
National Black Election Study, 1996

Katherine Tate

ICPSR 2029

NATIONAL BLACK ELECTION STUDY, 1996

(ICPSR 2029)

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DATA COLLECTION DESCRIPTION

Katherine Tate

NATIONAL BLACK ELECTION STUDY, 1996 (ICPSR 2029)

SUMMARY: This data collection provides information on the attitudes and political preferences of the Black electorate during the 1996 presidential election, and contains both pre- and post-election components. A total of 1,216 respondents completed interviews during the pre-election component, 854 of whom were reinterviewed for the post-election component. Questions regarding party identification, political interest, and preferences and choices for president were asked. In addition, respondents were matched to their congressional districts and asked to evaluate their House representatives. Also included were questions regarding social and political values, perceptions and evaluations of candidates and groups, opinions on questions of public policy, participation in political life, race and gender issues, economic matters, quality of life, government spending, and religion and church politics. Demographic information on respondents includes sex, age, education, marital status, income, and occupation and industry.

UNIVERSE: All Black households in the United States with telephones.

SAMPLING: Stratified random sample.

NOTE: The codebook and data collection instruments are provided as a Portable Document Format (PDF) file. The PDF file format was developed by Adobe Systems Incorporated and can be accessed using PDF reader software, such as the Adobe Acrobat Reader. Information on how to obtain a copy of the Acrobat Reader is provided through the ICPSR Website on the Internet.

EXTENT OF COLLECTION: 1 data file + machine-readable documentation (PDF) + SAS data definition statements + SPSS data definition statements.

EXTENT OF PROCESSING: CDBK.ICPSR/ DDEF.ICPSR/ REFORM.DATA/ SCAN

DATA FORMAT: Logical Record Length with SAS and SPSS data definition statements

File Structure: rectangular
Cases: 1,216
Variables: 395
Record Length: 682
Records Per Case: 1

THE 1996 NATIONAL BLACK ELECTION STUDY

**Principal Investigator: Katherine Tate
March 1997**

In 1984, a national telephone survey of voting-eligible African Americans was conducted by the Program for Research on Black Americans at the University of Michigan under the direction of James S. Jackson. Modeled after the University of Michigan's landmark National Election Studies with its pre- and post-election interview components, the 1984 National Black Election Study (NBES) represented the first-ever national political survey of a racial minority group. In 1988, a re-interview of the original 1984 NBES respondents was conducted, but in 1992, a data set comparable to the 1984 NBES or its 1988 re-interview did not exist. With funds from Ohio State University and the National Science Foundation (SBR-9507469), a survey modeled after the original 1984 NBES was conducted in 1996 by Katherine Tate at Ohio State University. This 1996 Black telephone survey, also called the National Black Election Study or NBES, was designed to provide the third of an ongoing time series of Black political attitudes and behavior during the 1996 national elections. To facilitate racial group comparisons as well, the survey also carried many items contained in the Center for Political Studies' 1996 National Election Study.

The telephone survey was carried out by Market Strategies in Southfield, Michigan. Telephone interviewing began July 19 and ended November 4, 1996. A total of 1,216 interviews with voting-eligible Blacks was completed. Immediately following the election, 854 respondents were re-interviewed; the post-election re-interviewing ended January 6, 1997. Like its 1984-88 NBES and 1996 NES counterparts, the 1996 NBES was designed to explore the electoral behavior and attitudes of Blacks in the presidential election. However, unlike the original NBES, the 1996 study also had an explicit congressional focus. Respondents were matched to their congressional districts and asked to evaluate their House representatives. A total of 252 House districts fell into the sample, including the districts of 34 of the 39 Black members of Congress. In all, 31% of the Black respondents were represented by these Black legislators.

A number of individuals participated in the design and implementation of the study. Katherine Tate was principal investigator of the study. Fred Steeper and Judith Perry directed the pre- and post-election surveys at Market Strategies. Kevin Cooper, also of Market Strategies, designed the sample. Doctoral students Andaiye Kariamu and Stefanie Torfey at Ohio State University assisted in the development and implementation of this survey. An advisory board was created at Ohio State University to provide input in the development of the study; its members were Paul Beck (Chair of the Political Science Department), Janet Box-Steffensmeier, Gregory Caldeira, Aage Clausen, Thomas Nelson, William E. Nelson (Political Science and Black Studies), Samuel Patterson, and Herbert Weisberg (Director of the Polimetrics Lab). National Election Study researchers, most notably Steven Rosenstone, Virginia Sapiro, and Kathy Cirksena, shared information and their expertise. Special thanks also goes to Karin M. Clissold of Market Strategies and Gary Jacobson at U.C. San Diego for their expertise and advice.

Sample Description

Like the original 1984 NBES, the 1996 NBES is a full-coverage, disproportionate probability random-digit-dial telephone survey. However, there are two important differences between the two samples. First, while the 1984 study sampled from three

strata, the 1996 survey was a stratified random sample with four strata. These four strata were:

(1) MSAs with populations of one million or more and Black populations of 15% or more (n=600, estimated incidence = 22%).

(2) The Southern States (Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, and Virginia), excluding the MSAs that fall into Strata 1 (n=400, estimated incidence=23%).

(3) Telephone exchanges serving the remaining continental United States with 5% or greater Black population (n=175, estimated incidence=17%).

(4) All remaining telephone exchanges in the continental United States with Black populations less than 5% (n=25, estimated incidence =1.4%).

(Strata 3 and 4 are essentially the 1984 NBES's third stratum split into two.) Telephone exchanges serving in the above strata were pooled, and a RDD sample was generated independently with each pool. This is not a self-weighting design, so the data set requires weighting. The basis for the strata weights is shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Strata Weights

<i>Strata Description</i>	<i>U.S. Black Population (N)</i>	<i>Percent of Total Pop.</i>	<i>Self-Weighting</i>	<i>Sample Size (n)</i>	<i>Weight</i>
(1) Large MSAs	13,238,232	.43144357	519	606	0.86
(2) Southern States	7,169,510	.23365952	280	410	0.68
(3) Balance (5% Black or more)	8,677,847	.28281732	339	175	1.94
(4) Balance (Less than 5% Black)	1,597,988	.05207959	62	25	2.48

The full-coverage design of the NBES surveys is unique; by comparison, for cost and efficiency reasons, nearly every other Black telephone survey sample today is targeted (limited in most instances to telephone exchange areas that are 15 to 25% or more Black (Clissold and Tate 1997). Blacks living in predominantly White communities are automatically excluded in targeted samples as locating and securing interviews with Black respondents living in such communities is costly. For example, while interviews with Blacks from Strata 1 cost about \$100 each to complete, interviews in Strata 4 (an area that was less than 5% Black) were four and one-half times more costly.

A second sample difference between the 1984 and 1996 NBES is that while the 1984 NBES generated numbers using the Mitofsky-Waksberg design, the 1996 survey was a list-assisted sample. The phone numbers sampled from the four strata underwent a series of screenings to increase the working number rate. The first stage of screening purged known business phone numbers. The remaining numbers were identified as either listed or unlisted. The unlisted numbers were screened for an operator intercept signifying a non-working number. The screenings were performed in-house and the systems used are part of the GENESYS system.

After screening, the sample files were sent to The Marking Systems Group to have the 105th congressional district appended.¹ This was done by first determining whether the phone number was listed. If it was listed, the census block was determined and an "exact" match was made. If the number was not listed, the congressional district serving the plurality of the exchange was appended. There is a flag included that distinguishes between exact matches and plurality-based matches.

Members of telephone households were eligible to participate in the study if a member was Black and at least 18 years of age or older. The race of the household member was determined using this screener: "Because we are interested in the opinions of different demographic groups in the country, the first question I need to ask is: Is there an adult 18 years of older living in your household who is a Black American?" While the 1984 NBES used the Kish selection method, Black respondents were chosen from eligible telephone households on the basis of having had the most recent birthday. Using the last-birthday method as a means of selection is less intrusive than the Kish grid, which requires the complete enumeration of the household, from which one person is randomly selected. Salmon and Nichols (1983) found that samples drawn using the last-birthday method were just as representative as those whose respondents were chosen by the Kish selection method. Because potentially sensitive questions are not asked in the screening, some believe that the next-birthday method improves the cooperation rate, although previous research found differences in the response rates between the two methods are not statistically significant (Oldendick et al. 1988). The 1996 NBES Pilot utilized a random-split of both selection methods and found that the last-birthday technique yielded a slightly higher, although not statistically significant, response rate than Kish grid method.

Response Rates and the Representativeness of the Sample

Response rates can be calculated a number of different ways. Table 2 presents the dispositions of attempted calls in the pre-election survey so that any formula can be applied to calculate the study's response rates for comparative purposes. The overall response rate for the pre-election study was 65%. This response rate adjusts for the proportion of respondents whose eligibility for the study was undetermined who were not Black. It was estimated through screening that roughly 15% of those contacted were Black households. Thus, only 15% of the 1,446 respondents of undetermined status (those who refused to answer the race screening item, those too busy to participate, or households with answering machines) were included in the denominator of the refusal rate estimate as potential Black respondents who were lost. Strata 4 had the lowest response rate of 57%. Because the incidence rate was less than 2% in this stratum, and Blacks were difficult to find through random-digit dial sample, eligible Black respondents who initially refused to participate in the study were offered \$50 for completing the interview.

¹ Definitions for the 105th Congress were appended to all states except Texas, where large-scale re-districting occurred. Because the new districts were not yet available at the time of the field starting date, the 104th Congress were appended.

Table 2. Pre-election Survey Final Disposition Codes and Response Rates

	<i>Strata 1</i>	<i>Strata 2</i>	<i>Strata 3</i>	<i>Strata 4</i>	<i>Total</i>
Completed Interviews	606	412	175	25	1,218
Determined Status:	227	144	54	14	439
--Refusals	181	106	47	11	345
--Callbacks	46	38	7	3	94
Undetermined Status:	600	361	179	306	1,446
--Callbacks	45	38	25	25	133
--Refusals	352	210	91	121	774
--Non-contacts	203	113	63	160	539
Unanswered Numbers	855	501	274	410	2,040
Non-Eligible Numbers	4,080	3,187	1,568	2,807	11,642
Non-Eligible Respondents	5,732	4,395	1,963	4,200	16,290
Total Records	12,100	9,000	4,213	7,762	33,075
Incidence or Screening Rate	.208	.178	.184	.015	.153
Response Rate	63%	66%	67%	57%	65%

Note: The study's total response rate is calculated as completed interviews/[completed interviews + determined status + (incidence*undetermined status *summed for strata 1 through 4*)]

Phone numbers were determined to be "unanswered" if, after at least six attempts, no contact was made. "Unanswered" numbers were attempted at least once on the weekend, weekdays between 8 a.m. and 5 p.m., and weekdays after 5 p.m. There was no limit to the number of callbacks to "live" numbers. A number was considered live if contact was made, that is, if at any time the call was answered. Thus, for example, answering machines belonging to households were considered live numbers.

In the post-election survey, 70% of the 1,218 original pre-election respondents were re-interviewed for a total of 854 interviews. The re-contact rate across the four strata was 70% for Strata 1, 73% for Strata 2, 64% for Strata 3, and 63% for Strata 4. Of those we were unable to re-contact, 194 had telephones that were disconnected or out of service, or the individual no longer lived there, or was permanently unavailable. The remaining 170 were refusals or callbacks.

The Representativeness of the Sample

Because the 1984 and 1996 NBES surveys were conducted by telephone, Black respondents are not as representative of the general Black adult population as a face-to-face survey would have been. For comparison purposes, Table 3 presents the demographic characteristics of both the 1984 and 1996 NBES respondents and the March Current Population Survey data from the U.S. Census, which is a face-to-face survey. While CPS is designed to track employment and unemployment patterns in the U.S., a second stated purpose of the CPS is to collect monthly information on the demographic status of the population. Based on interviews with 40,000 or more

households, the CPS samples therefore, are designed to be highly representative of the U.S. population. The CPS data shown in Table 3 are for Black respondents 18 years of age or older, yielding 10,313 respondents in 1984 and 8,723 respondents in 1996.

The poor and least educated are generally found in households without telephones. As expected, then, low-income and less-educated Blacks are generally underrepresented in the NBES surveys. In addition, both the 1984 and 1996 overrepresent Black women by 3 to 5%. Black women are generally overrepresented in surveys, including face-to-face surveys, because men are less likely than women to be attached to Black households. Thus, the overrepresentation of Black women in the NBES telephone samples is likely compounded by different response rates for Black men and women in telephone surveys. The NBES samples are comparable to the CPS studies for age, although in the NBES, respondents 55 years of age and older are somewhat overrepresented. Again, as in the case for women, the elderly may be more cooperative when asked to participate in phone surveys than those in the middle two age categories.

The 1996 NBES sample is very similar to the original 1984 sample. Both overrepresent women, middle-income and educated Blacks, and Blacks in the labor force and working. The 1996 NBES, however, may be slightly less representative than the 1984 sample in its overrepresentation of middle-income Blacks and the Black elderly.

Table 3. The Representativeness of the 1984 and 1996 NBES Weighted Samples

	1984 NBES	1984 CPS	1996 NBES	1996 CPS
Gender				
Male	37.8%	42.8	37.4	40.7
Female	62.2	57.2	62.6	59.3
Age				
18-24	20.2	19.8	15.9	15.4
25-34	28	24.6	25.1	21.8
35-54	29.6	30.1	41.6	38.6
55+	22.2	25.4	17.4	24.2
Educational attainment¹				
Elementary: 0 to 8 years	13.1	17.8	2.5	8.8
High School: 1 to 3 years	14.8	17.9	9.1	18.4
High School: 4 years	31.1	36.8	29.4	34.3
College: 1 to 3 years	23.7	17.3	37.4	26.4
College: 4 years or more	17.4	10.2	21.7	12.2
Family income²				
less than \$10,000	29.7	37.3	11.6	22.0
\$10,000-29,999	49.7	42.6	43.0	36.0
\$30,000 or more/-49,999	20.6	20.1	25.1	21.5
\$50,000 or more	—	—	20.4	20.4
Region³				
South	59.0	56.2	55.1	53.1
non-South	41.0	43.8	44.9	46.9
Marital status				
Married (includes separated)	48.6	48.7	36.5	44.5
Never married	28.9	31.6	40.1	35.7
Widowed	11.8	10.4	5.5	8.3
Divorced	10.7	9.3	17.9	11.6
Labor force status				

Working	60.0	53.1	72.8	57.1
Unemployed (includes laid off)	13.5	9.5	8.0	6.5
Not in Labor Force	25.4	37.4	18.7	36.5
Home-ownership				
Rent	45.2	44.3	44.1	47.5
Own	48.8	53.7	53.3	50.8
Other ⁴	6.0	1.9	2.6	1.7

¹In contrast to the 1996 CPS, the 1984 CPS education categories did not indicate whether the respondents had actually graduated. ² The income categories in the 1984 NBES ranged from less than \$10,000 to \$40,000 or more at intervals of \$10,000, while the income categories in the 1986 NBES ranged from less than \$10,000 to \$105,000 or more at intervals of \$5,000 and \$10,000. ³As defined by the U.S. Bureau of the Census, the South represents Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, the District of Columbia, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and West Virginia. ⁴The other category for the census represents those not paying "cash rent."

The Race-of-Interviewer Effect

The 1996 NBES used White, Black, and Asian telephone interviewers. The actual race of the interviewer was self-coded. About half of the pre-election interviewing (49%) was performed by White interviewers, while Black conducted 44% of the interviews. Hispanic and Asian interviewers who coded themselves as belonging to another racial or ethnic group completed 8% of the interviews. The use of both Black and White interviewers in the 1996 NBES is consistent with that for the 1984 NBES, although none of the interviewers in the 1984 pre-election study coded themselves as belonging to another group that was neither White nor Black. In the 1984 pre-election study, 46% of the interviews were conducted by Whites and 53% by Blacks. The remaining 1% of the pre-election interviews in 1984 were conducted by interviewers whose race was not coded.

Respondents were asked, however, at the end of the survey a final question to gauge whether they had placed interviewers in a racial category or not. This question read: "We'd like to know what kind of things people can tell just from listening to a person's voice over the telephone. During the interview, did you think I was White, Black, or someone of another group?" Examining the issue for the first time for a Black telephone survey, Gurin, Hatchett, and Jackson (1989) found that the actual race of the interviewer is less important than what the respondent perceive the race of that interviewer to be. When believing to have been interviewed by Whites, Blacks gave responses that were significantly less militant, pro-Black or anti-White than those who thought their interviewers were Black (1989: 276-77). In a recently published article, Darren Davis (1997) examined the impact of the actual race of the interviewer using the 1984 NBES. He finds that the actual race of the interviewer has the same effect on Blacks' racial and political attitudes that Gurin, Hatchett and Jackson report (1989). A problem with Davis' study is that a significant number of African American interviewers were wrongly perceived to be White by respondents in the 1984 NBES and in the 1996 NBES. As Table 4 shows, 22 percent of respondents thought that their Black interviewers in the pre-election study were White in 1996. Even when all of the interviewers are Black as was the case in a 1993 telephone survey, the perceived race of the telephone interviewer affects Black responses (Sanders 1995). Thus, the perceived-race-of-interviewer measure (as opposed to the actual race of the interviewer) should be introduced in the analysis of the data as a potential control measure for response bias.

**Table 4. Cross-tabulation of Perceived Race of Interviewer
by Actual Race of Interviewer in 1996 NBES
(Numbers shown in parentheses)**

	<i>White</i>	<i>Black</i>	<i>Other</i>
White	71.5 (411)	22.0 (116)	63.4 (61)
Black	9.8 (56)	62.9 (333)	10.7 (10)
Other	8.2 (47)	4.6 (24)	5.4 (5)
Don't Know	10.1 (58)	9.6 (51)	18.2 (17)
Refused/NA	0.4 (2)	0.9 (5)	2.3 (2)
	100%	100%	100%

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National Black Election Study, 1996
Variable Information

PRE-ELECTION VARIABLES

Name

ID	Pre-election Respondent ID Print Format: F5 Write Format: F5
EMPLYEE	Pre-election Interviewer ID Print Format: A6 Write Format: A6
SMSKEY	Sample Record # Print Format: F6 Write Format: F6
SMSTZONE	Pre-election Time Zone Print Format: A1 Write Format: A1
	Value Label
	c Central
	e Eastern
	m Mountain
	p Pacific
SMSSTATE	Pre-election FIPS State Code Print Format: F2 Write Format: F2
SMSCNTY	Pre-election FIPS County code Print Format: F3 Write Format: F3
SMSCD	Pre-election FIPS Congressional District Print Format: F2 Write Format: F2
SMSMSA	Pre-election FIPS MSA Code Print Format: F4 Write Format: F4
SMSREP	Print Format: A2 Write Format: A2

SMSSTRTA Strata
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	MSAs > one million pop.
2	Southern States
3	Black pop. < 5%
4	Black pop. > 5%

SMSMATCH
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

ENDDATE Completion date of Pre-Questionnaire
Print Format: F6
Write Format: F6

QG1 Political ideology
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
0	R INSISTS NO UNDERSTANDING
1	LIBERAL
2	MODERATE (MIDDLE OF THE ROAD)
3	CONSERVATIVE
4	OTHER (SPECIFY)
7	NO PREFERENCE
8	DK/LIBERAL ON SOME ISSUES, CONSERVATIVE
9	REFUSED/NA

QN6 Representative Helpful
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	VERY HELPFUL
2	SOMEWHAT HELPFUL
3	NOT VERY HELPFUL
7	DEPENDS [VOL]
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QU3 Church attendance
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	EVERY WEEK
2	ALMOST EVERY WEEK
3	ONCE OR TWICE A MONTH
4	A FEW TIMES A YEAR
5	NEVER
7	TWO OR MORE TIMES A WEEK [VOL]
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QV3 Achieve full equality
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	YES
5	NO
7	DEPENDS
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QY2 Ever been married
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	YES
3	NO
7	PARTNERS NOT MARRIED [VOL]
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QY3 Education level
Print Format: F2
Write Format: F2

Value	Label
1	GRADE SCHOOL (GRADES 1-8)
2	SOME HIGH SCHOOL, NO DEGREE (GRADES 9-11)
3	HIGH SCHOOL DEGREE
4	SOME COLLEGE, NO DEGREE
5	ASSOCIATES/2 YEAR DEGREE
6	BACHELORS/4 YEAR DEGREE
7	SOME GRADUATE SCHOOL
8	MASTERS DEGREE
9	DOCTORATE/LAW DEGREE
10	REFUSED

QY4 Employment status
Print Format: F2
Write Format: F2

Value	Label
10	WORKING NOW ONLY
15	[R VOL] WORKING NOW/RETIRED--WORKING 20+
16	[R VOL] WORKING NOW/PERMANENTLY DISABLED
17	[R VOL] WORKING NOW/HOMEMAKER, WORKING 2
18	[R VOL] WORKING NOW/STUDENT WORKING 20+
20	TEMPORARILY LAID OFF
40	UNEMPLOYED
50	RETIRED--NO OTHER OCCUPATION
51	[R VOL] RETIRED AND WORKING LESS THAN 2
60	PERMANENTLY DISABLED--NOT WORKING
61	PERMANENTLY DISABLED AND WORKING NOW, WO
70	HOMEMAKER--NO OTHER
71	[R VOL] HOMEMAKER AND WORKING NOW, WORK
80	STUDENT--NO OTHER OCCUPATION
81	[R VOL] STUDENT AND WORKING LESS THAN 2
99	REFUSED/NA

QY6 Family income
Print Format: F2
Write Format: F2

Value	Label
1	Up to \$10,000
2	\$10,000-\$15,000 [14,999]
3	\$15,000-\$20,000 [19,999]
4	\$20,000-\$25,000 [24,999]
5	\$25,000-\$30,000 [29,999]
6	\$30,000-\$40,000 [39,999]
7	\$40,000-\$50,000 [49,999]
8	\$50,000-\$75,000 [74,999]
9	\$75,000-\$90,000 [89,999]
10	\$90,000-\$105,000 [104,999]
11	\$105,000 AND MORE
98	DK
99	REFUSED

QY10 Home ownership
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	OWN
2	RENT
7	OTHER (SPECIFY)
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QY12A4 Respondent's Zip Code
Print Format: F5
Write Format: F5

QA4A Remember if voted for...
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	BUSH
2	CLINTON
3	PEROT
5	OTHER
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QH1 Better with budget deficit
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	CLINTON
2	DOLE
3	NO DIFFERENCE
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QH2 Better improving public education
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	CLINTON
2	DOLE
3	NO DIFFERENCE
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QH3 Better reducing special interests
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	CLINTON
2	DOLE
3	NO DIFFERENCE
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QH4 Better improving race relations
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	CLINTON
2	DOLE
3	NO DIFFERENCE
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QH5 Better handling poverty
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	CLINTON
2	DOLE
3	NO DIFFERENCE
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QH6 Better dealing with crime
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	CLINTON
2	DOLE
3	NO DIFFERENCE
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QH7 More likely to raise taxes
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	CLINTON
2	DOLE
3	NO DIFFERENCE
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QH8 More likely to cut Social Security
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	CLINTON
2	DOLE
3	NO DIFFERENCE
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QY12 Address to verify and send results
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	AGREES
2	REFUSES

QA1 Attention to political campaigns
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	VERY INTERESTED
3	SOMEWHAT INTERESTED
5	NOT MUCH INTERESTED
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QE1 Financial status from one year ago
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	BETTER OFF
3	SAME (VOL)
5	WORSE OFF
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QE2 Economic position of Blacks vs whites
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	BETTER
3	ABOUT THE SAME
5	WORSE
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QE3 Nation's economy in past year
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	GOTTEN BETTER
3	STAYED THE SAME
5	GOTTEN WORSE
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QG1C More liberal or conservative
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	LIBERAL
3	NEITHER, REFUSES TO CHOOSE
5	CONSERVATIVE
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QN4C Representative's support of Clinton - half/not sure
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	MORE THAN HALF
3	HALF
5	LESS THAN HALF
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QN9 Representative's cares about...
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	SOLVING PROBLEMS
3	R VOLUNTEERS: ABOUT EQUAL
5	GAINING PRESTIGE AND INFLUENCE
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QP1A Representative's most important job

Print Format: F1

Write Format: F1

Value Label

1	HELPING PEOPLE IN THE DISTRICT
3	WORKING ON BILLS CONCERNING NATIONAL ISS
5	GETTING THE DISTRICTS SHARE OF GOVERNME
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QP1B Representative's second most important job

Print Format: F1

Write Format: F1

Value Label

1	HELPING PEOPLE IN THE DISTRICT
3	WORKING ON BILLS CONCERNING NATIONAL ISS
5	GETTING THE DISTRICTS SHARE OF GOVERNME
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QS5A Better at handling economy

Print Format: F1

Write Format: F1

Value Label

1	DEMOCRATS
3	NO DIFFERENCE, NEITHER PARTY (VOL; DO NO
5	REPUBLICANS
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QS5B Handling foreign affairs

Print Format: F1

Write Format: F1

Value Label

1	DEMOCRATS
3	NO DIFFERENCE, NEITHER PARTY (VOL; DO NO
5	REPUBLICANS
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QS5C Making health care more affordable
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	DEMOCRATS
3	NO DIFFERENCE, NEITHER PARTY (VOL; DO NO
5	REPUBLICANS
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QS5D Improving race relations
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	DEMOCRATS
3	NO DIFFERENCE, NEITHER PARTY (VOL; DO NO
5	REPUBLICANS
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QS5E Reforming welfare system
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	DEMOCRATS
3	NO DIFFERENCE, NEITHER PARTY (VOL; DO NO
5	REPUBLICANS
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QS5F Handling poverty
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	DEMOCRATS
3	NO DIFFERENCE, NEITHER PARTY (VOL; DO NO
5	REPUBLICANS
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QS5G Handling budget deficit
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	DEMOCRATS
3	NO DIFFERENCE, NEITHER PARTY (VOL; DO NO
5	REPUBLICANS
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QS6A More likely to cut Social Security
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	DEMOCRATS
3	NOT MUCH DIFFERENCE
5	REPUBLICANS
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QS6B More likely to raise taxes
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	DEMOCRATS
3	NOT MUCH DIFFERENCE
5	REPUBLICANS
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QS7A1 Certain of position on govt. involvement
Print Format: F4
Write Format: F4
Missing Values: 9999

Value	Label
1	VERY CERTAIN
3	PRETTY CERTAIN
5	NOT VERY CERTAIN
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QS8A1 Certainty of posit. on govt. help Blacks
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	VERY CERTAIN
3	PRETTY CERTAIN
5	NOT VERY CERTAIN
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QS9A1 Certainty of position on crime reduction
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	VERY CERTAIN
3	PRETTY CERTAIN
5	NOT VERY CERTAIN
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QU2 Guidance from religion
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	SOME
3	QUITE A BIT
5	A GREAT DEAL
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QV1A What happens to Blacks affects you
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	A LOT
3	SOME
5	NOT VERY MUCH
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QV4 Strategy to increase political power
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	SUPPORT FOR DEMOCRATIC PARTY
3	SUPPORT FOR REPUBLICAN PARTY
5	INDEPENDENT BLACK POLITICAL PARTY
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QV4A Second best strategy
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	SUPPORT FOR DEMOCRATIC PARTY
3	SUPPORT FOR REPUBLICAN PARTY
5	INDEPENDENT BLACK POLITICAL PARTY
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QY6A Family income over/under \$50,000
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	Under \$50,000
3	Over \$50,000
8	DK
9	REFUSED

QY6B Family income over/under \$25,000
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	Under \$25,000
3	Over \$25,000
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QY10A Children in household
 Print Format: F1
 Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	YES
3	YES, STEPCHILDREN/ADOPTED [VOL]
5	NO
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QT1A Trust government to do what is right
 Print Format: F1
 Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	JUST ABOUT ALWAYS
3	MOST OF THE TIME
5	ONLY SOME OF THE TIME
7	NEVER [VOL]
8	DK
9	REFUSED

QN3B Guess at # of year Representative in office
 Print Format: F1
 Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	LESS THAN 12 YEARS
3	ABOUT 12 YEARS
5	MORE THAN 12 YEARS
8	DONT KNOW (DO NOT PROBE)
9	REFUSED/NA

QN4 Representative supported Clinton
 Print Format: F1
 Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	MORE THAN HALF
3	HALF
5	LESS THAN HALF
8	NOT SURE, DONT KNOW
9	REFUSED/NA

QG2C Closer to Democrats or Republicans
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	CLOSER TO REPUBLICAN
3	NEITHER
5	CLOSER TO DEMOCRAT
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QA2 Care who wins Presidential election
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	CARE GOOD DEAL
5	DONT CARE VERY MUCH
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QA3 Voted in 1994 U.S. House election
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	YES, DID VOTE
5	NO, DIDNT VOTE
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QA4 Voted (for sure) in 1992 presidential election
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	YES, DID VOTE
5	NO, DIDNT VOTE
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QB1 Own cable or satellite television
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	YES
5	NO
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QB3 Recall seeing political ads
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	YES
5	NO
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QB4 Discuss politics with family/friends
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	YES
5	NO
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QC1 Approval of Clinton's job as President
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	APPROVE
5	DISAPPROVE
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QD2 Idea of Colin Powell running as Rep in 1996
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	GOOD IDEA
5	BAD IDEA
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QD3 Idea of Jesse Jackson running as Democrat in 1996
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	GOOD IDEA
5	BAD IDEA
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QG1A Liberal
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	STRONG
5	NOT VERY STRONG
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QG1B Conservative
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	STRONG
5	NOT VERY STRONG
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QG2A Republican
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	STRONG
5	NOT VERY STRONG
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QG2B Democrat
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	STRONG
5	NOT VERY STRONG
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QH9 Registered to Vote
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	YES
5	NO
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QJ3A Worked for a party/candidate
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	YES
5	NO
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QJ3B Called or written public official
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	YES
5	NO
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QK2 Member of organization to improve status of Black Americans
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	YES
5	NO
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QL3 U.S. Congress handling their job
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	APPROVE
5	DISAPPROVE
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QL4 Know names of your two Senators
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	YES
5	NO
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QL5AA Named Representative
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	CORRECT
5	INCORRECT

QL5BA Named representative's party
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	CORRECT
5	INCORRECT

QL5CA Named Representative's Race
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	CORRECT
5	INCORRECT

QN1 Representative's handling of job
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	APPROVE
5	DISAPPROVE
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QN2 Know years Representative in office
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	YES
5	NO, DONT KNOW
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QN4A Representative almost always support Clinton props.
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	YES
5	NO
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QN4B Representative almost never support Clinton props.
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	YES
5	NO
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QK1 Should Blacks form their own party
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	YES
5	NO
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QN5 Contacted Representative
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	YES
5	NO
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QN5A1 Contact to express opinion
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	YES
5	NO
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QN5A2 Contact to seek information
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	YES
5	NO
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QN5A3 Contact to seek help on a problem
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	YES
5	NO
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QN5B Get response from Representative
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	YES
5	NO
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QN7 Anything special Representative has done for district
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	YES
5	NO
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QR1A Position change if less Democrats elected
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	YES
5	NO
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QR1B Position change if more Whites elected
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	YES
5	NO
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QR2 Districts drawn
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	BLACKS/HISPANICS/WHITES HAVE OWN REPRES
5	PAY NO ATTENTION TO RACE
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QR2A Position change if more Republicans elected
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	YES
5	NO
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QR2B Position change minorities under-represented
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	YES
5	NO
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QR3 # of minorities in Congress equal population
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	ELECTION RULES CHANGE
5	ELECTION RULES REMAIN AS THEY ARE
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QR3A Position change if system like Europe
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	YES
5	NO
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QR3B If minorities in Congress less than population
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	YES
5	NO
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QS3A Party with most members in U.S. House
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	CORRECT
5	INCORRECT

QS4A Party with most members in U.S. Senate
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	CORRECT
5	INCORRECT

QT4 Neighbors you know and talk to regularly
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	YES
5	NO
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QT5 Joined/worked with community organization
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	YES
5	NO
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QU1 Religion important in your life
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	IMPORTANT
5	NOT IMPORTANT
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QU4 Places of worship involved w/ politics
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	YES
5	NO
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QU5 Heard about presidential campaign in church
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	YES
5	NO
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QU6 Place of worship encourages vote
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	YES
5	NO
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QV1 What happens to Blacks affects you
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	YES
5	NO
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QY5 You or family in military service
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	YES
5	NO
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QY5A You or family in labor union
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	YES
5	NO
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QY7A You or anyone receive social security
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	YES
5	NO
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QY7B receive worker's compensation
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	YES
5	NO
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QY7C receive unemployment compensation
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	YES
5	NO
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QY7D receive ADC or AFDC
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	YES
5	NO
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QY7E receive food stamps
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	YES
5	NO
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QY7F You or anyone receive SSI
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	YES
5	NO
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QY12AA Is this your home address
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	YES
5	NO
9	REFUSED/NA

QL2 Law to limit members to 12 years
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	FAVOR
5	OPPOSE
7	OTHER: (SPECIFY)
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QA3A Which U.S. House candidate voted for
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	[RESTORE INCUMBENT NAME FROM LIST94]
2	[RESTORE CHALLENGER NAME FROM LIST94]
3	[RESTORE CHALLENGER NAME FROM LIST94]
4	OTHER (SPECIFY)
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QA3B Which party voted for
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	DEMOCRATIC PARTY
2	REPUBLICAN PARTY
3	OTHER {SPECIFY}
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QB1A Watched nation. network news in past wk.
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
0	NONE
7	EVERY DAY; SEVEN DAYS
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QB1B Attention paid national news on Presidential campaign
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	A GREAT DEAL
2	QUITE A BIT
3	VERY LITTLE
4	NONE
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QB2 Read newspaper in past week
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
0	NONE
7	EVERY DAY; SEVEN DAYS
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QB2A Attention paid to articles on Presidential campaign
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	A GREAT DEAL
2	QUITE A BIT
3	VERY LITTLE
4	NONE
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QD1 Importance of Million Man March
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	VERY IMPORTANT
2	SOMEWHAT IMPORTANT
3	NOT IMPORTANT AT ALL
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QE1AB Finance comparison to a year ago
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	MUCH BETTER OFF
2	SOMEWHAT BETTER OFF
3	SAME (VOL)
4	SOMEWHAT WORSE OFF
5	MUCH WORSE OFF
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QE2AB Economic position of Blacks now from one
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	MUCH BETTER
2	SOMEWHAT BETTER
3	SAME (VOL)
4	SOMEWHAT WORSE
5	MUCH WORSE
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QE3AB Economy comparison to one year ago
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	MUCH BETTER
2	SOMEWHAT BETTER
3	SAME (VOL)
4	SOMEWHAT WORSE
5	MUCH WORSE
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QG2 Self-identification with party
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	REPUBLICAN
2	INDEPENDENT
3	NO PREFERENCE
4	OTHER PARTY
5	DEMOCRAT
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QL4AA Correct names of Senator(s)
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	BOTH CORRECT
2	ONE CORRECT
3	BOTH WRONG

QL4BA Correct party identification Senator(s)
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	BOTH CORRECT
2	ONE CORRECT
3	BOTH WRONG

QL5 Know name of U.S. Representative
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	YES
2	NO
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QR1 Congressional district minority makeup
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	BE THE MAJORITIES IN SOME DISTRICTS
2	BE SPREAD EVENLY
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QS7A Scale - opinion on government involvement
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	EVERY PERSON HAS A JOB AND A GOOD STAND
7	GOVT SHOULD JUST LET EACH PERSON GET AH
8	DK, HAVENT THOUGHT ABOUT IT MUCH
9	REFUSED/NA

QS7A2 Scale qs7a importance
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	EXTREMELY IMPORTANT
2	VERY IMPORTANT
3	SOMEWHAT IMPORTANT
4	NOT TOO IMPORTANT
5	NOT IMPORTANT AT ALL
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QS8A Scale -- opinion on govt. effort
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	GOVT SHOULD MAKE EFFORT TO IMPROVE POSI
7	BLACKS SHOULD HELP THEMSELVES
8	DK, HAVENT THOUGHT MUCH ABOUT IT
9	REFUSED/NA

QS8A2 Scale qs8a importance
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	EXTREMELY IMPORTANT
2	VERY IMPORTANT
3	SOMEWHAT IMPORTANT
4	NOT TOO IMPORTANT
5	NOT IMPORTANT AT ALL
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QS9A Scale -- Crime reduction
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	ADDRESS SOCIAL PROBLEMS
7	MAKE SURE CRIMINALS ARE CAUGHT, CONVICTE
8	DK, HAVENT THOUGHT MUCH ABOUT IT
9	REFUSED/NA

QS9A2 Scale qs9a importance
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	EXTREMELY IMPORTANT
2	VERY IMPORTANT
3	SOMEWHAT IMPORTANT
4	NOT TOO IMPORTANT
5	NOT IMPORTANT AT ALL
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QT2 Trust in people
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	MOST PEOPLE CAN BE TRUSTED
2	CANT BE TOO CAREFUL
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QT3 People take advantage
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	TAKE ADVANTAGE
2	TRY TO BE FAIR
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QW1 Happens to Blacks has a lot to do w/ me
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	STRONGLY AGREE
2	SOMEWHAT AGREE
3	SOMEWHAT DISAGREE
4	STRONGLY DISAGREE
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QW2 Being Black determines how you are treated
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	STRONGLY AGREE
2	SOMEWHAT AGREE
3	SOMEWHAT DISAGREE
4	STRONGLY DISAGREE
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QW3 Opportunities aren't affected by treatment of Blacks
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	STRONGLY AGREE
2	SOMEWHAT AGREE
3	SOMEWHAT DISAGREE
4	STRONGLY DISAGREE
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QW4 Judged on character more than race
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	STRONGLY AGREE
2	SOMEWHAT AGREE
3	SOMEWHAT DISAGREE
4	STRONGLY DISAGREE
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QY8 Your income class
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	POOR
2	WORKING CLASS
3	MIDDLE CLASS
4	UPPER-MIDDLE CLASS
5	UPPER CLASS
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QY11 Perceived interviewer's race
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	WHITE (CAUCASIAN)
2	BLACK (AFRICAN AMERICAN)
3	OTHER
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QZ1B Actual race of interviewer
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	WHITE
2	BLACK
3	OTHER

QZ2 Sex of respondent
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	MALE
2	FEMALE

QN3A How many years Representative in Congress
Print Format: F2
Write Format: F2

Value	Label
98	DK
99	REFUSED/NA

QY1A Month of Birth
Print Format: F2
Write Format: F2

Value	Label
98	DK
99	REFUSED

QY9 Time lived in present city or county
Print Format: F2
Write Format: F2

Value	Label
0	LESS THAN SIX MONTHS
1	6-12 MONTHS; 1 YEAR
2	13-24 MONTHS; 2 YEARS
3	3 YEARS
89	89 OR MORE
90	ALL OF LIFE
98	DK
99	REFUSED/NA

QY9A Time lived in present state
Print Format: F2
Write Format: F2

Value	Label
0	LESS THAN SIX MONTHS
1	6-12 MONTHS; 1 YEAR
2	13-24 MONTHS; 2 YEARS
3	3 YEARS
89	89 OR MORE
90	ALL OF LIFE
98	DK
99	REFUSED/NA

QY10B Children under 18 in household
Print Format: F2
Write Format: F2

Value	Label
0	NONE
97	97 OR MORE
98	DK
99	REFUSED/NA

QY1C Actual age
Print Format: F2
Write Format: F2

Value	Label
0	NA
91	91 YEARS OR OLDER

QM1A Thermometer: Bill Clinton
Print Format: F3
Write Format: F3

Value Label

997 R DOESNT RECOGNIZE NAME
998 DK WHERE TO RATE; CANT JUDGE
999 REFUSED/NA

QM1B Thermometer: Bob Dole
Print Format: F3
Write Format: F3

Value Label

997 R DOESNT RECOGNIZE NAME
998 DK WHERE TO RATE; CANT JUDGE
999 REFUSED/NA

QM1C Thermometer: Carol Moseley Braun
Print Format: F3
Write Format: F3

Value Label

997 R DOESNT RECOGNIZE NAME
998 DK WHERE TO RATE; CANT JUDGE
999 REFUSED/NA

QM1D Thermometer: Jesse Jackson
Print Format: F3
Write Format: F3

Value Label

997 R DOESNT RECOGNIZE NAME
998 DK WHERE TO RATE; CANT JUDGE
999 REFUSED/NA

QM1E Thermometer: Kweisi Mfume
Print Format: F3
Write Format: F3

Value Label

997 R DOESNT RECOGNIZE NAME
998 DK WHERE TO RATE; CANT JUDGE
999 REFUSED/NA

QM1F Thermometer: Clarence Thomas
Print Format: F3
Write Format: F3

Value Label

997 R DOESNT RECOGNIZE NAME
998 DK WHERE TO RATE; CANT JUDGE
999 REFUSED/NA

QM1G Thermometer: Louis Farrakhan
Print Format: F3
Write Format: F3

Value Label

997 R DOESNT RECOGNIZE NAME
998 DK WHERE TO RATE; CANT JUDGE
999 REFUSED/NA

QM1H Thermometer: Respondent's Representative
Print Format: F3
Write Format: F3

Value Label

997 R DOESNT RECOGNIZE NAME
998 DK WHERE TO RATE; CANT JUDGE
999 REFUSED/NA

QM1I Thermometer: Newt Gingrich
Print Format: F3
Write Format: F3

Value Label

997 R DOESNT RECOGNIZE NAME
998 DK WHERE TO RATE; CANT JUDGE
999 REFUSED/NA

QM1J Thermometer: Colin Powell
Print Format: F3
Write Format: F3

Value Label

997 R DOESNT RECOGNIZE NAME
998 DK WHERE TO RATE; CANT JUDGE
999 REFUSED/NA

QM1K Deleted Question
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value Label

997 R DOESNT RECOGNIZE NAME
998 DK WHERE TO RATE; CANT JUDGE
999 REFUSED/NA

QM1L Thermometer: Ross Perot
Print Format: F3
Write Format: F3

Value Label

997 R DOESNT RECOGNIZE NAME
998 DK WHERE TO RATE; CANT JUDGE
999 REFUSED/NA

QM1M Thermometer: Hillary Clinton
Print Format: F3
Write Format: F3

Value Label

997 R DOESNT RECOGNIZE NAME
998 DK WHERE TO RATE; CANT JUDGE
999 REFUSED/NA

QM1N Thermometer: Richard Lamm
Print Format: F3
Write Format: F3

Value Label

997 R DOESNT RECOGNIZE NAME
998 DK WHERE TO RATE; CANT JUDGE
999 REFUSED/NA

QM1O Thermometer: Jack Kemp
Print Format: F3
Write Format: F3

Value Label

997 R DOESNT RECOGNIZE NAME
998 DK WHERE TO RATE; CANT JUDGE
999 REFUSED/NA

QM2A Thermometer: Democrats
Print Format: F3
Write Format: F3

Value Label

997 R DOESNT RECOGNIZE NAME
998 DK WHERE TO RATE; CANT JUDGE
999 REFUSED/NA

QM2B Thermometer: Republicans
Print Format: F3
Write Format: F3

Value Label

997 R DOESNT RECOGNIZE NAME
998 DK WHERE TO RATE; CANT JUDGE
999 REFUSED/NA

QM2C Thermometer: The Million Man March
Print Format: F3
Write Format: F3

Value Label

997 R DOESNT RECOGNIZE NAME
998 DK WHERE TO RATE; CANT JUDGE
999 REFUSED/NA

QM2D Thermometer: Congressional Black Caucus
Print Format: F3
Write Format: F3

Value Label

997 R DOESNT RECOGNIZE NAME
998 DK WHERE TO RATE; CANT JUDGE
999 REFUSED/NA

QM2E Thermometer: The NAACP
Print Format: F3
Write Format: F3

Value Label

997 R DOESNT RECOGNIZE NAME
998 DK WHERE TO RATE; CANT JUDGE
999 REFUSED/NA

QS1 Percent of the U.S. you think is Black
Print Format: F3
Write Format: F3

Value	Label
998	DK
999	REFUSED/NA

QS2 Percent of U.S. Representative you think are Black
Print Format: F3
Write Format: F3

Value	Label
998	DK
999	REFUSED/NA

QY1B Year of birth
Print Format: F4
Write Format: F4

Value	Label
9998	DK
9999	REFUSED

QC1AB Bill Clinton's job as President
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	STRONGLY APPROVE
2	NOT STRONGLY APPROVE
4	NOT STRONGLY DISAPPROVE
5	STRONGLY DISAPPROVE
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QD2AB Colin Powell to run for President
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	VERY GOOD
2	SOMEWHAT GOOD
4	SOMEWHAT BAD
5	VERY BAD
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QD3AB Jesse Jackson to run for President
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	VERY GOOD
2	SOMEWHAT GOOD
4	SOMEWHAT BAD
5	VERY BAD
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QL3AB U.S. Congress handling of its job
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	STRONGLY APPROVE
2	NOT STRONGLY APPROVE
4	NOT STRONGLY DISAPPROVE
5	STRONGLY DISAPPROVE
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QN1AB Representative's handling of job
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	STRONGLY APPROVE
2	NOT STRONGLY APPROVE
4	NOT STRONGLY DISAPPROVE
5	STRONGLY DISAPPROVE
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QN5B1 Satisfied with response from Representative
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	VERY SATISFIED
2	SOMEWHAT SATISFIED
4	NOT VERY SATISFIED
5	NOT AT ALL SATISFIED
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QN8 Representative job keeping in touch with district
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	VERY GOOD
2	FAIRLY GOOD
4	FAIRLY POOR
5	POOR
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QQ1A Only interested in re-election
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	STRONGLY AGREE
2	SOMEWHAT AGREE
4	SOMEWHAT DISAGREE
5	STRONGLY DISAGREE
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QQ1B Keep in close touch
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	STRONGLY AGREE
2	SOMEWHAT AGREE
4	SOMEWHAT DISAGREE
5	STRONGLY DISAGREE
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QQ1C Important leaders in their communities
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	STRONGLY AGREE
2	SOMEWHAT AGREE
4	SOMEWHAT DISAGREE
5	STRONGLY DISAGREE
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QQ1D Good job representing diverse interests
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	STRONGLY AGREE
2	SOMEWHAT AGREE
4	SOMEWHAT DISAGREE
5	STRONGLY DISAGREE
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QQ1E Only interested raising campaign money
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	STRONGLY AGREE
2	SOMEWHAT AGREE
4	SOMEWHAT DISAGREE
5	STRONGLY DISAGREE
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QT4A Neighbors you talk to regularly
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	JUST ONE
2	TWO OR THREE
4	FOUR OR FIVE/SEVERAL
5	MORE THAN FIVE
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QV2 Think about being Black
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	A LOT
2	FAIRLY OFTEN
4	ONCE IN A WHILE
5	HARDLY EVER
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

QY2A Marital status
 Print Format: F1
 Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	MARRIED AND LIVING WITH SPOUSE (OR SPOUS
2	DIVORCED
4	SEPARATED
5	WIDOWED
8	COMMUTER MARRIAGE/SPOUSE LIVES AT ANOTHE
9	REFUSED/NA

INCENT Respondent offered/accepted incentive to complete
 Print Format: F1
 Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	Incentive respondent
2	Regular respondent

WVAR1 Weight Variable 1 - Strata
 Print Format: F7.4
 Write Format: F7.4

CITY Respondent's city
 Print Format: A26
 Write Format: A26

STATE Respondent's state
 Print Format: A14
 Write Format: A14

MEDSTAT
 Print Format: F1
 Write Format: F1

INVALID
 Print Format: F1
 Write Format: F1

NEWID respondent Post-election ID
 Print Format: F4
 Write Format: F4

CMPT Complete Pre- and Post-election
 Print Format: F1
 Write Format: F1

POST-ELECTION VARIABES

STRTRDATE Start of Post-election questionnaire
Print Format: A6
Write Format: A6

EMPLYEE2 Post-election interviewer ID
Print Format: A6
Write Format: A6

SMSTZON2 Post-election time zone
Print Format: A1
Write Format: A1

SMSZ4B City
Print Format: A25
Write Format: A25

SMSZ4C State
Print Format: A2
Write Format: A2

SMSZ4D Zip code
Print Format: A5
Write Format: A5

SMSZ4E Post-election FIPS state code
Print Format: A2
Write Format: A2

SMSZ5 Year of Birth
Print Format: A4
Write Format: A4

SMSZ5A Gender
Print Format: A1
Write Format: A1

SMSZ6 Post-election State/Congress. District c
Print Format: A4
Write Format: A4

SMSZ7 Incentive Code
Print Format: A1
Write Format: A1

SMSZ8 Half Sample
Print Format: A1
Write Format: A1

Value Label

1 A
2 B

SMSSTRAT Post-election strata
Print Format: A2
Write Format: A2

STRATVAR
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

SMSMSA2 MSA
Print Format: A4
Write Format: A4

Z8 Half Sample
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	Half Sample A
2	Half Sample B

Z6
Print Format: F4
Write Format: F4

Z4E
Print Format: F2
Write Format: F2

A1 Follow govt. and public affairs
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	MOST OF THE TIME
2	SOME OF THE TIME
3	ONLY NOW AND THEN
4	HARDLY AT ALL
8	DK
9	REFUSED

A2 Watch first Presidential debate
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	YES, WATCHED
2	NO, DIDNT WATCH
8	DK
9	REFUSED

A2A Watch entire or part of debate
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	WATCHED ENTIRE DEBATE
2	JUST PART OF IT
8	DK
9	REFUSED

A3 Watch second Presidential debate
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	YES, WATCHED
2	NO, DIDNT WATCH
8	DK
9	REFUSED

A3A Watch entire or part of debate
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	WATCHED ENTIRE DEBATE
2	JUST PART OF IT
8	DK
9	REFUSED

A4 Attention paid to Presidential campaign news
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	A GREAT DEAL
2	QUITE A BIT
3	SOME
4	VERY LITTLE
5	NONE
8	DK
9	REFUSED

A5 Attention paid to U.S. Representative Campaign
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	A GREAT DEAL
2	QUITE A BIT
3	SOME
4	VERY LITTLE
5	NONE
8	DK
9	REFUSED

A6 Names of candidates for U.S. Representative
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	YES, REMEMBER
2	NO, DONT REMEMBER
9	REFUSED

A6A01 first mention
Print Format: F2
Write Format: F2

Value	Label
1	(democratic candidate name from hsecand)
2	(republican candidate name from hsecand)
3	(other from hsecand)
4	(other from hsecand)
5	(other from hsecand)
6	(other from hsecand)
7	(other from hsecand)
8	Other [SPECIFY]
99	REFUSED

A6A02 second mention
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	(democratic candidate name from hsecand)
2	(republican candidate name from hsecand)
3	(other from hsecand)
4	(other from hsecand)
5	(other from hsecand)
6	(other from hsecand)
7	(other from hsecand)
8	Other [SPECIFY]
99	REFUSED

A6A03 third mention
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	(democratic candidate name from hsecand
2	(republican candidate name from hsecand
3	(other from hsecand)
4	(other from hsecand)
5	(other from hsecand)
6	(other from hsecand)
7	(other from hsecand)
8	Other [SPECIFY]
99	REFUSED

A6AX01 first mention (Texas only)
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	Candidate 1 [SPECIFY]
2	Candidate 2 [SPECIFY]
3	Candidate 3 [SPECIFY]
4	Candidate 4 [SPECIFY]
5	Candidate 5 [SPECIFY]
6	Candidate 6 [SPECIFY]
7	Candidate 7 [SPECIFY]
8	Candidate 8 [SPECIFY]
9	REFUSED

A6AX02 second mention (Texas only)
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	Candidate 1 [SPECIFY]
2	Candidate 2 [SPECIFY]
3	Candidate 3 [SPECIFY]
4	Candidate 4 [SPECIFY]
5	Candidate 5 [SPECIFY]
6	Candidate 6 [SPECIFY]
7	Candidate 7 [SPECIFY]
8	Candidate 8 [SPECIFY]
9	REFUSED

A6B1 Party of first mention
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	Democratic
2	Republican
3	Other (specify)
8	DK
9	REFUSED

A6B2 party of second mention
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	Democratic
2	Republican
3	Other (specify)
8	DK
9	REFUSED

A6B3 Party of third mention
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	Democratic
2	Republican
3	Other (specify)
8	DK
9	REFUSED

B1A Thermometer: Bill Clinton
Print Format: F3
Write Format: F3

Value	Label
0	Cold/Unfavorable
50	Neither warm nor cold
100	Warm/Favorable
997	R DOESNT RECOGNIZE NAME
998	DK WHERE TO RATE; CANT JUDGE
999	REFUSED/NA

B1B Thermometer: Bob Dole
Print Format: F3
Write Format: F3

Value	Label
0	Cold/Unfavorable
50	Neither warm nor cold
100	Warm/Favorable
997	R DOESNT RECOGNIZE NAME
998	DK WHERE TO RATE; CANT JUDGE
999	REFUSED/NA

B1C Thermometer: Ross Perot
Print Format: F3
Write Format: F3

Value	Label
0	Cold/Unfavorable
50	Neither warm nor cold
100	Warm/Favorable
997	R DOESNT RECOGNIZE NAME
998	DK WHERE TO RATE; CANT JUDGE
999	REFUSED/NA

B1D Thermometer: Democrat Candidate for Representative
Print Format: F3
Write Format: F3

Value	Label
0	Cold/Unfavorable
50	Neither warm nor cold
100	Warm/Favorable
997	R DOESNT RECOGNIZE NAME
998	DK WHERE TO RATE; CANT JUDGE
999	REFUSED/NA

B1E Thermometer: Republican Candidate for Representative
Print Format: F3
Write Format: F3

Value	Label
0	Cold/Unfavorable
50	Neither warm nor cold
100	Warm/Favorable
997	R DOESNT RECOGNIZE NAME
998	DK WHERE TO RATE; CANT JUDGE
999	REFUSED/NA

B1F Thermometer: Incumbent Representative
Print Format: F3
Write Format: F3

Value	Label
0	Cold/Unfavorable
50	Neither warm nor cold
100	Warm/Favorable
997	R DOESNT RECOGNIZE NAME
998	DK WHERE TO RATE; CANT JUDGE
999	REFUSED/NA

B1G Thermometer: Jack Kemp
Print Format: F3
Write Format: F3

Value	Label
0	Cold/Unfavorable
50	Neither warm nor cold
100	Warm/Favorable
997	R DOESNT RECOGNIZE NAME
998	DK WHERE TO RATE; CANT JUDGE
999	REFUSED/NA

B1H Thermometer: Al Gore
Print Format: F3
Write Format: F3

Value	Label
0	Cold/Unfavorable
50	Neither warm nor cold
100	Warm/Favorable
997	R DOESNT RECOGNIZE NAME
998	DK WHERE TO RATE; CANT JUDGE
999	REFUSED/NA

B1H1 Thermometer: Newt Gingrich
Print Format: F3
Write Format: F3

Value	Label
0	Cold/Unfavorable
50	Neither warm nor cold
100	Warm/Favorable
997	R DOESNT RECOGNIZE NAME
998	DK WHERE TO RATE; CANT JUDGE
999	REFUSED/NA

B1J Thermometer: The Supreme Court
Print Format: F3
Write Format: F3

Value	Label
0	Cold/Unfavorable
50	Neither warm nor cold
100	Warm/Favorable
997	R DOESNT RECOGNIZE NAME
998	DK WHERE TO RATE; CANT JUDGE
999	REFUSED/NA

B1K Thermometer: Congress
Print Format: F3
Write Format: F3

Value	Label
0	Cold/Unfavorable
50	Neither warm nor cold
100	Warm/Favorable
997	R DOESNT RECOGNIZE NAME
998	DK WHERE TO RATE; CANT JUDGE
999	REFUSED/NA

B1L Thermometer: The military
Print Format: F3
Write Format: F3

Value	Label
0	Cold/Unfavorable
50	Neither warm nor cold
100	Warm/Favorable
997	R DOESNT RECOGNIZE NAME
998	DK WHERE TO RATE; CANT JUDGE
999	REFUSED/NA

B1M Thermometer: The Federal Govt.
Print Format: F3
Write Format: F3

Value	Label
0	Cold/Unfavorable
50	Neither warm nor cold
100	Warm/Favorable
997	R DOESNT RECOGNIZE NAME
998	DK WHERE TO RATE; CANT JUDGE
999	REFUSED/NA

B1N Thermometer: Blacks
Print Format: F3
Write Format: F3

Value	Label
0	Cold/Unfavorable
50	Neither warm nor cold
100	Warm/Favorable
997	R DOESNT RECOGNIZE NAME
998	DK WHERE TO RATE; CANT JUDGE
999	REFUSED/NA

B1P Thermometer: Whites
Print Format: F3
Write Format: F3

Value	Label
0	Cold/Unfavorable
50	Neither warm nor cold
100	Warm/Favorable
997	R DOESNT RECOGNIZE NAME
998	DK WHERE TO RATE; CANT JUDGE
999	REFUSED/NA

B1Q Thermometer: The CIA
Print Format: F3
Write Format: F3

Value	Label
0	Cold/Unfavorable
50	Neither warm nor cold
100	Warm/Favorable
997	R DOESNT RECOGNIZE NAME
998	DK WHERE TO RATE; CANT JUDGE
999	REFUSED/NA

B1R Thermometer: O.J. Simpson
Print Format: F3
Write Format: F3

Value	Label
0	Cold/Unfavorable
50	Neither warm nor cold
100	Warm/Favorable
997	R DOESNT RECOGNIZE NAME
998	DK WHERE TO RATE; CANT JUDGE
999	REFUSED/NA

B1S Thermometer: Labor unions
Print Format: F3
Write Format: F3

Value	Label
0	Cold/Unfavorable
50	Neither warm nor cold
100	Warm/Favorable
997	R DOESNT RECOGNIZE NAME
998	DK WHERE TO RATE; CANT JUDGE
999	REFUSED/NA

B1T Thermometer: Big Business
Print Format: F3
Write Format: F3

Value	Label
0	Cold/Unfavorable
50	Neither warm nor cold
100	Warm/Favorable
997	R DOESNT RECOGNIZE NAME
998	DK WHERE TO RATE; CANT JUDGE
999	REFUSED/NA

B1U Thermometer: Asian-American
Print Format: F3
Write Format: F3

Value	Label
0	Cold/Unfavorable
50	Neither warm nor cold
100	Warm/Favorable
997	R DOESNT RECOGNIZE NAME
998	DK WHERE TO RATE; CANT JUDGE
999	REFUSED/NA

B1V Thermometer: People on welfare
Print Format: F3
Write Format: F3

Value	Label
0	Cold/Unfavorable
50	Neither warm nor cold
100	Warm/Favorable
997	R DOESNT RECOGNIZE NAME
998	DK WHERE TO RATE; CANT JUDGE
999	REFUSED/NA

B1W Thermometer: Hispanics
Print Format: F3
Write Format: F3

Value	Label
0	Cold/Unfavorable
50	Neither warm nor cold
100	Warm/Favorable
997	R DOESNT RECOGNIZE NAME
998	DK WHERE TO RATE; CANT JUDGE
999	REFUSED/NA

B1X Thermometer: Christian fundamentalists
Print Format: F3
Write Format: F3

Value	Label
0	Cold/Unfavorable
50	Neither warm nor cold
100	Warm/Favorable
997	R DOESNT RECOGNIZE NAME
998	DK WHERE TO RATE; CANT JUDGE
999	REFUSED/NA

B1Y Thermometer: The Women's movement
Print Format: F3
Write Format: F3

Value	Label
0	Cold/Unfavorable
50	Neither warm nor cold
100	Warm/Favorable
997	R DOESNT RECOGNIZE NAME
998	DK WHERE TO RATE; CANT JUDGE
999	REFUSED/NA

B1Z Thermometer: Gay men and Lesbians
Print Format: F3
Write Format: F3

Value	Label
0	Cold/Unfavorable
50	Neither warm nor cold
100	Warm/Favorable
997	R DOESNT RECOGNIZE NAME
998	DK WHERE TO RATE; CANT JUDGE
999	REFUSED/NA

B1Z1 Thermometer: The Christian Coalition
Print Format: F3
Write Format: F3

Value	Label
0	Cold/Unfavorable
50	Neither warm nor cold
100	Warm/Favorable
997	R DOESNT RECOGNIZE NAME
998	DK WHERE TO RATE; CANT JUDGE
999	REFUSED/NA

C1 Voted in general election
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	Yes, voted
5	No, didn't vote
8	DK/RF

C2 Registered to vote (if didn't vote)
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	YES
5	NO
9	REFUSED

C3 Vote for President
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	Yes, voted for President
5	No, didn't vote for President
8	DK/REFUSED

C4 Voted for candidate...
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	Bill Clinton
2	Bob Dole
3	Ross Perot
4	Other (SPECIFY)
8	DK/REFUSED

C5 Strength of preference for vote
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	STRONG
2	NOT STRONG
8	DK/REFUSED

C61 Did you vote for U.S. Representative (sample a)
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	Yes, voted for House of Representatives
5	No, didn't vote for House of Representatives
8	DK/RF

C6A1 Voted for U.S. Rep Candidate.... (sample a)
Print Format: F2
Write Format: F2

Value	Label
1	(democratic candidate name from hsecand
2	(republican candidate name from hsecand
3	(other from hsecand)
4	(other from hsecand)
5	(other from hsecand)
6	(other from hsecand)
7	(other from hsecand)
8	Other [SPECIFY]
99	REFUSED

C62 Vote for U.S. Rep (sample b)
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	Yes, voted for House of Representatives
5	No, didn't vote for House of Representatives
8	DK/RF

C6A2 Voted for Candidate... (sample b)
Print Format: F2
Write Format: F2

Value	Label
1	(democratic candidate name from hsecand
2	(republican candidate name from hsecand
3	(other from hsecand)
4	(other from hsecand)
5	(other from hsecand)
6	(other from hsecand)
7	(other from hsecand)
8	Other [SPECIFY]
99	REFUSED

C6AX2 Voted for candidate...
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	Candidate 1 [SPECIFY]
9	REFUSED

C6B2 Candidate's party
Print Format: F2
Write Format: F2

Value	Label
1	DEMOCRATIC PARTY
2	REPUBLICAN PARTY
9	Other [SPECIFY]
99	REFUSED

C7A Vote for U.S. Senate
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	Yes, voted for Senate
5	No, didn't vote for Senate
8	DK/RF

C7A1 Voted for candidate...
Print Format: F2
Write Format: F2

Value	Label
1	(democratic candidate-sen96)
2	(republican candidate-sen96)
3	(other candidate-sen96)
4	(other candidate-sen96)
5	(other candidate-sen96)
6	(other candidate-sen96)
7	(other candidate-sen96)
8	(other candidate-sen96)
9	Other [SPECIFY]
99	REFUSED/NA

C7B Other Senate election (Kansas only)
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	Yes, voted for other election for Senate
5	No, didn't vote for Senate
8	DK/RF

C7B1 Voted for... (Kansas only)
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	(democratic candidate-sen96)
2	(republican candidate-sen96)
3	(other candidate-sen96)
4	(other candidate-sen96)
5	(other candidate-sen96)
6	(other candidate-sen96)
7	(other candidate-sen96)
8	(other candidate-sen96)
9	Other [SPECIFY]
99	REFUSED/NA

C8 Non-voters preference for President
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	YES
5	NO
9	DK/REFUSED

C8A Non-voters preference
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	CLINTON
3	DOLE
5	PEROT
7	OTHER (specify)
9	DK/REFUSED

C8B Strength of non-voters preference
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	STRONG
5	NOT STRONG
8	DK
9	REFUSED

D1 Approve of U.S. Representative's handling of job
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	APPROVE
5	DISAPPROVE
8	DK
9	REFUSED

D1A Strength of approval of U.S. Representative's job
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	STRONGLY
2	NOT STRONGLY
8	DK
9	REFUSED

D1B Strength of disapproval of U.S. Representative's job
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
4	NOT STRONGLY
5	STRONGLY
8	DK
9	REFUSED

D2 U.S. Representative's vote on welfare reform
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	FOR
2	AGAINST
8	DK
9	REFUSED

D2A Best guess on vote from d2
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	FOR
2	AGAINST
8	DK
9	REFUSED

D3 U.S. Representative's support of Pres. Clinton
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	MORE THAN HALF THE TIME
2	HALF
3	LESS THAN HALF THE TIME
8	NOT SURE/DK
9	REFUSED

D3A Support, almost always
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	Yes
2	No
8	DK/REFUSED

D3B Support, never
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	Yes
2	No
8	DK/REFUSED

D4A Spend time equalizing public school funding
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	Most of their time
3	Some of their time
5	None of their time
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

D4B Public fund national African-American museum
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	Most of their time
3	Some of their time
5	None of their time
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

D4C Bill to ban Confederate flag
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	Most of their time
3	Some of their time
5	None of their time
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

D4D Ban on alcohol and tobacco billboard ads
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	Most of their time
3	Some of their time
5	None of their time
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

D4E Bill to protect affirmative action programs
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	Most of their time
3	Some of their time
5	None of their time
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

D4F Fund. injustice / cruelty of slavery
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	Most of their time
3	Some of their time
5	None of their time
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

E1A Blacks vote, difference in Presidential election
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	AGREE STRONGLY
2	AGREE SOMEWHAT
3	DISAGREE SOMEWHAT
4	DISAGREE STRONGLY
8	NOT SURE/DONT KNOW
9	REFUSED

E1B Decide how this country is run
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	AGREE STRONGLY
2	AGREE SOMEWHAT
3	DISAGREE SOMEWHAT
4	DISAGREE STRONGLY
8	NOT SURE/DONT KNOW
9	REFUSED

E1C Blacks elected don't have power to change
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	AGREE STRONGLY
2	AGREE SOMEWHAT
3	DISAGREE SOMEWHAT
4	DISAGREE STRONGLY
8	NOT SURE/DONT KNOW
9	REFUSED

E1D Make difference in Congress elections
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	AGREE STRONGLY
2	AGREE SOMEWHAT
3	DISAGREE SOMEWHAT
4	DISAGREE STRONGLY
8	NOT SURE/DONT KNOW
9	REFUSED

E2A Blacks should attend afro-centric school
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	STRONGLY AGREE
2	AGREE
3	DISAGREE
4	STRONGLY DISAGREE
8	DONT CARE/DONT KNOW
9	REFUSED

E2B Blacks should vote for Black candidates
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	STRONGLY AGREE
2	AGREE
3	DISAGREE
4	STRONGLY DISAGREE
8	DONT CARE/DONT KNOW
9	REFUSED

E2C Should always shop in Black owned stores
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	STRONGLY AGREE
2	AGREE
3	DISAGREE
4	STRONGLY DISAGREE
8	DONT CARE/DONT KNOW
9	REFUSED

E2D Should not have anything to do w/ Whites
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	STRONGLY AGREE
2	AGREE
3	DISAGREE
4	STRONGLY DISAGREE
8	DONT CARE/DONT KNOW
9	REFUSED

E3A Talk to people
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	YES
5	NO
8	REFUSED

E3B Go to political meetings, rallies, etc
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	YES
5	NO
8	REFUSED

E3C Help with voter registration, going to polls
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	YES
5	NO
8	REFUSED

E3D Give or help raise money
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	YES
5	NO
8	REFUSED

E3E Campaign for a Black candidate
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	YES
5	NO
8	REFUSED

E4A Most important problem facing Blacks
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	Crime
2	Discrimination
3	Unemployment
9	REFUSED

E4B Second most important problem
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	Crime
2	Discrimination
3	Unemployment
9	REFUSED

E4C Remaining problem (coded by programmer)
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	Crime
2	Discrimination
3	Unemployment
9	REFUSED

E5 Progress ending racial discrimination in past 20 years
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	A LOT OF PROGRESS
5	NOT MUCH REAL CHANGE
8	DONT KNOW
9	REFUSED

E6 Happens to women effects you
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	YES
5	NO
8	DONT KNOW
9	REFUSED

E6A Amount of effect
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	A LOT
3	SOME
5	NOT VERY MUCH
9	DK/REFUSED

E7 Happens to Black men effects you
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	YES
5	NO
8	DONT KNOW
9	REFUSED

E7A Amount of effect
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	A LOT
3	SOME
5	NOT VERY MUCH
9	DK/REFUSED

E8 Happens to Black women effects you
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	YES
5	NO
8	DONT KNOW
9	REFUSED

E8A Amount of effect
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	A LOT
3	SOME
5	NOT VERY MUCH
9	DK/REFUSED

E9A Integration justifies busing
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	STRONGLY AGREE
2	SOMEWHAT AGREE
3	SOMEWHAT DISAGREE
4	STRONGLY DISAGREE
8	DK
9	REFUSED

E9B Minorities be given special consideration
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	STRONGLY AGREE
2	SOMEWHAT AGREE
3	SOMEWHAT DISAGREE
4	STRONGLY DISAGREE
8	DK
9	REFUSED

F1 Party affiliation
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	REPUBLICAN
2	INDEPENDENT
3	NO PREFERENCE
4	OTHER PARTY
5	DEMOCRAT
8	DK
9	REFUSED

F1A Strength of affiliation (Republican)
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	STRONG
2	NOT VERY STRONG
8	DK
9	REFUSED

F1B Strength of affiliation (Democrat)
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	STRONG
2	NOT VERY STRONG
8	DK
9	REFUSED

F1C If no preference or other party
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	CLOSER TO REPUBLICAN
2	CLOSER TO DEMOCRAT
3	NEITHER
8	DK
9	REFUSED

F2 Democrats work on issues Blacks care about
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	VERY HARD
2	FAIRLY HARD
3	NOT TOO HARD
4	NOT HARD AT ALL
8	DK
9	REFUSED

F3 Rep party works on issue Blacks care about
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	VERY HARD
2	FAIRLY HARD
3	NOT TOO HARD
4	NOT HARD AT ALL
8	DK
9	REFUSED

F4 Political parties contact during elect
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	YES
5	NO
8	DONT KNOW
9	REFUSED

F4A Which party
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	DEMOCRATS
2	REPUBLICANS
3	OTHER (SPECIFY)
4	BOTH
9	DK/REFUSED

F5 Give money to a political party
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	YES
5	NO
8	DONT KNOW
9	REFUSED

F5A Which party
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	DEMOCRATS
2	REPUBLICANS
5	OTHER (SPECIFY)
9	DK/REFUSED

F6 Give money to another group
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	YES
5	NO
8	DONT KNOW
9	REFUSED

H1 Laws to protect homosexuals from job discrimination
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	FAVOR
5	OPPOSE
8	DK
9	REFUSED

H1A Strength of support
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	FAVOR STRONGLY
2	FAVOR NOT STRONGLY
9	DK/REFUSED

H1B Strength of opposition
 Print Format: F1
 Write Format: F1

Value	Label
4	OPPOSE NOT STRONGLY
5	OPPOSE STRONGLY
9	DK/REFUSED

H2 Death penalty -- convicted for murder
 Print Format: F1
 Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	FAVOR
5	OPPOSE
8	DK
9	REFUSED

H2A Strength of support
 Print Format: F1
 Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	FAVOR STRONGLY
2	FAVOR NOT STRONGLY
9	DK/REFUSED

H2B Strength of opposition
 Print Format: F1
 Write Format: F1

Value	Label
4	OPPOSE NOT STRONGLY
5	OPPOSE STRONGLY
9	DK/REFUSED

J1 Attend church function for a candidate
 Print Format: F1
 Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	YES
5	NO
8	DK/REFUSED

J2 Work for candidate through church
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	YES
5	NO
8	DK/REFUSED

J3 Church take up collection for candidate
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	YES
5	NO
8	DK/REFUSED

J3A Church endorse any candidates
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	YES
5	NO
8	DK/REFUSED

J5A Contacted a public official or agency
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	YES
5	NO
8	DK/REFUSED

J5B Signed a petition
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	YES
5	NO
8	DK/REFUSED

J5C Attend a protest meeting / demonstration
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	YES
5	NO
8	DK/REFUSED

J5D Picket, boycott, or sit-in
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	YES
5	NO
8	DK/REFUSED

K1 Intro to K1 series
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

K1A Public officials don't care what people
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	AGREE STRONGLY
2	AGREE SOMEWHAT
3	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE
4	DISAGREE SOMEWHAT
5	DISAGREE STRONGLY
9	DK/REFUSED

K1B Don't have say about what government does
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	AGREE STRONGLY
2	AGREE SOMEWHAT
3	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE
4	DISAGREE SOMEWHAT
5	DISAGREE STRONGLY
9	DK/REFUSED

K1C So complicated, can't understand
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	AGREE STRONGLY
2	AGREE SOMEWHAT
3	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE
4	DISAGREE SOMEWHAT
5	DISAGREE STRONGLY
9	DK/REFUSED

K2 Trust the government in Washington to do right
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	JUST ABOUT ALWAYS
2	MOST OF THE TIME
3	ONLY SOME OF THE TIME
4	NEVER [VOL]
8	DK
9	REFUSED

K3 How is government run
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	GOVT RUN BY A FEW BIG INTERESTS
2	GOVT RUN FOR THE BENEFIT OF ALL
8	DK
9	REFUSED

L1A Change welfare - no increase for another child
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	FAVOR
5	OPPOSE
8	DK
9	REFUSED

L1B Strength of support
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	FAVOR STRONGLY
2	FAVOR NOT STRONGLY
8	DK
9	REFUSED

L1C Strength of opposition
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
4	OPPOSE NOT STRONGLY
5	OPPOSE STRONGLY
8	DK
9	REFUSED

L2 Five-year lifetime limit on welfare benefits
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	FAVOR
5	OPPOSE
8	DK
9	REFUSED

L2A Strength of support for 5-year. limit
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	FAVOR STRONGLY
2	FAVOR NOT STRONGLY
8	DK
9	REFUSED

L2B Strength of opposition to five-year limit
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
4	OPPOSE NOT STRONGLY
5	OPPOSE STRONGLY
8	DK
9	REFUSED

L3 Allowed immigration should be...
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	INCREASED A LITTLE
2	INCREASED A LOT
3	DECREASED A LITTLE
4	DECREASED A LOT
5	LEFT THE SAME AS IT IS NOW
8	DK
9	REFUSED

L4 Immigrant eligibility from government services
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	ELIGIBLE AS SOON AS THEY COME HERE
5	HAVE TO WAIT A YEAR (OR MORE)
8	DK
9	REFUSED

M1 Intro to M1 series
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

M1A Federal funding to deal with crime
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	INCREASED
2	SAME
3	DECREASED
8	DK
9	REFUSED

M1B Federal funding for food stamps
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	INCREASED
2	SAME
3	DECREASED
8	DK
9	REFUSED

M1C Federal funding for medicare
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	INCREASED
2	SAME
3	DECREASED
8	DK
9	REFUSED

M1D Federal funding for defense/military
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	INCREASED
2	SAME
3	DECREASED
8	DK
9	REFUSED

N1 Attention paid to Supreme Court
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	MOST OF THE TIME
2	SOME OF THE TIME
3	HARDLY AT ALL
4	DK/RF

N2 Satisfied with recent Supreme Court decisions
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	SATISFIED
5	DISSATISFIED
8	DK
9	REFUSED

N2A Strength of satisfaction
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	VERY SATISFIED
2	SOMEWHAT SATISFIED
8	DK
9	REFUSED

N2B Strength of dissatisfaction
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
4	SOMEWHAT DISSATISFIED
5	VERY DISSATISFIED
8	DK
9	REFUSED

N3 Ideology of Supreme Court
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	TOO LIBERAL
2	TOO CONSERVATIVE
3	ABOUT RIGHT
4	DK/RF

N4 Not important for Pres. to appoint Black
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	AGREE STRONGLY
2	AGREE SOMEWHAT
3	DISAGREE SOMEWHAT
4	DISAGREE STRONGLY
8	DK
9	REFUSED

N51 Vote for U.S. House (Half Sample A)
Print Format: F2
Write Format: F2

Value	Label
1	(democratic candidate name from hsecand)
2	(republican candidate name from hsecand)
3	(other from hsecand)
4	(other from hsecand)
5	(other from hsecand)
6	(other from hsecand)
7	(other from hsecand)
8	Other [SPECIFY]
99	REFUSED

N51A Vote for which party (if other in N5-1)
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	(Independent party name)
2	Other [specify]
9	DK/Refused

N52A Vote for U.S. House (Half Sample B)
Print Format: F2
Write Format: F2

Value	Label
1	(democratic candidate name from hsecand)
2	(republican candidate name from hsecand)
3	(other from hsecand)
4	(other from hsecand)
5	(other from hsecand)
6	(other from hsecand)
7	(other from hsecand)
8	Other [SPECIFY]
99	REFUSED

N52AX Vote for U.S. House (Texas only)
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	Candidate 1 [SPECIFY]
9	REFUSED

N52B Vote for which party
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	Democratic Party
2	Republican Party
3	Other [SPECIFY]
9	REFUSED

P1A Employment status
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	WORKING NOW
2	TEMPORARILY LAID OFF
4	UNEMPLOYED
5	RETIRED
6	HOUSEWIFE
7	STUDENT
8	PERMANENTLY DISABLED
9	REFUSED

P2MO Month of birth
Print Format: F2
Write Format: F2

Value	Label
99	REFUSED

P2DAY Day of birth
Print Format: F2
Write Format: F2

P2YEAR Year of birth
Print Format: F4
Write Format: F4

P3 Perceived race of interviewer
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	WHITE (CAUCASIAN)
2	BLACK (AFRICAN AMERICAN)
3	OTHER
8	DK
9	REFUSED/NA

P4 Correct address
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

P4A Agree to give home address
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

P4A2 Home address
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	Yes
5	No
8	Refused/NA

P5
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

P5A Actual Race of Interviewer
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	WHITE
2	BLACK
3	OTHER

P5B Sex of Respondent (by observation)
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

Value	Label
1	MALE
2	FEMALE

ENDDATE2 Date of completion of Post-Election Questionnaire
Print Format: A6
Write Format: A6

FIXZIP Correction to respondent's ZipCode (if necessary)
Print Format: A5
Write Format: A5

FIXCTY Correction to respondent's City (if necessary)
Print Format: A26
Write Format: A26

FIXST Correction to respondent's State (if necessary)
Print Format: A2
Write Format: A2

INCENT2 Incent2
Print Format: F1
Write Format: F1

THE 1996 NATIONAL BLACK ELECTION STUDY: PRE-ELECTION

"Hello. I'm _____ calling on behalf of Ohio State University. Ohio State University is conducting a national study of Americans to get their views on a variety of political topics, including how people think President Clinton is doing his job today. [IF NECESSARY: I want to assure you that this is an academic research study; we are not trying to sell you anything, but are only interested in your opinions.]"

Q1A. Because we are interested in the opinions of different demographic groups in the country, the first question I need to ask is: is there an adult 18 years or older living in your household who is a Black American?

- 1 YES {CONTINUE}
2 NO {TERMINATE AND READ: At this stage in our study we are only interested in obtaining the views of this special demographic group. Thank you very much for your time.}
3 YES, BUT NOT AVAILABLE {SCHEDULE BEST TIME TO CALLBACK AND TERMINATE}
8 DON'T KNOW {TERMINATE}
9 REFUSED {TERMINATE}
-

Before I can begin the survey, I need to ask about the people who live at this residence so we can identify the correct person to interview. May I please speak with an adult Black American who is a citizen of the United States and who celebrated the most recent birthday?

(ONCE RESPONDENT IS SELECTED, REPEAT INTRO AS NECESSARY AND CONFIRM THAT THEY WILL BE AT LEAST 18 OR OLDER BY THE NOVEMBER ELECTION AND A CITIZEN OF THE UNITED STATES; IF YES, PROCEED WITH THE INTERVIEW WITH THAT PERSON ONLY--IF PERSON IS NOT AVAILABLE RECORD ANY AND ALL INFORMATION FOR CALLBACK PURPOSES, AND BEST TIME TO REACH THEM) .

Q1. First, let me just confirm that you are of (some) African-American background?

- 1 YES {CONTINUE}
2 NO {TERMINATE}
8 DON'T KNOW {TERMINATE}
9 REFUSED {TERMINATE}
-

(THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT MUST BE READ TO EVERY RESPONDENT)

This interview is completely voluntary. If we should come to any questions you do not want to answer, just let me know and we'll go on to the next question.

In this interview, I will be talking with you about the upcoming elections, as well as a number of other things. First, I have some questions about the political campaigns which are taking place this election year.

{SECTION A}

QA1. 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 following the political campaigns this year?

1. VERY INTERESTED
 3. SOMEWHAT INTERESTED
 5. NOT MUCH INTERESTED
 8. DK
 9. REFUSED/NA
-

QA2. 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 GOOD DEAL
 5. DON'T CARE VERY MUCH
 8. DK
 9. REFUSED/NA
-

QA3. In 1994, there was the election for the U.S. House of Representatives in Washington. Do you remember for sure whether or not you voted in that election?

1. YES, DID VOTE (GO TO QA3A)
 5. NO, DIDN'T VOTE (GO TO QA4)
 8. DK (GO TO QA4)
 9. REFUSED/NA (GO TO QA4)
-

QA3A. Which candidate for the U.S. House of Representatives did you vote for?

1. [RESTORE INCUMBENT NAME FROM LIST94]
 2. [RESTORE CHALLENGER NAME FROM LIST94]
 3. [RESTORE CHALLENGER NAME FROM LIST94]
 4. OTHER (SPECIFY)
 8. DK
 9. REFUSED/NA
-

QA3B. Which party was that?

1. DEMOCRATIC PARTY
 2. REPUBLICAN PARTY
 3. OTHER (SPECIFY)
 8. DK
 9. REFUSED/NA
-

QA4. In 1992, George Bush ran on the Republican ticket against the Independent Ross Perot, and against Bill Clinton for the Democrats. Do you remember for sure whether or not you voted in that election?

1. YES, DID VOTE (GO TO QA4A)
 5. NO, DIDN'T VOTE (GO TO QB1)
 8. DK (GO TO QB1)
 9. REFUSED/NA (GO TO QB1)
-

QA4A. Which one did you vote for?

1. BUSH
 2. CLINTON
 3. PEROT
 5. OTHER
 8. DK
 9. REFUSED/NA
-

{SECTION B}

Thinking about where you get information...

QB1. Do you have either cable or satellite television?

1. YES
 5. NO
 8. DK
 9. REFUSED/NA
-

QB1A. How many days in the past week did you watch the national network news on television?

[CODE ACTUAL NUMBER OF DAYS (1-7)]

0. NONE (GO TO QB2)
 7. EVERY DAY; SEVEN DAYS
 8. DK (GO TO QB2)
 9. REFUSED/NA (GO TO QB2)
-

[IF QB1A=1-7, ASK QB1B; OTHERWISE GO TO QB2]

QB1B. How much attention did you pay to news on national news shows about the campaign for president--a great deal, quite a bit, very little or none?

1. A GREAT DEAL
 2. QUITE A BIT
 3. VERY LITTLE
 4. NONE
 8. DK
 9. REFUSED/NA
-

QB2. How many days in the past week did you read a daily newspaper?

[CODE ACTUAL NUMBER OF DAYS (1-7)]

- 0. NONE (GO TO QB3)
 - 7. EVERY DAY; SEVEN DAYS
 - 8. DK (GO TO QB3)
 - 9. REFUSED/NA (GO TO QB3)
-

[IF QB2=1-7, ASK QB2A; OTHERWISE GO TO QB3]

QB2A. How much attention did you pay to newspaper articles about the campaign for president--a great deal, quite a bit, very little or none?

- 1. A GREAT DEAL
 - 2. QUITE A BIT
 - 3. VERY LITTLE
 - 4. NONE
 - 8. DK
 - 9. REFUSED/NA
-

QB3. Do you recall seeing any ads for political candidates this (summer/fall)?

- 1. YES
 - 5. NO
 - 8. DK
 - 9. REFUSED/NA
-

QB4. Do you ever discuss politics with your family or friends?

- 1. YES
 - 5. NO
 - 8. DK
 - 9. REFUSED/NA
-

{SECTION C}

Thinking about our nation's leaders...

QC1. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Bill Clinton is handling his job as President?

- 1. APPROVE (GO TO QC1A)
 - 5. DISAPPROVE (GO TO QC1B)
 - 8. DK (GO TO QD1)
 - 9. REFUSED/NA (GO TO QD1)
-

QC1A. Do you approve strongly or not strongly?

QC1B. Do you disapprove strongly or not strongly?

1. STRONGLY APPROVE
 2. NOT STRONGLY APPROVE
 4. NOT STRONGLY DISAPPROVE
 5. STRONGLY DISAPPROVE
 8. DK
 9. REFUSED/NA
-

{SECTION D}

QD1. How important do you think the Million Man March was for the Black community? Would that be very important, somewhat important, or not important at all?

1. VERY IMPORTANT
 2. SOMEWHAT IMPORTANT
 3. NOT IMPORTANT AT ALL
 8. DK
 9. REFUSED/NA
-

[RANDOMIZE BLOCKS QD2 TO QD3]

QD2. Some people feel it would have been a good idea if Colin Powell had run for the Republican Party's Presidential nomination in 1996. Others disagree and think that it would have been a bad idea. What do you think? Would it have been a good idea or a bad idea for Colin Powell to have run for the Republican Party's Presidential nomination this year?

1. GOOD IDEA (GO TO QD2A)
 5. BAD IDEA (GO TO QD2B)
 8. DK (GO TO QD3)
 9. REFUSED/NA (QD3)
-

QD2A. Is that a very good idea or a somewhat good idea?

QD2B. Is that a very bad idea or a somewhat bad idea?

1. VERY GOOD
 2. SOMEWHAT GOOD
 4. SOMEWHAT BAD
 5. VERY BAD
 8. DK
 9. REFUSED/NA
-

QD3. Some people feel it would have been a good idea if Jesse Jackson had run for the Democratic Party's Presidential nomination in 1996. Others disagree and think that it would have been a bad idea. What do you think? Would it have been a good idea or a bad idea for Jesse Jackson to have run for the Democratic Party's Presidential nomination this year?

1. GOOD IDEA {GO TO QD3A}
 5. BAD IDEA {GO TO QD3B}
 8. DK {GO TO QE1}
 9. REFUSED/NA {QE1}
-

QD3A. Is that a very good idea or a somewhat good idea?

QD3B. Is that a very bad idea or a somewhat bad idea?

1. VERY GOOD
 2. SOMEWHAT GOOD
 4. SOMEWHAT BAD
 5. VERY BAD
 8. DK
 9. REFUSED/NA
-

(SECTION E)

On another topic...

QE1. We are interested in how people are getting along financially these days. Would you say that you (and others in your household) are better off or worse off financially than you were a year ago?

1. BETTER OFF {GO TO QE1A}
 3. SAME (VOL) {GO TO QE2}
 5. WORSE OFF {GO TO QE1B}
 8. DK {GO TO QE2}
 9. REFUSED/NA {GO TO QE2}
-

QE1A. Is that much better off or somewhat better off?

QE1B. Is that much worse off or somewhat worse off?

1. MUCH BETTER OFF
 2. SOMEWHAT BETTER OFF
 3. SAME (VOL)
 4. SOMEWHAT WORSE OFF
 5. MUCH WORSE OFF
 8. DK
 9. REFUSED/NA
-

QE2. On the whole, would you say that the economic position of Blacks is better, about the same, or worse than whites?

1. BETTER {GO TO QE2A}
 3. ABOUT THE SAME {GO TO QE3}
 5. WORSE {GO TO QE2B}
 8. DK {GO TO QE3}
 9. REFUSED/NA {GO TO QE3}
-

QE2A. Is that much better or somewhat better?

QE2B. Is that much worse or somewhat worse?

1. MUCH BETTER
 2. SOMEWHAT BETTER
 3. SAME (VOL)
 4. SOMEWHAT WORSE
 5. MUCH WORSE
 8. DK
 9. REFUSED/NA
-

QE3. How about the economy? Would you say that over the past year the nation's economy has gotten better, stayed about the same, or gotten worse?

1. GOTTEN BETTER {GO TO QE3A}
 3. STAYED THE SAME {GO TO SECTION F}
 5. GOTTEN WORSE {GO TO QE3B}
 8. DK {GO TO SECTION F}
 9. REFUSED/NA {GO TO SECTION F}
-

QE3A. Would you say much better or somewhat better?

QE3B. Would you say much worse or somewhat worse?

1. MUCH BETTER
 2. SOMEWHAT BETTER
 3. SAME (VOL)
 4. SOMEWHAT WORSE
 5. MUCH WORSE
 8. DK
 9. REFUSED/NA
-

{SECTION F} NOT ASKED

{SECTION G}

QG1. In general, when it comes to politics, do you usually think of yourself as a liberal, a conservative, a moderate or what?

1. LIBERAL {GO TO QG1A}
 2. MODERATE (MIDDLE OF THE ROAD) {GO TO QG1C}
 3. CONSERVATIVE {GO TO QG1B}
 4. OTHER (SPECIFY) {GO TO QG1C}
 7. NO PREFERENCE {GO TO QG1C}
 8. DK/LIBERAL ON SOME ISSUES, CONSERVATIVE ON OTHERS {GO TO QG1C}
 9. REFUSED/NA {GO TO QG1C}
 0. R INSISTS NO UNDERSTANDING {GO TO QG2}
-

QG1A. Do you think of yourself as a strong liberal or a not very strong liberal?

1. STRONG
 5. NOT VERY STRONG
 8. DK
 9. REFUSED/NA {GO TO QG2}
-

QG1B. Do you think of yourself as a strong conservative or a not very strong conservative?

1. STRONG
 5. NOT VERY STRONG
 8. DK
 9. REFUSED/NA (GO TO QG2)
-

QG1C. Do you think of yourself as more like a liberal or more like a conservative?

1. LIBERAL
 3. NEITHER, REFUSES TO CHOOSE
 5. CONSERVATIVE
 8. DK
 9. REFUSED/NA
-

QG2. Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or what?

1. REPUBLICAN (GO TO QG2A)
 2. INDEPENDENT (GO TO QG2C)
 3. NO PREFERENCE (GO TO QG2C)
 4. OTHER PARTY (GO TO QG2C)
 5. DEMOCRAT (GO TO QG2B)
 8. DK (GO TO QG2C)
 9. REFUSED/NA (GO TO QG2C)
-

QG2A. Would you call yourself a strong Republican or a not very strong Republican?

1. STRONG
 5. NOT VERY STRONG
 8. DK
 9. REFUSED/NA (GO TO SECTION H)
-

QG2B. Would you call yourself a strong Democrat or a not very strong Democrat?

1. STRONG
 5. NOT VERY STRONG
 8. DK
 9. REFUSED/NA (GO TO SECTION H)
-

QG2C. Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican party or the Democratic party?

1. CLOSER TO REPUBLICAN
 3. NEITHER
 5. CLOSER TO DEMOCRAT
 8. DK
 9. REFUSED/NA
-

(SECTION H)

For each of the following issues, please tell me which presidential candidate would do a better job handling it as President--(ROTATE: Bill Clinton or Bob Dole) or if there is no difference between them.

[RANDOMIZE QH1 TO QH6]

QH1. HANDLING THE BUDGET DEFICIT

1. CLINTON
 2. DOLE
 3. NO DIFFERENCE
 8. DK
 9. REFUSED/NA
-

QH2. IMPROVING PUBLIC EDUCATION

1. CLINTON
 2. DOLE
 3. NO DIFFERENCE
 8. DK
 9. REFUSED/NA
-

QH3. REDUCING THE POWER OF SPECIAL INTERESTS IN POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS

1. CLINTON
 2. DOLE
 3. NO DIFFERENCE
 8. DK
 9. REFUSED/NA
-

QH4. IMPROVING RACE RELATIONS

1. CLINTON
 2. DOLE
 3. NO DIFFERENCE
 8. DK
 9. REFUSED/NA
-

QH5. HANDLING THE PROBLEM OF POVERTY

1. CLINTON
 2. DOLE
 3. NO DIFFERENCE
 8. DK
 9. REFUSED/NA
-

QH6. DEALING WITH THE CRIME PROBLEM

1. CLINTON
 2. DOLE
 3. NO DIFFERENCE
 8. DK
 9. REFUSED/NA
-

[RANDOMIZE QH7 TO QH8]

QH7. Which presidential candidate is more likely to raise taxes-- Bill Clinton, Bob Dole, or wouldn't there be any difference between them?

1. CLINTON
 2. DOLE
 3. NO DIFFERENCE
 8. DK
 9. REFUSED/NA
-

QH8. Which presidential candidate is more likely to cut social security benefits-- Bill Clinton, Bob Dole, or wouldn't there be any difference between them?

1. CLINTON
 2. DOLE
 3. NO DIFFERENCE
 8. DK
 9. REFUSED/NA
-

QH9. Are you registered to vote for the upcoming elections?

1. YES
 5. NO
 8. DK
 9. REFUSED/NA
-

{SECTION J}

QJ3. In your lifetime...

QJ3A. ...Have you ever worked for a political party or campaigned for a political candidate?

1. YES
 5. NO
 8. DK
 9. REFUSED/NA
-

QJ3B. ...Have you ever called or written a public official about a concern or problem?

1. YES
 5. NO
 8. DK
 9. REFUSED/NA
-

(SECTION K)

QK1. Do you think Blacks should form their own political party?

1. YES
 2. NO
 8. DK
 9. REFUSED/NA
-

QK2. Are you a member of any organization working to improve the status of Black Americans?

1. YES
 5. NO
 8. DK
 9. REFUSED/NA
-

(SECTION L)

QL1. Now we'd like to ask you some questions about Congress and your elected representatives in Congress.

QL2. A law has been proposed that would limit members of Congress to no more than 12 consecutive years of service in that office. Do you favor or oppose such a law?

1. FAVOR
 5. OPPOSE
 7. OTHER: (SPECIFY)
 8. DK
 9. REFUSED/NA
-

QL3. Do you approve or disapprove of the way the U.S. Congress has been handling its job?

1. APPROVE (GO TO QL3A)
 5. DISAPPROVE (GO TO QL3B)
 8. DK (GO TO QL4)
 9. REFUSED/NA (GO TO QL4)
-

QL3A. Do you approve strongly or not strongly?

QL3B. Do you disapprove strongly or not strongly?

1. STRONGLY APPROVE
 2. NOT STRONGLY APPROVE
 4. NOT STRONGLY DISAPPROVE
 5. STRONGLY DISAPPROVE
 8. DK
 9. REFUSED/NA
-

{IF STATE=11 (DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA) GO TO QL5}

QL4. Do you happen to know the names of your two SENATORS in Washington?

1. YES {GO TO QL4A}
 5. NO {GO TO QL4B}
 8. DK {GO TO QL4B}
 9. REFUSED/NA {GO TO QL4B}
-

QL4A. Who are they?
RECORD NAMES AND BUILD:

QL4AA. TECHNICIAN: ARE SENATORS' NAMES CORRECT?

CORRECT SENATORS FROM (RESTORE STATE)

(RESTORE 1ST SENATOR FROM GRID)
(RESTORE 2ND SENATOR FROM GRID)

1. BOTH CORRECT
 2. ONE CORRECT
 3. BOTH WRONG
-

QL4B. Do you happen to know the political parties of Senator [RESTORE SENATOR#1] and Senator [RESTORE SENATOR#2]?

CORRECT SENATORS' PARTIES FROM (RESTORE STATE)

(RESTORE 1ST SENATOR'S PARTY FROM GRID)
(RESTORE 2ND SENATOR'S PARTY FROM GRID)

RECORD PARTY(IES) AND BUILD:

QL4BA. TECHNICIAN: ARE SENATORS' PARTIES CORRECT?

1. BOTH CORRECT
 2. ONE CORRECT
 3. BOTH WRONG
-

QL5. Do you happen to know the name of your elected representative in Congress-that is for the HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES in Washington?

1. YES {GO TO QL5A}
 2. NO {GO TO QL5B}
 8. DK {GO TO QL5B}
 9. REFUSED/NA {GO TO QL5B}
-

QL5A. WHO IS IT?

RECORD NAME AND BUILD:

CORRECT REPRESENTATIVE FROM (RESTORE DISTRICT)

(RESTORE REPRESENTATIVE'S NAME FROM GRID)

QL5AA. TECHNICIAN: IS REPRESENTATIVE CORRECT?

1. CORRECT
 5. INCORRECT
-

QL5B. Do you happen to know the political party OF [RESTORE REP. NAME FROM GRID]?

RECORD PARTY AND BUILD:

CORRECT REPRESENTATIVE'S PARTY FROM (RESTORE DISTRICT)

(RESTORE REPRESENTATIVE'S PARTY FROM GRID)

QL5BA. TECHNICIAN: IS REPRESENTATIVE'S PARTY CORRECT?

1. CORRECT
 5. INCORRECT
-

QL5C. Do you happen to know the race or ethnicity of [RESTORE REP. NAME FROM GRID]? Is [he/she] White, Black, Asian, Hispanic, or someone of another group?

RECORD RACE AND BUILD:

CORRECT REPRESENTATIVE'S RACE FROM (RESTORE DISTRICT)

(RESTORE REPRESENTATIVE'S RACE FROM GRID)

QL5CA. TECHNICIAN: IS REPRESENTATIVE'S RACE CORRECT?

1. CORRECT
 5. INCORRECT
-

{SECTION M}

QM1. Now I'd like to get your feelings toward some of your political leaders and other people, events, and organizations that have been in the news.

I'll read the name of a person, event, or organization and I'd like you to rate it using something called the feeling thermometer. You can choose any number between 0 and 100. The higher the number, the warmer or more favorable you feel toward that person, event, or organization; The lower the number, the colder or less favorable. You would rate the person at the 50 degree mark if you feel neither warm nor cold toward them. If we come to a person, event, or organization whose name you don't recognize, you don't need to rate that person, event, or organization. Just tell me and we'll move on to the next one. Our first person is...

Using the thermometer, how would you rate...?

[PROBE FOR "I DON'T KNOW RESPONSE: WHEN YOU SAY "DON'T KNOW" DO YOU MEAN THAT YOU DON'T KNOW WHO OR WHAT THE PERSON, EVENT OR ORGANIZATION IS, OR DO YOU HAVE SOMETHING ELSE IN MIND?]

[RANDOMIZE QM1A-QM1N]

QM1A. BILL CLINTON

{CODE ACTUAL NUMBER (0-100) EXCEPT}:

997. R DOESN'T RECOGNIZE NAME
 998. DK WHERE TO RATE; CAN'T JUDGE
 999. REFUSED/NA

QM1B. BOB DOLE

{CODE ACTUAL NUMBER (0-100) EXCEPT}:

997. R DOESN'T RECOGNIZE NAME
 998. DK WHERE TO RATE; CAN'T JUDGE
 999. REFUSED/NA

QM1C. CAROL MOSELEY BRAUN (pronounced MOSE-LEE BRAUN)

{CODE ACTUAL NUMBER (0-100) EXCEPT}:

997. R DOESN'T RECOGNIZE NAME
 998. DK WHERE TO RATE; CAN'T JUDGE
 999. REFUSED/NA

QM1D. JESSE JACKSON

{CODE ACTUAL NUMBER (0-100) EXCEPT}:

997. R DOESN'T RECOGNIZE NAME
 998. DK WHERE TO RATE; CAN'T JUDGE
 999. REFUSED/NA

QM1E. KWEISI MFUME (pronounced KWY-ZEE EM-FOOM-AY)

[CODE ACTUAL NUMBER (0-100) EXCEPT]:

997. R DOESN'T RECOGNIZE NAME
998. DK WHERE TO RATE; CAN'T JUDGE
999. REFUSED/NA

QM1F. CLARENCE THOMAS

[CODE ACTUAL NUMBER (0-100) EXCEPT]:

997. R DOESN'T RECOGNIZE NAME
998. DK WHERE TO RATE; CAN'T JUDGE
999. REFUSED/NA

QM1G. LOUIS FARRAKHAN (pronounced FAIR-UH-KAHN)

[CODE ACTUAL NUMBER (0-100) EXCEPT]:

997. R DOESN'T RECOGNIZE NAME
998. DK WHERE TO RATE; CAN'T JUDGE
999. REFUSED/NA

QM1H. [RESTORE HOUSE REPRESENTATIVE FROM GRID]

[CODE ACTUAL NUMBER (0-100) EXCEPT]:

997. R DOESN'T RECOGNIZE NAME
998. DK WHERE TO RATE; CAN'T JUDGE
999. REFUSED/NA

QM1I. NEWT GINGRICH

[CODE ACTUAL NUMBER (0-100) EXCEPT]:

997. R DOESN'T RECOGNIZE NAME
998. DK WHERE TO RATE; CAN'T JUDGE
999. REFUSED/NA

QM1J. COLIN POWELL (pronounced COAL-in)

[CODE ACTUAL NUMBER (0-100) EXCEPT]:

997. R DOESN'T RECOGNIZE NAME
998. DK WHERE TO RATE; CAN'T JUDGE
999. REFUSED/NA

QM1K. NOT ASKED

QM1L. ROSS PEROT (pronounced PER-ROW)

[CODE ACTUAL NUMBER (0-100) EXCEPT]:

997. R DOESN'T RECOGNIZE NAME
998. DK WHERE TO RATE; CAN'T JUDGE
999. REFUSED/NA

QM1M. HILLARY CLINTON

[CODE ACTUAL NUMBER (0-100) EXCEPT]:

997. R DOESN'T RECOGNIZE NAME
998. DK WHERE TO RATE; CAN'T JUDGE
999. REFUSED/NA

QM1N. RICHARD LAMM

[CODE ACTUAL NUMBER (0-100) EXCEPT]:

997. R DOESN'T RECOGNIZE NAME
998. DK WHERE TO RATE; CAN'T JUDGE
999. REFUSED/NA

QM2. Still using the thermometer, how would you rate:

[RANDOMIZE QM2A TO QM2E]

QM2A. DEMOCRATS

[CODE ACTUAL NUMBER (0-100) EXCEPT]:

997. R DOESN'T RECOGNIZE NAME
998. DK WHERE TO RATE; CAN'T JUDGE
999. REFUSED/NA

QM2B. REPUBLICANS

[CODE ACTUAL NUMBER (0-100) EXCEPT]:

997. R DOESN'T RECOGNIZE NAME
998. DK WHERE TO RATE; CAN'T JUDGE
999. REFUSED/NA

QM2C. THE MILLION MAN MARCH

[CODE ACTUAL NUMBER (0-100) EXCEPT]:

- 997. R DOESN'T RECOGNIZE NAME
 - 998. DK WHERE TO RATE; CAN'T JUDGE
 - 999. REFUSED/NA
-

QM2D. THE CONGRESSIONAL BLACK CAUCUS

[CODE ACTUAL NUMBER (0-100) EXCEPT]:

- 997. R DOESN'T RECOGNIZE NAME
 - 998. DK WHERE TO RATE; CAN'T JUDGE
 - 999. REFUSED/NA
-

QM2E. THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE OR THE NAACP

[CODE ACTUAL NUMBER (0-100) EXCEPT]:

- 997. R DOESN'T RECOGNIZE NAME
 - 998. DK WHERE TO RATE; CAN'T JUDGE
 - 999. REFUSED/NA
-

{SECTION N}

QN1. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the way Representative [RESTORE NAME FROM GRID] has been handling [his/her] job?

- 1. APPROVE [GO TO QN1A]
 - 5. DISAPPROVE [GO TO QN1B]
 - 8. DK [GO TO TECH NOTE]
 - 9. REFUSED/NA [GO TO TECH NOTE]
-

QN1A. Do you approve strongly or not strongly?QN1B. Do you disapprove strongly or not strongly?

- 1. STRONGLY APPROVE
 - 2. NOT STRONGLY APPROVE
 - 4. NOT STRONGLY DISAPPROVE
 - 5. STRONGLY DISAPPROVE
 - 8. DK
 - 9. REFUSED/NA
-

[TECHNICIAN: DOES R INSIST THAT HE HAS NO KNOWLEDGE OF THEIR HOUSE REP., CAN'T RECOGNIZE HIM/HER, IDENTIFY PARTY OR RACE?]

- 1. YES (GO TO QP1)
 - 2. NO (CONTINUE)
-

QN2. Do you happen to know about how many years [RESTORE NAME FROM GRID] has been in the House of Representatives?

1. YES {TO QN3A}
 5. NO, DON'T KNOW {GO TO QN3B}
 8. DK {GO TO QN3B}
 9. REFUSED/NA {GO TO QN3B}
-

QN3A. About how many?

[IF RANGE GIVEN, CODE MIDPOINT. ROUND FRACTIONS TO EVEN NUMBER. IF NUMBER OF TERMS GIVEN MULTIPLY THE NUMBER OF TERMS BY 2.]

[CODE ACTUAL NUMBER OF YEARS (01-40)] (GO TO QN4)

98. DK {GO TO QN3B}
 99. REFUSED/NA {GO TO QN3B}
-

QN3B. Would you say less than 12 years, about 12 years, or more than 12 years?

1. LESS THAN 12 YEARS
 3. ABOUT 12 YEARS
 5. MORE THAN 12 YEARS
 8. DON'T KNOW (DO NOT PROBE)
 9. REFUSED/NA
-

QN4. How often has Representative [RESTORE NAME FROM GRID] supported President Clinton's legislative proposals? More than half the time, half, less than half the time, or are you not sure?

1. MORE THAN HALF {GO TO QN4A}
 3. HALF {GO TO QN4C}
 5. LESS THAN HALF {GO TO QN4B}
 8. NOT SURE, DON'T KNOW {GO TO QN4C}
 9. REFUSED/NA {GO TO QN4C}
-

QN4A. Would you say it was almost always?

1. YES
 5. NO
 8. DK
 9. REFUSED/NA (GO TO QN5)
-

QN4B. Would you say it was almost never?

1. YES
 5. NO
 8. DK
 9. REFUSED/NA (GO TO QN5)
-

QN4C. What would be your best guess--more than half the time, half the time, or less than half the time?

1. MORE THAN HALF
 3. HALF
 5. LESS THAN HALF
 8. DK
 9. REFUSED/NA
-

QN5. Have you (or any family member living with you) ever contacted Representative [RESTORE NAME FROM GRID] or anyone in [his/her] office?

1. YES {GO TO QN5A}
 5. NO {GO TO QN6}
 8. DK {GO TO QN6}
 9. REFUSED/NA {GO TO QN6}
-

QN5A. Was it to...

QN5A1. EXPRESS AN OPINION?

1. YES
 5. NO
 8. DK
 9. REFUSED/NA
-

QN5A2. SEEK INFORMATION?

1. YES
 5. NO
 8. DK
 9. REFUSED/NA
-

QN5A3. SEEK HELP ON A PROBLEM?

1. YES
 5. NO
 8. DK
 9. REFUSED/NA
-

QN5B. Did you get a response from your representative or [his/her] office?

1. YES {GO TO QN5B1}
 5. NO {GO TO QN6}
 8. DK {GO TO QN6}
 9. REFUSED/NA {GO TO QN6}
-

QN5B1. How satisfied were you with the response: very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, not very satisfied, or not at all satisfied?

1. VERY SATISFIED
 2. SOMEWHAT SATISFIED
 4. NOT VERY SATISFIED
 5. NOT AT ALL SATISFIED
 8. DK
 9. REFUSED/NA
-

QN6. If you had (another/a) problem that Representative [RESTORE REP. NAME FROM GRID] could do something about, do you think [he/she] would be very helpful, somewhat helpful, or not very helpful?

1. VERY HELPFUL
 2. SOMEWHAT HELPFUL
 3. NOT VERY HELPFUL
 7. DEPENDS [VOL]
 8. DK
 9. REFUSED/NA
-

QN7. Do you happen to remember anything special that Representative [RESTORE REP. NAME FROM GRID] has done for the people in [his/her] district while [he/she] has been in congress?

1. YES
 5. NO
 8. DK
 9. REFUSED/NA
-

QN8. How good a job would you say U.S. Representative [RESTORE REP. NAME FROM GRID] does of keeping in touch with the people in your district -- does [he/she] do a VERY GOOD job, FAIRLY GOOD, FAIRLY POOR, or a POOR job of keeping in touch with the people in this district?

1. VERY GOOD
 2. FAIRLY GOOD
 4. FAIRLY POOR
 5. POOR
 8. DK
 9. REFUSED/NA
-

QN9. Generally speaking, do you think [RESTORE REP. NAME FROM GRID] cares more about solving the problems that face people in your district, or more about gaining prestige and influence for (himself/herself) in Washington?

1. SOLVING PROBLEMS
 3. R VOLUNTEERS: "ABOUT EQUAL"
 5. GAINING PRESTIGE AND INFLUENCE
 8. DK
 9. REFUSED/NA
-

(SECTION P)

QP1. Here is a list of some activities that occupy Representatives as part of their job. We want to know which of the following three activities you think is most important: (1) helping people in the district who have personal problems with the government; (2) working in congress on bills concerning national issues; or (3) making sure the state/district gets its fair share of government money and projects.

QP1A. Which would you say is most important?

1. HELPING PEOPLE IN THE DISTRICT
 3. WORKING ON BILLS CONCERNING NATIONAL ISSUES
 5. GETTING THE DISTRICT'S SHARE OF GOVERNMENT MONEY
 8. DK
 9. REFUSED/NA
-

{IF QP1A=1,3,5, ASK QP1B, OTHERWISE GO TO QQ1}

QP1B. Which of the remaining two activities would you say is next important as part of the Representative's job? (RE-READ CODES AS NECESSARY)

1. HELPING PEOPLE IN THE DISTRICT
 3. WORKING ON BILLS CONCERNING NATIONAL ISSUES
 5. GETTING THE DISTRICT'S SHARE OF GOVERNMENT MONEY
 8. DK
 9. REFUSED/NA
-

(SECTION Q)

QQ1. Now we would like to know what you think most members of Congress are actually like. Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with the following statements.

[RANDOMIZE QQ1A-QQ1E]

(IF AGREE/DISAGREE, ASK: Do you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree with this statement?)

QQ1A. Members of Congress are only interested in re-election. (DO YOU STRONGLY AGREE, SOMEWHAT AGREE, SOMEWHAT DISAGREE, OR STRONGLY DISAGREE?)

1. STRONGLY AGREE
 2. SOMEWHAT AGREE
 4. SOMEWHAT DISAGREE
 5. STRONGLY DISAGREE
 8. DK
 9. REFUSED/NA
-

QQ1B. Members of Congress keep in close touch with people in their district. (DO YOU STRONGLY AGREE, SOMEWHAT AGREE, SOMEWHAT DISAGREE, OR STRONGLY DISAGREE?)

1. STRONGLY AGREE
 2. SOMEWHAT AGREE
 4. SOMEWHAT DISAGREE
 5. STRONGLY DISAGREE
 8. DK
 9. REFUSED/NA
-

QQ1C. Members of Congress are important leaders in their communities. (DO YOU STRONGLY AGREE, SOMEWHAT AGREE, SOMEWHAT DISAGREE, OR STRONGLY DISAGREE?)

1. STRONGLY AGREE
 2. SOMEWHAT AGREE
 4. SOMEWHAT DISAGREE
 5. STRONGLY DISAGREE
 8. DK
 9. REFUSED/NA
-

QQ1D. Members of Congress do a good job representing the diverse interests of Americans. (DO YOU STRONGLY AGREE, SOMEWHAT AGREE, SOMEWHAT DISAGREE, OR STRONGLY DISAGREE?)

1. STRONGLY AGREE
 2. SOMEWHAT AGREE
 4. SOMEWHAT DISAGREE
 5. STRONGLY DISAGREE
 8. DK
 9. REFUSED/NA
-

QQ1E. Members of Congress are only interested in raising campaign money from big corporations and interest groups. (DO YOU STRONGLY AGREE, SOMEWHAT AGREE, SOMEWHAT DISAGREE, OR STRONGLY DISAGREE?)

1. STRONGLY AGREE
 2. SOMEWHAT AGREE
 4. SOMEWHAT DISAGREE
 5. STRONGLY DISAGREE
 8. DK
 9. REFUSED/NA
-

{SECTION R}

QR. Congressional districts are redrawn every ten years by state legislatures, but how they should be drawn has become very controversial. Please tell me, if you were choosing, which type of district do you think is best?

[RANDOMIZE BLOCKS QR1 TO QR3B]

QR1. Some people think that Black and Hispanic voters should be the voting majority in at least some congressional districts. Other people think that Black and Hispanic voters should be spread evenly across all congressional districts.

Which one do you think is best--Blacks and Hispanics should represent majorities in some congressional districts, or Black and Hispanics should be spread evenly across all of them?

[NOT BOTH; PROBE: But if you had to choose, which one do you think is best?]

1. BE THE MAJORITIES IN SOME DISTRICTS (GO TO QR1A)
2. BE SPREAD EVENLY (GO TO QR1B)
8. DK (GO TO QR2)
9. REFUSED/NA (GO TO QR2)

QR1A. Would your position change if having some districts where Blacks and Hispanics are voting majorities meant that fewer Democrats and more Republicans would be elected to Congress?

1. YES
5. NO
8. DK
9. REFUSED/NA (GO TO QR2)

QR1B. Would your position change if having Blacks and Hispanics spread evenly across all districts meant that fewer Blacks and Hispanics and more Whites would be elected to Congress?

1. YES
5. NO
8. DK
9. REFUSED/NA

QR2. Some people think that districts should be drawn so that Blacks and Hispanics have their own representatives in government and Whites have their own representatives in government. Other people think that districts should be drawn without regard to race.

Which one do you think is best--districts should be drawn so that Blacks, Hispanics, and Whites all have their own representatives in government, or districts should be drawn without regard to race?

{NOT BOTH; PROBE: But if you had to choose, which one do you think is best?

1. BLACKS/HISPANICS/WHITES HAVE OWN REPRESENTATIVES {GO TO QR2A}
 5. PAY NO ATTENTION TO RACE {GO TO QR2B}
 8. DK {GO TO QR3}
 9. REFUSED/NA {GO TO QR3}
-

QR2A. Would your position change if Blacks, Whites, and Hispanics having their own representatives meant that more Republicans and fewer Democrats would be elected to Congress?

1. YES
 5. NO
 8. DK
 9. REFUSED/NA {GO TO QR3}
-

QR2B. Would your position change if drawing districts without regard to race meant that Blacks and Hispanics would continue to be underrepresented in government?

1. YES
 5. NO
 8. DK
 9. REFUSED/NA
-

QR3. Some people think that election rules should be changed so that the number of Blacks and Hispanics in Congress is equal to their population in the country. Other people think that the election rules should remain as they are.

Which one do you think is best--election rules should be changed so that the number of Blacks and Hispanics is equal to their population in the country, or that election rules should remain as they are?

{NOT BOTH; PROBE: But if you had to choose, which one do you think is best?

1. ELECTION RULES CHANGE {GO TO QR3A}
 5. ELECTION RULES REMAIN AS THEY ARE {GO TO QR3B}
 8. DK {GO TO QS1}
 9. REFUSED/NA {GO TO QS1}
-

QR3A. Would your position change if changing election rules so that the number of Blacks and Hispanics in Congress is equal to their population meant adopting a system currently used in many European democracies, but not in the United States?

- 1. YES
 - 5. NO
 - 8. DK
 - 9. REFUSED/NA (GO TO SECTION S)
-

QR3B. Would your position change if keeping the election rules as they are meant that the number of Blacks and Hispanics in Congress would always be less than their population in the country?

- 1. YES
 - 5. NO
 - 8. DK
 - 9. REFUSED/NA
-

{SECTION S}

QS1. What percent of the United States do you think is Black?
(IF NECESSARY: WHAT IS YOUR BEST GUESS?)

[IF RANGE GIVEN, USE MIDPOINT & ROUND OFF TO WHOLE NUMBER].

[RECORD RANGE 0-100]

- 998. DK
 - 999. REFUSED/NA
-

QS2. What percent of representatives in Congress do you think is Black?
(IF NECESSARY: What is your best guess?)

[IF RANGE GIVEN, USE MIDPOINT & ROUND OFF TO WHOLE NUMBER].

[RECORD RANGE 0-100]

- 998. DK
 - 999. REFUSED/NA
-

QS3. Do you happen to know which party has the most members in the U.S. House of Representatives in Washington right now?

{CORRECT PARTY IN HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES: REPUBLICAN}

RECORD PARTY AND BUILD:

QS3A. TECHNICIAN: IS RESPONDENT CORRECT?

- 1. CORRECT
 - 5. INCORRECT
-

QS4. Do you happen to know which party has the most members in the U.S. Senate right now?

(CORRECT PARTY IN U.S. SENATE: REPUBLICAN)

RECORD PARTY AND BUILD:

QS4A. TECHNICIAN: IS RESPONDENT CORRECT?

1. CORRECT
5. INCORRECT

QS5. For each of the following issues, please tell me which party you think would do a better job of... (the Democrats, the Republicans, or wouldn't there be much difference between them?)

[RANDOMIZE QS5A TO QS5G]

QS5A. ...HANDLING THE NATION'S ECONOMY

1. DEMOCRATS
3. NO DIFFERENCE, NEITHER PARTY (VOLUNTEERED; DO NOT PROBE RESPONSES)
5. REPUBLICANS
8. DK
9. REFUSED/NA

QS5B. ...HANDLING FOREIGN AFFAIRS?

1. DEMOCRATS
3. NO DIFFERENCE, NEITHER PARTY (VOLUNTEERED; DO NOT PROBE RESPONSES)
5. REPUBLICANS
8. DK
9. REFUSED/NA

QS5C. MAKING HEALTH CARE MORE AFFORDABLE?

1. DEMOCRATS
3. NO DIFFERENCE, NEITHER PARTY (VOLUNTEERED; DO NOT PROBE RESPONSES)
5. REPUBLICANS
8. DK
9. REFUSED/NA

QS5D. IMPROVING RACE RELATIONS?

1. DEMOCRATS
3. NO DIFFERENCE, NEITHER PARTY (VOLUNTEERED; DO NOT PROBE RESPONSES)
5. REPUBLICANS
8. DK
9. REFUSED/NA

QS5E. REFORMING THE WELFARE SYSTEM?

1. DEMOCRATS
 3. NO DIFFERENCE, NEITHER PARTY (VOLUNTEERED; DO NOT PROBE RESPONSES)
 5. REPUBLICANS
 8. DK
 9. REFUSED/NA
-

QS5F. HANDLING THE PROBLEM OF POVERTY?

1. DEMOCRATS
 3. NO DIFFERENCE, NEITHER PARTY (VOLUNTEERED; DO NOT PROBE RESPONSES)
 5. REPUBLICANS
 8. DK
 9. REFUSED/NA
-

QS5G. HANDLING THE BUDGET DEFICIT?

1. DEMOCRATS
 3. NO DIFFERENCE, NEITHER PARTY (VOLUNTEERED; DO NOT PROBE RESPONSES)
 5. REPUBLICANS
 8. DK
 9. REFUSED/NA
-

[RANDOMIZE QS6A TO QS6B]

QS6A. Which party is most likely to cut Social Security benefits--the Democrats, the Republicans, or wouldn't there be much difference between them?

1. DEMOCRATS
 3. NOT MUCH DIFFERENCE
 5. REPUBLICANS
 8. DK
 9. REFUSED/NA
-

QS6B. Which party is most likely to raise taxes--the Democrats, the Republicans, or wouldn't there be much difference between them?

1. DEMOCRATS
 3. NOT MUCH DIFFERENCE
 5. REPUBLICANS
 8. DK
 9. REFUSED/NA
-

[RANDOMIZE BLOCKS QS7 TO QS9]

QS7. 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.)

QS7a. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about it?

1. EVERY PERSON HAS A JOB AND A GOOD STANDARD OF LIVING
 - 2.
 - 3.
 - 4.
 - 5.
 - 6.
 7. GOVERNMENT SHOULD JUST LET EACH PERSON GET AHEAD ON THEIR OWN
 8. DK, HAVEN'T THOUGHT ABOUT IT MUCH (GO TO QS7a2)
 9. REFUSED/NA (GO TO QS7a2)
-

QS7A1. How certain are you of your position on this scale? Very certain, pretty certain, or not very certain?

1. VERY CERTAIN
 3. PRETTY CERTAIN
 5. NOT VERY CERTAIN
 8. DK
 9. REFUSED/NA
-

QS7A2. How important is this issue to you? Extremely important, very important, somewhat important, not too important, or not important at all?

1. EXTREMELY IMPORTANT
 2. VERY IMPORTANT
 3. SOMEWHAT IMPORTANT
 4. NOT TOO IMPORTANT
 5. NOT IMPORTANT AT ALL
 8. DK
 9. REFUSED/NA
-

QS8. Some people feel 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.)

QS8a. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?

1. GOV'T SHOULD MAKE EFFORT TO IMPROVE POSITION OF BLACKS
 - 2.
 - 3.
 - 4.
 - 5.
 - 6.
 7. BLACKS SHOULD HELP THEMSELVES
 8. DK, HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH ABOUT IT (GO TO QS8a2)
 9. REFUSED/NA (GO TO QS8a2)
-

QS8A1. How certain are you of your position on this scale? Very certain, pretty certain, or not very certain?

1. VERY CERTAIN
 3. PRETTY CERTAIN
 5. NOT VERY CERTAIN
 8. DK
 9. REFUSED/NA
-

QS8A2. How important is this issue to you? Extremely important, very important, somewhat important, not too important, or not important at all?

1. EXTREMELY IMPORTANT
 2. VERY IMPORTANT
 3. SOMEWHAT IMPORTANT
 4. NOT TOO IMPORTANT
 5. NOT IMPORTANT AT ALL
 8. DK
 9. REFUSED/NA
-

QS9. Some people say the best way to reduce crime is to address the social problems that cause crime, like bad schools, poverty and joblessness. Suppose these people are at one end of a scale, at point 1. Other people say the best way to reduce crime is to make sure that criminals are caught, convicted, and punished. 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.)

QS9a. Where would you place yourself on this scale?

1. ADDRESS SOCIAL PROBLEMS
 - 2.
 - 3.
 - 4.
 - 5.
 - 6.
 7. MAKE SURE CRIMINALS ARE CAUGHT, CONVICTED, AND PUNISHED
 8. DK, HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH ABOUT IT (GO TO QS9a2)
 9. REFUSED/NA (GO TO QS9a2)
-

QS9A1. How certain are you of your position on this scale? Very certain, pretty certain, or not very certain?

1. VERY CERTAIN
 3. PRETTY CERTAIN
 5. NOT VERY CERTAIN
 8. DK
 9. REFUSED/NA
-

QS9A2. How important is this issue to you? Extremely important, very important, somewhat important, not too important, or not important at all?

1. EXTREMELY IMPORTANT
 2. VERY IMPORTANT
 3. SOMEWHAT IMPORTANT
 4. NOT TOO IMPORTANT
 5. NOT IMPORTANT AT ALL
 8. DK
 9. REFUSED/NA
-

(SECTION T)

QT1. People have different ideas about the government in Washington. These ideas don't refer to Democrats or Republicans in particular, but just to the government in general. We want to see how you feel about these ideas.

QT1a. How much of the time do you think you can trust the government in Washington to do what is right--just about always, most of the time, or only some of the time?

1. JUST ABOUT ALWAYS
 3. MOST OF THE TIME
 5. ONLY SOME OF THE TIME
 7. NEVER (VOL)
 8. DK
 9. REFUSED
-

QT2. Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted, or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people?

1. MOST PEOPLE CAN BE TRUSTED
 2. CAN'T BE TOO CAREFUL
 8. DK
 9. REFUSED/NA
-

QT3. Do you think most people would try to take advantage of you if they got the chance or would they try to be fair?

1. TAKE ADVANTAGE
 2. TRY TO BE FAIR
 8. DK
 9. REFUSED/NA
-

QT4. Do you have any neighbors that you know and talk to regularly?

1. YES (GO TO QT4A)
 5. NO (GO TO QT5)
 8. DK (GO TO QT5)
 9. REFUSED/NA (GO TO QT5)
-

QT4A. About how many (do you talk to regularly)? (Would that be just one, two or three, four or five, or more than five?)

1. JUST ONE
 2. TWO OR THREE
 4. FOUR OR FIVE/SEVERAL
 5. MORE THAN FIVE
 8. DK
 9. REFUSED/NA
-

QT5. In the last twelve months, have you worked with others or joined an organization in your community to do something about some community problem?

1. YES
 5. NO
 8. DK
 9. REFUSED/NA
-

{SECTION U}

QU1. Do you consider religion to be an important part of your life or not?

1. IMPORTANT {GO TO U2}
 5. NOT IMPORTANT {GO TO U3}
 8. DK {GO TO U2}
 9. REFUSED/NA {GO TO U2}
-

QU2. 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. DK
 9. REFUSED/NA
-

QU3. Would you say you go to church or place of worship 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
 7. TWO OR MORE TIMES A WEEK [VOL]
 8. DK
 9. REFUSED/NA
-

QU4. Do you think churches or places of worship should be involved in political matters?

1. YES
 5. NO
 8. DK
 9. REFUSED/NA
-

{IF QU3=1-4,7-9, ASK QU5; OTHERWISE GO TO SECTION V}

QU5. Have you heard any announcements or talks about the presidential campaign at your church or place of worship so far this year?

1. YES
 5. NO
 8. DK
 9. REFUSED/NA
-

QU6. Has your church or place of worship encouraged members to vote in this election?

1. YES
 5. NO
 8. DK
 9. REFUSED/NA
-

{SECTION V}

QV1. Do you think what happens generally to Black people in this country will have something to do with what happens in your life?

1. YES {GO TO QV1A}
 5. NO {GO TO QV2}
 8. DK {GO TO QV2}
 9. REFUSED/NA {GO TO QV2}
-

QV1A. Will it affect you a lot, some, or not very much?

1. A LOT
 3. SOME
 5. NOT VERY MUCH
 8. DK
 9. REFUSED/NA
-

QV2. People differ in whether they think about being Black--what they have in common with Blacks. What about you--do you think about this a lot, fairly often, once in a while, or hardly ever?

1. A LOT
 2. FAIRLY OFTEN
 4. ONCE IN A WHILE
 5. HARDLY EVER
 8. DK
 9. REFUSED/NA
-

QV3. Will Blacks in this country ever achieve full social and economic equality?

1. YES
 5. NO
 7. DEPENDS
 8. DK
 9. REFUSED/NA
-

QV4. Among the three, which strategy is best for increasing the political power of Blacks in the United States? (1) continued strong support for the Democratic party and its candidates; (2) increased support for the Republican party and its candidates; or (3) formation of an independent Black political party?

1. SUPPORT FOR DEMOCRATIC PARTY
 3. SUPPORT FOR REPUBLICAN PARTY
 5. INDEPENDENT BLACK POLITICAL PARTY
 8. DK (GO TO SECTION W)
 9. REFUSED/NA (GO TO SECTION W)
-

QV4A. Which strategy is second best?

1. SUPPORT FOR DEMOCRATIC PARTY
 3. SUPPORT FOR REPUBLICAN PARTY
 5. INDEPENDENT BLACK POLITICAL PARTY
 8. DK
 9. REFUSED/NA
-

{SECTION W}

Tell me how strongly you agree or disagree with the following statements:

[RANDOMIZE QW1 TO QW4]

QW1. "What happens to Black people in this country has a lot to do with what happens to me." (Do you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree?)

1. STRONGLY AGREE
 2. SOMEWHAT AGREE
 3. SOMEWHAT DISAGREE
 4. STRONGLY DISAGREE
 8. DK
 9. REFUSED/NA
-

QW2. "Being Black determines a lot how you are treated in this country, more than how much money a person earns." (Do you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree?)

1. STRONGLY AGREE
 2. SOMEWHAT AGREE
 3. SOMEWHAT DISAGREE
 4. STRONGLY DISAGREE
 8. DK
 9. REFUSED/NA
-

QW3. "Your opportunities to get ahead aren't affected much by how other Blacks are generally treated in this country." (Do you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree?)

1. STRONGLY AGREE
 2. SOMEWHAT AGREE
 3. SOMEWHAT DISAGREE
 4. STRONGLY DISAGREE
 8. DK
 9. REFUSED/NA
-

QW4. "In this country, people judge you more on the content of your character than on your race." (Do you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree?)

1. STRONGLY AGREE
 2. SOMEWHAT AGREE
 3. SOMEWHAT DISAGREE
 4. STRONGLY DISAGREE
 8. DK
 9. REFUSED/NA
-

{SECTION Y}

Now a few questions for statistical purposes only...

QY1A. What is the month, day, and year of your birth?

[RECORD MONTH (01-12)]

98. DK
 99. REFUSED
-

QY1B. (DO NOT READ) What is the month, day, and year of your birth?

[RECORD YEAR OF BIRTH (1894-1979)];

9998. DK
 9999. REFUSED
-

QY1C. [PROGRAMMER: BUILD AGE BY SUBTRACTING THE MONTH AND YEAR FROM QY1A/B RESPONDENT'S BIRTH FROM MONTH AND YEAR OF INTERVIEW]

ACTUAL AGE = 17-90

91. 91 YEARS OR OLDER
 00. NA
-

QY2. Have you ever been married?

- 1 YES (GO TO QY2A)
 - 3 NO (GO TO QY3)
 - 7 PARTNERS NOT MARRIED [VOL] (GO TO QY3)
 - 8 DK (GO TO QY3)
 - 9 REFUSED/NA (GO TO QY3)
-

QY2A. Are you married now and living with your (husband/wife)--or are you widowed, divorced, or separated?

- 1 MARRIED AND LIVING WITH SPOUSE (OR SPOUSE IN SERVICE)
 - 2 DIVORCED
 - 4 SEPARATED
 - 5 WIDOWED
 - 8 COMMUTER MARRIAGE/SPOUSE LIVES AT ANOTHER RESIDENCE [VOL]
 - 9 REFUSED/NA
-

QY3. What is the highest grade of school or year of college you have completed? (READ CODES 1-9 ONLY IF NECESSARY)

- 1 GRADE SCHOOL (GRADES 1-8)
 - 2 SOME HIGH SCHOOL, NO DEGREE (GRADES 9-11)
 - 3 HIGH SCHOOL DEGREE
 - 4 SOME COLLEGE, NO DEGREE
 - 5 ASSOCIATE'S/2 YEAR DEGREE
 - 6 BACHELOR'S/4 YEAR DEGREE
 - 7 SOME GRADUATE SCHOOL
 - 8 MASTER'S DEGREE
 - 9 DOCTORATE/LAW DEGREE
 - 10 REFUSED
-

QY4. 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? (IF RESPONDENT VOLUNTEERS WORKING AND SOMETHING ELSE, PROBE: are you currently working 20 hours or more a week, or less than 20 hours?)

- 10. WORKING NOW ONLY
 - 15. [R VOL] WORKING NOW AND RETIRED--CURRENTLY WORKING 20 HOURS OR MORE A WEEK
 - 16. [R VOL] WORKING NOW AND PERMANENTLY DISABLED--CURRENTLY WORKING 20 HOURS OR MORE A WEEK
 - 17. [R VOL] WORKING NOW AND HOMEMAKER, CURRENTLY WORKING 20 HOURS OR MORE HOURS A WEEK
 - 18. [R VOL] WORKING NOW AND STUDENT WORKING MORE THAN 20 HOURS A WEEK
 - 20. TEMPORARILY LAID OFF
 - 40. UNEMPLOYED
 - 50. RETIRED--NO OTHER OCCUPATION
 - 51. [R VOL] RETIRED AND WORKING LESS THAN 20 HOURS A WEEK
 - 60. PERMANENTLY DISABLED--NOT WORKING
 - 61. PERMANENTLY DISABLED AND WORKING NOW, CURRENTLY WORKING LESS THAN 20 HOURS A WEEK
 - 70. HOMEMAKER--NO OTHER
 - 71. [R VOL] HOMEMAKER AND WORKING NOW, CURRENTLY WORKING LESS THAN 20 HOURS A WEEK
 - 80. STUDENT--NO OTHER OCCUPATION
 - 81. [R VOL] STUDENT AND WORKING LESS THAN 20 HOURS A WEEK
 - 99. REFUSED/NA
-

QY4A. What is your occupation? (PROBE FOR SPECIFICS)

QY5. Do you or a family member currently serve in the U.S. military?

- 1. YES
 - 5. NO
 - 8. DK
 - 9. REFUSED/NA
-

QY5A. Do you or anyone else in this household belong to a labor union?

- 1. YES
 - 5. NO
 - 8. DK
 - 9. REFUSED/NA
-

QY6. Which of the following income groups includes the income of all members of your family living here in 1995 before taxes? This figure should include salaries, wages, pensions, dividends, interest, and all other income. (IF UNCERTAIN: what would be your best guess?)

1. Up to \$10,000
 2. \$10,000-\$15,000 [14,999]
 3. \$15,000-\$20,000 [19,999]
 4. \$20,000-\$25,000 [24,999]
 5. \$25,000-\$30,000 [29,999]
 6. \$30,000-\$40,000 [39,999]
 7. \$40,000-\$50,000 [49,999]
 8. \$50,000-\$75,000 [74,999]
 9. \$75,000-\$90,000 [89,999]
 10. \$90,000-\$105,000 [104,999]
 11. \$105,000 AND MORE
 98. DK
 99. REFUSED
-

{IF QY6=98,99 ASK QY6A, OTHERWISE GO TO QY7}

QY6A. Would you please tell me if your family income was under or over \$50,000?

1. Under \$50,000 {GO TO QY6B}
 3. Over \$50,000 {GO TO QY7}
 8. DK {GO TO QY7}
 9. REFUSED {GO TO QY7}
-

QY6B. Would you please tell me if your family income was under or over \$25,000?

1. Under \$25,000
 3. Over \$25,000
 8. DK
 9. REFUSED/NA
-

QY7. Did you or anyone in your household receive any other income in 1995 from...

QY7A. SOCIAL SECURITY?

1. YES
 5. NO
 8. DK
 9. REFUSED/NA
-

QY7B. WHAT ABOUT FROM OTHER WORKER'S COMPENSATION?

1. YES
 5. NO
 8. DK
 9. REFUSED/NA
-

QY7C. UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION?

1. YES
 5. NO
 8. DK
 9. REFUSED/NA
-

QY7D. ADC OR AFDC?

1. YES
 5. NO
 8. DK
 9. REFUSED/NA
-

QY7E. FOOD STAMPS?

1. YES
 5. NO
 8. DK
 9. REFUSED/NA
-

QY7F. SUPPLEMENTAL SECURITY INCOME OR SSI?

1. YES
 5. NO
 8. DK
 9. REFUSED/NA
-

QY8. People talk about social classes such as the poor, the working class, the middle class, the upper-middle class, and the upper class. Which of these classes would you say you belong to?

1. POOR
 2. WORKING CLASS
 3. MIDDLE CLASS
 4. UPPER-MIDDLE CLASS
 5. UPPER CLASS
 8. DK
 9. REFUSED/NA
-

QY9. How long have you lived in your present city or county?

[RECORD ACTUAL NUMBER OF YEARS (01-89)]

- 00. LESS THAN SIX MONTHS
- 01. 6-12 MONTHS; 1 YEAR
- 02. 13-24 MONTHS; 2 YEARS
- 03. 3 YEARS

[ROUND HALF YEARS UP]

- 89. 89 OR MORE
 - 90. ALL OF LIFE
 - 98. DK
 - 99. REFUSED/NA
-

QY9A. How long have you lived in this state?

[RECORD ACTUAL NUMBER OF YEARS (01-89)]

- 00. LESS THAN SIX MONTHS
- 01. 6-12 MONTHS; 1 YEAR
- 02. 13-24 MONTHS; 2 YEARS
- 03. 3 YEARS

[ROUND HALF YEARS UP]

- 89. 89 OR MORE
 - 90. ALL OF LIFE
 - 98. DK
 - 99. REFUSED/NA
-

QY10. (Do you/does your family) own your home, pay rent, or what?

- 1. OWN
 - 2. RENT
 - 7. OTHER (SPECIFY)
 - 8. DK
 - 9. REFUSED/NA
-

QY10A. Are there any children currently living with you in this household?

- 1. YES
 - 3. YES, STEPCHILDREN/ADOPTED [VOL]
 - 5. NO (GO TO QY11)
 - 8. DK (GO TO QY11)
 - 9. REFUSED/NA (GO TO QY11)
-

QY10B. How many children are there living with you who are under the age of 18?

[RECORD NUMBER OF CHILDREN 0-96]

- 0. NONE
- 97. 97 OR MORE
- 98. DK
- 99. REFUSED/NA

QY11. We'd like to find out what kinds of things people can tell from listening to a person's voice over the telephone. During the interview, did you think I was White, Black or someone of another group?

- 1. WHITE (CAUCASIAN)
- 2. BLACK (AFRICAN AMERICAN)
- 3. OTHER
- 8. DK
- 9. REFUSED/NA

QY12. These are all the questions we have. Thank you very much for your time and your help with our research. My office may wish to get in touch with you to verify this interview. We would also like to send you a report of our survey results as our way of thanking you. For these reasons we would like to have your name and mailing address.

- 1. AGREES (GO TO QY12A)
- 2. REFUSES (GO TO QY12B)

QY12A. Let's start with...

Your street address? _____

And what city? _____ State? _____

Your zip code? _____

And your first name? _____
 [FOR WOMEN, OBTAIN THEIR FIRST NAME NOT THEIR HUSBANDS' FIRST NAME]

And your last name: _____

QY12Aa. Is this your home address?

- 1. YES (GO TO QZ1B)
- 5. NO (REASK QY12A)
- 9. REFUSED/NA (GO TO QY12B)

QY12B. In order to geographically code the results of our survey, what are the closest intersecting streets to your residence?

[RECORD CROSS STREETS]:

QZ1B. ACTUAL RACE OF INTERVIEWER

1. WHITE
 2. BLACK
 3. OTHER
-

QZ2. SEX OF RESPONDENT (BY OBSERVATION)

- 1 MALE
 - 2 FEMALE
-

NBES POST-ELECTION QUESTIONNAIRE
November 6, 1996
Recontact of Pre-Election Participants

ENTER FROM SAMPLE (Pre-Election Data):

- Z1. Original Respondent Number
 - Z2. Phone Number
 - Z3f. Name of Respondent (first)
 - Z3l. Name of Respondent (last)
 - Z4A. Address
 - Z4B. City
 - Z4C. State
 - Z4D. Zip
 - Z4E. FIPS
 - Z5. Birth Year
 - Z5A. GENDER
 - Z6. CD Number
 - Z7. Incentive Code
-

Z8. ENTER HALF SAMPLE:

- 1 Half Sample A
 - 2 Half Sample B
-

(ASK TO SPEAK WITH: [restore name or demographic information] -- IF NOT AVAILABLE,
DETERMINE BEST TIME TO REACH HIM/HER AND SCHEDULE A CALLBACK)

Hello, I'm _____ calling on behalf of Ohio State University. In the past few weeks we completed an interview with you and (IF Z7=RECEIVED INCENTIVE, SAY: hopefully you have received the \$50.00 from us for your participation and) we are calling back for a shorter follow up interview. (READ IF NECESSARY: Again I want to assure you that we are only interested in your opinions.)

[THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT MUST BE READ TO EVERY RESPONDENT]

This interview is completely voluntary. If we should come to any questions you do not want to answer, just let me know and we'll go on to the next question.

First, I have some questions regarding the political campaigns that took place this fall...

[SECTION A]

A1. Some people seem to follow what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time, whether there's an election going on or not. Others aren't that interested. Would you say you follow what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time, some of the time, only now and then, or hardly at all?

- 1 MOST OF THE TIME
 - 2 SOME OF THE TIME
 - 3 ONLY NOW AND THEN
 - 4 HARDLY AT ALL
 - 8 DK
 - 9 REFUSED
-

A2. Did you watch the first televised presidential debate held on October 6, 1996 between Bill Clinton and Bob Dole? (READ IF NECESSARY: the one where they answered questions from a single moderator)

- 1 YES, WATCHED (GO TO A2a)
 - 2 NO, DIDN'T WATCH (GO TO A3)
 - 8 DK (GO TO A3)
 - 9 REFUSED (GO TO A3)
-

A2a. Did you watch the entire debate or just part of it?

- 1 WATCHED ENTIRE DEBATE
 - 2 JUST PART OF IT
 - 8 DK
 - 9 REFUSED
-

A3. Did you watch the second presidential debate held on October 16, 1996 between Bill Clinton and Bob Dole? (READ IF NECESSARY: the one where they answered questions from a studio audience)

- 1 YES, WATCHED (GO TO A3a)
 - 2 NO, DIDN'T WATCH (GO TO A4)
 - 8 DK (GO TO A4)
 - 9 REFUSED (GO TO A4)
-

A3a. Did you watch the entire debate or just part of it?

- 1 WATCHED ENTIRE DEBATE
 - 2 JUST PART OF IT
 - 8 DK
 - 9 REFUSED
-

A4. In general, how much attention did you pay to news about the campaign for President -- a great deal, quite a bit, some, very little, or none?

- 1 A GREAT DEAL
 - 2 QUITE A BIT
 - 3 SOME
 - 4 VERY LITTLE
 - 5 NONE
 - 8 DK
 - 9 REFUSED
-

A5. In general, how much attention did you pay to the news about the campaigns for election to Congress -- that is the House of Representatives in Washington -- a great deal, quite a bit, some, very little, or none?

- 1 A GREAT DEAL
 - 2 QUITE A BIT
 - 3 SOME
 - 4 VERY LITTLE
 - 5 NONE
 - 8 DK
 - 9 REFUSED
-

A6. Do you happen to remember the names of the candidates for Congress -- that is, for the House of Representatives in Washington -- who ran in the November election for election from your district?

- 1 YES, REMEMBER (GO TO FILTER BEFORE A6a)
 - 2 NO, DON'T REMEMBER (GO TO B 1)
 - 9 REFUSED (GO TO B 1)
-

{IF Z4E <> 48 ASK A6A, OTHERWISE GO TO A6AX}

A6a. Who were they? (PROBE: Any others?)

(LOAD CANDIDATE NAMES FROM RESTORATION GRID ACCORDING TO Z6 (CD#)
--Democrat as code 1, Republican as code 2, Others in order as they appear, 3-8).

(ALLOW AS MANY MENTIONS AS CANDIDATES LISTED)

- 1 (democratic candidate name from "hsecand")
 - 2 (republican candidate name from "hsecand")
 - 3 (other from "hsecand")
 - 4 (other from "hsecand")
 - 5 (other from "hsecand")
 - 6 (other from "hsecand")
 - 7 (other from "hsecand")
 - 8 Other [SPECIFY]**
 - 99 REFUSED**
-

{IF Z4E = 48 ASK A6Ax, OTHERWISE GO TO A6B1}

A6ax. Who were they? (ASK AS OPENEND) (PROBE: Any others?)

- 1 Candidate 1 [SPECIFY]
 - 2 Candidate 2 [SPECIFY]
 - 3 Candidate 3 [SPECIFY]
 - 4 Candidate 4 [SPECIFY]
 - 5 Candidate 5 [SPECIFY]
 - 6 Candidate 6 [SPECIFY]
 - 7 Candidate 7 [SPECIFY]
 - 8 Candidate 8 [SPECIFY]
 - 9 REFUSED
-

{IF FIRST RESPONSE IN A6A=1-8 ASK A6B1, OTHERWISE GO TO A6B2}

A6b1. What is (FIRST RESPONSE IN A6A) 's party?

- 1 Democratic
 - 2 Republican
 - 3 Other (specify)
 - 8 DK
 - 9 REFUSED
-

{IF SECOND RESPONSE IN A6A=1-8 ASK A6B2, OTHERWISE GO TO A6B3}

A6b2. What is (SECOND RESPONSE IN A6A) 's party?

- 1 Democratic
 - 2 Republican
 - 3 Other (specify)
 - 8 DK
 - 9 REFUSED
-

{IF THIRD RESPONSE IN A6A=1-8 ASK A6B3, OTHERWISE GO TO A6B4}

A6b3. What is (THIRD RESPONSE IN A6A) 's party?

- 1 Democratic
 - 2 Republican
 - 3 Other (specify)
 - 8 DK
 - 9 REFUSED
-

[SECTION B]

B1. Now I'd like to get your feelings toward some of your political leaders and other people, events, and organizations that have been in the news. I'll read the name of a person, event, or organization and I'd like you to rate it using something called the feeling thermometer. You can choose any number between 0 and 100. The higher the number, the warmer or more favorable you feel toward that person, event, or organization; the lower the number, the colder or less favorable. You would rate the person at the 50 degree mark if you feel neither warm nor cold toward them. If we come to a person, event, or organization whose name you don't recognize, you don't need to rate that person, event, or organization. Just tell me and we'll move on to the next one. Our first person is...

(RANDOMIZE B1A TO B1H)

B1a. Bill Clinton

[RECORD ACTUAL NUMBER 0-100 EXCEPT]:

997 R DOESN'T RECOGNIZE NAME
998 DK WHERE TO RATE; CAN'T JUDGE
999 REFUSED/NA

B1b. Bob Dole

[RECORD ACTUAL NUMBER 0-100 EXCEPT]:

997 R DOESN'T RECOGNIZE NAME
998 DK WHERE TO RATE; CAN'T JUDGE
999 REFUSED/NA

B1c. Ross Perot

[RECORD ACTUAL NUMBER 0-100 EXCEPT]:

997 R DOESN'T RECOGNIZE NAME
998 DK WHERE TO RATE; CAN'T JUDGE
999 REFUSED/NA

{IF NO DEM CANDIDATE IN HOUSE RACE, CONTINUE TO NEXT QUESTION}

B1d. (FILL DEM HOUSE CANDIDATE from hsecand)

[RECORD ACTUAL NUMBER 0-100 EXCEPT]:

997 R DOESN'T RECOGNIZE NAME
998 DK WHERE TO RATE; CAN'T JUDGE
999 REFUSED/NA

{IF NO REP CANDIDATE IN HOUSE RACE. CONTINUE TO NEXT QUESTION}

B1e. (FILL REP HOUSE CANDIDATE from hsecand)

[RECORD ACTUAL NUMBER 0-100 EXCEPT]:

997 R DOESN'T RECOGNIZE NAME
998 DK WHERE TO RATE; CAN'T JUDGE
999 REFUSED/NA

(IF Z6=0103,0104,0502,0627,0801,1202,1211,1219,1707,1720,1810,2002,2003,2205,2207,2615,
2803,3409,3412,3707,4216,4701,4709,4801,4805,5105,ASK B1F, OTHERWISE CONTINUE)
{{[OPEN CONGRESSIONAL RACE]}}

B1f. (FILL HOUSE INCUMBENT NAME FROM hseincb)

[RECORD ACTUAL NUMBER 0-100 EXCEPT]:

997 R DOESN'T RECOGNIZE NAME
998 DK WHERE TO RATE; CAN'T JUDGE
999 REFUSED/NA

B1g. Jack Kemp

[RECORD ACTUAL NUMBER 0-100 EXCEPT]:

997 R DOESN'T RECOGNIZE NAME
998 DK WHERE TO RATE; CAN'T JUDGE
999 REFUSED/NA

B1h. Al Gore

[RECORD ACTUAL NUMBER 0-100 EXCEPT]:

997 R DOESN'T RECOGNIZE NAME
998 DK WHERE TO RATE; CAN'T JUDGE
999 REFUSED/NA

B1h1. Newt Gingrich

[RECORD ACTUAL NUMBER 0-100 EXCEPT]:

997 R DOESN'T RECOGNIZE NAME
998 DK WHERE TO RATE; CAN'T JUDGE
999 REFUSED/NA

Still using the thermometer, how would you rate:

(RANDOMIZE B1J TO B1Z1)

B1j. The Supreme Court

[RECORD ACTUAL NUMBER 0-100 EXCEPT]:

997 R DOESN'T RECOGNIZE NAME
998 DK WHERE TO RATE; CAN'T JUDGE
999 REFUSED/NA

B1k. Congress

[RECORD ACTUAL NUMBER 0-100 EXCEPT]:

997 R DOESN'T RECOGNIZE NAME
998 DK WHERE TO RATE; CAN'T JUDGE
999 REFUSED/NA

B1l. The military

[RECORD ACTUAL NUMBER 0-100 EXCEPT]:

997 R DOESN'T RECOGNIZE NAME
998 DK WHERE TO RATE; CAN'T JUDGE
999 REFUSED/NA

B1m. The Federal government in Washington

[RECORD ACTUAL NUMBER 0-100 EXCEPT]:

997 R DOESN'T RECOGNIZE NAME
998 DK WHERE TO RATE; CAN'T JUDGE
999 REFUSED/NA

B1n. Blacks

[RECORD ACTUAL NUMBER 0-100 EXCEPT]:

997 R DOESN'T RECOGNIZE NAME
998 DK WHERE TO RATE; CAN'T JUDGE
999 REFUSED/NA

B1p. Whites

[RECORD ACTUAL NUMBER 0-100 EXCEPT]:

997 R DOESN'T RECOGNIZE NAME
998 DK WHERE TO RATE; CAN'T JUDGE
999 REFUSED/NA

B1q. The CIA

[RECORD ACTUAL NUMBER 0-100 EXCEPT]:

997 R DOESN'T RECOGNIZE NAME
998 DK WHERE TO RATE; CAN'T JUDGE
999 REFUSED/NA

B1r. O.J. Simpson

[RECORD ACTUAL NUMBER 0-100 EXCEPT]:

997 R DOESN'T RECOGNIZE NAME
998 DK WHERE TO RATE; CAN'T JUDGE
999 REFUSED/NA

B1s. Labor unions

[RECORD ACTUAL NUMBER 0-100 EXCEPT]:

997 R DOESN'T RECOGNIZE NAME
998 DK WHERE TO RATE; CAN'T JUDGE
999 REFUSED/NA

B1t. Big business

[RECORD ACTUAL NUMBER 0-100 EXCEPT]:

997 R DOESN'T RECOGNIZE NAME
998 DK WHERE TO RATE; CAN'T JUDGE
999 REFUSED/NA

B1u. Asian-Americans

[RECORD ACTUAL NUMBER 0-100 EXCEPT]:

997 R DOESN'T RECOGNIZE NAME
998 DK WHERE TO RATE; CAN'T JUDGE
999 REFUSED/NA

B1v. People on welfare

[RECORD ACTUAL NUMBER 0-100 EXCEPT]:

997 R DOESN'T RECOGNIZE NAME
998 DK WHERE TO RATE; CAN'T JUDGE
999 REFUSED/NA

B1w. Hispanics (Hispanic-Americans)

[RECORD ACTUAL NUMBER 0-100 EXCEPT]:

997 R DOESN'T RECOGNIZE NAME
998 DK WHERE TO RATE; CAN'T JUDGE
999 REFUSED/NA

B1x. Christian fundamentalists

[RECORD ACTUAL NUMBER 0-100 EXCEPT]:

997 R DOESN'T RECOGNIZE NAME
998 DK WHERE TO RATE; CAN'T JUDGE
999 REFUSED/NA

B1y. The Women's movement

[RECORD ACTUAL NUMBER 0-100 EXCEPT]:

997 R DOESN'T RECOGNIZE NAME
998 DK WHERE TO RATE; CAN'T JUDGE
999 REFUSED/NA

B1z. Gay men and lesbians, homosexuals

[RECORD ACTUAL NUMBER 0-100 EXCEPT]:

997 R DOESN'T RECOGNIZE NAME
998 DK WHERE TO RATE; CAN'T JUDGE
999 REFUSED/NA

B1z1. The Christian Coalition

[RECORD ACTUAL NUMBER 0-100 EXCEPT]:

997 R DOESN'T RECOGNIZE NAME
998 DK WHERE TO RATE; CAN'T JUDGE
999 REFUSED/NA

[SECTION C]

C1. In talking to people about elections, we often find that a lot of people were not able to vote because they weren't registered, they were sick, or they just didn't have time. How about you--did you vote in the elections this November?

1 Yes, voted (GO TO C3)
5 No, didn't vote (GO TO C2)
8 DK/RF (GO TO C2)

C2. Were you registered to vote in this election?

1 YES
5 NO
9 REFUSED { ALL GO TO C8 }

C3. How about the election for President? Did you vote for a candidate for President?

1 Yes, voted for President (GO TO C4)
5 No, didn't vote for President (GO TO C6-1)
8 DK/REFUSED (GO TO C6-1)

C4. Who did you vote for?

- 1 Bill Clinton (GO TO C5)
 - 2 Bob Dole (GO TO C5)
 - 3 Ross Perot (GO TO C5)
 - 4 Other (SPECIFY) (GO TO C5)
 - 8 DK/REFUSED (GO TO FILTER BEFORE C6-1)
-

C5. Would you say your preference for this candidate was STRONG or NOT STRONG?

- 1 STRONG
 - 2 NOT STRONG
 - 8 DK/REFUSED
-

{HALF SAMPLE A}

C6-1. I'm going to read a list of candidates for the major races in your district. In the election for the House of Representatives in Washington, the ballot listed:

**(LOAD CANDIDATE PARTIES AND NAMES FROM RESTORATION GRID
ACCORDING TO Z6 (CD#)
(READ AND ROTATE PARTY THEN CANDIDATE NAME OF ALL HOUSE
CANDIDATES)**

Did you vote for a candidate for the U.S. House of Representatives?

- 1 Yes, voted for House of Representatives (GO TO FILTER BEFORE C6A1)
 - 5 No, didn't vote for House of Representatives (GO TO FILTER BEFORE C7A)
 - 8 DK/RF (GO TO FILTER BEFORE C7A)
-

{HALF SAMPLE A}

C6a-1. Who did you vote for? (ONE MENTION ONLY)

**(LOAD CANDIDATE NAMES FROM RESTORATION GRID ACCORDING TO Z6 (CD#)
--Democrat as code 1, Republican as code 2, Others in order as they appear, 3-8).**

- 1 (democratic candidate name from "hsecand")
 - 2 (republican candidate name from "hsecand")
 - 3 (other from "hsecand")
 - 4 (other from "hsecand")
 - 5 (other from "hsecand")
 - 6 (other from "hsecand")
 - 7 (other from "hsecand")
 - 8 Other [SPECIFY]
 - 99 REFUSED
-

{HALF SAMPLE B}

C6-2. How about the election for Congress -- that is for the House of Representatives in Washington?
Did you vote for a candidate for Congress?

- 1 Yes, voted for House of Representatives (GO TO FILTER BEFORE C6A-2)
 - 5 No, didn't vote for House of Representatives (GO TO FILTER BEFORE C7A)
 - 8 DK/RF (GO TO FILTER BEFORE C7A)
-

{HALF SAMPLE B}

{IF Z4E <> 48 ASK C6A-2, OTHERWISE GO TO FILTER BEFORE C6AX-2}
C6a-2. Who did you vote for? (ONE MENTION ONLY)

(LOAD CANDIDATE NAMES FROM RESTORATION GRID ACCORDING TO Z6 (CD#)
--Democrat as code 1, Republican as code 2, Others in order as they appear, 3-8).

- 1 (democratic candidate name from "hsecand")
 - 2 (republican candidate name from "hsecand")
 - 3 (other from "hsecand")
 - 4 (other from "hsecand")
 - 5 (other from "hsecand")
 - 6 (other from "hsecand")
 - 7 (other from "hsecand")
 - 8 Other [SPECIFY]**
 - 99 REFUSED
-

{IF Z4E = 48 ASK C6AX-2 OTHERWISE GO TO FILTER BEFORE C6B-2}

C6ax-2. Who did you vote for? (ONE MENTION ONLY)

- 1 Candidate 1 [SPECIFY]**
 - 9 REFUSED
-

{HALF SAMPLE B}

C6b-2. Which party was that?

(LOAD CANDIDATE PARTIES FROM RESTORATION GRID ACCORDING TO Z6 (CD#)
--Democrat as code 1, Republican as code 2, Others in order as they appear, 3-8)

- 1 DEMOCRATIC PARTY
 - 2 REPUBLICAN PARTY
 - 9 Other [SPECIFY]**
 - 99 REFUSED
-

{ASK ALL}

IF (Z4E=01.05.08.10.13.16.17.19.20.21.22.23.25.26.27.28.30.31.33.34.35.37.40.41.44.45.46.47.48.51, 54.56. ASK C7A. OTHERWISE GO TO FILTER BEFORE SECTION C8}

[NOTE: KANSAS HAS TWO SENATE RACES OCCURING IN 1996]

C7A. How about the election for the United States Senate? Did you vote for a candidate for the U.S. Senate? The ballot listed: (READ AND ROTATE PARTY THEN NAME FOR EACH CANDIDATE)

(LOAD PARTY AND CANDIDATE FROM RESTORATION GRID SEN96 ACCORDING TO Z4E (STATE))

- 1 Yes, voted for Senate (GO TO C7A1)
- 5 No, didn't vote for Senate (IF Z4E=20 GO TO C7B, ELSE GO TO FILTER BEFORE SECTION C8)
- 8 DK/RF (IF Z4E=20 GOTO C7B, ELSE GO TO GO TO FILTER BEFORE SECTION C8)

C7A1. Who did you vote for?

(LOAD CANDIDATES FROM RESTORATION GRID SEN96 ACCORDING TO Z4E)

- 1 (democratic candidate-sen96)
- 2 (republican candidate-sen96)
- 3 (other candidate-sen96)
- 4 (other candidate-sen96)
- 5 (other candidate-sen96)
- 6 (other candidate-sen96)
- 7 (other candidate-sen96)
- 8 (other candidate-sen96)
- 9 Other [SPECIFY]
- 99 REFUSED/NA

IF (Z4E=20 ASK C7B. OTHERWISE GO TO FILTER BEFORE SECTION C8)

C7B. How about the other election for the United States Senate? Did you vote for a candidate for the U.S. Senate? The ballot listed: (READ AND ROTATE PARTY THEN NAME FOR EACH CANDIDATE)

(LOAD PARTY AND CANDIDATE FROM RESTORATION GRID SEN96 ACCORDING TO Z4E (STATE))

- 1 Yes, voted for other election for Senate (GO TO C7B1)
 - 5 No, didn't vote for Senate (GO TO FILTER BEFORE SECTION C8)
 - 8 DK/RF (GO TO GO TO FILTER BEFORE SECTION C8)
-

C7B1. Who did you vote for?

(LOAD CANDIDATES FROM RESTORATION GRID SEN96 ACCORDING TO Z4E)

- 1 (democratic candidate-sen96)
 - 2 (republican candidate-sen96)
 - 3 (other candidate-sen96)
 - 4 (other candidate-sen96)
 - 5 (other candidate-sen96)
 - 6 (other candidate-sen96)
 - 7 (other candidate-sen96)
 - 8 (other candidate-sen96)
 - 9 Other [SPECIFY]
 - 99 REFUSED/NA
-

[IF C1 NE 1 OR C3 NE 1 ASK C8 OTHERWISE GO TO SECTION D]

C8. How about the election for President? Did you prefer one of the candidates for president?

- 1 YES (GO TO C8A)
 - 5 NO (GO TO SECTION D)
 - 9 DK/REFUSED (GO TO SECTION D)
-

C8a. Who did you prefer?

- 1 CLINTON
 - 3 DOLE
 - 5 PEROT
 - 7 OTHER (specify)
 - 9 DK/REFUSED (GO TO SECTION D)
-

C8b. Would you say that your preference for this candidate was strong or not strong?

- 1 STRONG
 - 5 NOT STRONG
 - 8 DK
 - 9 REFUSED
-

[SECTION D]

[NOTE TO PROGRAMMER: CORRECT GENDER OF PRONOUNS MUST BE USED FOR INCUMBENT]

D1. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the way Representative (RESTORE HSEINCB NAME FROM GRID) has been handling (his/her) job?

- 1 APPROVE (GO TO D1A)
 - 5 DISAPPROVE (GO TO D1B)
 - 8 DK (GO TO D2)
 - 9 REFUSED (GO TO D2)
-

D1a. Do you approve strongly or not strongly?

- 1 STRONGLY (GO TO D2)
 - 2 NOT STRONGLY (GO TO D2)
 - 8 DK (GO TO D2)
 - 9 REFUSED (GO TO D2)
-

D1b. Do you disapprove strongly or not strongly?

- 4 NOT STRONGLY
 - 5 STRONGLY
 - 8 DK
 - 9 REFUSED
-

D2. One of the main issues considered by Congress this year was welfare reform. Did Representative (RESTORE HSEINCB NAME FROM GRID) vote for or against the welfare reform bill?

- 1 FOR (GO TO D3)
 - 2 AGAINST (GO TO D3)
 - 8 DK (GO TO D2A)
 - 9 REFUSED (GO TO D3)
-

D2a. What would be your best guess? (Did [he/she] vote for or against the welfare reform bill?)

- 1 FOR
 - 2 AGAINST
 - 8 DK
 - 9 REFUSED
-

D3. How often has Representative (RESTORE HSEINCB NAME FROM GRID) supported President Clinton's legislative proposals? More than half the time, half, less than half the time, or are you not sure?

- 1 MORE THAN HALF THE TIME
 - 2 HALF
 - 3 LESS THAN HALF THE TIME
 - 8 NOT SURE/DK (GO TO D4)
 - 9 REFUSED (GO TO D4)
-

(IF D3=1 ASK D3A OTHERWISE GO TO FILTER BEFORE D3B)

D3a. Would you say it was almost always?

- 1 Yes
 - 2 No
 - 8 DK/REFUSED
-

(IF D3=3 ASK D3B OTHERWISE GO TO FILTER BEFORE D4)

D3b. Would you say it was never?

- 1 Yes
 - 2 No
 - 8 DK/REFUSED
-

D4. How much time do you think Black members of Congress should spend working on the following six policy proposals and bills? (Would you say most of their time, some of their time, or none of their time?)

(RANDOMIZE D4A TO D4F)

D4A. A bill to equalize funding between inner-city minority public schools and suburban public schools.

- 1 Most of their time
 - 3 Some of their time
 - 5 None of their time
 - 8 DK
 - 9 REFUSED/NA
-

D4B. A bill to authorize the creation of a national, publicly-funded cultural and historical museum for African Americans in Washington, D.C.

- 1 Most of their time
 - 3 Some of their time
 - 5 None of their time
 - 8 DK
 - 9 REFUSED/NA
-

D4C. A bill to ban the Confederate flag from all public buildings.

- 1 Most of their time
 - 3 Some of their time
 - 5 None of their time
 - 8 DK
 - 9 REFUSED/NA
-

D4D. A bill to ban all billboard advertisement of alcohol and cigarette products in inner-city minority communities.

- 1 Most of their time
 - 3 Some of their time
 - 5 None of their time
 - 8 DK
 - 9 REFUSED/NA
-

D4E. A bill for a constitutional amendment to protect affirmative action programs for minorities and women.

- 1 Most of their time
 - 3 Some of their time
 - 5 None of their time
 - 8 DK
 - 9 REFUSED/NA
-

D4F. A bill to acknowledge the fundamental injustice and cruelty of slavery.

- 1 Most of their time
 - 3 Some of their time
 - 5 None of their time
 - 8 DK
 - 9 REFUSED/NA
-

[SECTION E]

E1. Now I'm going to read you some statements. After each one, please tell me if you agree strongly, agree somewhat, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly with the statement.

(RANDOMIZE E1A TO E1D)

E1a. If enough Blacks vote, they can make a difference in who gets elected president.

- 1 AGREE STRONGLY
 - 2 AGREE SOMEWHAT
 - 3 DISAGREE SOMEWHAT
 - 4 DISAGREE STRONGLY
 - 8 NOT SURE/DON'T KNOW
 - 9 REFUSED
-

E1b. If Blacks, other minorities, the poor, and women pulled together, they could decide how this country is run.

- 1 AGREE STRONGLY
 - 2 AGREE SOMEWHAT
 - 3 DISAGREE SOMEWHAT
 - 4 DISAGREE STRONGLY
 - 8 NOT SURE/DON'T KNOW
 - 9 REFUSED
-

E1c. Blacks elected to office really don't have the power to change things for Blacks in this country.

- 1 AGREE STRONGLY
 - 2 AGREE SOMEWHAT
 - 3 DISAGREE SOMEWHAT
 - 4 DISAGREE STRONGLY
 - 8 NOT SURE/DON'T KNOW
 - 9 REFUSED
-

E1d. Black people can make a difference in who gets elected to Congress.

- 1 AGREE STRONGLY
 - 2 AGREE SOMEWHAT
 - 3 DISAGREE SOMEWHAT
 - 4 DISAGREE STRONGLY
 - 8 NOT SURE/DON'T KNOW
 - 9 REFUSED
-

E2. Now I'd like to know how much you agree or disagree with the following statements.

(RANDOMIZE E2A-E2D)

E2a. Black children should attend afro-centric schools. (Do you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree?)

- 1 STRONGLY AGREE
 - 2 AGREE
 - 3 DISAGREE
 - 4 STRONGLY DISAGREE
 - 8 DON'T CARE/DON'T KNOW
 - 9 REFUSED
-

E2b. Blacks should always vote for Black candidates when they run. (Do you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree?)

- 1 STRONGLY AGREE
 - 2 AGREE
 - 3 DISAGREE
 - 4 STRONGLY DISAGREE
 - 8 DON'T CARE/DON'T KNOW
 - 9 REFUSED
-

E2c. Black people should shop in Black owned stores whenever possible. (Do you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree?)

- 1 STRONGLY AGREE
 - 2 AGREE
 - 3 DISAGREE
 - 4 STRONGLY DISAGREE
 - 8 DON'T CARE/DON'T KNOW
 - 9 REFUSED
-

E2d. Blacks should not have anything to do with whites if they can help it. (Do you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree?)

- 1 STRONGLY AGREE
 - 2 AGREE
 - 3 DISAGREE
 - 4 STRONGLY DISAGREE
 - 8 DON'T CARE/DON'T KNOW
 - 9 REFUSED
-

E3. We would like to find out about some of the things people do to help a party or candidate win an election.

E3a. During the campaign, did you talk to any people and try to show them why they should vote for or against one of the parties or candidates?

1 YES
5 NO
8 REFUSED

E3b. (During the campaign) did you go to any political meetings, rallies, speeches, dinners or things like that in support of a particular candidate?

1 YES
5 NO
8 REFUSED

E3c. Did you help with a voter registration drive or help get people to the polls on election day?

1 YES
5 NO
8 REFUSED

E3d. Did you give any money to or help raise money for any of the candidates?

1 YES
5 NO
8 REFUSED

E3e. During this election year, did you help campaign for a Black candidate?

1 YES
5 NO
8 REFUSED

E4a. Three things often mentioned as problems facing Black people in this country are unemployment, discrimination and crime. Of these three, please tell me which you think is the MOST important problem facing Black people? (RECORD MOST IMPORTANT FIRST)

1 Crime
2 Discrimination
3 Unemployment
9 REFUSED (GO TO E5)

E4b. Which do you think is second most important? (RECORD SECOND MOST IMPORTANT)

- 1 Crime
 - 2 Discrimination
 - 3 Unemployment
 - 9 REFUSED (GO TO E5)
-

E4c. (PROGRAMMER: CODE REMAINING THIRD)

- 1 Crime
 - 2 Discrimination
 - 3 Unemployment
-

E5. Some people say that over the last 20 years or so, there has been a lot of progress in getting rid of racial discrimination. Others say there hasn't been much real change for most Blacks over that time. Which do you agree with most?

- 1 A LOT OF PROGRESS
 - 5 NOT MUCH REAL CHANGE
 - 8 DON'T KNOW
 - 9 REFUSED
-

E6. Do you think generally what happens to women in this country will have something to do with what happens in your life?

- 1 YES (GO TO E6A)
 - 5 NO (GO TO E7)
 - 8 DON'T KNOW (GO TO E7)
 - 9 REFUSED (GO TO E7)
-

E6a. Will it affect you a lot, some, or not very much?

- 1 A LOT
 - 3 SOME
 - 5 NOT VERY MUCH
 - 9 DK/REFUSED
-

[ROTATE BLOCKS E7/E7A WITH E8/E8A)

E7. [What about] for Black men? Do you think generally what happens in this country to Black men will have something to do with what happens in your life?

- 1 YES (GO TO E7A)
 - 5 NO (GO TO E8)
 - 8 DON'T KNOW (GO TO E8)
 - 9 REFUSED(GO TO E8)
-

E7a. Will it affect you a lot, some, or not very much?

- 1 A LOT
 - 3 SOME
 - 5 NOT VERY MUCH
 - 9 DK/REFUSED
-

E8. [What about] for Black women? Do you think generally what happens in this country to Black women will have something to do with what happens in your life?

- 1 YES (GO TO E8A)
 - 5 NO (GO TO E9)
 - 8 DON'T KNOW (GO TO E9)
 - 9 REFUSED (GO TO E9)
-

E8a. Will it affect you a lot, some, or not very much?

- 1 A LOT
 - 3 SOME
 - 5 NOT VERY MUCH
 - 9 DK/REFUSED
-

E9. For each of the following statements, please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree or strongly disagree? The first statement is...

(RANDOMIZE E9A-E9B)

E9a. The racial integration of schools is so important that it justifies busing children to schools outside of their neighborhoods.

- 1 STRONGLY AGREE
 - 2 SOMEWHAT AGREE
 - 3 SOMEWHAT DISAGREE
 - 4 STRONGLY DISAGREE
 - 8 DK
 - 9 REFUSED
-

E9b. Because of past discrimination, minorities should be given special consideration when decisions are made about hiring applicants for jobs.

- 1 STRONGLY AGREE
 - 2 SOMEWHAT AGREE
 - 3 SOMEWHAT DISAGREE
 - 4 STRONGLY DISAGREE
 - 8 DK
 - 9 REFUSED
-

[SECTION F]

F1. Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an independent, or what?

- 1 REPUBLICAN (GO TO F1A)
 - 2 INDEPENDENT (GO TO F1C)
 - 3 NO PREFERENCE (GO TO F1C)
 - 4 OTHER PARTY (GO TO F1C)
 - 5 DEMOCRAT (GO TO F1B)
 - 8 DK (GO TO F1C)
 - 9 REFUSED (GO TO F1C)
-

F1a. Would you call yourself a strong Republican or a not very strong Republican?

- 1 STRONG
- 2 NOT VERY STRONG
- 8 DK
- 9 REFUSED

[GO TO F2]

F1b. Would you call yourself a strong Democrat or a not very strong Democrat?

1 STRONG

2 NOT VERY STRONG

8 DK

9 REFUSED

[GO TO F2]

F1c. Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party or the Democratic party?

1 CLOSER TO REPUBLICAN

2 CLOSER TO DEMOCRAT

3 NEITHER

8 DK

9 REFUSED

F2. How hard do you think the Democratic Party really works on issues Black people care about? Do you think they work very hard, fairly hard, not too hard, or not hard at all on issues Black people care about?

1 VERY HARD

2 FAIRLY HARD

3 NOT TOO HARD

4 NOT HARD AT ALL

8 DK

9 REFUSED

F3. How hard do you think the Republican Party really works on issues Black people care about? Do you think they work very hard, fairly hard, not too hard, or not hard at all on issues Black people care about?

1 VERY HARD

2 FAIRLY HARD

3 NOT TOO HARD

4 NOT HARD AT ALL

8 DK

9 REFUSED

F4. As you know, the political parties try to talk to as many people as they can to get them to vote for their candidate. Did anyone from one of the political parties call you up or come around and talk to you about the campaign this year?

1 YES (GO TO F4a)

5 NO (GO TO F5)

8 DK (GO TO F5)

9 REFUSED (GO TO F5)

F4a. Which party was that?

- 1 DEMOCRATS
 - 2 REPUBLICANS
 - 3 BOTH
 - 4 OTHER (SPECIFY)
 - 9 DK/REFUSED
-

F5. Did you give money to a political party during this election year?

- 1 YES (GO TO F5a)
 - 5 NO (GO TO F6)
 - 8 DK (GO TO F6)
 - 9 REFUSED (GO TO F6)
-

F5a. To which party did you give money?

- 1 DEMOCRATS
 - 2 REPUBLICANS
 - 5 OTHER (SPECIFY)
 - 9 DK/REFUSED
-

F6. Did you give money to any other group that supported or opposed candidates?

- 1 YES
 - 5 NO
 - 8 DK
 - 9 REFUSED
-

[SECTION H]

H1. Do you favor or oppose laws to protect homosexuals against job discrimination?

- 1 FAVOR (GO TO H1a)
 - 5 OPPOSE (GO TO H1b)
 - 8 DK (GO TO H2)
 - 9 REFUSED (GO TO H2)
-

H1a. Do you favor such laws strongly or not strongly?

- 1 FAVOR STRONGLY
 - 2 FAVOR NOT STRONGLY
 - 9 DK/REFUSED (GO TO H2)
-

H1b. Do you oppose such laws strongly or not strongly?

- 4 OPPOSE NOT STRONGLY
 - 5 OPPOSE STRONGLY
 - 9 DK/REFUSED
-

H2. Do you favor or oppose the death penalty for persons convicted of murder?

- 1 FAVOR (GO TO H2a)
 - 5 OPPOSE (GO TO H2b)
 - 8 DK (GO TO SECTION J)
 - 9 REFUSED (GO TO SECTION J)
-

H2a. Do you favor the death penalty for persons convicted of murder strongly or not strongly?

- 1 FAVOR STRONGLY
 - 2 FAVOR NOT STRONGLY
 - 9 DK/REFUSED (GO TO SECTION J)
-

H2b. Do you oppose the death penalty for persons convicted of murder strongly or not strongly?

- 4 OPPOSE NOT STRONGLY
 - 5 OPPOSE STRONGLY
 - 9 DK/REFUSED
-

[SECTION J]

These next questions are on a different topic....

J1. During this election year, did you attend anything at a church or place of worship in support of a candidate?

- 1 YES
 - 5 NO
 - 8 DK/REFUSED
-

J2. Did you do any work for one of the candidates through your church or place of worship?

- 1 YES
 - 5 NO
 - 8 DK/REFUSED
-

J3. Did your church or place of worship take up a collection for any candidate during this election year?

1 YES
5 NO
8 DK/REFUSED

J3A. Did your church or place of worship endorse any candidates during this election year?

1 YES
5 NO
8 DK/REFUSED

J4. NOT ASKED

J4a. NOT ASKED

J5. Now, I'm going to read a list of things people have done to protest something they felt needed to be changed in the nation, their neighborhood, schools or communities. Please tell me if you have done any of the following in the last five years.

J5a. Contacted a public official or agency?

1 YES
5 NO
8 DK/RF

J5b. Signed a petition in support of something or against something?

1 YES
5 NO
8 DK/RF

J5c. Attended a protest meeting or a demonstration?

1 YES
5 NO
8 DK/RF

J5d. Picketed, taken part in a sit-in, or boycotted a business or government agency?

- 1 YES
 - 5 NO
 - 8 DK/RF
-

[SECTION K]

K1. Please tell me how much you agree or disagree with these statements. Do you strongly agree, somewhat agree, neither agree nor disagree, somewhat disagree or strongly disagree?

K1a. Public officials don't care much what people like me think.

- 1 AGREE STRONGLY
 - 2 AGREE SOMEWHAT
 - 3 NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE
 - 4 DISAGREE SOMEWHAT
 - 5 DISAGREE STRONGLY
 - 9 DK/REFUSED
-

K1b. People like me don't have any say about what the government does.

- 1 AGREE STRONGLY
 - 2 AGREE SOMEWHAT
 - 3 NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE
 - 4 DISAGREE SOMEWHAT
 - 5 DISAGREE STRONGLY
 - 9 DK/REFUSED
-

K1c. Sometimes politics and government seem to be so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on.

- 1 AGREE STRONGLY
 - 2 AGREE SOMEWHAT
 - 3 NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE
 - 4 DISAGREE SOMEWHAT
 - 5 DISAGREE STRONGLY
 - 9 DK/REFUSED
-

K2. People have different ideas about the government in Washington. These ideas don't refer to Democrats or Republicans in particular, but just to the government in general. We want to see how you feel about these ideas. For example:

How much of the time do you think you can trust the government in Washington to do what is right -- just about always, most of the time, or only some of the time?

- 1 JUST ABOUT ALWAYS
 - 2 MOST OF THE TIME
 - 3 ONLY SOME OF THE TIME
 - 4 NEVER [VOL]
 - 8 DK
 - 9 REFUSED
-

K3. Would you say the government is pretty much run by a few big interests looking out for themselves or that it is run for the benefit of all the people?

- 1 GOV'T RUN BY A FEW BIG INTERESTS
 - 2 GOV'T RUN FOR THE BENEFIT OF ALL
 - 8 DK
 - 9 REFUSED
-

[SECTION L]

L1a. Some people propose that a woman on welfare who has another child not be given an increase in her welfare check. Do you favor or oppose this change in welfare policy?

- 1 FAVOR (GO TO L1b)
 - 5 OPPOSE (GO TO L1c)
 - 8 DK (GO TO L2)
 - 9 REFUSED (GO TO L2)
-

L1b. Do you favor this change strongly or not strongly?

- 1 FAVOR STRONGLY
 - 2 FAVOR NOT STRONGLY
 - 8 DK
 - 9 REFUSED (GO TO L2)
-

L1c. Do you oppose this change strongly or not strongly?

- 4 OPPOSE NOT STRONGLY
 - 5 OPPOSE STRONGLY
 - 8 DK
 - 9 REFUSED (GO TO L2)
-

L2. There's a law that puts a five-year lifetime limit on how long someone can receive welfare benefits. Do you favor or oppose this five-year limit?

- 1 FAVOR (GO TO L2a)
 - 5 OPPOSE (GO TO L2b)
 - 8 DK (GO TO L3)
 - 9 REFUSED (GO TO L3)
-

L2a. Do you favor the five-year limit strongly or not strongly?

- 1 FAVOR STRONGLY
 - 2 FAVOR NOT STRONGLY
 - 8 DK
 - 9 REFUSED (GO TO L3)
-

L2b. Do you oppose the five-year limit strongly or not strongly?

- 4 OPPOSE NOT STRONGLY
 - 5 OPPOSE STRONGLY
 - 8 DK
 - 9 REFUSED (GO TO L3)
-

L3. Do you think the number of immigrants from foreign countries who are permitted to come to the United States to live should be increased a little, increased a lot, decreased a little, decreased a lot, or left the same as it is now?

- 1 INCREASED A LITTLE
 - 2 INCREASED A LOT
 - 3 DECREASED A LITTLE
 - 4 DECREASED A LOT
 - 5 LEFT THE SAME AS IT IS NOW
 - 8 DK
 - 9 REFUSED
-

L4. Do you think that immigrants who come to the U.S. should be eligible as soon as they come here for government services such as Medicaid, Food Stamps, **and** Welfare, or should they have to **be here for a year or more?**

- 1 ELIGIBLE AS SOON AS THEY COME HERE
 - 5 HAVE TO WAIT A YEAR (OR MORE)
 - 8 DK
 - 9 REFUSED
-

[SECTION M]

M1. If you had a say in making up the federal budget this year, which programs would you like to see increased, decreased or kept about the same?

M1a. Should federal spending dealing with crime be increased, decreased, or kept about the same?

- 1 INCREASED
 - 2 SAME
 - 3 DECREASED
 - 8 DK
 - 9 REFUSED
-

M1b. Should federal spending on food stamps be increased, decreased, or kept about the same?

- 1 INCREASED
 - 2 SAME
 - 3 DECREASED
 - 8 DK
 - 9 REFUSED
-

M1c. Should federal spending on medicare be increased, decreased, or kept about the same?

- 1 INCREASED
 - 2 SAME
 - 3 DECREASED
 - 8 DK
 - 9 REFUSED
-

M1d. Should federal spending on military and defense be increased, decreased, or kept about the same?

- 1 INCREASED
 - 2 SAME
 - 3 DECREASED
 - 8 DK
 - 9 REFUSED
-

[SECTION N]

N1. Some people pay attention to what the United States Supreme Court is doing most of the time. Others aren't that interested. Would you say that you pay attention to the Supreme Court most of the time, some of the time, or hardly at all?

- 1 MOST OF THE TIME
 - 2 SOME OF THE TIME
 - 3 HARDLY AT ALL
 - 4 DK/RF
-

N2. In general, would you say you are satisfied or dissatisfied with the Supreme Court's recent decisions?

- 1 SATISFIED (GO TO N2a)
 - 5 DISSATISFIED (GO TO N2b)
 - 8 DK (GO TO N3)
 - 9 REFUSED (GO TO N3)
-

N2a. Is that very satisfied or somewhat satisfied?

- 1 VERY SATISFIED
 - 2 SOMEWHAT SATISFIED
 - 8 DK
 - 9 REFUSED (GO TO N3)
-

N2b. Is that very dissatisfied or somewhat dissatisfied?

- 4 SOMEWHAT DISSATISFIED
 - 5 VERY DISSATISFIED
 - 8 DK
 - 9 REFUSED
-

N3. In general, would you say that the Supreme Court is too liberal or too conservative or just about right in its decisions?

- 1 TOO LIBERAL
 - 2 TOO CONSERVATIVE
 - 3 ABOUT RIGHT
 - 4 DK/RF
-

N4. Tell me how strongly you agree or disagree with this statement.

"It is not important for the President to appoint an additional Black person to serve as a justice on the Supreme Court."

Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly?

- 1 AGREE STRONGLY
 - 2 AGREE SOMEWHAT
 - 3 DISAGREE SOMEWHAT
 - 4 DISAGREE STRONGLY
 - 8 DK
 - 9 REFUSED
-

[HALF SAMPLE A]

IF (QC6-1=1 ASK N5-1 OTHERWISE GO TO FILTER BEFORE N5-2A)

N5-1. Just to make sure I have got it right, did you say you voted for [ROTATE: the Republican candidate, (republican hsecand name), or the Democratic candidate (democratic hsecand name)] for the House of Representatives?

(LOAD CANDIDATE NAMES FROM RESTORATION GRID ACCORDING TO Z6 (CD#)
--Democrat as code 1, Republican as code 2, Others in order as they appear, 3-8).

- 1 (democratic candidate name from "hsecand")
 - 2 (republican candidate name from "hsecand")
 - 3 (other from "hsecand")
 - 4 (other from "hsecand")
 - 5 (other from "hsecand")
 - 6 (other from "hsecand")
 - 7 (other from "hsecand")
 - 8 Other [SPECIFY]
 - 99 REFUSED
-

{IF N5-1=3-8, ASK N5-1A, OTHERWISE GO TO FILTER BEFORE N5-2A}

N5-1a. Which party was that?

- 1 Other [specify]
 - 9 DK/Refused
-

[HALF SAMPLE B]

IF (QC6-2=1 ASK N5-2A OTHERWISE GO TO SECTION P)
{IF Z4E <> 48 ASK N5-2A OTHERWISE GO TO FILTER BEFORE N5-2ax }

N5-2a. Just to make sure I've got it right, who was it that you said you voted for Congress -- that is, for the House of Representatives in Washington?

(LOAD CANDIDATE NAMES FROM RESTORATION GRID ACCORDING TO Z6 (CD#)
--Democrat as code 1, Republican as code 2, Others in order as they appear, 3-8).

- 1 (democratic candidate name from "hsecand")
 - 2 (republican candidate name from "hsecand")
 - 3 (other from "hsecand")
 - 4 (other from "hsecand")
 - 5 (other from "hsecand")
 - 6 (other from "hsecand")
 - 7 (other from "hsecand")
 - 8 Other [SPECIFY]**
 - 99 REFUSED**
-

{IF Z4E = 48 ASK N5-2AX OTHERWISE GO TO FILTER BEFORE N5-2b }

N5-2ax. Just to make sure I've got it right, who was it that you said you voted for Congress -- that is, for the House of Representatives in Washington? (ONE MENTION ONLY)

- 1 Candidate 1 [SPECIFY]
 - 9 REFUSED
-

N5-2b. Which party was that?

- 1 Democratic Party
 - 2 Republican Party
 - 3 Other [SPECIFY]
 - 9 REFUSED
-

[SECTION P]

P1. The last time we talked, we asked you a lot of questions about you. This time we have only four additional questions.

P1a. First, are you working now, or are you unemployed, retired, a housewife, (a student) or what?

- 1 WORKING NOW
 - 2 TEMPORARILY LAID OFF
 - 4 UNEMPLOYED
 - 5 RETIRED
 - 6 HOUSEWIFE
 - 7 STUDENT
 - 8 PERMANENTLY DISABLED
 - 9 REFUSED
-

P2. What is the month, day and year of your birth?

ENTER MONTH
ENTER DAY
ENTER YEAR

99 IN MONTH IF REFUSED

P3. We'd like to find out what kinds of things people can tell from listening to a person's voice over the telephone. During the interview, did you think I was White, Black or someone of another group?

- 1 WHITE (CAUCASIAN)
 - 2 BLACK (AFRICAN AMERICAN)
 - 3 OTHER
 - 8 DK
 - 9 REFUSED/NA
-

P4. These are all the questions we have. Thank you very much for your time and your help with our research. My office may wish to get in touch with you to verify this interview. We would also like to send you a report of our survey results as our way of thanking you. For this reason, could I please (confirm/get) your address?

[RESTORE NAME, ADDRESS, CITY, STATE, AND ZIP ON SCREEN]

(TECH: READ INFORMATION RESTORED TO RESPONDENT. CONFIRM CORRECT SPELLING OF NAMES, STREETS, ETC).

- 1 Correct {GO TO P5a}
 - 2 Incorrect/Missing Information {GO TO P4a}
-

P4a. In order to send you the results, I need to get your home address (not your mailing address)?

- 1 AGREES (GO TO P4a1)
 - 2 REFUSES (GO TO P4b)
-

P4a1. Let's start with...

Your street address? _____

And what city? _____ state? _____
Your zip code? _____

And your first name? _____
[FOR WOMEN, OBTAIN THEIR FIRST NAME NOT THEIR HUSBAND'S FIRST NAME]

And your last name: _____

P4a-2. Is this your home address?

- 1. YES (GO TO P5a)
 - 5. NO (RE-ASK P4a1)
 - 8. REFUSED/NA (GO TO P5a)
-

P4b. In order to geographically code the results of our survey, what are the closest intersecting streets to your residence?

[RECORD CROSS STREETS]

P5a. ACTUAL RACE OF INTERVIEWER

- 1 WHITE
 - 2 BLACK
 - 3 OTHER
-

P5b. SEX OF RESPONDENT (BY OBSERVATION)

- 1 MALE
 - 2 FEMALE
-