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**Abstract**

Brehm examines the hypothesis that the National Election Study's vote choice bias towards incumbents is due to question ordering effects. Specifically, some authors have argued that naming the incumbent candidate before asking for respondent vote choice increases the likelihood of indicating a vote for the incumbent. To test this hypothesis, Brehm compares the results of the 1980 post-election survey -- in which the incumbent identification item preceded the vote choice question -- to the 1984 post-election survey -- when the incumbent name was given after the vote question. He finds that moving the placement of the incumbent item to after the vote choice question improved the accuracy of district-by-district estimates of election outcomes and reduced the bias toward incumbents. Brehm concludes by noting that question ordering is not the only source of the National Election Study's pro-incumbent bias. Although the bias is apparently reduced by reversing question order, overall estimates in the 1984 survey still favor incumbents.