas such as health and education in order to reduce spending. Suppose these people are at one end of a scale, at point 1. Other people feel it is important for the government to provide many more services even if it means an increase in spending. Suppose these people are at the other end, at point 7. And, of course, some other people have opinions somewhere in between, at points 2, 3, 4, 5 or 6.

N1a.

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

01. Govt should provide many fewer services
- 02.
- 03.
- 04.
- 05.
- 06.
07. Govt should provide many more services
80. Haven't thought much about this
88. Don't know
89. Refused
00. NA

N1a1.

ALL RESPONDENTS ANSWERING SERVICES/SPENDING SELF-PLACEMENT:

How important is this issue to you personally?

EXTREMELY important, VERY important, SOMEWHAT important, NOT TOO important, or NOT AT ALL important?

1. Extremely important
2. Very important
3. Somewhat important
4. Not too important
5. Not at all important
8. Don't know
9. Refused
0. NA

N1b.

(Still looking at page 6 of the booklet)
Where would you place GEORGE W. BUSH on this issue?

DO NOT PROBE DK

1. Govt should provide many fewer services
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.
- 6.
7. Govt should provide many more services
8. Don't know
9. Refused
0. NA

Note: Randomize order of administration for Pres cand.

N1c.

(Still looking at page 6 of the booklet)
Where would you place JOHN KERRY (on this issue)?

DO NOT PROBE DK

1. Govt should provide many fewer services
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.
- 6.
7. Govt should provide many more services
8. Don't know
9. Refused
0. NA

N1d.

(Still looking at page 6 of the booklet)
Where would you place the DEMOCRATIC PARTY (on this issue)?

DO NOT PROBE DK

1. Govt should provide many fewer services
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.
- 6.
7. Govt should provide many more services
8. Don't know
9. Refused
0. NA

Note: Randomize order of administration for parties.

N1e.

(Still looking at page 6 of the booklet)

Where would you place the REPUBLICAN PARTY (on this issue)?

DO NOT PROBE DK

1. Govt should provide many fewer services
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.
- 6.
7. Govt should provide many more services
8. Don't know
9. Refused
0. NA

N2.

Please look at page 7 of the booklet.

Some people believe that we should spend much less money for defense. Suppose these people are at one end of a scale, at point 1. Others feel that defense spending should be greatly increased. Suppose these people are at the other end, at point 7. And, of course, some other people have opinions somewhere in between, at points 2, 3, 4, 5 or 6.

N2a.

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

01. Govt should decrease defense spending
- 02.
- 03.
- 04.
- 05.
- 06.
07. Govt should increase defense spending
80. Haven't thought much about this
88. Don't know
89. Refused
00. NA

N2a1.

ALL RESPONDENTS ANSWERING DEFENSE SPENDING SELF-PLACEMENT:

How important is this issue to you personally?

EXTREMELY important, VERY important, SOMEWHAT important, NOT TOO important, or NOT AT ALL important?

1. Extremely important
2. Very important
3. Somewhat important
4. Not too important
5. Not at all important
8. Don't know
9. Refused
0. NA

N2b.

(Still looking at Page 7)

Where would you place GEORGE W. BUSH on this issue?

DO NOT PROBE DK

1. Govt should decrease defense spending
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.
- 6.
7. Govt should increase defense spending
8. Don't know
9. Refused
0. NA

Note: Randomize order of administration for Pres cand.

N2c.

(Still looking at Page 7)

Where would you place JOHN KERRY (on this issue)?

DO NOT PROBE DK

1. Govt should decrease defense spending
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.
- 6.
7. Govt should increase defense spending
8. Don't know
9. Refused
0. NA

N2d.

(Still looking at Page 7).

Where would you place the DEMOCRATIC PARTY (on this issue)?

DO NOT PROBE DK

1. Govt should decrease defense spending
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.
- 6.
7. Govt should increase defense spending
8. Don't know
9. Refused
0. NA

Note: Randomize order of administration for parties.

N2e.

(Still looking at Page 7).

Where would you place the REPUBLICAN PARTY (on this issue)?

DO NOT PROBE DK

1. Govt should decrease defense spending
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.
- 6.
7. Govt should increase defense spending
8. Don't know
9. Refused
0. NA

N3.

(Not looking at the booklet.)

As you may recall, President Bush signed a big tax cut a few years ago.

Did you FAVOR or OPPOSE the tax cut, or is this something you haven't thought about?

1. Favor
3. Oppose
5. Other/neither/depends {SPECIFY}
7. Haven't thought about
8. Don't know
9. Refused
0. NA

N3a.

IF R FAVORED PRES. BUSH'S TAX CUT/ IF R OPPOSED PRES. BUSH'S TAX CUT:

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

1. Strongly
5. Not strongly
8. Don't know
9. Refused
0. NA

N4.

Please look at page 8 of the booklet.

There is much concern about the rapid rise in medical and hospital costs. Some people feel there should be a government insurance plan which would cover all medical and hospital expenses for everyone. Suppose these people are at one end of a scale, at point 1. Others feel that all medical expenses should be paid by individuals through private insurance plans like Blue Cross or other company paid plans. Suppose these people are at the other end, at point 7. And, of course, some other people have opinions somewhere in between, at points 2, 3, 4, 5, or 6.

N4a.

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

01. Govt insurance plan
- 02.
- 03.
- 04.
- 05.
- 06.
07. Private insurance plan

80. Haven't thought much
 88. Don't know
 89. Refused
 00. NA

N4a1.

ALL RESPONDENTS ANSWERING GOVERNMENT INSURANCE PLAN SELF-PLACEMENT:

How important is this issue to you personally?

EXTREMELY important, VERY important, SOMEWHAT important, NOT TOO important, or NOT AT ALL important?

1. Extremely important
 2. Very important
 3. Somewhat important
 4. Not too important
 5. Not at all important
 8. Don't know
 9. Refused
 0. NA

N5.

Please look at page 9 of the booklet.

Some people feel the government in Washington should see to it that every person has a job and a good standard of living. Suppose these people are at one end of a scale, at point 1. Others think the government should just let each person get ahead on their own. Suppose these people are at the other end, at point 7. And, of course, some other people have opinions somewhere in between, at points 2, 3, 4, 5, or 6.

N5a.

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

01. Govt should see to jobs and standard of living
 02.
 03.
 04.
 05.
 06.
 07. Govt should let each person get ahead on own
 80. Haven't thought much about this
 88. Don't know
 89. Refused
 00. NA

N5a1.

ALL RESPONDENTS ANSWERING GUARANTEED JOBS SELF-PLACEMENT:

How important is this issue to you personally?

EXTREMELY important, VERY important, SOMEWHAT important, NOT TOO important, or NOT AT ALL important?

1. Extremely important
 2. Very important
 3. Somewhat important
 4. Not too important
 5. Not at all important

- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

N5b.**(Still looking at Page 9)****Where would you place GEORGE W. BUSH on this issue?***DO NOT PROBE DK*

- 1. Govt should see to jobs and standard of living
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.
- 6.
- 7. Govt should let each person get ahead on own
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

Note: Randomize order of administration for Pres cand.

N5c.**(Still looking at Page 9)****Where would you place JOHN KERRY (on this issue)?***DO NOT PROBE DK*

- 1. Govt should see to jobs and standard of living
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.
- 6.
- 7. Govt should let each person get ahead on own
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

N5d.**(Still looking at Page 9)****Where would you place the DEMOCRATIC PARTY (on this issue)?***DO NOT PROBE DK*

- 1. Govt should see to jobs and standard of living
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.
- 6.
- 7. Govt should let each person get ahead on own
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

Note: Randomize order of administration for parties.

N5e.

(Still looking at Page 9)

Where would you place the REPUBLICAN PARTY (on this issue)?

DO NOT PROBE DK

1. Govt should see to jobs and standard of living
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.
- 6.
7. Govt should let each person get ahead on own
8. Don't know
9. Refused
0. NA

N6.

Please look at page 10 of the booklet.

Some people feel that the government in Washington should make every effort to improve the social and economic position of blacks. (Suppose these people are at one end of a scale, at point 1.) Others feel that the government should not make any special effort to help blacks because they should help themselves. (Suppose these people are at the other end, at point 7.) And, of course, some other people have opinions somewhere in between, at points 2, 3, 4, 5, or 6.

N6a.

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

01. Govt should help blacks
- 02.
- 03.
- 04.
- 05.
- 06.
07. Blacks should help themselves
80. Haven't thought much about this
88. Don't know
89. Refused
00. NA

N6a1.

ALL RESPONDENTS ANSWERING AID TO BLACKS SELF-PLACEMENT:

How important is this issue to you personally?

EXTREMELY important, VERY important, SOMEWHAT important, NOT TOO important, or NOT AT ALL important?

1. Extremely important
2. Very important
3. Somewhat important
4. Not too important
5. Not at all important
8. Don't know
9. Refused

0. NA

N6b.

(Still looking at page 10 of the booklet)
Where would you place GEORGE W. BUSH on this issue?

DO NOT PROBE DK

- 01. Govt should help blacks
- 02.
- 03.
- 04.
- 05.
- 06.
- 07. Blacks should help themselves
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

Note: Randomize order of administration for Pres cand.

N6c.

(Still looking at page 10 of the booklet)
Where would you place JOHN KERRY (on this issue)?

DO NOT PROBE DK

- 01. Govt should help blacks
- 02.
- 03.
- 04.
- 05.
- 06.
- 07. Blacks should help themselves
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

N6d.

(Still looking at page 10 of the booklet)
Where would you place the DEMOCRATIC PARTY (on this issue)?

DO NOT PROBE DK

- 01. Govt should help blacks
- 02.
- 03.
- 04.
- 05.
- 06.
- 07. Blacks should help themselves
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

Note: Randomize order of administration for parties.

N6e.

(Still looking at page 10 of the booklet)

Where would you place the REPUBLICAN PARTY (on this issue)?

DO NOT PROBE DK

01. Govt should help blacks
- 02.
- 03.
- 04.
- 05.
- 06.
07. Blacks should help themselves
8. Don't know
9. Refused
0. NA

P1.

(Not looking at the booklet.)

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. The first program is:

P1a.

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
3. Decreased
5. Kept about the same
7. Cut out entirely [VOL]
8. Don't know
9. Refused
0. NA

Note: After highways, the order of Federal spending items is randomized.

P1b.

(What about)

SOCIAL SECURITY

(Should federal spending on SOCIAL SECURITY be INCREASED, DECREASED, or kept ABOUT THE SAME?)

1. Increased
3. Decreased
5. Kept about the same
7. Cut out entirely [VOL]
8. Don't know
9. Refused
0. NA

P1c.

(What about)

PUBLIC SCHOOLS

(Should federal spending on PUBLIC SCHOOLS be INCREASED, DECREASED, or kept ABOUT THE

SAME?)

1. Increased
3. Decreased
5. Kept about the same
7. Cut out entirely [VOL]
8. Don't know
9. Refused
0. NA

P1d.

(What about)
SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY
(Should federal spending on SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY be INCREASED, DECREASED, or kept ABOUT THE SAME?)

1. Increased
3. Decreased
5. Kept about the same
7. Cut out entirely [VOL]
8. Don't know
9. Refused
0. NA

P1e.

(What about)
DEALING WITH CRIME
(Should federal spending on DEALING WITH CRIME be INCREASED, DECREASED, or kept ABOUT THE SAME?)

1. Increased
3. Decreased
5. Kept about the same
7. Cut out entirely [VOL]
8. Don't know
9. Refused
0. NA

P1f.

(What about)
WELFARE PROGRAMS
(Should federal spending on WELFARE PROGRAMS be INCREASED, DECREASED, or kept ABOUT THE SAME?)

1. Increased
3. Decreased
5. Kept about the same
7. Cut out entirely [VOL]
8. Don't know
9. Refused
0. NA

P1g.

(What about)
CHILD CARE
(Should federal spending on CHILD CARE be INCREASED, DECREASED, or kept ABOUT THE SAME?)

1. Increased
3. Decreased
5. Kept about the same
7. Cut out entirely [VOL]
8. Don't know
9. Refused
0. NA

P1h.

**(What about)
FOREIGN AID**

(Should federal spending on FOREIGN AID be INCREASED, DECREASED, or kept ABOUT THE SAME?)

1. Increased
3. Decreased
5. Kept about the same
7. Cut out entirely [VOL]
8. Don't know
9. Refused
0. NA

P1j.

**(What about)
AID TO POOR PEOPLE**

(Should federal spending on AID TO POOR PEOPLE be INCREASED, DECREASED, or kept ABOUT THE SAME?)

1. Increased
3. Decreased
5. Kept about the same
7. Cut out entirely [VOL]
8. Don't know
9. Refused
0. NA

P1k.

**(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
3. Decreased
5. Kept about the same
7. Cut out entirely [VOL]
8. Don't know
9. Refused
0. NA

P1m.

**(What about)
WAR ON TERRORISM**

(Should federal spending on the WAR ON TERRORISM be INCREASED, DECREASED, or kept ABOUT THE SAME?)

1. Increased

- 3. Decreased
- 5. Kept about the same
- 7. Cut out entirely [VOL]
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

P2a.

Next are a few questions about federal income taxes.

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}
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

P2a1.

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}
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

P2a2.

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}
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

P2b.

Turning to some other topics.

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

- 1. Favor
- 5. Oppose
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

P2b1.

Do you [favor/oppose] government funding for abortions STRONGLY or NOT STRONGLY?

- 1. Strongly
- 5. Not strongly
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

P2c.

There has been discussion recently about a law to ban certain types of late-term abortions, sometimes called partial birth abortions.

Do you FAVOR or OPPOSE a law that makes these types of abortions illegal?

- 1. Favor
- 5. Oppose
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

P2c1.

IF R FAVORS BAN ON LATE-TERM ABORTIONS/ IF R OPPOSES BAN ON LATE-TERM ABORTIONS:

Do you STRONGLY or NOT STRONGLY [favor/oppose] a law that makes these types of abortions illegal?

- 1. Strongly
- 5. Not strongly
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

P3.

Please look at page 11 of the booklet

Some people think it is important to protect the environment even if it costs some jobs or otherwise reduces our standard of living. (Suppose these people are at one end of the scale, at point number 1) Other people think that protecting the environment is not as important as maintaining jobs and our standard of living. (Suppose these people are at the other end of the scale, at point number 7. And of course, some other people have opinions somewhere in between, at points 2, 3, 4, 5, or 6).

P3a.

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

- 01. Protect environment, even if it costs jobs & standard of living
- 02.
- 03.
- 04.
- 05.
- 06.
- 07. Jobs & standard of living more important than environment
- 80. Haven't thought much about this
- 88. Don't know
- 89. Refused
- 00. NA

P3a1.

ALL RESPONDENTS ANSWERING ENVIRONMENT/JOB'S SELF-PLACEMENT:

How important is this issue to you personally?

EXTREMELY important, VERY important, SOMEWHAT important, NOT TOO important, or NOT AT ALL important?

1. Extremely important
2. Very important
3. Somewhat important
4. Not too important
5. Not at all important
8. Don't know
9. Refused
0. NA

P3b.

(Still looking at page 11 of the booklet)

Where would you place GEORGE W. BUSH (on this issue)?

DO NOT PROBE DK

1. Protect environment, even if it costs jobs & standard of living
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.
- 6.
7. Jobs & standard of living more important than environment
8. Don't know
9. Refused
0. NA

Note: Randomize order of administration for Pres cand's.

P3c.

(Still looking at page 11 of the booklet)

Where would you place JOHN KERRY (on this issue)?

DO NOT PROBE DK

1. Protect environment, even if it costs jobs & standard of living
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.
- 6.
7. Jobs & standard of living more important than environment
8. Don't know
9. Refused
0. NA

P4.

Not looking at the booklet now.

Do you FAVOR or OPPOSE the death penalty for persons convicted of murder?

1. Favor

- 5. Oppose
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

P4a.

IF R FAVORS DEATH PENALTY FOR PERSONS CONVICTED OF MURDER / IF R OPPOSES DEATH PENALTY FOR PERSONS CONVICTED OF MURDER:

(Do you [favor/oppose] the death penalty for persons convicted of murder) STRONGLY or NOT STRONGLY?

- 1. Strongly
- 5. Not strongly
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

P5a.

Do you think the federal government should make it MORE DIFFICULT for people to buy a gun than it is now, make it EASIER for people to buy a gun, or keep these rules ABOUT THE SAME as they are now?

- 1. More difficult
- 3. Make it easier
- 5. Keep these rules about the same
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

P5a1.

IF R SAYS GOVT SHOULD MAKE IT MORE DIFFICULT TO BUY A GUN / IF R SAYS GOVT SHOULD MAKE IT EASIER TO BUY A GUN:

A LOT [more difficult/easier] or SOMEWHAT [more difficult/easier]?

- 1. A lot
- 5. Somewhat
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

P5a2.

ALL RESPONDENTS ASKED WHETHER BUYING GUN SHOULD BE EASIER/MORE DIFFICULT:

**How important is this issue to you personally?
EXTREMELY important, VERY important, SOMEWHAT important, NOT TOO important, or NOT AT ALL important?**

- 1. Extremely important
- 2. Very important
- 3. Somewhat important
- 4. Not too important
- 5. Not at all important
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused

0. NA

P5b.

Where would you place GEORGE W. BUSH? Do you think he would like to make it MORE DIFFICULT for people to buy a gun, make it EASIER for people to buy a gun, or keep these rules ABOUT THE SAME as they are now?

DO NOT PROBE DK

- 1. More difficult
- 3. Make it easier
- 5. Keep these rules about the same
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

Note: Randomize order of administration for Pres cand.

P5b1.

IF R SAYS GEORGE W. BUSH THINKS SHOULD BE MORE DIFFICULT TO BUY A GUN / IF R SAYS GEORGE W. BUSH THINKS SHOULD BE EASIER TO BUY A GUN:

A LOT [more difficult/easier] or SOMEWHAT [more difficult/easier]?

- 1. A lot
- 5. Somewhat
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

P5c.

Where would you place JOHN KERRY? Do you think he would like to make it MORE DIFFICULT for people to buy a gun, make it EASIER for people to buy a gun, or keep these rules ABOUT THE SAME as they are now?

DO NOT PROBE DK

- 1. More difficult
- 3. Make it easier
- 5. Keep these rules about the same
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

P5c1.

IF R SAYS JOHN KERRY THINKS SHOULD BE MORE DIFFICULT TO BUY A GUN / IF R SAYS JOHN KERRY THINKS SHOULD BE EASIER TO BUY A GUN:

A LOT [more difficult/easier] or SOMEWHAT [more difficult/easier]?

- 1. A lot
- 5. Somewhat
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

P5d.

Do you happen to have in your home or garage any guns or revolvers?

- 1. Yes
- 5. No
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

P6.

Please look at page 12 of the booklet.

Recently there has been a lot of talk about women's rights. Some people feel that women should have an equal role with men in running business, industry, and government. (Suppose these people are at one end of a scale, at point 1.) Others feel that a woman's place is in the home. (Suppose these people are at the other end, at point 7.) And, of course, some other people have opinions somewhere in between, at points 2, 3, 4, 5 or 6.

P6a.

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

- 01. Women and men should have equal roles
- 02.
- 03.
- 04.
- 05.
- 06.
- 07. A woman's place is in the home
- 80. Haven't thought much about this
- 88. Don't know
- 89. Refused
- 00. NA

P6a1.

ALL RESPONDENTS ANSWERING WOMEN'S ROLE SELF-PLACEMENT:

How important is this issue to you personally?

EXTREMELY important, VERY important, SOMEWHAT important, NOT TOO important, or NOT AT ALL important?

- 1. Extremely important
- 2. Very important
- 3. Somewhat important
- 4. Not too important
- 5. Not at all important
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

P6b.

(Still looking at page 12)

Where would you place GEORGE W. BUSH (on this issue)?

DO NOT PROBE DK

- 1. Women and men should have equal roles

- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.
- 6.
7. A woman's place is in the home
8. Don't know
9. Refused
0. NA

Note: Randomize order of administration for Pres cand.

P6c.

(Still looking at page 12)
Where would you place JOHN KERRY (on this issue)?

DO NOT PROBE DK

1. Women and men should have equal roles
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.
- 6.
7. A woman's place is in the home
8. Don't know
9. Refused
0. NA

P6d.

(Still looking at page 12)
Where would you place the DEMOCRATIC PARTY (on this issue)?

DO NOT PROBE DK

1. Women and men should have equal roles
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.
- 6.
7. A woman's place is in the home
8. Don't know
9. Refused
0. NA

Note: Randomize order of administration for parties.

P6e.

(Still looking at page 12)
Where would you place the REPUBLICAN PARTY (on this issue)?

DO NOT PROBE DK

1. Women and men should have equal roles
- 2.
- 3.

- 4.
- 5.
- 6.
7. A woman's place is in the home
8. Don't know
9. Refused
0. NA

Q1.

(Not looking at the booklet now.)

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

1. Yes
5. No
8. Don't know
9. Refused
0. NA

Q1a.

IF R EXPECTS TO VOTE IN NOVEMBER ELECTION / IF WILL NOT/DK WHETHER WILL VOTE IN NOVEMBER OR WILL VOTE BUT NOT FOR PRESIDENT:

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

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

[PROBE: Needless to say, the election for President of the United States is a long time away in November. But I'd like to ask you for your best guess about who you will vote for in the election for President in November.]/
PROBE: Needless to say, the election for President of the United States is a long time away in November. But I'd like to ask you for your best guess about who you would vote for in the election for President in November.]

1. John Kerry
2. George W. Bush
3. Ralph Nader
5. None (if voter, will not vote for president) [VOL]
7. Other (SPECIFY)
8. Don't know
9. Refused
0. NA

Q1a1.

IF R EXPECTS TO VOTE AND INTENDED PRESIDENTIAL VOTE IS NOT NONE OR DK/RF: / (IF WILL NOT/DK WHETHER WILL VOTE OR ELSE WILL VOTE BUT NOT FOR PRESIDENT) AND R NAMES PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE HE WOULD VOTE FOR IF WERE A VOTER:

Would you say that your preference for [CANDIDATE/ that candidate] is STRONG or NOT STRONG?

1. Strong
5. Not strong
8. Don't know
9. Refused
0. NA

Q2.

Please tell me whether you AGREE or DISAGREE with the next few statements.

Q2a.

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
7. Don't feel anything [VOL]
8. Don't know
9. Refused
0. NA

Note: 1/2 sample Pre/Post (Post module is PATRIOT_PO)

Q2b.

**Please tell me whether you AGREE or DISAGREE with the next few statements.
'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
8. Don't know
9. Refused
0. NA

Q2c.

**(How about)
'There are some things about America today that make me feel angry about America'
(Do you AGREE, NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE, or DISAGREE?)**

1. Agree
3. Neither agree nor disagree
5. Disagree
8. Don't know
9. Refused
0. NA

Q2d.

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
8. Don't know
9. Refused
0. NA

Q2e.

Is being an American EXTREMELY important, VERY important, SOMEWHAT important, NOT TOO important, or NOT AT ALL important to you personally?

1. Extremely important

- 2. Very important
- 3. Somewhat important
- 4. Not too important
- 5. Not at all important
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

R1.

Now on a different topic.

Should same-sex couples be ALLOWED to marry, or do you think they should NOT BE ALLOWED to marry?

- 1. Should be allowed
- 3. Should not be allowed
- 5. Should not be allowed to marry but should be allowed to legally form a civil union [VOL]
- 7. Other [VOL] (SPECIFY)
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

S1.

Next are a few questions about the last 4 years.

S2.

Would you say that, compared to 2000, the federal income tax paid by the average working person has INCREASED, DECREASED, or stayed ABOUT THE SAME during George W. Bush's time as President?

- 1. Increased
- 3. Decreased
- 5. Stayed about the same
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

S2a.

IF R SAYS INCOME TAX HAS INCREASED / IF R SAYS INCOME TAX HAS DECREASED:

Would you say it [increased/decreased] a LOT or a LITTLE?

- 1. A lot
- 5. A little
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

S3.

Would you say that compared to 2000, the nation's economy is BETTER, WORSE, or ABOUT THE SAME?

- 1. Better
- 3. Worse
- 5. The same
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused

0. NA

S3a.

IF R SAYS NATION'S ECONOMY IS BETTER SINCE 2000 / IF R SAYS NATION'S ECONOMY IS WORSE SINCE 2000:

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

- 1. Much
- 5. Somewhat
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

S4.

Would you say that, compared to 2000, the Bush administration has made the United States MORE SECURE from its foreign enemies, LESS SECURE, or HASN'T IT MADE MUCH DIFFERENCE either way?

- 1. More secure
- 3. Less secure
- 5. No change
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

S4a.

IF R SAYS GEORGE W. BUSH ADMINISTRATION MADE U.S. MORE SECURE / IF R SAYS GEORGE W. BUSH ADMINISTRATION MADE U.S. LESS SECURE:

MUCH [more/less] secure or SOMEWHAT [more/less] secure?

- 1. Much
- 5. Somewhat
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

S5.

Would you say that compared to 2000, the nation's moral climate has gotten BETTER, gotten WORSE, or stayed ABOUT THE SAME?

- 1. Better
- 3. Worse
- 5. Stayed about the same
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

S5a.

IF R SAYS MORAL CLIMATE IS BETTER SINCE 2000 / IF R SAYS MORAL CLIMATE IS WORSE SINCE 2000:

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

1. Much
5. Somewhat
8. Don't know
9. Refused
0. NA

W1.

Now on another topic....

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

1. Important
5. Not important
8. Don't know
9. Refused
0. NA

W2.

IF R SAYS THAT RELIGION IS IMPORTANT:

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
8. Don't know
9. Refused
0. NA

W3.

Please look at page 13 of the booklet.

People practice their religion in different ways. Outside of attending religious services, do you pray SEVERAL TIMES A DAY, ONCE A DAY, A FEW TIMES A WEEK, ONCE A WEEK OR LESS, or NEVER?

1. Several times a day
2. Once a day
3. A few times a week
4. Once a week or less
5. Never
7. Other (SPECIFY)
8. Don't know
9. Refused
0. NA

W4.

Please look at page 14 of the booklet.

Which of these statements comes closest to describing your feelings about the Bible? You can just give me the number of your choice.

1. The Bible is the actual word of God and is to be taken literally, word for word.
2. The Bible is the word of God but not everything in it should be taken literally, word for word.
3. The Bible is a book written by men and is not the word of God.
7. Other (SPECIFY) {VOL}
8. Don't know
9. Refused
0. NA

X1.

Lots of things come up that keep people from attending religious services even if they want to. Thinking about your life these days, do you ever attend religious services, apart from occasional weddings, baptisms or funerals?

- 1. Yes
- 5. No
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

X1a.

IF R ATTENDS RELIGIOUS SERVICES:

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
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

X1a1.

IF R SAYS ATTENDS RELIGIOUS SERVICES 'EVERY WEEK':

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
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

X2.

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
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

X2a.

IF R REPORTS BEING AN ACTIVE MEMBER AT R'S PLACE OF WORSHIP:

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

- 1. Yes
- 5. No

- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

X2b.

IF R REPORTS BEING AN ACTIVE MEMBER AT R'S PLACE OF WORSHIP:

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

- 1. Yes
- 5. No
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

X3.

IF R DOES NOT ATTEND RELIGIOUS SERVICES:

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

- 1. Yes
- 5. No
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

X3a.

IF R ATTENDS RELIGIOUS SERVICES:

Do you mostly attend a place of worship that is PROTESTANT, ROMAN CATHOLIC, JEWISH, or SOMETHING ELSE?

- 1. Protestant
- 2. Catholic
- 3. Jewish
- 7. Other
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

X3b.

IF R DOES NOT ATTEND CHURCH BUT THINKS OF SELF AS PART OF CHURCH OR DENOMINATION:

Do you consider yourself PROTESTANT, ROMAN CATHOLIC, JEWISH, or SOMETHING ELSE?

- 1. Protestant
- 2. Catholic
- 3. Jewish
- 7. Other
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

X4.

IF R ATTENDS CHURCH AND ATTENDS AS PROTESTANT OR 'OTHER' / IF R DOES NOT ATTEND CHURCH BUT THINKS OF SELF AS PART OF CHURCH OR DENOMINATION AND CONSIDERS SELF PROTESTANT OR 'OTHER':

What church or denomination is that?

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 (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
80. Other (SPECIFY)
88. Don't know
89. Refused
00. NA

X4a.

IF R ATTENDS CHURCH AND ATTENDS AS PROTESTANT OR 'OTHER' / IF R DOES NOT ATTEND CHURCH BUT THINKS OF SELF AS PART OF CHURCH OR DENOMINATION AND CONSIDERS SELF PROTESTANT OR 'OTHER': IF R DENOMINATION IS BAPTIST:

With which Baptist group is your church associated? Is it the Southern Baptist Convention, the American Baptist Churches in the U.S.A., the American Baptist Association, an independent Baptist church or some other Baptist group?

1. Southern Baptist Convention
2. American Baptist Churches in USA
3. American Baptist Association
4. Independent Baptist
7. Other (SPECIFY)
8. Don't know
9. Refused
0. NA

X4a1.

IF R ATTENDS CHURCH AND ATTENDS AS PROTESTANT OR 'OTHER' / IF R DOES NOT ATTEND CHURCH BUT THINKS OF SELF AS PART OF CHURCH OR DENOMINATION AND CONSIDERS SELF PROTESTANT OR 'OTHER': IF R DENOMINATION IS BAPTIST: IF R'S CHURCH IS INDEPENDENT BAPTIST:

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

1. Larger Baptist group (SPECIFY)
2. Local
8. Don't know
9. Refused
0. NA

X4b.

IF R ATTENDS CHURCH AND ATTENDS AS PROTESTANT OR 'OTHER' / IF R DOES NOT ATTEND CHURCH BUT THINKS OF SELF AS PART OF CHURCH OR DENOMINATION AND CONSIDERS SELF PROTESTANT OR 'OTHER': IF R DENOMINATION IS LUTHERAN:

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

1. Evangelical Lutheran Church
2. Missouri Synod
7. Other (SPECIFY)
8. Don't know
9. Refused
0. NA

X4c.

IF R ATTENDS CHURCH AND ATTENDS AS PROTESTANT OR 'OTHER' / IF R DOES NOT ATTEND CHURCH BUT THINKS OF SELF AS PART OF CHURCH OR DENOMINATION AND CONSIDERS SELF PROTESTANT OR 'OTHER': IF R DENOMINATION IS METHODIST:

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

1. United Methodist Church
2. African Methodist Episcopal
7. Other (SPECIFY)
8. Don't know
9. Refused
0. NA

X4d.

IF R ATTENDS CHURCH AND ATTENDS AS PROTESTANT OR 'OTHER' / IF R DOES NOT ATTEND CHURCH BUT THINKS OF SELF AS PART OF CHURCH OR DENOMINATION AND CONSIDERS SELF PROTESTANT OR 'OTHER' NOW: IF R DENOMINATION IS PRESBYTERIAN:

Is this the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. or some other Presbyterian group?

1. Presbyterian Church USA (formerly United Presbyterian Church)
7. Other (SPECIFY)
8. Don't know
9. Refused
0. NA

X4e.

IF R ATTENDS CHURCH AND ATTENDS AS PROTESTANT OR 'OTHER' / IF R DOES NOT ATTEND CHURCH BUT THINKS OF SELF AS PART OF CHURCH OR DENOMINATION AND CONSIDERS SELF PROTESTANT OR 'OTHER' NOW: IF R DENOMINATION IS REFORMED:

Is this the Christian Reformed Church, the Reformed Church in America or some Other Reformed group?

1. Christian Reformed Church
2. The Reformed Church in America
7. Other (SPECIFY)
8. Don't know
9. Refused
0. NA

X4f.

IF R ATTENDS CHURCH AND ATTENDS AS PROTESTANT OR 'OTHER' / IF R DOES NOT ATTEND CHURCH BUT THINKS OF SELF AS PART OF CHURCH OR DENOMINATION AND CONSIDERS SELF PROTESTANT OR 'OTHER' NOW: IF R DENOMINATION IS BRETHREN:

Is this the church of the Brethren, the Plymouth Brethren, or what?

1. Church of the Brethren
2. The Plymouth Brethren
7. Other (SPECIFY)
8. Don't know
9. Refused
0. NA

X4g.

IF R ATTENDS CHURCH AND ATTENDS AS PROTESTANT OR 'OTHER' / IF R DOES NOT ATTEND CHURCH BUT THINKS OF SELF AS PART OF CHURCH OR DENOMINATION AND CONSIDERS SELF PROTESTANT OR 'OTHER' NOW: IF R SAYS DENOMINATION IS 'CHRISTIAN':

When you say "Christian" does that mean the denomination called the "Christian Church Disciples of Christ," or some other Christian denomination, or do you mean to say "I am just a Christian"?

1. Disciples of Christ
2. I am just a Christian
7. Other (SPECIFY)
8. Don't know
9. Refused
0. NA

X4h.

IF R ATTENDS CHURCH AND ATTENDS AS PROTESTANT OR 'OTHER' / IF R DOES NOT ATTEND CHURCH BUT THINKS OF SELF AS PART OF CHURCH OR DENOMINATION AND CONSIDERS SELF PROTESTANT OR 'OTHER' NOW: IF R DENOMINATION IS CHURCH OF CHRIST:

Is this the Church of Christ or the United Church of Christ?

1. Church of Christ
2. United Church of Christ
8. Don't know
9. Refused
0. NA

X4j.

IF R ATTENDS CHURCH AND ATTENDS AS PROTESTANT OR 'OTHER' / IF R DOES NOT ATTEND CHURCH BUT THINKS OF SELF AS PART OF CHURCH OR DENOMINATION AND CONSIDERS SELF PROTESTANT OR 'OTHER' NOW: IF R DENOMINATION IS CHURCH OF GOD:

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

1. Anderson, Indiana
2. Cleveland, Tennessee
3. Church of God in Christ
7. Other (SPECIFY)
8. Don't know
9. Refused
0. NA

X4k.

IF R ATTENDS CHURCH AND ATTENDS AS PROTESTANT OR 'OTHER' / IF R DOES NOT ATTEND CHURCH BUT THINKS OF SELF AS PART OF CHURCH OR DENOMINATION AND CONSIDERS SELF PROTESTANT OR 'OTHER' NOW: IF R DENOMINATION IS HOLINESS OR PENTACOSTAL:

What kind of church is that? What is it called exactly? Is that part of a larger church or denomination? What is the church called?

THESE QUESTIONS ARE PROBES. USE THESE AND OTHERS TO GET AS MUCH SPECIFIC INFORMATION AS POSSIBLE.

{OPENEND}

X5a.

IF R ATTENDS CHURCH AND ATTENDS AS PROTESTANT OR 'OTHER' / IF R DOES NOT ATTEND CHURCH BUT THINKS OF SELF AS PART OF CHURCH OR DENOMINATION AND CONSIDERS SELF PROTESTANT OR 'OTHER' NOW: IF R SPECIFIC DENOMINATION 'OTHER':

What is it called exactly? Is that church part of a denomination?

USE ANY OR ALL AS NECESSARY; GET AS MUCH DETAIL AS POSSIBLE

{OPENEND}

X5b.

IF R ATTENDS CHURCH AND ATTENDS AS PROTESTANT OR 'OTHER' / IF R DOES NOT ATTEND CHURCH BUT THINKS OF SELF AS PART OF CHURCH OR DENOMINATION AND CONSIDERS SELF 'OTHER' NOW: IF R SPECIFIC DENOMINATION 'OTHER':

Is that group Christian?

1. Yes
5. No
8. Don't know
9. Refused
0. NA

X6a.

IF R ATTENDS RELIGIOUS SERVICES AND IS JEWISH :

Do you usually attend a synagogue or temple that is ORTHODOX, CONSERVATIVE, REFORM or what?

1. Orthodox
2. Conservative
3. Reform
7. Other (SPECIFY)
8. Don't know
9. Refused
0. NA

X6b.

IF R DOES NOT ATTEND RELIGIOUS SERVICES BUT THINKS OF SELF AS PART OF CHURCH OR DENOMINATION AND CONSIDERS SELF JEWISH:

Do you consider yourself ORTHODOX, CONSERVATIVE, REFORM or what?

1. Orthodox
2. Conservative
3. Reform
7. Other (SPECIFY)
8. Don't know
9. Refused
0. NA

Y1a.

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

Integer

Y1b.

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

Integer

Y1c.

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

Integer

Y2.

Are you married now and living with your (husband/wife) -- 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}
8. Don't know
9. Refused
0. NA

Y3.

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

INTERVIEWER: 'YEAR' REFERS TO COMPLETED GRADE LEVEL, NOT CALENDAR YEAR

00-12 grades
13-16 grades
17. 17+ grades
88. Don't know
89. Refused
99. NA

Y3a.

IF HIGHEST GRADE OF EDUCATION IS 0-12 YEARS OR DK:

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

1. Yes
5. No
8. Don't know
9. Refused
0. NA

Y3b.

IF HIGHEST GRADE OF EDUCATION IS 13+ YEARS:

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. No degree earned
88. Don't know
89. Refused
99. NA

Y4.

IF MARRIED OR PARTNERED:

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

INTERVIEWER: 'YEAR' REFERS TO COMPLETED GRADE LEVEL, NOT CALENDAR YEAR

00-12 grades
13-16 grades
17. 17+ grades
88. Don't know
89. Refused
99. NA

Y4a.

IF MARRIED OR PARTNERED: IF HIGHEST GRADE OF SPOUSE/PARTNER IS 0-12 YEARS OR DK:

Did (he/she) get a high school diploma or pass a high school equivalency test?

- 1. Yes
- 5. No
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

Y4b.

IF MARRIED OR PARTNERED: IF HIGHEST GRADE OF SPOUSE/PARTNER EDUCATION IS 13+ YEARS:

What is the highest degree that(he/she) has 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. No degree earned
- 88. Don't know
- 89. Refused
- 99. NA

Y5a.

Have you ever served or are you currently serving in the US military, the National Guard, or military reserves?

- 1. Yes
- 5. No
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

Y5b.

IF R IS SERVING OR HAS SERVED IN MILITARY SERVICE / IF R HAS NEVER SERVED IN MILITARY SERVICE:

Has [another/a] member of your family ever served or is currently serving in the US military, the National Guard, or military reserves?

INDICATE IMMEDIATE FAMILY, IF ASKED

- 1. Yes
- 5. No
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

Y6.

**Please look at page 15 of the booklet.
We'd like to know if YOU are working now, temporarily laid off, or are you unemployed, retired, permanently disabled, a homemaker, a student, or what?**

ENTER ALL THAT APPLY

1. Working now
2. Temporarily laid off
4. Unemployed
5. Retired
6. Disabled
7. Homemaker
8. Student

Y7a.

IF R IDENTIFIES SELF AS HOMEMAKER/STUDENT:

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

1. Yes
5. No

Y7b.

IF R IDENTIFIES SELF AS HOMEMAKER/STUDENT: IF R IS NOT WORKING FOR PAY NOW:

Have you had a job in the LAST SIX MONTHS?

1. Yes
5. No
8. Don't know
9. Refused
0. NA

Y8a.

IF R IDENTIFIES SELF AS RETIREE:

When did you retire? MONTH

Integer

Y8b.

IF R IDENTIFIES SELF AS RETIREE:

When did you retire? DAY

Integer

Y8c.

IF R IDENTIFIES SELF AS RETIREE:

When did you retire? YEAR

Integer

Y9.

IF R IS UNEMPLOYED: / IF R IS DISABLED:

Have you ever done any work for pay?

1. Yes
5. No
8. Don't know
9. Refused
0. NA

Y10a.

IF R IS RETIRED/ IF R IS UNEMPLOYED AND HAS EVER WORKED FOR PAY / IF R IS DISABLED AND HAS EVER WORKED FOR PAY / IF R IS HOMEMAKER/STUDENT AND HAS WORKED IN LAST 6 MONTHS:

What kind of work did you do on your last regular job? (What was your occupation)?

{OPENEND}

Y10b.

IF R IS RETIRED/ IF R IS UNEMPLOYED AND HAS EVER WORKED FOR PAY: / IF R IS DISABLED AND HAS EVER WORKED FOR PAY / IF R IS HOMEMAKER/STUDENT AND HAS WORKED IN LAST 6 MONTHS:

What were your most important activities or duties?

{OPENEND}

Y10c.

IF R IS RETIRED/ IF R IS UNEMPLOYED AND HAS EVER WORKED FOR PAY / IF R IS DISABLED AND HAS EVER WORKED FOR PAY / IF R IS HOMEMAKER/STUDENT AND HAS WORKED IN LAST 6 MONTHS:

What kind of business/industry was that?

{OPENEND}

Y10d.

IF R IS RETIRED/ IF R IS UNEMPLOYED AND HAS EVER WORKED FOR PAY / IF R IS DISABLED AND HAS EVER WORKED FOR PAY / IF R IS HOMEMAKER/STUDENT AND HAS WORKED IN LAST 6 MONTHS:

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

1. Someone else
3. Both self and someone else
5. Self-employed
8. Don't know
9. Refused
0. NA

Y10e.

IF R IS RETIRED/ IF R IS UNEMPLOYED AND HAS EVER WORKED FOR PAY / IF R IS DISABLED AND HAS EVER WORKED FOR PAY / IF R IS HOMEMAKER/STUDENT AND HAS WORKED IN LAST 6 MONTHS: IF R WORKED FOR SOMEONE ELSE OR WORKED BOTH FOR SELF AND SOMEONE ELSE:

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

- 1. Yes
- 5. No
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

Y11a.

IF R IS UNEMPLOYED AND HAS EVER WORKED FOR PAY / IF R IS RETIRED/ IF R IS DISABLED AND HAS EVER WORKED FOR PAY:

Have you had a job in the LAST SIX MONTHS?

- 1. Yes
- 5. No
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

Y12.

IF R IS RETIRED/ IF R IS UNEMPLOYED AND HAS EVER WORKED FOR PAY / IF R IS DISABLED AND HAS EVER WORKED FOR PAY / IF R IS HOMEMAKER/STUDENT AND HAS WORKED IN LAST 6 MONTHS:

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

- 888. Don't know
- 889. Refused
- 000. NA

Y13a.

IF R IS RETIRED / IF R IS DISABLED AND HAS EVER WORKED FOR PAY:

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

- 1. Yes
- 5. No
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

Y14.

IF R IS RETIRED AND NOT CURRENTLY WORKING / IF R IS UNEMPLOYED / IF R IS DISABLED AND NOT WORKING NOW / IF R IS NONWORKING HOMEMAKER/STUDENT:

Are you looking for work at the present time?

- 1. Yes
- 5. No
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

Y15.

IF R IS RETIRED AND NOT CURRENTLY WORKING / IF R IS UNEMPLOYED / IF R IS DISABLED AND NOT WORKING NOW / IF R IS NONWORKING HOMEMAKER/STUDENT:

How worried are you about not being able to find a job in the near future: A LOT, SOMEWHAT, or NOT MUCH AT ALL?

- 1. A lot
- 3. Somewhat
- 5. Not much at all
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

Y16a.

IF R IS WORKING NOW/TLO (IN COMBINATION WITH ANY OTHER STATUS):

What is your main occupation? What kind of work do you do?

{OPENEND}

Y16b.

IF R IS WORKING NOW/TLO (IN COMBINATION WITH ANY OTHER STATUS):

What are your most important activities or duties?

{OPENEND}

Y16c.

IF R IS WORKING NOW/TLO (IN COMBINATION WITH ANY OTHER STATUS):

What kind of business/industry is that?

{OPENEND}

Y16d.

IF R IS WORKING NOW/TLO (IN COMBINATION WITH ANY OTHER STATUS):

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

- 1. Someone else
- 3. Both self and someone else
- 5. Self-employed
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

Y16e.

IF R IS WORKING NOW/TLO (IN COMBINATION WITH ANY OTHER STATUS): IF R WORKS FOR SOMEONE ELSE OR FOR BOTH SOMEONE ELSE AND SELF:

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

- 1. Yes
- 5. No
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

Y16f.

IF R IS WORKING NOW/TLO (IN COMBINATION WITH ANY OTHER STATUS):

About how many hours do you work on your job in the average week?

888. Don't know
889. Refused
000. NA

Y16g.

IF R IS WORKING NOW/TLO (IN COMBINATION WITH ANY OTHER STATUS): IF NUMBER OF HOURS WORKED IS NOT DK/RF:

Is that MORE hours than you want to work, FEWER hours than you want to work, or generally ABOUT RIGHT?

1. More
3. Fewer
5. About right
8. Don't know
9. Refused
0. NA

Y16h.

IF R IS WORKING NOW/TLO (IN COMBINATION WITH ANY OTHER STATUS):

How worried are you about losing your job in the near future: A LOT, SOMEWHAT, or NOT MUCH AT ALL?

1. A lot
3. Somewhat
5. Not much at all
8. Don't know
9. Refused
0. NA

Y16j.

IF R IS WORKING NOW (IN COMBINATION WITH ANY OTHER STATUS):

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

1. Yes
5. No
8. Don't know
9. Refused
0. NA

Y16k.

IF R IS WORKING NOW (IN COMBINATION WITH ANY OTHER STATUS):

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

1. Yes
5. No

- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

Y17a.

IF R IS WORKING NOW/TLO (IN COMBINATION WITH ANY OTHER STATUS):

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

- 1. Yes
- 5. No
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

Y17b.

IF R IS WORKING NOW/TLO (IN COMBINATION WITH ANY OTHER STATUS):

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

- 1. Yes
- 5. No
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

Y18a.

IF R IS MARRIED/PARTNERED:

Please look at page 15 of the booklet. We'd like to know about your (HUSBAND/WIFE/PARTNER). Is (he/she) working now, temporarily laid off, or is (he/she) unemployed, retired, permanently disabled, a homemaker, a student, or what?

(ENTER ALL THAT APPLY)

- 1. Working now
- 2. Temporarily laid off
- 4. Unemployed
- 5. Retired
- 6. Disabled
- 7. Homemaker
- 8. Student

Y19.

Do you or anyone else in this household belong to a labor union?

- 1. Yes
- 5. No
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

Y19a.

IF SOMEONE IN HOUSEHOLD BELONGS TO LABOR UNION:**Who is it that belongs?***ENTER ALL THAT APPLY*

1. Respondent
2. R's wife or female partner
3. R's husband or male partner
4. Someone else
8. Don't know
9. Refused
0. NA

Y20.**INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT: (choose one)**

1. Someone IN ADDITION TO RESPONDENT is age 14 or older in household
5. NO ONE OTHER THAN RESPONDENT is age 14 or older in household

Y20x.

INTERVIEWER: YOU HAVE INDICATED THAT R IS ONLY PERSON AGE 14 OR OVER, AND RESPONDENT HAS INDICATED MARITAL STATUS MARRIED OR PARTNERED. PLEASE CORRECT OR EXPLAIN

1. CORRECTED
5. EXPLANATION

Y21a.**IF NO, R IS NOT ONLY HOUSEHOLD MEMBER AGE 14+:**

Please look at page 16 of the booklet.

Please look at the booklet and tell me the letter of the income group that includes the income of all members of your family living here in 2003 before taxes. This figure should include salaries, wages, pensions, dividends, interest, and all other income.

IF R SAYS "don't know", write it in the COMMENT box and probe with "what would be your best estimate?"

01. A. None or less than \$2,999
02. B. \$3,000 -\$4,999
03. C. \$5,000 -\$6,999
04. D. \$7,000 -\$8,999
05. E. \$9,000 -\$10,999
06. F. \$11,000-\$12,999
07. G. \$13,000-\$14,999
08. H. \$15,000-\$16,999
09. J. \$17,000-\$19,999
10. K. \$20,000-\$21,999
11. M. \$22,000-\$24,999
12. N. \$25,000-\$29,999
13. P. \$30,000-\$34,999
14. Q. \$35,000-\$39,999
15. R. \$40,000-\$44,999
16. S. \$45,000-\$49,999
17. T. \$50,000-\$59,999
18. U. \$60,000-\$69,999
19. V. \$70,000-\$79,999

- 20. W. \$80,000-\$89,999
- 21. X. \$90,000-\$104,999
- 22. Y. \$105,000-\$119,000
- 23. Z. \$120,000 and over
- 88. Don't know
- 89. Refused
- 00. NA

Y21b.

IF NO, R IS NOT ONLY MEMBER AGE 14+ / IF YES, R IS ONLY MEMBER AGE 14+:

[(RB Still on page 16)/Looking at page 16 of the booklet.]

[Now we are interested in the income that you yourself received in 2003, not including any of the income received by (your spouse and) the rest of your family. Please look at this page and tell me the income you yourself had in 2003 before taxes. / Please tell me the letter of the income group that includes the income you had in 2003 before taxes.] This figure should include salaries, wages, pensions, dividends, interest, and all other income.

IF R SAYS "don't know", write it in the COMMENT box and probe with "what would be your best estimate?"

- 01. A. None or less than \$2,999
- 02. B. \$3,000 -\$4,999
- 03. C. \$5,000 -\$6,999
- 04. D. \$7,000 -\$8,999
- 05. E. \$9,000 -\$10,999
- 06. F. \$11,000-\$12,999
- 07. G. \$13,000-\$14,999
- 08. H. \$15,000-\$16,999
- 09. J. \$17,000-\$19,999
- 10. K. \$20,000-\$21,999
- 11. M. \$22,000-\$24,999
- 12. N. \$25,000-\$29,999
- 13. P. \$30,000-\$34,999
- 14. Q. \$35,000-\$39,999
- 15. R. \$40,000-\$44,999
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- 18. U. \$60,000-\$69,999
- 19. V. \$70,000-\$79,999
- 20. W. \$80,000-\$89,999
- 21. X. \$90,000-\$104,999
- 22. Y. \$105,000-\$119,000
- 23. Z. \$120,000 and over
- 88. Don't know
- 89. Refused
- 00. NA

Y22.

(Not using the booklet)

There's been some talk these days about different social classes.

Most people say they belong either to the middle class or the working class. Do you ever think of yourself as belonging in one of these classes?

- 1. Yes
- 5. No
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

Y22a.

IF R CONSIDERS SELF MEMBER OF MIDDLE OR WORKING CLASS:

Which one?

- 1. Middle class
- 5. Working class
- 7. Other (SPECIFY)
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

Y22b.

IF R DOESN'T CONSIDER SELF MIDDLE OR WORKING CLASS:

Well, if you had to make a choice, would you call yourself MIDDLE CLASS or WORKING CLASS?

- 0. Upper class {VOL}
- 1. Middle class
- 5. Working class
- 6. Lower class {VOL}
- 7. Other (SPECIFY)
- 8. Don't know
- 9. RF
- 0. NA

Y23.

IF R CONSIDERS SELF MIDDLE CLASS / IF R CONSIDERS SELF WORKING CLASS:

Would you say that you are about AVERAGE [middle/working] class or that you are in the UPPER PART of the [middle/working] class?

- 1. Average
- 5. Upper
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

Y24.

What racial or ethnic group or groups best describes you?

- 10. Black
- 20. Asian
- 30. Native American
- 40. Hispanic or Latino
- 50. White
- 90. Other (SPECIFY)
- 88. DK
- 89. Refused
- 00. NA

Y25.

Were both of your parents born in this country?

- 1. Yes

- 5. No
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

Y26.

In addition to being American, what do you consider your main ethnic group or nationality group?

{OPENEND}

Y27.

INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT: Number of ethnic groups mentioned by R

- 0. None
- 1. One
- 2. Two or more
- 9. Respondent refused to answer or doesn't know nationality

Y27a.

IF MORE THAN 1 NATIONALITY/ETHNIC GROUP IDENTIFIED:

With which of these groups do you most closely identify?

{OPENEND}

Y28.

INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT: IS SPANISH OR HISPANIC GROUP MENTIONED AS MAIN GROUP?

- 1. Yes
- 5. No
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

Y28_.

INTERVIEWER: YOU HAVE INDICATED THAT R IS NOT HISPANIC AND RESPONDENT HAS INDICATED HISPANIC IN RACE QUESTION. PLEASE CORRECT OR EXPLAIN

- 1. CORRECTED
- 5. EXPLANATION

Y28a.

Are you of Spanish or Hispanic origin or descent?

- 1. Yes
- 5. No

Y29.

IF R MENTIONED SPANISH OR HISPANIC GROUP/ IF R SAYS HE/SHE HAS SPANISH OR HISPANIC DESCENT:

Please look at page 17 of the booklet and tell me which category best describes your Hispanic origin.

1. Mexican
2. Puerto Rican
3. Cuban
4. Latin American
5. Central American
6. Spanish
7. Other (SPECIFY) {VOL}
8. Don't know
9. Refused
0. NA

Y30.

Where was it that you grew up?

IF UNITED STATES AND STATE(S) NOT PROVIDED, PROBE: WHAT STATE OR STATES?

{OPENEND}

Y31a.

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

INTERVIEWER: ENTER YEARS, THEN MONTHS ENTER YEARS 0-75 ENTER 0 IF ANSWER WAS MONTHS ONLY

76= 76+

77= "ALL MY LIFE"

90= OTHER (SPECIFY)

76. 76 years or more
77. 'All my life'
90. Other (SPECIFY)
88. Don't know
89. Refused
00. NA

Y31b.

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

ENTER: MONTHS 0-23 ENTER 0 IF ANSWER WAS YEARS ONLY

00. 0 Months . .
11. 11 months
88. Don't know
89. Refused
00. NA

Y33.

Where did you live before you moved here?

{OPENENED}

Y34.

How far away is that?

00. Less than 1 mile
01. One mile

- 02. 2-4 miles
- 03. 5-9 miles
- 04. 10-19 miles
- 05. 20-49 miles
- 06. 50-99 miles
- 07. 100-199 miles
- 08. 200-499 miles
- 09. 500 miles or more
- 90. Other (SPECIFY)

Y32a.

How long have you lived in this (house/condo/apartment)? YEARS

INTERVIEWER: ENTER YEARS, THEN MONTHS ENTER YEARS 0-75 ENTER 0 IF ANSWER WAS MONTHS ONLY

76= 76+

77= "ALL MY LIFE"

90= OTHER (SPECIFY)

- 76. 76 years or more
- 77. 'All my life'
- 90. Other (SPECIFY)
- 88. Don't know
- 89. Refused
- 00. NA

Y32b.

How long have you lived in this (house/condo/apartment)? MONTHS

- 00. 0 Months . .
- 11. 11 months
- 88. Don't know
- 89. Refused
- 00. NA

Y35.

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

- 1. Own house
- 5. Pay rent
- 7. Other (SPECIFY)
- 8. Don't know
- 9. Refused
- 0. NA

Z1.

Thank you very much for this interview. We value people like you who are willing to contribute their views and opinions to our research. As I indicated earlier, we would like to mail you a check in the amount of {AMOUNT} dollars to thank you for your participation. My Regional Supervisor may also be calling or writing to you to verify this interview. For these reasons, I would like to verify your name and address, and (ask for) your telephone number.

Z2.

INTERVIEWER CHECKPOINT: ADDRESS GIVEN SAME AS SAMPLE ADDRESS?

- 0. Same location, WITHOUT correction
- 1. Same location, correction
- 5. Different location

Z3.

Is this your mailing address, an address you will be moving to, a business address, or what?

- 1. Mailing address
- 3. Address R will be moving to
- 5. Business address
- 7. Other (SPECIFY)

Z4.

Do you have another place of residence or somewhere else you live during different times of the year?

- 1. Yes
- 5. No

Z5.

(Do you have another place of residence or somewhere else you live during different times of the year?)

Z6.

If for any reason we should have difficult contacting you, could you give me the name, address, and telephone number of two close friends or relatives who DO NOT LIVE WITH YOU and will know how to get in touch with you?

- 1. Yes
- 5. No (refused)

Z7.

(If for any reason we should have difficult contacting you, could you give me the name, address, and telephone number of two close friends or relatives who DO NOT LIVE WITH YOU and will know how to get in touch with you?) (And what is this person's relationship to you?)

ZZ1.

Others present at time of interview:

{CHECK ALL THAT APPLY}

- 0. No one other than R
- 1. Children under 6
- 2. Older children
- 3. Spouse
- 4. Other relatives
- 5. Other adults
- 7. Someone but not sure who
- 9. NA

ZZ2.

R's cooperation was:

- 1. Very good

2. Good
3. Fair
4. Poor
5. Very poor
0. NA

ZZ3.

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
0. NA

ZZ4.

R's apparent intelligence:

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

ZZ5.

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

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

ZZ6.

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

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

ZZ7.

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

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

ZZ8.

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

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

1. Yes {SPECIFY}
5. No
0. NA

ZZ9.

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
0. NA

ZZ10.

If possible, give a reasonable estimate of what R's family income is ((before taxes in 2003)).

01. A. None or less than \$2,999
02. B. \$3,000 -\$4,999
03. C. \$5,000 -\$6,999
04. D. \$7,000 -\$8,999
05. E. \$9,000 -\$10,999
06. F. \$11,000-\$12,999
07. G. \$13,000-\$14,999
08. H. \$15,000-\$16,999
09. J. \$17,000-\$19,999
10. K. \$20,000-\$21,999
11. M. \$22,000-\$24,999
12. N. \$25,000-\$29,999
13. P. \$30,000-\$34,999
14. Q. \$35,000-\$39,999
15. R. \$40,000-\$44,999
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17. T. \$50,000-\$59,999
18. U. \$60,000-\$69,999
19. V. \$70,000-\$79,999
20. W. \$80,000-\$89,999
21. X. \$90,000-\$104,999
22. Y. \$105,000-\$119,000
23. Z. \$120,000 and over
98. IMPOSSIBLE TO ESTIMATE
0. NA

ZZ11.

What would you estimate R's age to be?

- 17-96.
97. 97 and older
98. Hard to guess {SPECIFY}
0. NA

ZZ11a.

Is R male or female?

1. Male
2. Female
0. NA

ZZ12.

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}
0. NA

ZZ13.

Rs reaction to interview

{CHECK ALL THAT APPLY}

10. Negative - general
11. Negative - too long
12. Negative - too complicated
13. Negative - boring/tedious/repetitious
15. R wanted to stop before interview completed. After starting the interview R made comments indicating 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.
50. R could not read Respondent Booklet
70. R appeared to enjoy the interview (R was "cooperative" /"interested"/"pleasant" etc.)
80. Neutral or no feedback (1st mention only)
0. NA

ZZ14.

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

ZZ15.

Please provide a few words about this respondent which would help you remember the interview if you had to call back.

Open