

The National Election Studies
TECHNICAL REPORT #51
NES Question Batteries
Measuring Values and Predispositions, 1983-1994

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The following pages chart the appearance of question batteries used to measure values and predispositions in NES Traditional Times Series and Pilot Studies data collections. The source for the report is the NES *Continuity Guide*, updated through 1993, supplemented by reference to questionnaires and codebooks for the 1994 NES and the various Pilot Studies. The entries in each cell are variable numbers for the ICPSR release of the data.

The boundaries between measures of values and predispositions on the one hand, and policy positions on the other hand, are not always clear. For the purposes of this document, we have opted to construe "values and predispositions" quite narrowly. Essentially, we include here only those measures which the Board explicitly decided to treat as values and predispositions, e.g., egalitarianism.

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NOTE: CWP denotes the 1991 Panel Study, as opposed to the 1991 Pilot.

	83 Pi	84	85Pi	86	87Pi	88	89Pi	90	91Pi	92	94
Moral Traditionalism											
The newer lifestyles are contributing to the breakdown of our society.			v8101	v525	v2192	v954		v500	v2704	6118	v1029
The world is always changing and we should adjust our view of moral behavior to those changes.			v8102	v526	v2193	v951		v501	v2702	v6115	v1030
This country would have many fewer problems (85 Pi: <i>would be better off</i>) if there were more emphasis on traditional family ties.			v8105	v527		v953		v502		v6117	v1031
We should be more tolerant of people who choose to live according to their own moral standards, even if they are very different from our own.			v7101	v530	v2195	v952		v503		v6116	v1032
There is too much sexual freedom (85 Pi: <i>and loose living</i>) today.			v7102	v528	v2194						
There will always be some people who <i>will</i> (this word omitted in 85 Pilot) think and act differently, and there is nothing wrong with that.			v8103	v529							
Divorce and living together are signs of moral decay. 85,87 Pilot Wording: <i>Changes in lifestyles, such as divorce and men and women living together, are signs of increasing moral decay.</i>			v7103	v531	v2196						
Society should be more accepting of people whose appearance or values are very different from most.			v8104		v2197						

	83 Pi	84	85Pi	86	87Pi	88	89Pi	90	91Pi	92	94
It's good for children to be exposed to a number of different sets of values so that they can develop their own standards.			v7104								
People who don't care if they have a steady job are either lazy, spoiled, or don't want to work.			v7105								
Egalitarianism											
Our society should do whatever is necessary to make sure (that:) everyone has an equal opportunity to succeed.	v2175 v3123	v204	v8401	v364		v924		v426		v6024	v914
We have gone too far in pushing equal rights in this country.		v206	v8403	v365		v925		v427	v2705	v6025	v915
One of the big problems in this country is that we don't give everyone an equal chance.	v2256 v3125	v208	v8405	v366		v929		v428		v6029	v916
It is not really that big a problem if some people have more of a chance in life than others.		v255	v8205	v368		v927		v430		v6027	v918
The country would be better off if we worried less about how equal people are.		v251	v8201	v367		v926		v429		v6026	v917
If people were treated more equally in this country we would have many fewer problems.	v2169 v3120	v253	v8203	v369		v928		v431	v2703	v6028	v919
Personal income should not be determined just by one's worth. Rather, everyone should get what they need to provide a decent life for their family.					v2176						
It is good for society as a whole when a few people do much better in life than most people.					v2177						

	83 Pi	84	85Pi	86	87Pi	88	89Pi	90	91Pi	92	94
All in all, I think economic differences in this country are justified.					v2178						
It would be better for everyone if the distribution of wealth in this country were more equal.					v2179						
We should give up on the goal of equality since people are so different to begin with.	v2172 v3122										
Some people are better at running things and should be allowed to do so.	v2250 v3124										
Some people are just better cut out than others for important positions in society.	v2178 v3121										
All kinds of people should have an equal say in running this country, not just those who are successful.	v2253										
Racial Prejudice											
Generations of slavery and discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for blacks to work their way out of the lower class.			v8215	v580		v964		v523		v6129	v1051
It's really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; if blacks would only try harder, they could be just as well off as whites.			v8214	v579		v963		v522		v6128	v1050
Irish, Italians, Jewish and many other minorities worked their way up and blacks should do the same without special favors. (85 Pilot version: <i>Irish, Italian, Jewish and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same without any special favors.</i>)			v8226	v568		v961		v521		v6126	v1049

	83 P1	84	85P1	86	87P1	88	89P1	90	91P1	92	94
Over the past few years, blacks have gotten less than they deserve.			v8224	v566		v962		v520		v6127	v1048
A small group of powerful and wealthy white people control things and act to keep blacks down.			v8212	v577							
The differences are brought about by God; God made the races different as part of his divine plan.			v8213	v578							
Black Americans teach their children values and skills different from those required to be successful in American society.			v8216	v581							
Blacks come from a less able race and this explains why blacks are not as well off as whites in America.			v8217	v582							
Most blacks who receive money from welfare programs could get along without it if they tried.			v8222	v565							
Government officials usually pay less attention to a (85 Pilot adds: request or) complaint from a black person than from a white person.			v8225	v567							
Blacks shouldn't push themselves where they're not wanted.			v8223								
Whites are better at running things than blacks are and should be allowed to do so.	3222										
Most blacks who don't get ahead should not blame the system; they have only themselves to blame.	3223										

	83 Pi	84	85Pi	86	87Pi	88	89Pi	90	91Pi	92	94
Blacks and whites should have an equal say in running this country.	3224										
Hard work offers little guarantee of success for blacks.	3225										
One of the big problems in this country is that we don't give blacks an equal chance.	3226										
Any black who is willing to work hard has a good chance of succeeding.	3227										
If blacks and whites were treated more equally in this country, we would have many fewer problems.	v3200										
Even if blacks try hard they often cannot reach their goals.	v3201										
We should give up on the goal of equality since blacks and whites are so different to begin with.	v3202										
If blacks work hard they almost always get what they want.	v3203										
Our society should do whatever is necessary to make sure that blacks' opportunities to succeed are equal to those of whites.	v3204										
Even if blacks are ambitious, they often cannot succeed.	v3205										
Whites are just better cut out than blacks for important positions in society.	v3206										

	83 Pi	84	85Pi	86	87Pi	88	89Pi	90	91Pi	92	94
Individualism											
Do you think that most poor people are poor because they don't work hard enough OR because of circumstances beyond their control?							v8529				
Most people who don't get ahead should not blame the system; they have only themselves to blame.	v2176	v205	v8402	v508							
Hard work offers little guarantee of success.	v2173	v207	v8404	v509							
If people work hard they almost always get what they want.	v2254	v209	v8406	v510							
Most people who do not get ahead in life probably work as hard as people who do.		v252	v8202	v511							
Any person who is willing to work hard has a good chance of succeeding.	v2170	v254	v8204	v512							
Even if people are ambitious they often cannot succeed.	v2251										
Even if people try hard they often cannot reach their goals.	v2257	v256	v8206	v513							
ONE, it is better to fit in with people around you; or TWO, it is better to conduct yourself according to your own standards even if that makes you stand out.							v7366	v328			
ONE, people should take care of themselves and their families and let others do the same; or TWO, people should care less about their own success and more about the needs of society.							v7367	v329			

	83 Pi	84	85Pi	86	87Pi	88	89Pi	90	91Pi	92	94
When raising children, which is more important: ONE: to encourage them to be independent-minded and think for themselves or TWO, to teach them obedience and respect for authorities? 89 Pilot: Which is closer: ONE, when raising children it is more important to teach them to be independent-minded and think for themselves or TWO, it is more important to teach them obedience and respect for authority.							v7368	v330			
ONE, most poor people are poor because they don't work hard enough; or TWO, they are poor because of circumstances beyond their control.							v7369	v332			
ONE, there is too little respect for traditional authorities, such as religious leaders and government officials, or TWO, there is too much restriction and regulation of personal opinion and behavior.							v7503				
ONE, it is more important to be a cooperative person who works well with others; or TWO, it is more important to be a self-reliant person able to take care of oneself.							v7504	v334			

Although there are a number of qualities that people feel that children should have, every person thinks that some are more important than others. I am going read you pairs of desirable qualities. For each pair please tell me which one you think is more important for a child to have: (Both should be volunteered). a) independence or respect for elders; b) obedience or self-reliance; c) curiosity or good manners; d) being considerate or well behaved?	83 Pt	84	85Pt	86	87Pt	88	89Pt	90	91Pt	92 - v6019 v6022	94
Government Interventionism											
ONE, we need a strong government to handle today's complex economic problems; or TWO, the free market can handle these problems without government being involved.							v7501	v331		v5730	
Government regulation of big business and corporations is necessary to protect the public, OR, government regulation does more harm than good.							v7364				
ONE, the less government the better, or TWO, there are more things the government should be doing.							v7502	v333		v5729	
ONE, society is better off when businesses are free to make as much profit as they can, or TWO, businesses should be prohibited from earning excessive profits.							v7505				

	83 Pi	84	85Pi	86	87Pi	88	89Pi	90	91Pi	92	94
ONE, the main reason the government has gotten bigger is because it has gotten involved in things that people should do for themselves; or TWO, the government has become bigger because the problems we face have become bigger.							v7506	v335		v5731	
In the interests of public safety, should the government require the use of seatbelts in automobiles or helmets for motorcycle riders, OR should those decisions be left up to individuals?							v8519				
Would you say that the American free enterprise system is or is not a match for a centrally coordinated economy like Japan's?							v8520				
When it comes to making decisions in industry, should workers have more say than they do now or do they have enough say already?							v8521				
Generally speaking, are government limits on rents and home prices a bad idea or a good idea?							v8522				
Would you favor or oppose a law requiring school children to recite the Pledge of Allegiance daily?							v8523				
If a person refuses to sell his house to members of a certain racial or ethnic group, should he have that right or should that be illegal?							v8524				
Do you think it would be a good idea or a bad idea if the government owned the airlines in the United States as is done in many other countries?							v8525				

	83 P1	84	85P1	86	87P1	88	89P1	90	91P1	92	94
If people want to smoke marijuana in their own homes, is that basically their business or should it be illegal?							v8526				
Would you favor or oppose a law requiring that all young adults serve their country by spending some time in the military, the Peace Corps, or in some other kind of national service?							v8527				
Would you favor or oppose a law requiring people to recycle newspaper, glass and other recyclable waste in order to reduce the trash problem?							v8528				
The less government gets involved with business and the economy, the better off this country will be.	v2171										
There are many goods and services that would never be available to ordinary people without government intervention.	v2174										
There should be no government interference with business and trade.	v2177										
Government intervention leads to too much red tape and too many problems.	v2255										
Putting government regulations on business does not endanger personal freedom.	v2252										
Contrary to what some people think, a free enterprise system is not necessary for our form of government to survive.	v2258										

	83 Pi	84	85Pi	86	87Pi	88	89Pi	90	91Pi	92	94
Patriotism											
When you see the American flag flying does it make you feel extremely good, very good, somewhat good, or not very good? 1987 Pilot: How good does it make you feel when you see the American flag flying -- extremely..., very..., somewhat..., or not very good?					v5155	v968			v2417C WP	v6130	
How strong is your love for your country -- extremely..., very..., somewhat..., or not very strong?					v5156	v969			v2418C WP	v6131	
How strong is the respect you have for the United States these days -- extremely..., very..., somewhat..., or not very strong?					v5151						
How angry does it make you feel when you hear someone criticizing the United States -- extremely..., very..., somewhat..., or not very angry?					v5152						
How angry does it make you feel when people burn the American flag in protest... extremely..., very..., somewhat..., or not very angry?					v5154						
How mad do people who sell government secrets make you feel... extremely..., very..., somewhat..., or not very angry?					v5157						
When you hear the national anthem, does it make you feel extremely emotional, very emotional, somewhat emotional or not very emotional? 87 Pilot: How <i>proud</i> do you feel when you hear the national anthem?					v5158	v970					

	83 Pi	84	85Pi	86	87Pi	88	89Pi	90	91Pi	92	94
How proud are you to be an American?					v5153						
Whatever its faults may be, the American form of government is still the best for us.					v5315						
There is not much about our form of government to be proud of.					v5316						
It may be necessary to make some major changes in our form of government in order to solve the problems facing our country.					v5317						
I would rather live under our system of government than any other I can think of.					v5318	v971					
Nationalism											
Generally, the more influence America has on other nations, the better off those nations are.					v2172						
Other countries should try to make their governments as much like ours as possible.					v2173						
The important thing for the U.S. foreign aid program should be to make sure that the U.S. has a political advantage in world affairs.					v2174						
In view of America's moral and material superiority, it is only right that we should have the biggest say in deciding United Nations policies.					v2175						

	83 Pi	84	85Pi	86	87Pi	88	89Pi	90	91Pi	92	94
Militarism											
How important is it for the U.S. to have a strong military force in order to get our way with our adversaries? [91 CWP: in order to be effective in dealing with our enemies]					v2245				v2483C WP		
Some people feel that in dealing with other nations our government should be strong and tough. Others feel that our government should be understanding and flexible. Which comes closer to the way you feel....that our government should be strong and tough, or understanding and flexible? Strongly or not strongly?					v5229 -5231						
Which do you think is the better way for us to keep peace -- by having a strong military so other countries won't attack us, or by working out our disagreements at the bargaining table? How strongly do you feel that....?					v5232 -5234						
The U.S. should maintain its position as the world's most powerful nation, even if it means going to the brink of war. 1992: Some people say the U.S. should maintain its position as the world's strongest military power even if means continuing high defense spending.					v5249					v3603	
The only way to settle disputes with our adversaries is to negotiate with them, not by using military force.					v5250						
The United States should do everything it can to prevent the spread of communism to any other part of the world.					v5251						

	83 P1	84	85P1	86	87P1	88	89P1	90	91P1	92	94
The U.S. should not worry so much about trying to stop the spread of Soviet influence everywhere in the world.					v5252						
Any time a country goes communist, it should be considered a threat to the vital interests and security of the United States.					v5253						
This country would be better off if we just stayed home and did not concern ourselves with problems in other parts of the world.					v5254				v2485C WP		v1019
We shouldn't risk our nation's happiness and well-being by getting involved with other nations.					v5255						
When dealing with adversaries, the U.S. should use military force only as a last resort.					v5256						
I'd like to read a list of different ways the United States could respond to terrorist acts and for each one I'd like you to tell me whether you would strongly approve, somewhat approve, somewhat disapprove, or strongly disapprove of our government undertaking them. a) Cutting off trade to countries supporting terrorists?					v5257						
b) Assassinating leaders of countries supporting terrorists?					v5258						
c) Bombing countries supporting terrorists?					v5259						
d) Invading countries supporting terrorists?					v5260						

	83 Pi	84	85Pi	86	87Pi	88	89Pi	90	91Pi	92	94
Some people say there should be no bombing of targets near where civilians live because it is immoral to risk innocent lives. Others say such bombing may be necessary in wartime. Which closer?									v2548C WP		
In the future, how willing should the United States be to use military force to solve international problems... extremely willing, very..., somewhat..., not very..., or never willing?									v2402 CWP	v3605	
True American											
Is voting in elections extremely important, very important, somewhat important, or not at all important in making someone a true American?									v2601		
How about believing in God?									v2602	v3521	
Trying to get ahead on your own efforts?									v2603	v3520	
Treating people of all races and backgrounds equally?									v2604	v3522	
Speaking English?									v2605	v3523	
Respecting people's freedom to say what they want to matter how much you disagree?									V2606	V3523	
Moral autonomy											
We must respect people's own view of what is right and wrong, no matter what we think.									v5180		
If we've decided something is morally wrong, it is wrong for everyone.									v5181		

	83 Pt	84	85Pt	86	87Pt	88	89Pt	90	91Pt	92	94
If we've decided something is morally wrong, it is wrong for everyone.					v5181						
People have to decide for themselves what is right and wrong.					v5182						
On most questions of right and wrong, it doesn't make sense for each person to determine answers for themselves.					v5183						
Which closest: Prenatal sex is immoral, OR, there is nothing necessarily immoral about prenatal sex.					v2220						
Having children without being married is immoral, OR, there is nothing necessarily immoral about having children without being married.					v2221						
Homosexuality is immoral, OR, there is nothing necessarily immoral about homosexuality.					v2222 v5226						
Divorce is immoral, OR, there is nothing necessarily immoral about divorce.					v2224 v5227						
Abortion is immoral, OR, there is nothing necessarily immoral about abortion.					v2226 v5228						
Which is closest: on the question of whether divorce is immoral, I have my own view but I'm not sure if it is the one true answer, OR, on the question of whether divorce is immoral, I feel there is a basic truth to the position I have taken.					v2225						

	83 Pi	84	85Pi	86	87Pi	88	89Pi	90	91Pi	92	94
Which closest: on the question of whether abortion is immoral, I have my own view but I'm not sure if it is the one true answer, OR, ...I feel there is a basic truth to the position I have taken.					v2227						
Which closest: on the question of whether homosexuality is immoral, I have my own view but I'm not sure if it is the one true answer; OR, ... I feel there is a basic truth in the position I have taken.					v2223						
Women's Role - Feminism											
Most women no longer face job discrimination; in fact they are favored in many training and job programs.	v3166										
Many women who don't do well in life have good training, but the opportunities always go to men.	v3167										
Sex discrimination keeps women from the top jobs.	v3168										
Men have more of the best jobs because they have more drive and ambition than women do.	v3169										
It is not enough for a woman to be successful herself; women must join together to change laws and customs that are unfair to all women.	v3170										
Employers should set aside a certain number of positions for qualified women.	v3171										

	83 P1	84	85P1	86	87P1	88	89P1	90	91P1	92	94
People have different opinions about how much power and influence women have in society compared to men. Thinking about the way things really are in <i>government and politics/government, business and industry</i> today, do you think men have more power and influence than women, or that men and women have about equal power and influence, or that women have more power and influence than men?									v2722	v6007	
People disagree about how much power and influence they think women ought to have compared to men. Thinking about how you would like things to be in <i>government and politics, business and industry</i> , do you think men should have more power and influence, OR that men and women should have about equal power and influence, OR that women should have more power and influence? Do you feel strongly or not strongly about this?									v2725	v6009	
Thinking about the way things really are in their families, do you think men have more power and influence, OR that men and women have about equal power and influence, OR that women have more power and influence?									v2726	v6010	
In their families, do you think men should have more power and influence, OR that men and women should have about equal power and influence, OR that women should have more power and influence? Do you feel strongly or not so strongly about this?									v2729	v6012	

	83 P1	84	85P1	86	87P1	88	89P1	90	91P1	92	94
Most women who don't get ahead should not blame the system; they really have only themselves to blame.	v3217										
Women and men should have an equal say in running this country.	v3218										
Hard work offers little guarantee of success for women.	v3219										
One of the big problems in this country is that we don't give women an equal chance.	v3220										
Any woman who is willing to work hard has a good chance of succeeding.	v3221										
If men and women were treated more equally in this country, we would have many fewer problems.	v3192										
Even if women try hard, they often cannot reach their goals.	v3193										
We should give up the goal of equality since men and women are so different to begin with.	v3194										
If women work hard, they almost always get what they want.	v3195										
Our society should do whatever is necessary to make sure that women's opportunities to succeed are equal to those of men.	v3196										
Even if women are ambitious, they often cannot succeed.	v3197										
Men are just better cut out than women for important positions in society.	v3198										

	83 Pt	84	85Pt	86	87Pt	88	89Pt	90	91Pt	92	94
Thinking about the way things really are in business and industry, do you think men have more power and influence, OR that men and women have about equal power and influence, OR that women have more power and influence?									v2730		
In business and industry, do you think men should have more power and influence, OR that men and women should have about equal power and influence, OR that women should have more power and influence? Do you feel strongly or not so strongly about this?									v2733		
Religious Belief											
Do you consider religion to be an important part of your life or not?		v1078		v546		v932		v511		v3820	v1043
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 living?		v1079		v547		v933		v512		v3821	v1044
Some people have had deep religious experiences which have transformed their lives. I'm thinking of experiences sometimes described as "being born again in one's faith" or "discovering Jesus Christ in one's life." There are deeply religious people who have never had an experience of this sort. How about you, have you had such an experience?		v1080					v8243 v8355			v3847	
1989 Pilot, 1992: would you call yourself a born-again Christian, that is, have you personally had a conversion experience related to Jesus Christ?											

	83 P1	84	85P1	86	87P1	88	89P1	90	91P1	92	94
Some people feel that the best way for women to improve their position is for each woman to become better trained and more qualified, and do the best she can as an individual. Others think that while individuals effort is important, the best way for women to really improve their position is if they work together. Which is closest to your view -- that individual effort is enough or that women also need to work together?									v2708	v6004	
How often do you find yourself feeling a sense of pride as a woman in the accomplishments of other women? Most of the time, some of the time, occasionally, or almost never?									v2713	v6005	
How often do you feel yourself angry about the way women are treated in society										v6006	
Do you think of yourself as a feminist? ...strong or not so strong feminist?									v2706-2707	v6002-6003	
Some people say that the only way for men and women to be equal in society is if they play the same kinds of role in government, business, and the family. Others say that equality can exist even if men and women play very different kinds of roles. Which would you say... Do you feel strongly or not so strongly about this?									v2721		

	83 Pi	84	85Pi	86	87Pi	88	89Pi	90	91Pi	92	94
1964-1990: Here are four statements about the Bible and I'd like you to tell me which is closest to your own view: The Bible is God's word and all it says is true; the Bible was written by men inspired by God but it contains some human errors; The Bible is a good book because it was written by wise men but God had nothing to do with it; The Bible was written by men who lived so long ago that it is worth very little today. 1990-1994: Which of these statements comes closest to describing your feelings about the Bible: ONE, the Bible is the actual word of God and is to be taken literally, word for word, or TWO, the Bible is the word of God but not everything in it should be taken literally, word for word, or THREE, the Bible is a book written by men and is not the word of God.		v1081		v507		v934		v516, v517			v1047
Post-Materialism											
For a nation, it is not always possible to obtain everything one might wish. On this page (1988, 1992: on page XXX of the booklet) (1972, 1976: on this card), several different goals are listed. If you had to choose among them, which one would seem most desirable to you? Maintaining order in the nation, giving the people more say in important political decisions, fighting rising prices, OR protecting freedom of speech? (IF FIRST CHOICE GIVEN:) Which one (goal for our nation) would be your second choice?		v1076 v1077				v930 v931				v6013 v6014	