

**American National Election Studies
Evaluations of Government and Society Study, Survey 2 (EGSS2)
Spring 2011**

Questionnaire

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Fielding & Sample Specifications

- Eligibility: respondents should meet three eligibility criteria:
 - U.S. citizen
 - Age 18 or older
 - Not a prior participant in any other ANES survey
- **n** = 1,200 completions

Programming Specifications

- Missing data and nonresponse codes: Please assign a numeric code to all variables rather than using system missing. Please use the following nonresponse codes:
 - -1: inapplicable, legitimate skip. Use this code when the specified flow through the questionnaire makes a question inapplicable. For example, a “how strongly do you favor that” follow-up question would be coded -1 when the preceding answer was “oppose.”
 - -4: other/error: data are missing due to a technical problem.
 - -5: breakoff; the interview was terminated before reaching this question.
 - -6: unit nonresponse. The panelist never started the questionnaire. Given that unit nonresponse refers to the entire questionnaire, -6 would be present for all of the responses or for none.
 - -7: no answer; the question was displayed to the respondent, but the R clicked “Next” without answering the question.
- Nonresponse prompting: Unless otherwise noted for a specific item, for every item to which the R fails to respond, please re-display the item once with the following text above it: We noticed that you did not answer the question below. We would be very grateful if you would be willing to provide your best answer, even if you’re not completely sure. But if you’d prefer to skip this question, you can click “Next.”
- Nonresponse prompt records: record whether or not the nonresponse prompt is shown.
- Variable names: Please name all item variables with “C2” (for cross-section 2) prepended to the item name. E.g. the response to the item E2 should be in a variable named C2E2.

- Codes for response options are indicated in brackets. These are not displayed to the respondent.
- Forward/reverse response option order by respondent: randomly assign each R to forward or reverse response option order. When response options in the question stem appear in parenthesis in both orders, randomly display only the assigned order to the respondent.
- Timing: Record all item timings.
- Merged variables to deliver with the data: include on the data file preload variables, administrative variables for survey invitations sent, administrative variables for number of previous KN surveys completed, geographic data, Census Region, metropolitan status, and all data from any profile questionnaire administered by KN including:
 - standard demographic profile (including home tenure, age, sex, age and sex of household members, parenthood status, marital status, ethnicity, race, education, employment status, occupation, income);
 - public affairs profile (including country on right track, most important problem, voter registration status, 2008 turnout and candidate choice, party ID, liberal/conservative ID, Obama attitudes & approval, interest in politics, efficacy & citizen duty items, news exposure, sexual orientation, veteran status, religious denomination, religious service attendance, civic participation, self-id as environmentalist, gun ownership.)

[FORMAT RANDOMIZATION GROUP: ASSIGN RANDOM VARIABLE GROUP=1,2,3,4,5, OR 6. QUESTIONS WITH ALTERNATIVE FORMATS CAN BE BRANCH/GRID/LIST, BRANCH/LIST, OR GRID/LIST. RESPONDENTS IN EACH GROUP RECEIVE QUESTION FORMATS AS FOLLOWS FOR QUESTIONS THAT HAVE ALTERNATIVE FORMATS. THIS INFORMATION IS SPECIFIED IN THE INSTRUCTIONS FOR EACH APPLICABLE QUESTION:

Group	Question type		
	Branch/Grid/List	Branch/List	Grid/List
1	B	B	G
2	B	B	L
3	G	B	G
4	G	L	G
5	L	L	L
6	L	L	L

[DISPLAY]

This survey is sponsored by Stanford University. If you have any questions or comments about the survey, you may contact Dr. Matthew DeBell at 650-725-2239, or by email at debell@stanford.edu.

If you are not satisfied with how this study is being conducted, or if you have any concerns, complaints, or general questions about the research or your rights as a participant, please contact the Stanford Institutional Review Board (IRB) to speak to someone independent of the research team at 650-723-2480 or toll free at 1-866-680-2906. You can also write to the Stanford IRB, Stanford University, MC 5579, Palo Alto, CA 94304.

[A. INTEREST IN POLITICS]

[SP]

[A1]

How interested are you in information about what's going on in government and politics? (Extremely interested, very interested, moderately interested, slightly

interested, or not interested at all? / Not interested at all, slightly interested, moderately interested, very interested, or extremely interested?)

- Extremely interested [1]
- Very interested [2]
- Moderately interested [3]
- Slightly interested [4]
- Not interested at all [5]

[B. RETROSPECTIVE TURNOUT AND CANDIDATE CHOICE 2008]

[SP]

[B1]

In 2008, the major candidates for president were (John McCain for the Republicans and Barack Obama for the Democrats / Barack Obama for the Democrats and John McCain for the Republicans). In that election, did you definitely vote, definitely not vote, or are you not completely sure whether you voted?

- Definitely voted [1]
- Definitely did not vote [2]
- Not completely sure [3]

[IF B1=3]

[SAME PAGE AS B1]

[SP]

[B2]

Do you think you probably voted or probably did not vote?

- Probably voted [1]
- Probably did not vote [2]

[IF B1=1 OR B2=1]

[SP]

[B3]

In the 2008 presidential election, who did you vote for? (Barack Obama, John McCain, or someone else? / John McCain, Barack Obama, or someone else?)

- Barack Obama [1]
- John McCain [2]
- someone else [3]

[C. EFFICACY]

[SP]

[C1]

How much do government officials care what people like you think? (A great deal, a lot, a moderate amount, a little, or not at all? / Not at all, a little, a moderate amount, a lot, or a great deal?)

- A great deal [1]
- A lot [2]
- A moderate amount [3]
- A little [4]
- Not at all [5]

[SP]

[C2]

How much can people like you affect what the government does? (A great deal, a lot, a moderate amount, a little, or not at all? / Not at all, a little, a moderate amount, a lot, or a great deal?)

- A great deal [1]
- A lot [2]
- A moderate amount [3]
- A little [4]

Not at all [5]

[NO SECTION D]

[EB. OBAMA EVALUATION (JOB APPROVAL) – BRANCHING]

[SP]

[IF GROUP IN (1,2,3)]

[EB1] Do you approve, disapprove, or neither approve nor disapprove of the way Barack Obama is handling **his job as president**?

- Approve [1]
- Disapprove [2]
- Neither approve nor disapprove [3]

[SP]

[IF EB1=1 OR 2]

[IF EB1=1 INSERT “APPROVE” IN [APPROVE/DISAPPROVE]; IF EB1=2 INSERT “DISAPPROVE” IN [APPROVE/DISAPPROVE]]

[EB2] Do you [approve/disapprove] (extremely strongly, moderately strongly, or slightly strongly / slightly strongly, moderately strongly, or extremely strongly)?

- Extremely strongly [1]
- Moderately strongly [2]
- Slightly strongly [3]

[EL. OBAMA EVALUATION (JOB APPROVAL) – LIST]

[SP]

[IF GROUP IN (4,5,6)]

[EL1] Do you approve, disapprove, or neither approve nor disapprove of the way Barack Obama is handling **his job as president**?

- Approve extremely strongly [1]
- Approve moderately strongly [2]
- Approve slightly strongly [3]
- Neither approve nor disapprove [4]
- Disapprove slightly strongly [5]
- Disapprove moderately strongly [6]
- Disapprove extremely strongly [7]

[F. MOST IMPORTANT PROBLEM]

[TEXT BOX]

[F1] What do you think is the most important problem facing the United States today?
[TEXT BOX]

[G. PARTY DIFFERENCES]

[G1] Do you think there are any important differences in what the Republicans and Democrats stand for?

- Yes [1]

No [2]

[H. PARTY LIKES/DISLIKES]

[RANDOMLY ASSIGN VARIABLE HGROUP=1,2,3, OR 4]

[SP]

[IF HGROUP=1]

[H2] Is there anything in particular that you like about the **Democratic** Party?

Yes [1]

No [2]

[TEXT BOX]

[IF H2=1]

[DISPLAY ON SAME PAGE]

[H3] What is that?

[TEXT BOX]

[IF HGROUP=1]

[H4] Anything else you like about the Democratic Party?

Yes [1]

No [2]

[IF YES RETURN TO TEXT BOX WITH ORIGINAL TEXT PRESERVED]

[IF HGROUP=2]

[H5] Is there anything in particular that you **don't like** about the Democratic Party?

Yes [1]

No [2]

[TEXT BOX]

[IF H5=1]

[DISPLAY ON SAME PAGE]

[H6] What is that?

[TEXT BOX]

[IF HGROUP=2]

[H7] Anything else you don't like about the Democratic Party?

Yes [1]

No [2]

[IF YES RETURN TO TEXT BOX WITH ORIGINAL TEXT PRESERVED]

[IF HGROUP=3]

[H8] Is there anything in particular that you **like** about the **Republican** Party?

Yes [1]

No [2]

[TEXT BOX]
[IF H8=1]
[DISPLAY ON SAME PAGE]
[H9] What is that?

[TEXT BOX]

[IF HGROUP=3]
[H10] Anything else you like about the Republican Party?

Yes [1]
 No [2]

[IF YES RETURN TO TEXT BOX WITH ORIGINAL TEXT PRESERVED]

[IF HGROUP=4]
[H11] Is there anything in particular that you **don't like** about the Republican Party?

Yes [1]
 No [2]

[TEXT BOX]
[IF H11=1]
[DISPLAY ON SAME PAGE]
[H12] What is that?

[TEXT BOX]

[IF HGROUP=4]
[H13] Anything else you don't like about the Republican Party?

Yes [1]
 No [2]

[IF YES RETURN TO TEXT BOX WITH ORIGINAL TEXT PRESERVED]

[JG. EMOTIONS ABOUT WHAT'S GOING ON IN THE COUNTRY – GRID FORMAT]

[RANDOMIZE THE ORDER OF JG1 TO JG6 – RECORD ORDER]
[RANDOMLY ASSIGN GRID RESPONSE OPTIONS IN FORWARD OR REVERSE ORDER
AND RECORD ORDER]

[SP]

[IF GROUP IN (1,3,4)]

[JG0] Generally speaking, how do you feel about the way things are going in the country these days?

Select one answer from each row in the grid

		Extremely	Very	Moderately	A little	Not at all
		[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]
[JG1]	How angry?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[JG2]	How afraid?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[JG3]	How proud?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[JG4]	How hopeful?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

- [JG5] How worried? ○ ○ ○ ○ ○
- [JG6] How outraged? ○ ○ ○ ○ ○

[JL. EMOTIONS ABOUT WHAT'S GOING ON IN THE COUNTRY – LIST]

[ASK SECTION IF GROUP IN (2,5,6)]

[RANDOMLY ASSIGN GRID RESPONSE OPTIONS IN FORWARD OR REVERSE ORDER]

[RANDOMIZE ORDER OF ITEMS JL1, JL2, JL3, JL4, JL5, JL6]

[JL1] Generally speaking, how **angry** do you feel about the way things are going in the country these days? (Extremely, very , moderately, a little, or not at all? / Not at all, a little, moderately, very, or extremely?)

- ___ Extremely angry [1]
- ___ Very angry [2]
- ___ Moderately angry [3]
- ___ A little angry [4]
- ___ Not at all angry [5]

[JL2] Generally speaking, how **afraid** do you feel about the way things are going in the country these days? (Extremely, very , moderately, a little, or not at all? / Not at all, a little, moderately, very, or extremely?)

- ___ Extremely afraid [1]
- ___ Very afraid [2]
- ___ Moderately afraid [3]
- ___ A little afraid [4]
- ___ Not at all afraid [5]

[JL3] Generally speaking, how **proud** do you feel about the way things are going in the country these days? (Extremely, very , moderately, a little, or not at all? / Not at all, a little, moderately, very, or extremely?)

- ___ Extremely proud [1]
- ___ Very proud [2]
- ___ Moderately proud [3]
- ___ A little proud [4]
- ___ Not at all proud [5]

[JL4] Generally speaking, how **hopeful** do you feel about the way things are going in the country these days? (Extremely, very , moderately, a little, or not at all? / Not at all, a little, moderately, very, or extremely?)

- ___ Extremely hopeful [1]
- ___ Very hopeful [2]
- ___ Moderately hopeful [3]
- ___ A little hopeful [4]
- ___ Not at all hopeful [5]

[JL5] Generally speaking, how **worried** do you feel about the way things are going in the country these days? (Extremely, very , moderately, a little, or not at all? / Not at all, a little, moderately, very, or extremely?)

- ___ Extremely worried [1]
- ___ Very worried [2]
- ___ Moderately worried [3]
- ___ A little worried [4]
- ___ Not at all worried [5]

[JL6] Generally speaking, how **outraged** do you feel about the way things are going in the country these days? (Extremely, very , moderately, a little, or not at all? / Not at all, a little, moderately, very, or extremely?)

- Extremely outraged [1]
- Very outraged [2]
- Moderately outraged [3]
- A little outraged [4]
- Not at all outraged [5]

[NO SECTION K]

[LB. CONDITION OF COUNTRY, FREEDOM – BRANCHING]

[SP]

[IF GROUP IN (1,2,3)]

- [LB1] Compared to 2008, do Americans today have more freedom, less freedom, or the same amount of freedom?
- More freedom today [1]
 - Less freedom today [2]
 - The same amount of freedom [3]

[SP]

[IF LB1=1 OR LB1=2]

[DISPLAY ON SAME PAGE AS LB1]

[IF LB1=1 FILL “(MORE/LESS)” WITH “MORE”; IF LB1=2 FILL WITH “LESS”]

- [LB2] A great deal (more/less), a moderate amount (more/less), or a little (more/less)?
- A great deal [1]
 - A moderate amount [2]
 - A little [3]

[LL. CONDITION OF COUNTRY, FREEDOM – LIST]

[SP]

[IF GROUP IN (4,5,6)]

- [LL1] Compared to 2008, do Americans today have more freedom, less freedom, or the same amount of freedom?
- A great deal more freedom today [1]
 - A moderate amount more freedom today [2]
 - A little more freedom today [3]
 - The same amount of freedom [4]
 - A little less freedom today [5]
 - A moderate amount less freedom today [6]
 - A great deal less freedom today [7]

[MB. ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE – BRANCH]

[ASK SECTION IF GROUP=1 OR GROUP=2]

[SP]

- [MB1] Now thinking about the economy in the country as a whole, would you say that as compared to one year ago, the nation's economy is now better, about the same, or worse?
- Better [1]
 - About the same [2]
 - Worse [3]

[SP]

[IF MB1=1]

[MB2] Much better or somewhat better?
 ___ Much better [1]
 ___ Somewhat better [2]

[SP]
 [IF MB1=3]
 [MB3] Much worse or somewhat worse?
 ___ Much worse [1]
 ___ Somewhat worse [2]

[PROGRAMMING: MA5/MA6 appears on the same page as MB4.]

[SP]
 [MB4] What about 12 months from now? Do you think the economy, in the country as a whole, will be better, about the same, or worse in 12 months?
 ___ Better [1]
 ___ About the same [2]
 ___ Worse [3]

[SP]
 [IF MB4=1]
 [MB5] Much better or somewhat better?
 ___ Much better [1]
 ___ Somewhat better [2]

[SP]
 [IF MB4=3]
 [MB6] Much worse or somewhat worse?
 ___ Much worse [1]
 ___ Somewhat worse [2]

[MG. ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE – GRID]

[SP]
 [IF GROUP IN (3,4)]
 [MG0] Now thinking about the economy in the country as a whole...

		Much better [1]	Somewhat better [2]	About the same [3]	Somewhat worse [4]	Much worse [5]
[MG1]	would you say that as compared to one year ago, the nation's economy is now better, about the same, or worse?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[MG2]	What about 12 months from now ? Do you think the economy, in the country as a whole, will be better, about the same, or worse in 12 months?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

[ML. ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE – LIST]

[SP]

[IF GROUP IN (5,6)]

[ML1] Now thinking about the economy in the country as a whole, would you say that as compared to one year ago, the nation's economy is now better, about the same, or worse?

- Much better [1]
- Somewhat better [2]
- About the same [3]
- Somewhat worse [4]
- Much worse [5]

[SP]

[IF GROUP IN (5,6)]

[ML4] What about 12 months from now? Do you think the economy, in the country as a whole, will be better, about the same, or worse in 12 months?

- Much better [1]
- Somewhat better [2]
- About the same [3]
- Somewhat worse [4]
- Much worse [5]

[N. PARTY ID]

[SP]

[IF N1ORN3=1]

[NOTE RESPONSE CODE VALUES MATCH N3 BUT ORDER (2,1,3,4) DIFFERS]

[N1] Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an independent, or what?

- Republican [2]
- Democrat [1]
- independent [3]
- something else [4]

[TEXT BOX]

[IF N1=4]

[N2] **[PROGRAMMING: If N2 is displayed, display it on the same screen as N1.]**

What is that? _____

[SP]

[IF N1ORN3=2]

[N3] Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican, an independent, or what?

- Democrat [1]
- Republican [2]
- independent [3]
- something else [4]

[TEXT BOX]

[IF N3=4]

[N4] **[PROGRAMMING: If H4 is displayed, display it on the same screen as H3.]**

What is that? _____

[IF RB2=1]

[RB3]

Do you like it (a great deal, a moderate amount, or a little / a little, a moderate amount, or a great deal)?

- A great deal [1]
- A moderate amount [2]
- A little [3]

[SP]

[IF RB2=2]

[RB4]

Do you dislike it (a great deal, a moderate amount, or a little / a little, a moderate amount, or a great deal)?

- A great deal [1]
- A moderate amount [2]
- A little [3]

[SP]

[RB5]

Do you like the **Republican Party**, dislike it, or neither like nor dislike it?

- Like [1]
- Dislike [2]
- Neither like nor dislike [3]

[SP]

[IF RB5=1]

[RB6]

Do you like it (a great deal, a moderate amount, or a little / a little, a moderate amount, or a great deal)?

- A great deal [1]
- A moderate amount [2]
- A little [3]

[SP]

[IF RB5=2]

[RB7]

Do you dislike it (a great deal, a moderate amount, or a little / a little, a moderate amount, or a great deal)?

- A great deal [1]
- A moderate amount [2]
- A little [3]

[SP]

[RB8]

Do you like **Barack Obama**, dislike him, or neither like nor dislike him?

- Like [1]
- Dislike [2]
- Neither like nor dislike [3]

[SP]

[IF RB8=1]

[RB9]

Do you like him (a great deal, a moderate amount, or a little / a little, a moderate amount, or a great deal)?

- A great deal [1]
- A moderate amount [2]
- A little [3]

[SP]

[IF RB8=2]

[RB10]

Do you dislike him (a great deal, a moderate amount, or a little / a little, a moderate amount, or a great deal)?

- A great deal [1]
- A moderate amount [2]
- A little [3]

[SP]

[RB11]

Do you like **John Boehner**, dislike him, or neither like nor dislike him?

- Like [1]
- Dislike [2]
- Neither like nor dislike [3]

[SP]

[IF RB11=1]

[RB12]

Do you like him (a great deal, a moderate amount, or a little / a little, a moderate amount, or a great deal)?

- A great deal [1]
- A moderate amount [2]
- A little [3]

[SP]

[IF RB11=2]

[RB13]

Do you dislike him (a great deal, a moderate amount, or a little / a little, a moderate amount, or a great deal)?

- A great deal [1]
- A moderate amount [2]
- A little [3]

[RG. ATTITUDES TOWARD PARTIES, OBAMA, BOEHNER – GRID]

[ASK SECTION RG IF GROUP=3 OR GROUP=4]

[DISPLAY]

[RG1]

We'd like to ask how much you like or dislike various people and groups who have been in the news recently.

[GRID]

[RANDOMIZE AND RECORD ORDER OF ROWS A, B, C, D ON GRID]

[SHOW RESPONSE OPTIONS IN FORWARD OR REVERSE ORDER AS ASSIGNED]

Do you like, dislike, or neither like nor dislike each group or person below?

Select one answer from each row in the grid.

		Like a great deal [1]	Like a moderate amount [2]	Like a little [3]	Neither like nor dislike [4]	Dislike a little [5]	Dislike a moderate amount [6]	Dislike a great deal [7]
[RG2]	Democratic Party	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[RG5]	Republican Party	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

[RG8]	Barack Obama	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[RG11]	John Boehner	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

[RL. ATTITUDES TOWARD PARTIES, OBAMA, BOEHNER – LIST]

[ASK SECTION IF GROUP=5 OR GROUP=6]

[DISPLAY]

[RL1] We'd like to ask how much you like or dislike various people and groups who have been in the news recently.

[RANDOMIZE AND RECORD ORDER OF RL2 AND RL5]

[SP]

[RL2] Do you like the **Democratic Party**, dislike it, or neither like nor dislike it?

Like a great deal [1]
 Like a moderate amount [2]
 Like a little [3]
 Neither like nor dislike [4]
 Dislike a little [5]
 Dislike a moderate amount [6]
 Dislike a great deal [7]

[SP]

[RL5] Do you like the **Republican Party**, dislike it, or neither like nor dislike it?

Like a great deal [1]
 Like a moderate amount [2]
 Like a little [3]
 Neither like nor dislike [4]
 Dislike a little [5]
 Dislike a moderate amount [6]
 Dislike a great deal [7]

[SP]

[RL8] Do you like **Barack Obama**, dislike him, or neither like nor dislike him?

Like a great deal [1]
 Like a moderate amount [2]
 Like a little [3]
 Neither like nor dislike [4]
 Dislike a little [5]
 Dislike a moderate amount [6]
 Dislike a great deal [7]

[SP]

[RL11] Do you like **John Boehner**, dislike him, or neither like nor dislike him?

Like a great deal [1]
 Like a moderate amount [2]
 Like a little [3]
 Neither like nor dislike [4]
 Dislike a little [5]
 Dislike a moderate amount [6]
 Dislike a great deal [7]

[S. FEELING THERMOMETER, OBAMA]

[DISPLAY]

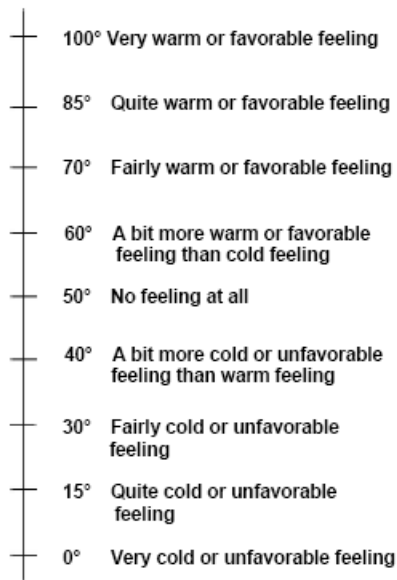
[S1]

Please look at the graphic below.

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

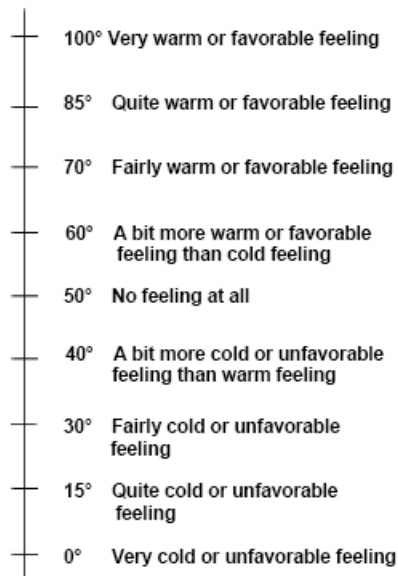
Ratings between 50 degrees and 100 degrees mean that you feel favorable and warm toward the person. Ratings between 0 degrees and 50 degrees mean that you don't feel favorable toward the person and that you don't care too much for that person. You would rate the person at the 50 degree mark if you don't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

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



[SLIDER BAR AND BOX, TEXT BOX, OR PULLDOWN NUMBER BOX]
[S2] How would you rate Barack Obama?

[INTERFACE: RANDOMLY
ASSIGN VERSIONS AND
RECORD ASSIGNMENT.
VERSION 1: SLIDER BAR
NEXT TO GRAPHIC THAT
DISPLAYS THE NUMBER IN A
BOX THAT ALSO ACCEPTS
TEXT ENTRY. VERSION 2:
NUMERIC ENTRY BOX.
VERSION 3: PULLDOWN BOX
WITH RANGE 0-100.]



[TB. IDEOLOGICAL PLACEMENTS – BRANCHING]

[ASK SECTION IF GROUP=1 OR GROUP=2]

[CREATE RANDOMIZATION VARIABLE LCORDER=1 OR LCORDER=2]

[IN THIS SECTION RANDOMIZE AND RECORD ORDER OF TB5, TB9, TB13, AND TB17
(DEMOCRATS, REPUBLICANS, OBAMA, BOEHNER)]

[SP]

[TB1] [IF LCORDER=1 DISPLAY AS FOLLOWS]

When it comes to politics, would you describe yourself as liberal, conservative, or neither liberal nor conservative?

- Liberal [1]
- Conservative [2]
- Neither liberal nor conservative [3]

[IF LCORDER=2 DISPLAY AS FOLLOWS; NOTE RESPONSE CODES MATCH LIST ABOVE BUT ORDER DIFFERS]

When it comes to politics, would you describe yourself as conservative, liberal, or neither conservative nor liberal?

- Conservative [2]
- Liberal [1]
- Neither liberal nor conservative [3]

[SP]

[IF TB1=1]

[TB2]

Would you call yourself very liberal or somewhat liberal?

- Very liberal [1]

Somewhat liberal [2]

[SP]

[IF TB1=2]

[TB3]

Would you call yourself very conservative or somewhat conservative?

Very conservative [1]

Somewhat conservative [2]

[SP]

[IF TB1=3 OR IS SKIPPED]

[TB4]

[IF LCORDER=1 DISPLAY AS FOLLOWS]

Do you think of yourself as closer to liberals, or conservatives, or neither of these?

Closer to liberals [1]

Closer to conservatives [2]

Neither of these [3]

[IF LCORDER=2 DISPLAY AS FOLLOWS; NOTE RESPONSE CODES MATCH LIST ABOVE BUT ORDER DIFFERS]

Do you think of yourself as closer to conservatives, or liberals, or neither of these?

Closer to conservatives [2]

Closer to liberals [1]

Neither of these [3]

[SP]

[TB5]

[IF LCORDER=1 DISPLAY AS FOLLOWS]

When it comes to politics, would you describe **Democrats** as liberal, conservative, or neither liberal nor conservative?

Liberal [1]

Conservative [2]

Neither liberal nor conservative [3]

[IF LCORDER=2 DISPLAY AS FOLLOWS; NOTE RESPONSE CODES MATCH LIST ABOVE BUT ORDER DIFFERS]

When it comes to politics, would you describe **Democrats** as conservative, liberal, or neither conservative nor liberal?

Conservative [2]

Liberal [1]

Neither liberal nor conservative [3]

[SP]

[IF TB5=1]

[TB6]

Would you call **Democrats** very liberal or somewhat liberal?

Very liberal [1]

Somewhat liberal [2]

[SP]

[IF TB5=2]

[TB7]

Would you call **Democrats** very conservative or somewhat conservative?

Very conservative [1]

Somewhat conservative [2]

[SP]

[IF TB5=3 OR IS SKIPPED]

[TB8] [IF LCORDER=1 DISPLAY AS FOLLOWS]

Do you think of **Democrats** as closer to liberals, or conservatives, or neither of these?

- Closer to liberals [1]
- Closer to conservatives [2]
- Neither of these [3]

[IF LCORDER=2 DISPLAY AS FOLLOWS; NOTE RESPONSE CODES MATCH LIST ABOVE BUT ORDER DIFFERS]

Do you think of **Democrats** as closer to conservatives, or liberals, or neither of these?

- Closer to conservatives [2]
- Closer to liberals [1]
- Neither of these [3]

[SP]

[TB9] [IF LCORDER=1 DISPLAY AS FOLLOWS]

When it comes to politics, would you describe **Republicans** as liberal, conservative, or neither liberal nor conservative?

- Liberal [1]
- Conservative [2]
- Neither liberal nor conservative [3]

[IF LCORDER=2 DISPLAY AS FOLLOWS; NOTE RESPONSE CODES MATCH LIST ABOVE BUT ORDER DIFFERS]

When it comes to politics, would you describe **Republicans** as conservative, liberal, or neither conservative nor liberal?

- Conservative [2]
- Liberal [1]
- Neither liberal nor conservative [3]

[SP]

[IF TB9=1]

[TB10] Would you call **Republicans** very liberal or somewhat liberal?

- Very liberal [1]
- Somewhat liberal [2]

[SP]

[IF TB9=2]

[TB11] Would you call **Republicans** very conservative or somewhat conservative?

- Very conservative [1]
- Somewhat conservative [2]

[SP]

[IF TB9=3 OR IS SKIPPED]

[TB12] [IF LCORDER=1 DISPLAY AS FOLLOWS]

Do you think of **Republicans** as closer to liberals, or conservatives, or neither of these?

- Closer to liberals [1]
- Closer to conservatives [2]

Neither of these [3]

[IF LCORDER=2 DISPLAY AS FOLLOWS; NOTE RESPONSE CODES MATCH LIST ABOVE BUT ORDER DIFFERS]

Do you think of **Republicans** as closer to conservatives, or liberals, or neither of these?

Closer to conservatives [2]
 Closer to liberals [1]
 Neither of these [3]

[SP]
[TB13]

[IF LCORDER=1 DISPLAY AS FOLLOWS]

When it comes to politics, would you describe **Barack Obama** as liberal, conservative, or neither liberal nor conservative?

Liberal [1]
 Conservative [2]
 Neither liberal nor conservative [3]

[IF LCORDER=2 DISPLAY AS FOLLOWS; NOTE RESPONSE CODES MATCH LIST ABOVE BUT ORDER DIFFERS]

When it comes to politics, would you describe **Barack Obama** as conservative, liberal, or neither conservative nor liberal?

Conservative [2]
 Liberal [1]
 Neither liberal nor conservative [3]

[SP]
[IF TB13=1]
[TB14]

Would you call **Barack Obama** very liberal or somewhat liberal?

Very liberal [1]
 Somewhat liberal [2]

[SP]
[IF TB13=2]
[TB15]

Would you call **Barack Obama** very conservative or somewhat conservative?

Very conservative [1]
 Somewhat conservative [2]

[SP]
[IF TB13=3 OR IS SKIPPED]
[TB16] [IF LCORDER=1 DISPLAY AS FOLLOWS]

Do you think of **Barack Obama** as closer to liberals, or conservatives, or neither of these?

Closer to liberals [1]
 Closer to conservatives [2]
 Neither of these [3]

[IF LCORDER=2 DISPLAY AS FOLLOWS; NOTE RESPONSE CODES MATCH LIST ABOVE BUT ORDER DIFFERS]

Do you think of **Barack Obama** as closer to conservatives, or liberals, or neither of these?

Closer to conservatives [2]

- Closer to liberals [1]
- Neither of these [3]

[SP]
[TB17]

[IF LCORDER=1 DISPLAY AS FOLLOWS]

When it comes to politics, would you describe **John Boehner** as liberal, conservative, or neither liberal nor conservative?

- Liberal [1]
- Conservative [2]
- Neither liberal nor conservative [3]

[IF LCORDER=2 DISPLAY AS FOLLOWS; NOTE RESPONSE CODES MATCH LIST ABOVE BUT ORDER DIFFERS]

When it comes to politics, would you describe **John Boehner** as conservative, liberal, or neither conservative nor liberal?

- Conservative [2]
- Liberal [1]
- Neither liberal nor conservative [3]

[SP]
[IF TB17=1]
[TB18]

Would you call **John Boehner** very liberal or somewhat liberal?

- Very liberal [1]
- Somewhat liberal [2]

[SP]
[IF TB17=2]
[TB19]

Would you call **John Boehner** very conservative or somewhat conservative?

- Very conservative [1]
- Somewhat conservative [2]

[SP]
[IF TB17=3 OR IS SKIPPED]
[TB20]

[IF LCORDER=1 DISPLAY AS FOLLOWS]

Do you think of **John Boehner** as closer to liberals, or conservatives, or neither of these?

- Closer to liberals [1]
- Closer to conservatives [2]
- Neither of these [3]

[IF LCORDER=2 DISPLAY AS FOLLOWS; NOTE RESPONSE CODES MATCH LIST ABOVE BUT ORDER DIFFERS]

Do you think of **John Boehner** as closer to conservatives, or liberals, or neither of these?

- Closer to conservatives [2]
- Closer to liberals [1]
- Neither of these [3]

[TG. IDEOLOGICAL PLACEMENTS – GRID]

[GRID]

[IF GROUP=3 OR GROUP=4]

[IF LCORDER=1 DISPLAY AS SHOWN; IF LCORDER=2 DISPLAY RESPONSE OPTIONS IN REVERSE ORDER]

[RANDOMIZE AND RECORD ORDER OF TG2 THROUGH TG5, KEEPING TG1 FIRST]

[TG0] When it comes to politics, how would you describe each person or group – as (liberal, conservative, or neither liberal nor conservative / conservative, liberal, or neither conservative nor liberal)?

		Very liberal	Somewhat liberal	Closer to liberals	Neither liberal nor conservative	Closer to conservatives	Somewhat conservative	Very conservative
		[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]	[7]
[TG1]	Yourself	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[TG2]	Democrats	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[TG3]	Republicans	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[TG4]	Barack Obama	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[TG5]	John Boehner	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

[TL. IDEOLOGICAL PLACEMENTS – LIST]

[ASK SECTION TL IF GROUP=5 OR GROUP=6]

[RANDOMIZE AND RECORD ORDER OF TL2 THROUGH TL5, KEEPING TL1 FIRST]

[IF LCORDER=1 DISPLAY WORDING AS SHOWN; IF LCORDER=2 REVERSE ORDER OF RESPONSE OPTIONS AND CHANGE “LIBERAL, CONSERVATIVE, OR NEITHER LIBERAL NOR CONSERVATIVE” TO “CONSERVATIVE, LIBERAL, OR NEITHER CONSERVATIVE NOR LIBERAL”]

[SP]

[TL1] When it comes to politics, would you describe yourself as liberal, conservative, or neither liberal nor conservative?

- Very liberal [1]
- Somewhat liberal [2]
- Closer to liberals [3]
- Neither liberal nor conservative [4]
- Closer to conservatives [5]
- Somewhat conservative [6]
- Very conservative [7]

[SP]

[TL2] When it comes to politics, would you describe **Democrats** as liberal, conservative, or neither liberal nor conservative?

- Very liberal [1]
- Somewhat liberal [2]
- Closer to liberals [3]
- Neither liberal nor conservative [4]
- Closer to conservatives [5]
- Somewhat conservative [6]
- Very conservative [7]

[SP]

[TL3] When it comes to politics, would you describe **Republicans** as liberal, conservative, or neither liberal nor conservative?

- Very liberal [1]
- Somewhat liberal [2]
- Closer to liberals [3]
- Neither liberal nor conservative [4]
- Closer to conservatives [5]
- Somewhat conservative [6]
- Very conservative [7]

[SP]

[TL4]

When it comes to politics, would you describe **Barack Obama** as liberal, conservative, or neither liberal nor conservative?

- Very liberal [1]
- Somewhat liberal [2]
- Closer to liberals [3]
- Neither liberal nor conservative [4]
- Closer to conservatives [5]
- Somewhat conservative [6]
- Very conservative [7]

[SP]

[TL5]

When it comes to politics, would you describe **John Boehner** as liberal, conservative, or neither liberal nor conservative?

- Very liberal [1]
- Somewhat liberal [2]
- Closer to liberals [3]
- Neither liberal nor conservative [4]
- Closer to conservatives [5]
- Somewhat conservative [6]
- Very conservative [7]

[UB. TEA PARTY SUPPORT/OPPOSITION – BRANCHING]

[SP]

[IF GROUP IN (1,2,3)]

[UB1] Do you support, oppose, or neither support nor oppose the Tea Party movement?

- Support [1]
- Oppose [2]
- Neither support nor oppose [3]

[IF UB1=1 or UB1=2]

[UB2] Do you (support/oppose) the Tea Party movement a great deal, a moderate amount, or a little?

- A great deal [1]
- A moderate amount [2]
- A little [3]

[UL. TEA PARTY SUPPORT/OPPOSITION – LIST]

[SP]

[IF GROUP IN (4,5,6)]

- [UL1] Do you support, oppose, or neither support nor oppose the Tea Party movement?
- Support a great deal [1]
 - Support a moderate amount [2]
 - Support a little [3]
 - Neither support nor oppose [4]
 - Oppose a little [5]
 - Oppose a moderate amount [6]
 - Oppose a great deal [7]

[V. TEA PARTY STAND FOR; LIKES & DISLIKES]

[TEXT BOX]

[V1] What does the Tea Party stand for?

[TEXT BOX]

[V2] Is there anything in particular that you **like** about the **Tea Party movement**?

- Yes [1]
- No [2]

[TEXT BOX]

[IF V2=1]

[DISPLAY ON SAME PAGE AS V2]

[V3] What is that?

[TEXT BOX]

[V4] Anything else you like about the Tea Party movement?

- Yes [1]
- No [2]

[IF YES RETURN TO TEXT BOX WITH ORIGINAL TEXT PRESERVED]

[V5] Is there anything in particular that you **dislike** about the Tea Party movement?

- Yes [1]
- No [2]

[TEXT BOX]

[IF YES]

[DISPLAY ON SAME PAGE]

[V6] What is that?

[TEXT BOX]

[V7] Anything else you dislike about the Tea Party movement?

- Yes [1]
- No [2]

[IF YES RETURN TO TEXT BOX WITH ORIGINAL TEXT PRESERVED]

[W. LAMEDUCK & 2010 VOTES]

[SP]
[W1]

Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose allowing gays and lesbians to serve openly in the armed forces?

- Favor [1]
- Oppose [2]
- Neither favor nor oppose [3]

[SP]

[IF W1=1 OR 2]

[IF W1=1 INSERT "FAVOR" IN [FAVOR/OPPOSE]; IF W1=2 INSERT "OPPOSE" IN

[FAVOR/OPPOSE]]

[W2] Do you [favor/oppose] that (a great deal, moderately, or a little / a little, moderately, or a great deal)?

- A great deal [1]
- Moderately [2]
- A little [3]

[SP]

[W3]

Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose the health care reform law passed in 2010? This law requires all Americans to buy health insurance and requires health insurance companies to accept everyone.

- Favor [1]
- Oppose [2]
- Neither favor nor oppose [3]

[SP]

[IF W3=1 OR 2]

[IF W3=1 INSERT "FAVOR" IN [FAVOR/OPPOSE]; IF W3=2 INSERT "OPPOSE" IN

[FAVOR/OPPOSE]]

[W4] Do you [favor/oppose] that (a great deal, moderately, or a little / a little, moderately, or a great deal)?

- A great deal [1]
- Moderately [2]
- A little [3]

[SP]

[W5]

In December 2010 Congress passed and President Obama signed a law that extends income tax cuts for all Americans through 2012, reduces estate taxes so that estates worth less than \$5 million are not taxed, extends the amount of time that people can receive unemployment benefits, and temporarily reduces the Social Security tax.

Taking these all together, do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose this law?

- Favor [1]
- Oppose [2]
- Neither favor nor oppose [3]

[SP]

[IF W5=1 OR 2]

[IF W5=1 INSERT "FAVOR" IN [FAVOR/OPPOSE]; IF W5=2 INSERT "OPPOSE" IN

[FAVOR/OPPOSE]]

[W6] Do you [favor/oppose] that (a great deal, moderately, or a little / a little, moderately, or a great deal)?

- A great deal [1]
- Moderately [2]
- A little [3]

[W7] As you may know, about 10 years ago the federal government cut income taxes for Americans at all income levels through 2010. In December 2010 the tax cuts were extended until 2012. Do you think the tax cuts should have been extended for all income levels, extended only for incomes under \$250,000, or not extended at all?

- Should have been extended for all income levels [1]
- Should have been extended only for incomes under \$250,000 [2]
- Should not have been extended at all [3]

[RANDOMIZE AND RECORD RESPONSE OPTION ORDER AS FORWARD OR REVERSE.]

[W8] The "estate tax" is a tax that is paid on money that is left when someone dies.

As you may know, in 2001 Congress voted to change the estate tax so that in 2011 estates worth less than 1 million dollars would not be taxed. In December 2010 Congress voted to change estate taxes so that estates worth less than 5 million dollars are not taxed.

Do you think ...

- Estates should not be taxed at all [1]
- Only estates worth more than \$5 million should be taxed [2]
- Only estates worth more than \$1 million should be taxed [3]
- All estates should be taxed [4]

[W9] As you may know, the standard length of the federal unemployment insurance benefits period is 26 weeks. This has been extended and changed a number of times and in December 2010 Congress voted again to extend it into 2012.

Do you think that unemployment insurance benefits should be offered for more than 26 weeks, 26 weeks only, or less than 26 weeks?

- More than 26 weeks [1]
- 26 weeks only [2]
- Less than 26 weeks [3]

[NO SECTION X]

[Y. INCOME INEQUALITY – KNOWLEDGE]

[Y1] Compared to 30 years ago, is the difference in incomes between the top 20% of households and the bottom 20% of households now bigger, smaller, or the same?

- Difference now bigger than 30 years ago [1]
- Difference now smaller than 30 years ago [2]

Difference now the same as 30 years ago [3]

[IF Y1=1 OR Y1=2]

[IFY1=1, FILL "BIGGER/SMALLER" WITH "BIGGER"; IF Y1=2, FILL "SMALLER"]

[Y2] How much (bigger/smaller)? A great deal, a moderate amount, or a little?

- A great deal (bigger/smaller) [1]
- A moderate amount (bigger/smaller) [2]
- A little (bigger/smaller) [3]

[Z. RACE DISCRIMINATION]

[SP]

[Z1] How much racial discrimination is there in the United States today? (A great deal, a lot, a moderate amount, a little, or none at all / None at all, a little, a moderate amount, a lot, or a great deal)?

- A great deal [1]
- A lot [2]
- A moderate amount [3]
- A little [4]
- None at all [5]

[ZAB. RISK ORIENTATION – BRANCHING]

[SP]

[IF GROUP IN (1,2,3)]

[ZAB1] In general, people often face risks when making financial, career, or other life decisions. Overall, do you feel comfortable, uncomfortable, or neither comfortable nor uncomfortable taking risks?

- Comfortable taking risks [1]
- Uncomfortable taking risks [2]
- Neither comfortable nor uncomfortable taking risks [3]

[SP]

[IFZAB1 =1 OR 2]

[IFZAB1=1, FILL "COMFORTABLE/UNCOMFORTABLE" WITH "COMFORTABLE"; IF ZAB1=2, FILL "UNCOMFORTABLE"]

[ZAB2] How (comfortable/uncomfortable) do you feel taking risks?

- Extremely (comfortable/uncomfortable) [1]
- Moderately (comfortable/uncomfortable) [2]
- Slightly (comfortable/uncomfortable) [3]

[ZAL. RISK ORIENTATION – LIST]

[SP]

[IF GROUP IN (4,5,6)]

[ZAL1] In general, people often face risks when making financial, career, or other life decisions. Overall, do you feel comfortable, uncomfortable, or neither comfortable nor uncomfortable taking risks?

- Extremely comfortable taking risks [1]
- Moderately comfortable taking risks [2]

- Slightly comfortable taking risks [3]
- Neither comfortable nor uncomfortable taking risks [4]
- Slightly uncomfortable taking risks [5]
- Moderately uncomfortable taking risks [6]
- Extremely uncomfortable taking risks [7]

[ZB. IMMIGRATION]

[SP]

[RANDOMIZE RESPONSE LIST FORWARD OR REVERSE ORDER]

[ZB1] Which comes closest to your view about what government policy should be toward unauthorized immigrants now living in the United States? Should the government

Make all unauthorized immigrants felons and send them back to their home country. [1]

Have a guest worker program that allows unauthorized immigrants to remain in the United States in order to work, but only for a limited amount of time. [2]

Allow unauthorized immigrants to remain in the United States and eventually qualify for U.S. citizenship, but only if they meet certain requirements like paying back taxes and fines, learning English, and passing background checks. [3]

Allow unauthorized immigrants to remain in the United States and eventually qualify for U.S. citizenship, without penalties. [4]

[ZCB. SATISFACTION WITH OBAMA – BRANCHING]

[SP]

[ZCB1] Overall, would you say you are satisfied, dissatisfied, or neither satisfied nor dissatisfied with what Barack Obama has accomplished since he became President in January 2009?

- Satisfied [1]
- Dissatisfied [2]
- Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied [3]

[SP]

[SAME PAGE]

[ZCB2] Extremely (satisfied/dissatisfied), moderately (satisfied/dissatisfied), or slightly (satisfied/dissatisfied)?

- Extremely (satisfied/dissatisfied) [1]
- Moderately (satisfied/dissatisfied) [2]
- Slightly (satisfied/dissatisfied) [3]

[SP]

[SAME PAGE]

[ZC3] Why do you say that?

[MEDIUM TEXT BOX]

[ZCL. SATISFACTION WITH OBAMA – LIST]

[SP]

[ZCL1]

Overall, would you say you are satisfied, dissatisfied, or neither satisfied nor dissatisfied with what Barack Obama has accomplished since he became President in January 2009?

- Extremely satisfied [1]
- Moderately satisfied [2]
- Slightly satisfied [3]
- Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied [4]
- Slightly dissatisfied [5]
- Moderately dissatisfied [6]
- Extremely dissatisfied [7]

[SP]

[SAME PAGE]

[NOTE: SAME ITEM AND SAME VARIABLE NAME AS ZC3 ABOVE IN SECTION ZCB.]

[ZC3]

Why do you say that?

[MEDIUM TEXT BOX]

[ZD. ECONOMIC PERIL & HOUSING SECURITY]

[SP]

[ZD1]

So far as you and your family are concerned, how worried are you about your current financial situation? (Extremely worried, very worried, moderately worried, a little worried, or not at all worried / Not at all worried, a little worried, moderately worried, very worried, or extremely worried)?

- Extremely worried [1]
- Very worried [2]
- Moderately worried [3]
- A little worried [4]
- Not at all worried [5]

[SP]

[ZD2]

Do you pay rent for your home, make monthly mortgage payments for your home, own your home outright with no payments due, or have some other living arrangement?

- Pay rent [1]
- Pay mortgage [2]
- Own home with no payments due [3]
- Some other arrangement [4]

[SP]

[IF ZD2=4]

[ZD3]

Do you pay any money for your housing, or do you not pay any money for your housing?

- Pay money for housing [1]
- Do not pay money for housing [2]

[SP]

[If ZD2=1 or 2, or ZD3=1]

[IF ZD2=1 INSERT "RENT" IN (RENT/MORTGAGE/HOUSING); IF ZD2=2 INSERT "MORTGAGE" IN (RENT/MORTGAGE/HOUSING); IF ZD3=1 INSERT "HOUSING" IN (RENT/MORTGAGE/HOUSING)]

- [ZD4] During the next 12 months, how likely is it that you will be able to make all of your (rent/mortgage/housing) payments on time? (Extremely likely, very likely, moderately likely, slightly likely, or not likely at all / Not likely at all, slightly likely, moderately likely, very likely, or extremely likely)?
- Extremely likely [1]
 - Very likely [2]
 - Moderately likely [3]
 - Slightly likely [4]
 - Not likely at all [5]

[ZEG. PARTICIPATION – GRID]

[GRID]
 [IF GROUP IN (1,3,4)]
 [ZEG0] During the past 12 months, have you...

Select one answer from each row in the grid.

		Have done this in the past 12 months	Have not done this in the past 12 months
[ZEG1]	Gone to a political speech, march, rally, or demonstration	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[ZEG2]	Phoned, emailed, written to, or visited a government official to express your views on a public issue	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[ZEG3]	Worn a campaign button, put a campaign sticker on your car, or placed a sign in your window or in front of your house	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[ZEG4]	Given money to any candidate running for public office, any political party, or any other group that supported or opposed candidates	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

[ZEL. PARTICIPATION – LIST]

[ASK SECTION ZEL IF GROUP IN (2,5,6)]

- [SP]
 [ZEL1] During the past 12 months, have you gone to a political speech, march, rally, or demonstration, or have you not done this in the past 12 months?
- Have done this in the past 12 months [1]
 - Have not done this in the past 12 months [2]

- [SP]
 [ZEL2] During the past 12 months, have you phoned, emailed, written to, or visited a government official to express your views on a public issue, or have you not done this in the past 12 months?
- Have done this in the past 12 months [1]

Have not done this in the past 12 months [2]

[SP]

[ZEL3]

During the past 12 months, have you worn a campaign button, put a campaign sticker on your car, or placed a sign in your window or in front of your house, or have you not done this in the past 12 months?

Have done this in the past 12 months [1]

Have not done this in the past 12 months [2]

[SP]

[ZEL4]

During the past 12 months, have you given money to any candidate running for public office, any political party, or any other group that supported or opposed candidates, or have you not done this in the past 12 months?

Have done this in the past 12 months [1]

Have not done this in the past 12 months [2]

[ZFB. PARTY WELCOMING – BRANCHING]

[ASK SECTION IF GROUP=1 OR GROUP=2]

[ZFB1] Is the **Democratic Party** welcoming, unwelcoming, or neither welcoming nor unwelcoming toward **whites**?

Welcoming [1]

Unwelcoming [2]

Neither welcoming nor unwelcoming [3]

[ZFB2] How (un)welcoming?

Extremely (un)welcoming [1]

Moderately (un)welcoming [2]

Slightly (un)welcoming [3]

[ZFB3] Is the **Democratic Party** welcoming, unwelcoming, or neither welcoming nor unwelcoming toward **blacks**?

Welcoming [1]

Unwelcoming [2]

Neither welcoming nor unwelcoming [3]

[ZFB4] How (un)welcoming?

Extremely (un)welcoming [1]

Moderately (un)welcoming [2]

Slightly (un)welcoming [3]

[ZFB5] Is the **Democratic Party** welcoming, unwelcoming, or neither welcoming nor unwelcoming toward **Hispanics or Latinos**?

Welcoming [1]

Unwelcoming [2]

Neither welcoming nor unwelcoming [3]

[ZFB6] How (un)welcoming?

Extremely (un)welcoming [1]

Moderately (un)welcoming [2]

Slightly (un)welcoming [3]

[ZFB7] Is the **Democratic Party** welcoming, unwelcoming, or neither welcoming nor unwelcoming toward **business people**?

Welcoming [1]

- Unwelcoming [2]
 Neither welcoming nor unwelcoming [3]
- [ZFB8] How (un)welcoming?
 Extremely (un)welcoming [1]
 Moderately (un)welcoming [2]
 Slightly (un)welcoming [3]
- [ZFB9] Is the **Democratic Party** welcoming, unwelcoming, or neither welcoming nor unwelcoming toward **religious people**?
 Welcoming [1]
 Unwelcoming [2]
 Neither welcoming nor unwelcoming [3]
- [ZFB10] How (un)welcoming?
 Extremely (un)welcoming [1]
 Moderately (un)welcoming [2]
 Slightly (un)welcoming [3]
- [ZFB11] Is the **Democratic Party** welcoming, unwelcoming, or neither welcoming nor unwelcoming toward **gays and lesbians**?
 Welcoming [1]
 Unwelcoming [2]
 Neither welcoming nor unwelcoming [3]
- [ZFB12] How (un)welcoming toward?
 Extremely (un)welcoming [1]
 Moderately (un)welcoming [2]
 Slightly (un)welcoming [3]
- [ZFB15] Is the **Republican Party** welcoming, unwelcoming, or neither welcoming nor unwelcoming toward **whites**?
 Welcoming [1]
 Unwelcoming [2]
 Neither welcoming nor unwelcoming [3]
- [ZFB16] How (un)welcoming?
 Extremely (un)welcoming [1]
 Moderately (un)welcoming [2]
 Slightly (un)welcoming [3]
- [ZFB17] Is the **Republican Party** welcoming, unwelcoming, or neither welcoming nor unwelcoming toward **blacks**?
 Welcoming [1]
 Unwelcoming [2]
 Neither welcoming nor unwelcoming [3]
- [ZFB18] How (un)welcoming?
 Extremely (un)welcoming [1]
 Moderately (un)welcoming [2]
 Slightly (un)welcoming [3]
- [ZFB19] Is the **Republican Party** welcoming, unwelcoming, or neither welcoming nor unwelcoming toward **Hispanics or Latinos**?
 Welcoming [1]
 Unwelcoming [2]
 Neither welcoming nor unwelcoming [3]

- [ZFB20] How (un)welcoming?
 ___ Extremely (un)welcoming [1]
 ___ Moderately (un)welcoming [2]
 ___ Slightly (un)welcoming [3]
- [ZFB21] Is the **Republican Party** welcoming, unwelcoming, or neither welcoming nor unwelcoming toward **business people**?
 ___ Welcoming [1]
 ___ Unwelcoming [2]
 ___ Neither welcoming nor unwelcoming [3]
- [ZFB22] How (un)welcoming?
 ___ Extremely (un)welcoming [1]
 ___ Moderately (un)welcoming [2]
 ___ Slightly (un)welcoming [3]
- [ZFB23] Is the **Republican Party** welcoming, unwelcoming, or neither welcoming nor unwelcoming toward **religious people**?
 ___ Welcoming [1]
 ___ Unwelcoming [2]
 ___ Neither welcoming nor unwelcoming [3]
- [ZFB24] How (un)welcoming?
 ___ Extremely (un)welcoming [1]
 ___ Moderately (un)welcoming [2]
 ___ Slightly (un)welcoming [3]
- [ZFB25] Is the **Republican Party** welcoming, unwelcoming, or neither welcoming nor unwelcoming toward **gays and lesbians**?
 ___ Welcoming [1]
 ___ Unwelcoming [2]
 ___ Neither welcoming nor unwelcoming [3]
- [ZFB26] How (un)welcoming?
 ___ Extremely (un)welcoming [1]
 ___ Moderately (un)welcoming [2]
 ___ Slightly (un)welcoming [3]

[ZFG. PARTY WELCOMING – GRID]

[RANDOMIZE AND RECORD ORDER ZFG1-ZFG2 OR ZFG2-ZFG1, RANDOMIZE AND RECORD ORDER OF CHOICES FORWARD OR REVERSE.]

[ASK SECTION IF GROUP=3 OR GROUP=4]

[ZFG1] How welcoming or unwelcoming is the **Democratic Party** toward each group?
 Select one answer from each row on the grid.

		Extremely welcoming	Moderately welcoming	Slightly welcoming	Neither welcoming nor unwelcoming	Slightly unwelcoming	Moderately unwelcoming	Extremely unwelcoming
		[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]	[7]
[A]	Whites	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[B]	Blacks	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[C]	Hispanics or Latinos	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

[D]	Business people	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[E]	Religious people	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[F]	Gays and lesbians	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

[ZFG2] How welcoming or unwelcoming is the **Republican Party** toward each group?
Select one answer from each row on the grid.

		Extremely welcoming	Moderately welcoming	Slightly welcoming	Neither welcoming nor unwelcoming	Slightly unwelcoming	Moderately unwelcoming	Extremely unwelcoming
		[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]	[7]
[A]	Whites	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[B]	Blacks	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[C]	Hispanics or Latinos	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[D]	Business People	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[E]	Religious people	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[F]	Gays and lesbians	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

[ZFL. PARTY WELCOMING – LIST]

[ASK SECTION IF GROUP=5 OR GROUP=6)]

[ZFL1] Is the **Democratic Party** welcoming, unwelcoming, or neither welcoming nor unwelcoming toward **whites**?

- Extremely welcoming [1]
- Moderately welcoming [2]
- Slightly welcoming [3]
- Neither welcoming nor unwelcoming [4]
- Slightly unwelcoming [5]
- Moderately unwelcoming [6]
- Extremely unwelcoming [7]

[ZFL2] Is the **Democratic Party** welcoming, unwelcoming, or neither welcoming nor unwelcoming toward **blacks**?

- Extremely welcoming [1]
- Moderately welcoming [2]
- Slightly welcoming [3]
- Neither welcoming nor unwelcoming [4]
- Slightly unwelcoming [5]
- Moderately unwelcoming [6]
- Extremely unwelcoming [7]

[ZFL3] Is the **Democratic Party** welcoming, unwelcoming, or neither welcoming nor unwelcoming toward **Hispanics or Latinos**?

- Extremely welcoming [1]
- Moderately welcoming [2]
- Slightly welcoming [3]

- Neither welcoming nor unwelcoming [4]
- Slightly unwelcoming [5]
- Moderately unwelcoming [6]
- Extremely unwelcoming [7]

[ZFL4] Is the **Democratic Party** welcoming, unwelcoming, or neither welcoming nor unwelcoming toward **business people**?

- Extremely welcoming [1]
- Moderately welcoming [2]
- Slightly welcoming [3]
- Neither welcoming nor unwelcoming [4]
- Slightly unwelcoming [5]
- Moderately unwelcoming [6]
- Extremely unwelcoming [7]

[ZFL5] Is the **Democratic Party** welcoming, unwelcoming, or neither welcoming nor unwelcoming toward **religious people**?

- Extremely welcoming [1]
- Moderately welcoming [2]
- Slightly welcoming [3]
- Neither welcoming nor unwelcoming [4]
- Slightly unwelcoming [5]
- Moderately unwelcoming [6]
- Extremely unwelcoming [7]

[ZFL6] Is the **Democratic Party** welcoming, unwelcoming, or neither welcoming nor unwelcoming toward **gays and lesbians**?

- Extremely welcoming [1]
- Moderately welcoming [2]
- Slightly welcoming [3]
- Neither welcoming nor unwelcoming [4]
- Slightly unwelcoming [5]
- Moderately unwelcoming [6]
- Extremely unwelcoming [7]

[ZFL7] Is the **Republican Party** welcoming, unwelcoming, or neither welcoming nor unwelcoming toward **whites**?

- Extremely welcoming [1]
- Moderately welcoming [2]
- Slightly welcoming [3]
- Neither welcoming nor unwelcoming [4]
- Slightly unwelcoming [5]
- Moderately unwelcoming [6]
- Extremely unwelcoming [7]

[ZFL8] Is the **Republican Party** welcoming, unwelcoming, or neither welcoming nor unwelcoming toward **blacks**?

- Extremely welcoming [1]
- Moderately welcoming [2]
- Slightly welcoming [3]
- Neither welcoming nor unwelcoming [4]
- Slightly unwelcoming [5]
- Moderately unwelcoming [6]

Extremely unwelcoming [7]

[ZFL9] Is the **Republican Party** welcoming, unwelcoming, or neither welcoming nor unwelcoming toward **Hispanics or Latinos**?

- Extremely welcoming [1]
- Moderately welcoming [2]
- Slightly welcoming [3]
- Neither welcoming nor unwelcoming [4]
- Slightly unwelcoming [5]
- Moderately unwelcoming [6]
- Extremely unwelcoming [7]

[ZFL10] Is the **Republican Party** welcoming, unwelcoming, or neither welcoming nor unwelcoming toward **business people**?

- Extremely welcoming [1]
- Moderately welcoming [2]
- Slightly welcoming [3]
- Neither welcoming nor unwelcoming [4]
- Slightly unwelcoming [5]
- Moderately unwelcoming [6]
- Extremely unwelcoming [7]

[ZFL11] Is the **Republican Party** welcoming, unwelcoming, or neither welcoming nor unwelcoming toward **religious people**?

- Extremely welcoming [1]
- Moderately welcoming [2]
- Slightly welcoming [3]
- Neither welcoming nor unwelcoming [4]
- Slightly unwelcoming [5]
- Moderately unwelcoming [6]
- Extremely unwelcoming [7]

[ZFL12] Is the **Republican Party** welcoming, unwelcoming, or neither welcoming nor unwelcoming toward **gays and lesbians**?

- Extremely welcoming [1]
- Moderately welcoming [2]
- Slightly welcoming [3]
- Neither welcoming nor unwelcoming [4]
- Slightly unwelcoming [5]
- Moderately unwelcoming [6]
- Extremely unwelcoming [7]

[ZGG. RACIAL RESENTMENT – GRID]

[GRID]

[IF GROUP IN (1,3,4)]

[ZGG1] Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly with each of the following statements?

Select one answer from each row in the grid.

	Agree strongly	Agree somewhat	Neither agree or disagree	Disagree somewhat	Disagree strongly
[A] Irish, Italians, Jewish and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same without any special favors.	[1] <input type="radio"/>	[2] <input type="radio"/>	[3] <input type="radio"/>	[4] <input type="radio"/>	[5] <input type="radio"/>
[B] Generations of slavery and discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for blacks to work their way out of the lower class.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[C] Over the past few years, blacks have gotten less than they deserve.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[D] It's really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; if blacks would only try harder they could be just as well off as whites.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

[ZGL. RACIAL RESENTMENT – LIST]

[SP]

[IF GROUP IN (2,5,6)]

[ZGL1] Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly with this statement?

Irish, Italians, Jewish and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same without any special favors.

- ___ Agree strongly [1]
- ___ Agree somewhat [2]
- ___ Neither agree nor disagree [3]
- ___ Disagree somewhat [4]
- ___ Disagree strongly [5]

[SP]

[ZGL2]

Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly with this statement?

Generations of slavery and discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for blacks to work their way out of the lower class.

- ___ Agree strongly [1]
- ___ Agree somewhat [2]
- ___ Neither agree nor disagree [3]

- Disagree somewhat [4]
- Disagree strongly [5]

[SP]
[ZGL3]

Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly with this statement?

Over the past few years, blacks have gotten less than they deserve.

- Agree strongly [1]
- Agree somewhat [2]
- Neither agree nor disagree [3]
- Disagree somewhat [4]
- Disagree strongly [5]

[SP]
[ZGL4]

Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly with this statement?

It's really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; if blacks would only try harder they could be just as well off as whites.

- Agree strongly [1]
- Agree somewhat [2]
- Neither agree nor disagree [3]
- Disagree somewhat [4]
- Disagree strongly [5]

[ZHB. SIZE OF GOVERNMENT – BRANCHING]

[SP]

[IF GROUP IN (1,2,3)]

[ZHB1]

Do you think that the government should provide more services than it does now, fewer services than it does now, or about the same number of services as it does now?

- More [1]
- Fewer [2]
- About the same [3]

[SP]

[IF ZHB1=1]

[DISPLAY ON SAME PAGE AS ZHB1]

[ZHB2]

Do you think that the government should provide a lot more services, somewhat more services, or slightly more services than it does now?

- A lot more [1]
- Somewhat more [2]
- Slightly more [3]

[SP]

[IF ZHB1=2]

[DISPLAY ON SAME PAGE AS ZHB1]

[ZHB3]

Do you think that the government should provide a lot fewer services, somewhat fewer services, or slightly fewer services than it does now?

- A lot fewer [1]
- Somewhat fewer [2]
- Slightly fewer [3]

[ZHL. SIZE OF GOVERNMENT – LIST]

[SP]

[IF GROUP IN (4,5,6)]

[ZHL1]

Do you think that the government should provide more services than it does now, fewer services than it does now, or about the same number of services as it does now?

- A lot more [1]
- Somewhat more [2]
- Slightly more [3]
- About the same number [4]
- Slightly fewer [5]
- Somewhat fewer [6]
- A lot fewer [7]

[ZJ. DEFICIT]

[SP]

[ZJ1]

A "deficit" occurs when the federal government spends more money than it collects in taxes.

The federal government is now spending more than it is collecting, so there is a deficit.

How important is it to reduce the deficit? (Extremely important, very important, moderately important, a little important, or not important at all? / Not important at all, a little important, moderately important, very important, or extremely important?)

- Extremely important [5]
- Very important [4]
- Moderately important [3]
- A little important [2]
- Not important at all [1]

[SP]

[RANDOMIZE AND RECORD ORDER OF RESPONSE OPTIONS]

[ZJ2]

Different ways of handling the deficit have been considered. Which one of these do you prefer?

- do not reduce the deficit now -- no spending cuts, no tax increases [1]
- reduce the deficit through tax increases only [2]
- reduce the deficit through spending cuts only [3]
- reduce the deficit through spending cuts and tax increases [4]

[SP]

[ZJ3]

With the deficit in mind, do you favor raising, lowering, or keeping the same taxes for people who make more than \$250,000 per year?

- Favor raising taxes for people who make more than \$250,000/year [1]
- Favor lowering taxes for people who make more than \$250,000/year [2]
- Favor keeping taxes the same for people who make more than \$250,000/year [3]

[SP]

[IF ZJ3=1 OR ZJ3=2]

[DISPLAY ON SAME PAGE AS ZJ3]

[IF ZJ3=1 FILL “(LOWER/HIGHER)” WITH “HIGHER”; IF ZJ3=2 FILL “(LOWER/HIGHER)” WITH “LOWER”]

[ZJ4]

Do you favor taxes for people who make over \$250,000/year being a lot, a moderate amount, or a little (lower/higher)?

- A lot (lower/higher) [1]
- A moderate amount (lower/higher) [2]
- A little (lower/higher) [3]

[SP]

[ZJ5]

Medicare is the health insurance program in which the U.S. government pays for health care for Americans over age 65.

With the deficit in mind, do you favor spending more, less, or the same amount of money on Medicare as is now being spent?

- Favor spending **more** than is now spent on Medicare [1]
- Favor spending **less** than is now spent on Medicare [2]
- Favor spending **the same** as is now spent on Medicare [3]

[SP]

[IF ZJ5=1 OR ZJ5=2]

[DISPLAY ON SAME PAGE AS ZJ5]

[IF ZJ5=1 FILL “(MORE/LESS)” WITH “MORE”; IF ZJ5=2 FILL “(MORE/LESS)” WITH “LESS”]

[ZJ6]

Do you favor spending a lot, a moderate amount, or a little (more/less) on Medicare?

- A lot (more/less) [1]
- A moderate amount (more/less) [2]
- A little (more/less) [3]

[ZK. INCOME INEQUALITY OPINION]

[ZK1]

Households with the highest 20% of incomes earn an average of 14.9 times as much money as households in the bottom 20%. Should this difference be larger, smaller, or about the same as it is now?

- Larger [1]
- Smaller [2]
- About the same [3]

[RANDOMIZE ZKPIC=0 or ZKPIC=1]

[ZK2]

[IF ZKPIC=0, DISPLAY THE FOLLOWING QUESTION VERSION]

The difference between the highest and lowest incomes has grown in the past few decades.

The income of households in the top 20% has increased from about \$100,000 in 1967 to about \$171,000 in 2009. (All income figures are 2009 dollars).

The income of households in the bottom 20% has increased from about \$9,000 in 1967 to about \$11,500 in 2009.

In 1967, households in the top 20% earned an average of 11 times as much as households in the bottom 20%. Today, the top earn an average of 15 times as much.

Is it good, bad, or neither good nor bad that the **difference** between the top and the bottom incomes has changed this way?

- Good [1]
- Bad [2]
- Neither good nor bad [3]

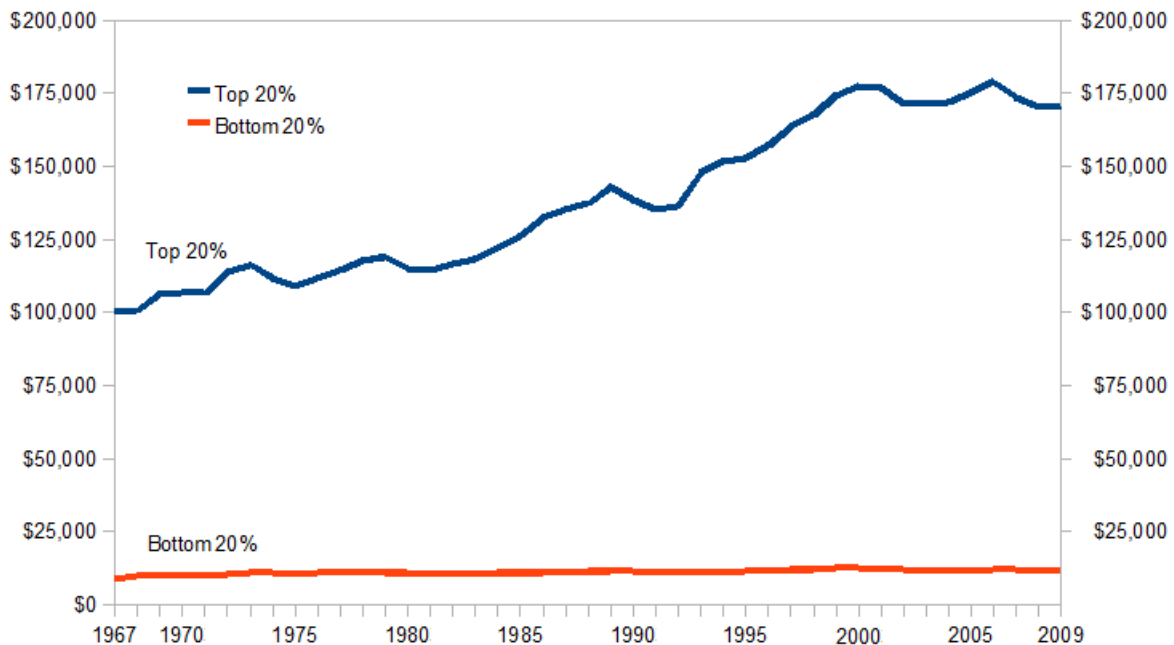
[END ZKPIC=0 QUESTION VERSION]
[IF ZKPIC=1, DISPLAY THE FOLLOWING VERSION OF ZK2]

The difference in incomes has grown in the past few decades, as shown in the graph below.

[INSERT GRAPH HERE, "income inequality graph.png"]

Average Household Incomes, Top 20% and Bottom 20%: 1967 to 2009

In 2009 dollars



The blue line on top shows that the income of households in the top 20% has increased from about \$100,000 in 1967 to about \$171,000 in 2009. (All income figures are 2009 dollars).

The red line on the bottom shows that the income of households in the bottom 20% has increased from about \$9,000 in 1967 to about \$11,500 in 2009.

In 1967, households in the top 20% earned an average of 11 times as much as households in the bottom 20%. Today, the top earn an average of 15 times as much.

Is it good, bad, or neither good nor bad that the **difference** between the top and the bottom incomes has changed this way?

- Good [1]
- Bad [2]
- Neither good nor bad [3]

[ZK3] Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose the government trying to make this income difference smaller?

- Favor [1]
- Oppose [2]
- Neither favor nor oppose [3]

[IF ZK3=1 OR ZK3=2]

[IF ZK3=1 INSERT "FAVOR" IN [FAVOR/OPOSE]; IF ZK3=2 INSERT "OPOSE" IN

[FAVOR/OPOSE]]

[ZK4] Do you [favor/oppose] that (a great deal, moderately, or a little / a little, moderately, or a great deal)?

- A great deal [1]
- Moderately [2]
- A little [3]

[ZLB. GENDER – BRANCHING]

[SP]

[IF GROUP IN (1,2,3)]

[ZLB1] If two equally qualified candidates from the same party were running for office, and one was a man and the other was a woman, would you be more likely to vote for the man, more likely to vote for the woman, or would the candidates' sex make no difference at all?

- More likely to vote for the man [1]
- More likely to vote for the woman [2]
- No difference at all [3]

[SP]

[if ZLB1 !=1 and ZLB1 !=2]

[ZLB2] Do you lean toward voting for the man, voting for the woman, or do you not lean either way?

- lean toward voting for the man [1]
- lean toward voting for the woman [2]
- do not lean either way [3]

[ZLL. GENDER – LIST]

[IF GROUP IN (4,5,6)]

[SP]

[ZLL1] If two equally qualified candidates from the same party were running for office, and one was a man and the other was a woman, would you be more likely to vote for the man, more likely to vote for the woman, or would the candidates' sex make no difference at all?

- More likely to vote for the man [1]
- Lean toward voting for the man [2]
- No difference at all [3]
- Lean toward voting for the woman [4]
- More likely to vote for the woman [5]

[ZMG. BLAME ATTRIBUTION FOR RECESSION – GRID FORMAT]

[IF GROUP IN (1, 3, 4)]

[ZMG0] The economy has been in recession recently. How much is each of the following people or groups to blame for the poor economic conditions of the past few years?

		A great deal [1]	A lot [2]	A moderate amount [3]	A little [4]	Not at all [5]
[ZMG1]	President Obama	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[ZMG2]	President Bush	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[ZMG3]	Democrats in U.S. Congress	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[ZMG4]	Republicans in U.S. Congress	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[ZMG5]	Wall Street Bankers	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[ZMG6]	Consumers who borrowed too much money	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

[ZML. BLAME ATTRIBUTION FOR RECESSION – LIST FORMAT]

[ASK SECTION ZML IF GROUP IN (2, 5, 6)]

[SP]

[ZML1] The economy has been in recession recently. How much is each of the following people or groups to blame for the poor economic conditions of the past few years?

President Obama

- A great deal [1]
- A lot [2]
- A moderate amount [3]
- A little [4]
- Not at all [5]

[SP]

[DISPLAY FIRST PARAGRAPH IN LIGHT GRAY TEXT]

[ZML2] The economy has been in recession recently. How much is each of the following people or groups to blame for the poor economic conditions of the past few years?

President Bush

- A great deal [1]
- A lot [2]
- A moderate amount [3]
- A little [4]
- Not at all [5]

[SP]

[DISPLAY FIRST PARAGRAPH IN LIGHT GRAY TEXT]

[ZML3] The economy has been in recession recently. How much is each of the following people or groups to blame for the poor economic conditions of the past few years?

Democrats in U.S. Congress

- A great deal [1]
- A lot [2]
- A moderate amount [3]
- A little [4]
- Not at all [5]

[SP]

[DISPLAY FIRST PARAGRAPH IN LIGHT GRAY TEXT]

[ZML4] The economy has been in recession recently. How much is each of the following people or groups to blame for the poor economic conditions of the past few years?

Republicans in U.S. Congress

- A great deal [1]
- A lot [2]
- A moderate amount [3]
- A little [4]
- Not at all [5]

[SP]

[DISPLAY FIRST PARAGRAPH IN LIGHT GRAY TEXT]

[ZML5] The economy has been in recession recently. How much is each of the following people or groups to blame for the poor economic conditions of the past few years?

Wall Street Bankers

- A great deal [1]
- A lot [2]
- A moderate amount [3]
- A little [4]
- Not at all [5]

[SP]

[DISPLAY FIRST PARAGRAPH IN LIGHT GRAY TEXT]

[ZML6] The economy has been in recession recently. How much is each of the following people or groups to blame for the poor economic conditions of the past few years?

Consumers who borrowed too much money

- A great deal [1]
- A lot [2]
- A moderate amount [3]
- A little [4]
- Not at all [5]

[ZN. AFGHANISTAN WAR]

[SP]

[ZN1] When all is said and done, do you think the U.S. involvement in the **Afghanistan** war will have been worth the costs, or will it not have been worth the costs?

- Will have been worth the costs [1]
- Will not have been worth the costs [2]

[SP]

[IF GROUP IN (1,2,3)]

[ZN2] Do you approve, disapprove, or neither approve nor disapprove of the way Barack Obama is handling **the war in Afghanistan**?

- Approve [1]
- Disapprove [2]
- Neither approve nor disapprove [3]

[SP]

[IF ZN2=1 OR 2]

[IF ZN2=1 INSERT "APPROVE" IN [APPROVE/DISAPPROVE]; IF ZN2=2 INSERT "DISAPPROVE" IN [APPROVE/DISAPPROVE]]

[ZN3] Do you [approve/disapprove] (extremely strongly, moderately strongly, or slightly strongly / slightly strongly, moderately strongly, or extremely strongly)?

- Extremely strongly [1]
- Moderately strongly [2]
- Slightly strongly [3]

[SP]

[IF GROUP IN (4,5,6)]

[ZN4] Do you approve, disapprove, or neither approve nor disapprove of the way Barack Obama is handling **the war in Afghanistan**?

- Approve extremely strongly [1]
- Approve moderately strongly [2]
- Approve slightly strongly [3]
- Neither approve nor disapprove [4]
- Disapprove slightly strongly [5]
- Disapprove moderately strongly [6]
- Disapprove extremely strongly [7]

[SP]

[IF GROUP IN (1,2,3)]

[ZN5] Compared to the number of U.S. troops in Afghanistan now, should the number of troops in Afghanistan three months from now be more, less or about the same?

- More [1]
- Less [2]
- About the same [3]

[PROGRAMMING: IF Q2 or Q3 is asked, display Q2/Q3 on the same page as Q1.]

[SP]
[IF ZN5=1]
[ZN6] A little more, somewhat more, or a lot more?

- A little more [1]
- Somewhat more [2]
- A lot more [3]

[SP]
[IF ZN5=2]
[ZN7] A little less, somewhat less, a lot less but not none, or none at all?

- A little less [1]
- Somewhat less [2]
- A lot less but not none [3]
- None at all [4]

[SP]
[IF GROUP IN (3,4,5)]
[ZN8] Compared to the number of U.S. troops in Afghanistan now, should the number of troops in Afghanistan three months from now be more, less or about the same?

- A lot more [1]
- Somewhat more [2]
- A little more [3]
- About the same [4]
- A little less [5]
- Somewhat less [6]
- A lot less but not none [7]
- None at all [8]

[ZP. POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE, TS]

[DISPLAY]
[ZP1] Now we have a set of questions concerning various public figures. We want to see how much information about them gets out to the public from television, newspapers, and the like.

Click Next to continue.

[TEXT BOX]
[ZP2] The first name is John Boehner.

What job or political office does he now hold?

[IF NO ANSWER, DISPLAY THE PROMPT "Please give us your best guess." AT THE TOP OF THE SCREEN AND RE-DISPLAY THE QUESTION. RECORD IF PROMPT USED.]

[TEXT BOX]
[ZP3]

Joe Biden

What job or political office does he now hold?

[TEXT BOX]

[IF NO ANSWER, DISPLAY THE PROMPT "Please give us your best guess." AT THE TOP OF THE SCREEN AND RE-DISPLAY THE QUESTION. RECORD IF PROMPT USED.]

[TEXT BOX]
[ZP4]

David Cameron

What job or political office does he now hold?

[TEXT BOX]

[IF NO ANSWER, DISPLAY THE PROMPT "Please give us your best guess." AT THE TOP OF THE SCREEN AND RE-DISPLAY THE QUESTION. RECORD IF PROMPT USED.]

[TEXT BOX]
[ZP5]

John Roberts

What job or political office does he now hold?

[TEXT BOX]

[IF NO ANSWER, DISPLAY THE PROMPT "Please give us your best guess." AT THE TOP OF THE SCREEN AND RE-DISPLAY THE QUESTION. RECORD IF PROMPT USED.]

[ZQ. RELIGIOUS BELIEFS]

[IF RELIGION FROM PROFILE SURVEY IS ANY CHRISTIAN DENOMINATION FILL (BIBLE/TORAH/HOLY SCRIPTURE) WITH "BIBLE"; IF RELIGION IS JEWISH FILL "TORAH"; OTHERWISE FILL "HOLY SCRIPTURE"]

[ZQ1] Which of these statements comes closest to your feelings about the (Bible/Torah/Holy Scripture)?

The (Bible/Torah/Holy Scripture) is the actual word of God and is to be taken literally, word for word. [1]

The (Bible/Torah/Holy Scripture) is the word of God but not everything in it should be taken literally, word for word. [2]

The (Bible/Torah/Holy Scripture) is a book written by people and is not the word of God. [3]

[ZR. JOBS/STANDARD OF LIVING SCALE]

[RANDOMLY ASSIGN RANDOMIZATION VARIABLE ZRGROUP=1, 2, OR 3]

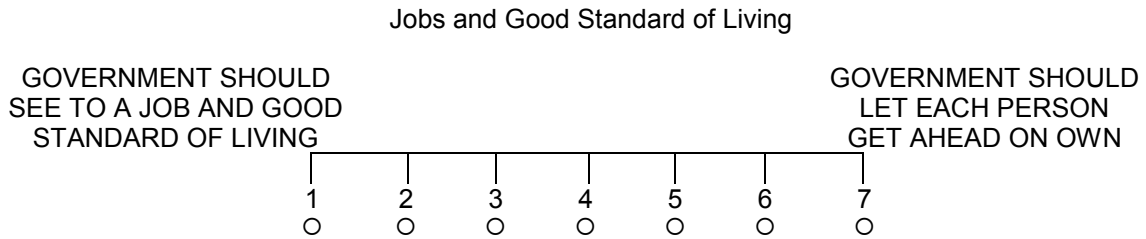
[SP GRAPHIC]
[ZR1] [IF ZRGROUP=1 DISPLAY AS FOLLOWS]

Some people feel that 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.

Where would you place yourself on this scale?



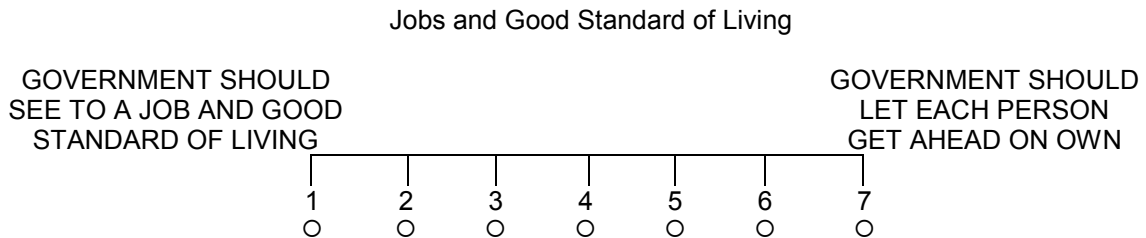
[SP GRAPHIC]
[IF ZRGROUP=2 DISPLAY AS FOLLOWS]

Some people feel that 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.

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



[SP GRAPHIC WITH CHECKBOX]

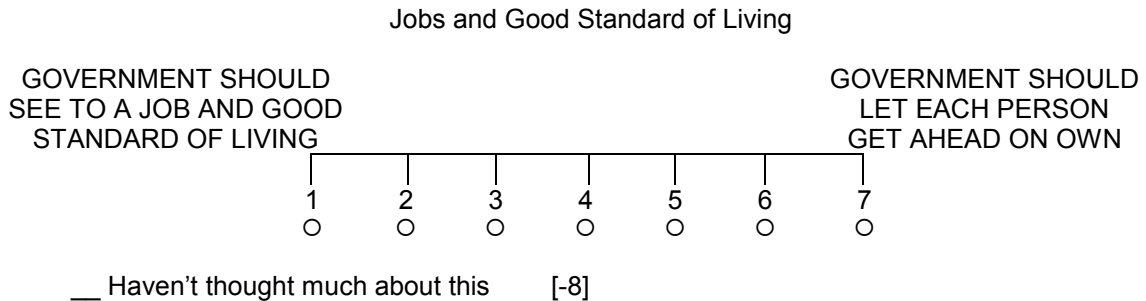
[IF ZRGROUP=3, DISPLAY AS FOLLOWS]

Some people feel that 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.

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



[ZS. EMPLOYMENT STATUS]

[SP]

[ZS1]

Which statement best describes your current employment status?

- Working – as a paid employee [1]
- Working – self-employed [2]
- Not working – on temporary layoff from a job [3]
- Not working – looking for work [4]
- Not working – retired [5]
- Not working – disabled [6]
- Not working – other [7]

[IF ZS1=1 OR 2]

[SP]

[ZS2]

Altogether, how many jobs do you have?

- One [1]
- Two [2]
- Three [3]
- Four or more [4]

[IF ZS2=1]

[SP]

[ZS3]

How many hours per week do you USUALLY work at your job?

- 35 hours a week or more [1]
- Less than 35 hours a week [2]

[IF ZS2=2, 3, OR 4]

[SP]

[ZS4]

How many hours per week do you USUALLY work at your main job? By main job

- we mean the one at which you usually work the most hours.
- 35 hours a week or more [1]
- Less than 35 hours a week [2]

[ZT. FEAR OF UNEMPLOYMENT]

[SP]

[IF ZS2>1 FILL (YOUR/A) WITH "A"; ELSE FILL WITH "YOUR"]

[ZT1] How worried are you about losing (your/a) job in the next 12 months? (Extremely worried, very worried, moderately worried, slightly worried, or not worried at all / Not worried at all, slightly worried, moderately worried, very worried, or extremely worried)?

- Extremely worried [1]
- Very worried [2]
- Moderately worried [3]
- Slightly worried [4]
- Not worried at all [5]

[ZU. OCCUPATION & INDUSTRY]

[TEXT BOX]

[IF ZS1=1 OR ZS1=2 OR ZS1=3]

[ZU1] What is your main occupation? What kind of work do you do?

[4-LINE TEXT BOX]

[IF RESPONSE FEWER THAN 10 CHARACTERS, PROMPT ONCE:
"Please write more about that so we can understand your job."]

[DISPLAY ON SAME PAGE WITH ZU1]

[ZU2] What are your most important activities or duties?

[4-LINE TEXT BOX]

[IF RESPONSE FEWER THAN 10 CHARACTERS, PROMPT ONCE:
"Please write more about the most important activities or duties in your main occupation, so we can understand your job."]

[TEXT BOX]

[IF ZS1=1 OR ZS1=2 OR ZS1=3]

[IF ZS1=1 OR ZS1=2 FILL "is" ELSE FILL "WAS"]

[ZU3] What kind of business/industry (is/was) that?

[4-LINE TEXT BOX]

[IF RESPONSE FEWER THAN 5 CHARACTERS, PROMPT ONCE:
"Please tell us more about that so we can understand your business or industry."]

[ZV. PROSPECTIVE TURNOUT AND CANDIDATE CHOICE 2012]

[NUMERIC INPUT]

[ZV1] What is the percent chance that you will vote in the election for President of the United States in 2012?

Please enter a number from 0 to 100.

[NUMERIC ENTRY BOX, HARD RANGE 0-100]

[IF ZB1>50, FILL "In", ELSE FILL "Assuming you vote"]

[ZV2]

(Assuming you vote in/in) the 2012 presidential election, do you think you will probably vote (for Barack Obama, probably vote for the Republican candidate / for the Republican candidate, probably vote for Barack Obama), or probably vote for someone else?

- | | |
|---|-----|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Barack Obama | [1] |
| <input type="checkbox"/> the Republican candidate | [2] |
| <input type="checkbox"/> someone else | [3] |

[END]