

- I1 Hello, my name is\_\_\_\_\_, and I'm calling from the Center for Survey Research at the University of Virginia. We are conducting a statewide survey of people's opinions on election campaigns. Your telephone number was selected at random to be part of our sample and your answers will be kept strictly confidential. {Q: INTRO}
- 1 NO ANSWER  
2 BUSY  
3 ANSWERING MACHINE  
4 IMMEDIATE REFUSAL  
5 BAD NUM  
6 GO ON
- S1 May I speak with the person in this household who is over 18 and has had a birthday most recently? [IF NECESSARY: I don't mean the youngest adult, but rather, the one who had the most recent birthday.] {Q: BDAY18}
- [IF RECENT BIRTHDAY NOT AVAILABLE SCHEDULE A CALL BACK]
- S2 First, are you registered to vote at this address? {Q: VOTER}
- 1 YES  
2 NO [Terminate]  
9 DON'T KNOW/REFUSED
- Q1 In talking to people about elections, we often find that a lot of people were not able to vote. How about you? Did you vote in the 1998 election, last November 3? {Q: VOTE98}
- 1 YES  
2 NO  
9 DON'T KNOW/REFUSED
- Q2 And thinking back to the 1997 election for Governor in Virginia, did you vote in that election? {Q: VOTE97}
- 1 YES  
2 NO  
9 DON'T KNOW/REFUSED
- Q3 Generally speaking, how much attention do you pay to what's going on in government and politics? Would you say you pay... {Q: PAYATTND}
- 1 a great deal of attention,  
2 some attention,  
3 a little attention,

4 or not very much attention?  
 9 DON'T KNOW/REFUSED

Q4 In today's busy world, most people get their news from television, not newspapers. How often do you read the newspaper? Would you say you read it... {Q: PAPER}

1 every day  
 2 a few times a week  
 3 a few times a month,  
 4 once a month  
 5 less than once a month  
 6 or never  
 9 DON'T KNOW/REFUSED

Q5 How often do you watch TV news channels such as CNN, Headline News or CSPAN? Would you say you watch these kinds of channels... {Q: NEWSWTCH}

1 every day  
 2 a few times a week  
 3 a few times a month,  
 4 once a month  
 5 less than once a month  
 6 or never watch them?  
 9 DON'T KNOW/REFUSED

I6 Next, I have some questions about campaigns and elections...[ROTATE Q6a & Q6b]

Q6a Overall, in terms of ethics and values, do you think election campaigns in Virginia have gotten better in the last 20 years, gotten worse, or do think they're about the same? {Q: ELECTVA}

Q6b Overall, in terms of ethics and values, do you think election campaigns in the United States have gotten better in the last 20 years, gotten worse, or do think they're about the same? {Q: ELECTUS}

1 BETTER  
 2 WORSE  
 3 ABOUT THE SAME  
 9 DON'T KNOW/REFUSED

I7 Now some more questions about political campaigns in general...

{Q: OPNEG}

**ASK OF 1/4 OF RESPONDENTS**

Q7a In your own words, what is a negative campaign? [ACCEPT PHRASE OR SENTENCE. PROBE AS NECESSARY].

Open end response

Don't know/can't recall [VOLUNTEERED]

Q8 Have you ever voted against a candidate because you disapproved of the candidate's campaign behavior, even though you agreed with the candidate on the issues? {Q: AGAINST}

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 9 DON'T KNOW/REFUSED

Q9 Have you ever not voted in an election because you disapproved of the candidates' campaign behavior, even though you agreed with the candidate on the issues? {Q: NOTVOTED}

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 9 DON'T KNOW/REFUSED

{Q: OPNBEHAV}

*If "yes" to Q8 or Q9, ASK*

Q10 Do you recall what the campaign behavior was that you disapproved of? [IF NECESSARY: What was it? [ACCEPT TWO. PROBE AS NECESSARY].

Open end response  
Don't know/can't recall [VOLUNTEERED]

### Vignettes 1-3

**Introduction:** Now I'd like to present you with a series of situation involving two candidates running for political office. Although these situations have been made-up for use in this survey, each of them could happen. After describing each situation I will ask you a few questions about the candidates and their campaigns. First, imagine it is an election year and in your area there are two candidates running for political office. I'll call them [NAME 1] and [NAME 2]. [Insert names, Smith1/Jones2; Brown1/Green2; Wood1/Andrews2]

**Condition 1:** First, imagine you have been following [NAME 1]'s campaign and you agree with [NAME 1]'s position on the issues that are important to you.

**Condition 2:** First, imagine you have been following [NAME 2]'s campaign and you agree with [NAME 2]'s position on the issues that are important to you.

**Condition 3:** First, imagine you have been following the campaign and find that you agree with [NAME 1] on some of the issues that are important to you and [NAME 2] on some other issues that are important to you, and that you haven't decided yet who you are going to vote for.

**Condition 4:** First, imagine that [NAME 1] is a Democrat and [NAME 2] is a Republican.

**Condition 5:** First, imagine that [NAME 1] is a Republican and [NAME 2] is a Democrat.

**Vignette:** Imagine that during an election campaign [NAME 1] runs an advertisement, saying that [NAME 2] \_\_\_\_\_. [NAME 2] responds with an advertisement saying that Smith \_\_\_\_\_. [OR [NAME 2] does not respond to this ad and continues campaigning as before.]

### Vignette Insertions

#### High

Saying that [NAME?] talks one way and vote another  
 Criticizing [NAME?]'s voting record  
 Saying that [NAME?] takes money from the special interest  
 Criticizing [NAME]'s business practices

#### Medium

Saying that [NAME] takes money from individuals with ethical problems  
 Criticizing [NAME] for current personal troubles  
 Criticizing [NAME] for current extramarital affairs  
 Criticizing the political actions of [NAME]'s party leaders

#### Low

Criticizing [NAME] for past personal troubles  
 Criticizing [NAME] for past extramarital affairs  
 Criticizing [NAME] for the personal lives of party leaders  
 Criticizing the behavior of [NAME]'s family

*IF "No Response" skip QV2c below*

#### No Response

[NAME] does not respond to this ad and continues campaigning as before.

QV1 Given what you have heard about the candidates and their campaigns, who would you be more likely to vote for [NAME 1], [NAME 2], or would you not vote at all?

- 1 [NAME 1]
- 2 [NAME 2]
- 3 WOULD NOT VOTE
- 4 NEED MORE (NOT ENOUGH) INFORMATION [VOLUNTEERED]
- 8 DON'T KNOW
- 9 REFUSED

IV2. For each of the following statements about the candidates' advertisements and their campaigns, please tell me whether you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree:

- V2a [NAME 1]'s advertisement was fair.
- V2b [NAME 1] is running a negative campaign.
- V2c [NAME 2]'s advertisement was fair.
- V2d [NAME 2] is running a negative campaign.
- V2e [NAME 2]'s response was smart politically.

- 1 STRONGLY AGREE
- 2 SOMEWHAT AGREE

- 3 SOMEWHAT DISAGREE
- 4 STRONGLY DISAGREE
- 5 NEED MORE INFORMATION [VOLUNTEERED]
- 9 DON'T KNOW/REFUSED

IQV3. Now I have some questions about your overall view of the candidates.

Qv3a Is your overall view of [NAME 1] very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable?

- 1 VERY FAVORABLE
- 2 SOMEWHAT FAVORABLE
- 3 NEUTRAL [VOLUNTEERED]
- 4 SOMEWHAT UNFAVORABLE
- 5 VERY UNFAVORABLE
- 9 DON'T KNOW/REFUSED

QV3a How about your view of [NAME 2]? Is your overall view of [NAME 2] very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable?

- 1 VERY FAVORABLE
- 2 SOMEWHAT FAVORABLE
- 3 NEUTRAL [VOLUNTEERED]
- 4 SOMEWHAT UNFAVORABLE
- 5 VERY UNFAVORABLE
- 9 DON'T KNOW/REFUSED

**Vignette Transition 1:** Next we have a different made-up situation involving two different candidates. I'll call them, Brown and Green.

**Vignette Transition 2:** Next we have a third situation involving another two candidates. I'll call these two candidates, Wood and Andrews.

<b>Vignettes End</b>
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[SPLIT FORM A--Guidelines]

I11 Now I'm going to read a list of different *voluntary* guidelines that some people have suggested for improving election campaigns. For each one, please tell me if you would support or oppose candidates adopting the guideline. The first guideline is... [ROTATE LIST]. The next guideline is...

{Q: GUIDE1}

Q11a Candidates should agree to follow a code of campaign ethics

{Q: GUIDE2}

Q11b Candidates should agree to limit campaign spending

Q11c Candidates should agree to include their own voice and picture in every campaign ad. {Q: GUIDE3}

Q11fd Candidates should agree to participate in a specific number of public debates {Q: GUIDE4}

Would you support or oppose the adoption this guideline by candidates?

- 1 SUPPORT
- 2 OPPOSE
- 9 DON'T KNOW/REFUSED

**[SPLIT FORM B--Laws]**

I12 Now I'm going to read a list of *proposed* laws that some people have suggested for improving election campaigns. For each one, please tell me if you would support or oppose the law. The first law is... [ROTATE LIST]. The next law is...

{Q: LAW1}

Q12a Candidates should be required by law to follow a code of campaign ethics

{Q: LAW2}

Q12b Candidates should be required by law to limit campaign spending

{Q: LAW3}

Q12c Candidates should be required by law to include their own voice and picture in every campaign ad.

{Q: LAW4}

Q12d Candidates should be required by law to participate in a specific number of public debates.

Would you support or oppose the law?

- 1 SUPPORT
- 2 OPPOSE
- 9 DON'T KNOW/REFUSED

I13 Now I would like to get your current views about the government [ROTATE]

{Q: TRUSTUS}

Q13a How much of the time do you think you can trust the government in Washington, D.C. to do what is right? Would you say you can trust it...

{Q: TRUSTVA}

Q13b How much of the time do you think you can trust the government in VIRGINIA to do what is right? Would you say you can trust it...

- 1 just about always
- 2 most of the time
- 3 only some of the time
- 4 or almost never?
- 9 DON'T KNOW/REFUSED

I14 Please tell me whether you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree with the following statements:

Q114a "People like me don't have any say about what the government does." {Q: EFFIC1}

Q114b "Public officials don't care much what people like me think." {Q: NOCARE}

- 1 STRONGLY AGREE
- 2 SOMEWHAT AGREE
- 3 SOMEWHAT DISAGREE
- 4 STRONGLY DISAGREE
- 9 DON'T KNOW/REFUSED

#### Vignettes 4-5

**Introduction 1:** Next, I have two more made up situations involving candidates running for political office. Like before, I'm be asking you questions about the candidates and their campaigns. For the first situation I'll call the candidates [NAME 1] and [NAME 2]. [Insert names, Miller1/Waters2; Wells1/Adams2]

**Condition 1:** First, imagine you have been following [NAME 1] 's campaign and you agree with [NAME 1]'s position on the issues that are important to you.

**Condition 2:** First, imagine you have been following [NAME 2]'s campaign and you agree with [NAME 2] 's position on the issues that are important to you.

**Condition 3:** First, imagine you have been following the campaign and find that you agree with [NAME 1] on some of the issues that are important to you and [NAME 2] on some other issues that are important to you, and that you haven't decided yet who you are going to vote for.

**Condition 4:** First, imagine that [NAME 1] is a Democrat and [NAME 2] is a Republican.

**Condition 5:** First, imagine that [NAME 1] is a Republican and [NAME 2] is a Democrat.

**Vignette:** Imagine that during an election campaign [NAME 1] runs a campaign advertisement, saying that [NAME 2] \_\_\_\_\_. [NAME 2] responds with an advertisement saying that [NAME 1] \_\_\_\_\_. [OR [NAME 2] does not respond to this ad and continues campaigning as before.]

#### Vignette Insertions

##### High

- Saying that [NAME?] talks one way and vote another
- Criticizing [NAME?]'s voting record
- Saying that [NAME?] takes money from the special interest
- Criticizing [NAME]'s business practices

##### Medium

- Saying that [NAME] takes money from individuals with ethical problems
- Criticizing [NAME] for current personal troubles
- Criticizing [NAME] for current extramarital affairs
- Criticizing the political actions of [NAME]'s party leaders

**Low**

- Criticizing [NAME] for past personal troubles
- Criticizing [NAME] for past extramarital affairs
- Criticizing [NAME] for the personal lives of party leaders
- Criticizing the behavior of [NAME]'s family

***IF "No Response" skip QV2c below*****No Response**

[NAME] does not respond to this ad and continues campaigning as before.

QV1 Given what you have heard about the candidates and their campaigns, who would you be more likely to vote for [NAME 1], [NAME 2], or would you not vote at all?

- 1 [NAME 1]
- 2 [NAME 2]
- 3 WOULD NOT VOTE
- 4 NEED MORE (NOT ENOUGH) INFORMATION [VOLUNTEERED]
- 8 DON'T KNOW
- 9 REFUSED

IV2. For each of the following statements about the candidate's advertisements and their campaigns, please tell me whether you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree:

- V2a [NAME 1]'s advertisement was fair.
- V2b [NAME 1] is running a negative campaign.
- V2c [NAME 2]'s advertisement was fair.
- V2d [NAME 2] is running a negative campaign.
- V2e [NAME 2]'s response was smart politically.

- 1 STRONGLY AGREE
- 2 SOMEWHAT AGREE
- 3 SOMEWHAT DISAGREE
- 4 STRONGLY DISAGREE
- 5 NEED MORE INFORMATION [VOLUNTEERED]
- 9 DON'T KNOW/REFUSED

IQV3. Now I have some questions about your overall view of the candidates.

Qv3a Is your overall view of [NAME 1] very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable?

- 1 VERY FAVORABLE
- 2 SOMEWHAT FAVORABLE
- 3 NEUTRAL [VOLUNTEERED]
- 4 SOMEWHAT UNFAVORABLE
- 5 VERY UNFAVORABLE

9 DON'T KNOW/REFUSED

QV3a How about your view of [NAME 2]. Is your overall view of [NAME 2] very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable?

- 1 VERY FAVORABLE
- 2 SOMEWHAT FAVORABLE
- 3 NEUTRAL [VOLUNTEERED]
- 4 SOMEWHAT UNFAVORABLE
- 5 VERY UNFAVORABLE
- 9 DON'T KNOW/REFUSED

**Vignette Transition:** Next we have one final situation involving another two candidates. I'll call these two candidates, [NAME 1] and [NAME 2].

**Vignettes End**

{Q: SENTORS}

Q15 I have three short questions about politics in general. We are interested in how well known some of our public figures are. Do you happen to know the names of the two U.S. Senators from Virginia?

[IF NECESSARY: And who are they?]

- 1 WARNER AND ROBB
- 2 JOHN WARNER
- 3 CHUCK ROBB
- 4 NEITHER NAME CORRECT/DON'T KNOW
- 9 REFUSED

{Q: COURT}

Q16 Do you happen to know who has the final responsibility to decide if a law is constitutional or not? Is it the President, the Congress, the Supreme Court, or are you unsure who has the final responsibility?

- 1 PRESIDENT
- 2 CONGRESS
- 3 SUPREME COURT
- 4 DON'T KNOW
- 9 REFUSED

{Q: MOSTMEM}

Q17 Do you happen to know which party has the most members in the U.S. Senate? (IF NECESSARY: Which one?)

- 1 REPUBLICAN
- 2 DEMOCRAT
- 3 DON'T KNOW
- 9 REFUSED

**Demographics**

{Q: PARTY}

D1 Now, just a few questions simply for classification purposes. Again, all of your answers will be kept strictly confidential. Generally speaking, do you consider yourself a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or something else?

- 1 REPUBLICAN
- 2 DEMOCRAT
- 3 INDEPENDENT
- 4 OTHER PREFERENCE/NO PREFERENCE
- 9 DON'T KNOW/REFUSED

{Q: STRGREP}

***IF "REPUBLICAN" IN D1, ASK***

D2 Would you call yourself a strong Republican or a not very strong Republican?

- 1 STRONG
- 2 NOT STRONG
- 9 DON'T KNOW/REFUSED

{Q: STRGDEM}

***IF "DEMOCRAT" IN D1, ASK***

D3 Would you call yourself a strong Democrat or a not very strong Democrat?

- 1 STRONG
- 2 NOT STRONG
- 9 DON'T KNOW/REFUSED

{Q: CLSPARTY}

***IF "INDEPENDENT/OTHER PARTY/NO PREFERENCE" IN D1, ASK***

D4 Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party or to the Democratic Party?

- 1 REPUBLICAN
- 2 DEMOCRAT
- 3 NEITHER, "JUST INDEPENDENT"
- 9 DON'T KNOW/REFUSED

{Q: POLVIEWS}

D5 How about your political views? Do you consider yourself generally liberal, moderate, or conservative?

- 1 LIBERAL
- 2 MODERATE
- 3 CONSERVATIVE
- 4 [VOLENTEERED] TERMS DON'T APPLY
- 9 DON'T KNOW/REFUSED

{Q: YEARBORN}

D6 In what year were you born?

[ENTER YEAR:4 DIGITS]  
 [4 digits; Refused = 9999]

{Q: EDUC}

D7 What is the highest level of education you completed?

- 1 ELEMENTARY SCHOOL ONLY
- 2 SOME HIGH SCHOOL DID NOT FINISH
- 3 COMPLETED HIGH SCHOOL
- 3 SOME COLLEGE BUT DIDN'T FINISH
- 4 2 YEAR COLLEGE DEGREE/A.A./A.S
- 5 4 YEAR COLLEGE DEGREE/B.A./B.S.
- 6 SOME GRADUATE WORK
- 7 COMPLETED MASTERS OR PROFESSIONAL DEGREE
- 8 ADVANCED GRADUATE WORK OR PH.D.
- 9 DON'T KNOW/REFUSED

{Q: RELIG}

D8 What is your religious preference, Protestant, Catholic, Jewish or something else?

- 1 PROTESTANT
- 2 CATHOLIC
- 4 JEWISH
- 5 HINDU
- 5 MUSLIM
- 6 BUDDHIST
- 7 OTHER [SPECIFY:]
- 8 NOT RELIGIOUS AT ALL →[SKIP TO D14]
- 9 DON'T KNOW/REFUSED

{Q: OTHCHRST}

**IF "OTHER" IN D8, ASK**

D9 Do you consider yourself a Christian?

- 1 YES
- 2 NO
- 3 NOT RELIGIOUS AT ALL → [SKIP TO D14]
- 9 DON'T KNOW REFUSED

{Q: EVANGEL}

**IF "PROTESTANT" IN D8 OR "YES" IN D9, ASK:**

D10 Would you describe yourself as an evangelical Christian? [DEFINITION: other acceptable terms are: fundamentalist, born again, charismatic, Pentecostal.]

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 9 DON'T KNOW/REFUSED

D13 How often do you attend church or religious services? [USE CATEGORIES AND PROBE AS NECESSARY] {Q: ATTEND}

- 1 Never
- 2 Less Than Once A Year
- 3 About Once or Twice a Year
- 4 Several Times A Year
- 5 About Once a Month
- 6 2-3 Times A Month
- 7 Nearly Every Week
- 8 Every Week
- 9 Several Times a Week
- 10 DON'T KNOW/REFUSED

D14 Are you currently married, widowed, divorced, separated, or have you never been married? {Q: MARITAL}

- 1 MARRIED
- 2 WIDOWED
- 3 DIVORCED
- 4 SEPERATED
- 5 NEVER BEEN MARRIED
- 9 DON'T KNOW/REFUSED

D15 Now some questions about your household. How many adults live in your household, including yourself? {Q: NUMADULT}

[DEFINE: OVER 18 YEARS OF AGE]

[ENTER NUMBER:]  
[2 digits; Refused = 99]

D16 How many persons under 18 live in your household? {Q: NUMKIDS}

[ENTER NUMBER:]  
[2 digits; Refused = 99]

D17 And how many different telephone numbers does this household have? By this I mean regular numbers that are used to receive incoming calls. This does not include cell phones, or lines used for computers or fax machines. {Q: NUMNUM}

- 1 ONE

- 2 TWO
- 3 THREE
- 4 FOUR
- 5 FIVE
- 6 SIX OR MORE
- 9 DON'T KNOW/REFUSED

{Q: INCOME}

D18 I am going to read a list of income ranges. Would you please stop me when I read the range that best describes your household income from all sources. That would be before taxes and other deductions.

[ PRECISE CATEGORIES: ]

- 1 Less than fifteen thousand [ \$0 \$14,999 ]
- 2 Fifteen to 35 thousand [\$15,000 \$34,999 ]
- 3 Thirty-five to 50 thousand [\$35,000 \$49,999 ]
- 4 Fifty to 75 thousand [\$50,000 \$74,999 ]
- 5 Seventy-five to 100 thousand [\$75,000 \$100,000]
- 6 One hundred to 150 thousand [\$100,000 149,999]
- 7 Over 150 thousand [\$150,000 +]
- 9 DON'T KNOW/REFUSED

{Q: HISPANIC}

D19 Are you of Spanish or Hispanic origin?

- 1 YES
- 2 NO
- 3 DON'T KNOW/REFUSED

{Q: RACE}

D20 Would you describe yourself as....

[READ LIST, BUT NOT WHAT'S IN ALL-CAPS

- 1 White,
- 2 [READ ONE] African American or Black
- 3 Asian [INCLUDING SOUTH ASIAN AND PACIFIC ISLANDER]
- 5 American Indian? [ALSO CALLED NATIVE AMERICAN]
- 6 OTHER [SPECIFY]
- 9 DON'T KNOW/REFUSED

{Q: RGENDER}

D21 IDENTIFY GENDER BY VOICE

- 1 FEMALE
- 2 MALE

**INTERVIEWER QUESTIONS**

IV1 INTERVIEWER COMMENTS: PLEASE TYPE IN HERE ANY SPECIAL COMMENTS THAT YOU FEEL SHOULD BE RECORDED, OR ANY SPECIAL PROBLEMS INVOLVED IN THIS PARTICULAR INTERVIEW. {Q: IVCOM}

[open-end 3 lines]  
[HIT RETURN TWICE]

IV2 LAST FOUR DIGITS OF YOUR SSN: {Q: IVSSN}

[4 digits; Refused = 9999]

IV3 YOUR GENDER {Q: IVGENDER}

1 FEMALE  
2 MALE

IV4 YOUR RACE {Q: IVRACE}

1 WHITE  
2 BLACK  
3 HISPANIC  
4 ASIAN  
5 NATIVE AMERICAN  
6 OTHER