American National Election Studies
Evaluations of Government and Society Study, Survey 4 (EGSS-4)
Winter 2012

Draft Questionnaire
Version 20120327

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Fielding & Sample Specifications
- Dates: data collection should begin no earlier than February 8 and end no later than February 27. Primary turnout questions are written for these field dates.
- 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 “C4” (for cross-section 4) prepended to the item name. E.g. the response to the item E2 should be in a variable named C4E2.
- 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.)
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.

**PROGRAMMING: SECTION ORDER EXPERIMENT.** Create randomization variable XORDER3. Randomly assign 42% of cases to XORDER3=1, 29% to XORDER3=2, and 29% to XORDER3=3. Groups determine order of the three sections below, as follows:

- **IF** XORDER3=1: Follow politics (section A), behavior block (B sections), feeling thermometers (section C).
- **IF** XORDER3=2: Behavior block (B), follow politics (A), feeling thermometers (C).
- **IF** XORDER3=3: Feeling thermometers (C), follow politics (A), behavior block (B).

**NOTE TO PROGRAMMER:** PLEASE USE LOOKUP TABLE VARIABLE XORDER1 TO DETERMINE WHETHER QUESTION TEXT OR RESPONSES ARE PRESENTED IN FORWARD ORDER (AS PRESENTED IN THE QUESTIONNAIRE) (XORDER1= 1) OR REVERSE ORDER (REVERSE PRESENTATION OF QUESTIONNAIRE FORMAT) (XORDER1= 2)

**NOTE TO PROGRAMMER:** CS TEAM WILL PROVIDE A LOOKUP TABLE IN EXCEL SIMILAR TO THAT WHICH WAS PROVIDED FOR WAVE 3 WITH RANDOMIZED VALUES FOR APPROPRIATE QUESTIONS

**A. FOLLOW POLITICS**

[A1] Some people seem to follow what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time, whether there's an election going on or not. Others aren't that interested. Would you say you follow what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time, some of the time, only now and then, or hardly at all?

- Most of the time [1]
- Some of the time [2]
- Only now and then [3]
- Hardly at all [4]

**START BEHAVIOR BLOCK**

**BA. PROSPECTIVE TURNOUT**

**NOTE TO PROGRAMMER:** BA1 CORRESPONDS TO QUESTION ZY1 IN WAVE 3 (SNO 15509)

**NUMERIC INPUT**
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.

[BB1A] In the future, how likely are you to attend a meeting to talk about political or social concerns? (Extremely likely, very likely, moderately likely, a little likely, or not at all likely? / Not at all likely, a little likely, moderately likely, very likely, or extremely likely?)

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

[BB2A] In the future, how likely are you to give money to an organization concerned with a political or social issue? (Extremely likely, very likely, moderately likely, a little likely, or not at all likely? / Not at all likely, a little likely, moderately likely, very likely, or extremely likely?)

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

[BB3A] In the future, how likely are you to distribute information or advertisements supporting a political or social interest group? (Extremely likely, very likely, moderately likely, a little likely, or not at all likely? / Not at all likely, a little likely, moderately likely, very likely, or extremely likely?)

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

[BB1B] In the future, how likely are you to attend a meeting to talk about political or social concerns? As you answer, imagine what doing this would involve – spending a couple of hours talking about a topic where people are likely to disagree. (Would you be extremely likely, very likely, moderately likely, a little likely, or not at all likely to do this? / Would you be not at all likely, a little likely, moderately likely, very likely, or extremely likely to do this?)

___ Extremely likely [1]
___ Very likely [2]
[IF XBB=2] [BB2B] In the future, how likely are you to give money to an organization concerned with a political or social issue? As you answer, imagine what doing this would involve – spending some money that you would not have available to spend on something else. (Would you be extremely likely, very likely, moderately likely, a little likely, or not at all likely to do this? / Would you be not at all likely, a little likely, moderately likely, very likely, or extremely likely to do this?)

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

[IF XBB=2] [BB3B] In the future, how likely are you to distribute information or advertisements supporting a political or social interest group? As you answer, imagine what doing so would involve – spending a couple of hours talking to people you do not know about important political or social issues. (Would you be extremely likely, very likely, moderately likely, a little likely, or not at all likely to do this? / Would you be not at all likely, a little likely, moderately likely, very likely, or extremely likely to do this?)

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

[BC. CAMPAIGN ACTIVITY]

[SP] [BC1] 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] [BC2] 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]

[PROGRAMMING: CREATE RANDOMIZATION VARIABLE XBDE, WHICH DETERMINES ORDER OF SECTIONS BD AND BE. IF XBDE=1, ASK BD AND THEN BE. IF XBDE=2, ASK BE AND THEN BD.]
Below are some television programs. Which of these do you watch at least once a month?

Select all answers that apply

__ 20/20 [1]
__ 60 Minutes [2]
__ ABC World News [3]
__ Anderson Cooper 360 [4]
__ CBS Evening News [5]
__ CNN Newsroom/Headline News [6]
__ Colbert Report [7]
__ Dateline [8]
__ Daily Show with Jon Stewart [9]
__ Early Show [10]
__ Ellen Degeneres Show [11]
__ Face the Nation [12]
__ Fox & Friends [13]
__ Fox News [14]
__ Frontline [15]
__ none of these [16]

Below are some more television programs. Which of these do you watch at least once a month?

Select all answers that apply

__ Good Morning America [17]
__ Hannity [18]
__ Hardball with Chris Matthews [19]
__ Late Edition with Wolf Blitzer [20]
__ Late Show with David Letterman [21]
__ Meet the Press [22]
__ MSNBC Live [23]
__ NBC Nightly News [24]
__ O’Reilly Factor [25]
__ PBS News Hour [26]
__ Piers Morgan Tonight [27]
__ Rachel Maddow Show [28]
__ The Situation Room [29]
__ This Week [30]
__ Today [31]
__ Tonight Show with Jay Leno [32]
__ none of these [33]

Below are some radio programs. Which of these do you listen to at least once a month?

Select all answers that apply

__ The Rush Limbaugh Show [1]
__ The Sean Hannity Show [2]
— Morning Edition (NPR) [3]
— All Things Considered (NPR) [4]
— Glenn Beck Program [5]
— The Savage Nation (The Michael Savage Show) [6]
— The Mark Levin Show [7]
— The Neal Boortz Show [8]
— The Laura Ingraham Show [9]
— Fresh Air (NPR) [10]
— none of these [11]

[MP]
[BD4] Which of these websites have you visited or used in the past 30 days for news, if any?
Select all answers that apply

— Yahoo News (news.yahoo.com) [1]
— CNN.com [2]
— Google News (news.google.com) [3]
— HuffingtonPost.com [5]
— FoxNews.com [6]
— CBSNews.com [7]
— WashingtonPost.com [8]
— LATimes.com [9]
— Wall Street Journal (wsj.com) [10]
— Reuters.com [12]
— ABC News (abcnews.go.com) [13]
— USAToday.com [14]
— BBC News (news.bbc.co.uk) [15]
— another news website [16]
— none (no news website) [17]

[MP]
[BD5] Which of these printed newspapers have you read in the past 30 days, if any?
— USA Today [1]
— Wall Street Journal [2]
— another printed newspaper [4]
— none (no printed newspaper) [5]

[BE. MEDIA USE, TIME SERIES FORMAT]

[NUMBER BOX, RANGE 0-7]
[BE1] During a typical week, how many days do you watch local news on TV, not including sports?

— days [HARD RANGE 0-7]

[BE2] During a typical week, how many days do you watch national news on TV, not including sports?

— days [HARD RANGE 0-7]

[BE3] During a typical week, how many days do you watch, read, or listen to news on
the Internet, not including sports?

__ days [HARD RANGE 0-7]

[BE4] During a typical week, how many days do you read news in a printed newspaper, not including sports?

__ days [HARD RANGE 0-7]

[BE5] During a typical week, how many days do you listen to news on the radio, not including sports?

__ days [HARD RANGE 0-7]

[BF. TWITTER AND FACEBOOK]
[Towner Time Series proposal]

[GRID]

[BF0] How much have you used the following to learn about the election for President?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Not at all</th>
<th>A little</th>
<th>A moderate amount</th>
<th>A lot</th>
<th>A great deal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

[BF1] Twitter

[BF2] Facebook


[BF4] YouTube

[BF5] Blogs

[ONE-LINE TEXT BOX]

[IF BF5 >1]

[SAME SCREEN AS BF0-BF5]

[BF6] What blog do you read most often?

[TEXT BOX]

[BG. POLITICAL DISCUSSION]

[SP]

[BG1] Do you ever discuss politics with your friends or family?

__ Yes [1]

__ No [2]

[IF BG1=1]

[BG2] How many days in the past week did you talk about politics with family or friends?

Type the number

__ days [HARD RANGE 0-7]
[C. FEELING THERMOMETERS]

[NOTE TO PROGRAMMER: SECTION C IS THE SAME AS WAVE 3 (SNO 15509) WITH EXCEPTION OF THE LAST 3 QUESTIONS, C7-C9]

[DISPLAY]

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.
How would you rate Barack Obama?

100° Very warm or favorable feeling
85° Quite warm or favorable feeling
70° Fairly warm or favorable feeling
60° A bit more warm or favorable feeling than cold feeling
50° No feeling at all
40° A bit more cold or unfavorable feeling than warm feeling
30° Fairly cold or unfavorable feeling
15° Quite cold or unfavorable feeling
0° Very cold or unfavorable feeling

How would you rate blacks?

How would you rate whites?

How would you rate Hispanics?

How would you rate Muslims?

How would you rate Mormons?
[SHOW THERMOMETER SCALE]

[NUMBER BOX]
[C8] How would you rate Mitt Romney?
[INTERFACE: NUMERIC ENTRY BOX, HARD RANGE 0-100.]
[SHOW THERMOMETER SCALE]

[NUMBER BOX]
[C9] How would you rate Newt Gingrich?
[INTERFACE: NUMERIC ENTRY BOX, HARD RANGE 0-100.]
[SHOW THERMOMETER SCALE]

[D. VOTER REGISTRATION & PRIMARY TURNOUT]

[SP]
[D1] Are you registered to vote, or not?
   __ Yes, registered to vote [1]
   __ No, not registered [2]
   __ Don’t know [-9]

[SP]
[IF D1=1]
[D2] Our records show that you live in (STATE). Are you registered to vote in (STATE) or somewhere else?
   __ Registered to vote in (STATE) [1]
   __ Registered to vote somewhere else [2]

[SP]
[IF D2=2]
[D3] Where are you registered to vote?

[PULLDOWN MENU OF 50 STATES AND DC]

[PROGRAMMING: UPDATE “XSTATE” TO EQUAL D3 RESPONSE IF GIVEN]

[NOTE: NO ITEM D4 OR D5]

[IN [CAUCUSES / PRIMARY ELECTIONS] IF STATE = IOWA, NEVADA, COLORADO, OR MINNESOTA, INSERT “CAUCUSES” ; IF STATE = NEW HAMPSHIRE, SOUTH CAROLINA, FLORIDA, OR MISSOURI, INSERT “PRIMARY ELECTIONS”]

[IN [CAUCUS / PRIMARY] IF STATE = IOWA, NEVADA, COLORADO, OR MINNESOTA, INSERT “CAUCUS”; IF STATE = NEW HAMPSHIRE, SOUTH CAROLINA, FLORIDA, OR MISSOURI, INSERT “PRIMARY”]

[SP]
[IF STATE = IOWA, NEW HAMPSHIRE, NEVADA, SOUTH CAROLINA, FLORIDA, MAINE, COLORADO, MINNESOTA, OR MISSOURI]
[D6] [State] recently held [caucuses / primary elections] — citizens voted to help decide which candidate from each political party will run in next November’s election for President of the United States.
During the months leading up to the [caucuses / primary elections], did you ever plan to vote in a [caucus / primary], or didn't you plan to do that?

__ Did plan to vote [1]
__ Did not plan to vote [2]

[SP]
[IF STATE IS NOT IOWA, NEW HAMPSHIRE, NEVADA, SOUTH CAROLINA, FLORIDA, MAINE, COLORADO, MINNESOTA, OR MISSOURI]

Later this year, (STATE) will hold caucuses or primary elections in which citizens will vote to help decide which candidate from each political party will run in next November’s election for President of the United States.

Which one of the following best describes what you have done so far in this upcoming election?

__ Definitely have not voted yet in the caucus or primary [1]
__ Definitely voted in person at a polling place before election day [3]
__ Definitely voted by mailing a ballot to elections officials before election day [4]
__ Definitely voted in some other way [5]
__ Not completely sure whether you voted or not [6]

[SP]
[IF STATE = IOWA, NEW HAMPSHIRE, NEVADA, SOUTH CAROLINA, FLORIDA, MAINE, COLORADO, MINNESOTA, OR MISSOURI]

Which one of the following best describes what you did in the [caucuses / primary elections]?

__ Definitely did not vote in a [caucus / primary / caucus or primary] [1]
__ Definitely voted in person at a polling place on election day [2]
__ Definitely voted in person at a polling place before election day [3]
__ Definitely voted by mailing a ballot to elections officials before election day [4]
__ Definitely voted in some other way [5]
__ Not completely sure whether you voted or not [6]

[SP]
[IF D7A OR D7B=6]

If you had to guess, would you say that you probably did vote in the [caucus / primary / caucus or primary], or probably did not vote in that election?

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

[TEXT BOX]
[IF D7A OR D7B=5]

How did you vote? Please tell us exactly when, where, and how you voted.

_______________________________________________________________________
______________________________________________________

[E. PRIMARY VOTE CHOICE]

[PROGRAMMING: items E2, E4, and E6, if asked, should appear on the same screen as their respective parent items E1, E3, or E5 after the “other” or “someone else” option has been selected.]
Which political party’s [primary/caucus/primary or caucus] did you vote in?
Mark one answer.
___ Republican [1]
___ Democratic [2]
___ other party [3]

What is the name of the party whose [primary/caucus/primary or caucus] you voted in?
________________________________________

Which presidential candidate did you vote for?
___ Mitt Romney [1]
___ Rick Santorum [2]
___ Ron Paul [3]
___ Newt Gingrich [4]
___ Rick Perry [5]
___ Jon Huntsman [6]
___ Michele Bachmann [7]
___ someone else [10]

What is the name of the presidential candidate you voted for?
________________________________________

Assuming you vote, which political party’s caucus or primary will you vote in?
Mark one answer.
___ Republican [1]
___ Democratic [2]
___ other party [3]

Which presidential candidate will you vote for in your state’s caucus or primary?
___ Mitt Romney [1]
___ Rick Santorum [2]
___ Ron Paul [3]
___ Newt Gingrich [4]
___ someone else [10]

Although you will not vote in the Republican caucus or primary, if you had to choose, which of these Republican presidential candidates would you prefer?
[F. EFFICACY]

[F1] 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]

[F2] 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]

[G. OBAMA EVALUATION (JOB APPROVAL)]

[G1] 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 G1=1 or 2]
[If G1=1 insert “approve” in [approve/disapprove]; if G1=2 insert “disapprove” in [approve/disapprove]]

[G2] 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]

[H. MOST AND LEAST IMPORTANT PROBLEMS]
[RANDOMIZE AND RECORD ORDER OF RESPONSE OPTIONS IN LOOKUP TABLE VARIABLE XH1 WITH VALUES 1-10]

[H1] Which of these do you think is the most important issue facing the United States today?

__ The budget deficit (government spending more money than it takes in)[1]
__ The war in Afghanistan [2]
__ Education [3]
__ Health care [4]
__ Illegal immigration [5]
__ The economic recession [6]
__ Abortion [7]
__ Same-sex marriage [8]
__ The environment [9]
__ Unemployment [10]

[ADD "SOME OTHER PROBLEM" WITH TEXT BOX AS LAST OPTION]

[SP]

[USE SAME RESPONSE ORDER AS XH1; OMIT RESPONSE CHOSEN IN H1]

[H2] Whether you are for or against any particular policy, which of these do you think is the least important issue facing the United States today?

__ The budget deficit (government spending more money than it takes in)[1]
__ The war in Afghanistan [2]
__ Education [3]
__ Health care [4]
__ Illegal immigration [5]
__ The economic recession [6]
__ Abortion [7]
__ Same-sex marriage [8]
__ The environment [9]
__ Unemployment [10]

[J. ATTITUDE MORALIZATION]

[SP]

[FILL “MIP” WITH THE TEXT FROM ITEM H1 SET IN BOLDFACE TYPE]

[J1] How much are your opinions about (MIP) based on your moral values? (Not at all, a little, a moderate amount, a lot, or a great deal? / A great deal, a lot, a moderate amount, a little, or not at all?)

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

[SP]

[FILL “LIP” WITH THE PROBLEM SELECTED AT H2 SET IN BOLDFACE TYPE]

[J2] How much are your opinions about (LIP) based on your moral values? (Not at all, a little, a moderate amount, a lot, or a great deal? / A great deal, a lot, a moderate amount, a little, or not at all?)

__ Not at all [1]
__ A little [2]
How much are your opinions about (RANDOM ISSUE) based on your moral values? (Not at all, a little, a moderate amount, a lot, or a great deal?)

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

Would you prefer a U.S. President who compromises to get things done, or who sticks to his or her principles no matter what?

__ Compromises to get things done [1]
__ Sticks to his or her principles no matter what [2]

Next we’ll ask how well some words describe blacks, whites, Hispanics, and Mormons. The order of the questions was chosen randomly by the computer.

How well does the word “patriotic” describe most members of each group? Select one answer from each row in the grid.
### [GRID]

**[USE RESPONSE SCALE DETERMINED BY LOOKUP TABLE VARIABLE XORDER1]**

How well does the word “lazy” describe most members of each group?

Select one answer from each row in the grid

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Extremely well</th>
<th>Very well</th>
<th>Moderately well</th>
<th>Slightly well</th>
<th>Not at all well</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[L1B] Blacks</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[L1W] Whites</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[L1H] Hispanics</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[L1M] Mormons</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### [GRID]

**[USE RESPONSE SCALE DETERMINED BY LOOKUP TABLE VARIABLE XORDER1]**

How well does the word “violent” describe most members of each group?

Select one answer from each row in the grid

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Extremely well</th>
<th>Very well</th>
<th>Moderately well</th>
<th>Slightly well</th>
<th>Not at all well</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[L2B] Blacks</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[L2W] Whites</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[L2H] Hispanics</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[L2M] Mormons</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### [M. ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE]

**[NOTE TO PROGRAMMER: “M0” TO “N6” ARE THE SAME QUESTIONS AS IN WAVE 3, SNO 15509]**

**[GRID, SP ACROSS]**

Now thinking about the economy in the country as a whole...

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Much better</th>
<th>Somewhat better</th>
<th>About the same</th>
<th>Somewhat worse</th>
<th>Much worse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[M0]</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[M1]</td>
<td>would you say that as compared to one year ago, the nation's economy is now better, about the same, or worse?</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
What about 12 months from now? Compared to now, do you think the nation’s economy will be better, about the same, or worse in 12 months?

[N. PARTY ID]

[IF N1ORN3=1]
[SP]
[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]

[IF N1=4]
[TEXT BOX] [PROGRAMMING: If N2 is displayed, display it on the same screen as N1.]
What is that? __________________________________________

[IF N1ORN3=2]
[SP]
[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]

[IF N3=4]
[TEXT BOX] [PROGRAMMING: If H4 is displayed, display it on the same screen as H3.]
What is that? __________________________________________

[IF N1=1 OR 2 OR N3=1 OR 2]
[SP]

[IF N1=1 OR N3=1 INSERT “DEMOCRAT” IN [DEMOCRAT/REPUBLICAN]; IF N1=2 OR N3=2 INSERT “REPUBLICAN” IN [DEMOCRAT/REPUBLICAN]]
[N5] Would you call yourself a strong [Democrat/Republican] or a not very strong [Democrat/Republican]?
__ Strong [Democrat/Republican] [1]
__ Not very strong [Democrat/Republican] [2]
[IF N1=3, 4 OR IS SKIPPED OR N3=3, 4, OR IS SKIPPED]

[SP]

[N6] Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party or to the Democratic Party?
___ Closer to the Republican Party [1]
___ Closer to the Democratic Party [2]
___ Neither [3]

[P. IDEOLOGICAL PLACEMENTS]

[NOTE TO PROGRAMMER: P0 – P4 ARE THE SAME QUESTION FORMAT/ITEMS IN WAVE 3 (SNO 15509, T0-T4) WITH A CHANGE IN NAME. IN ADDITION, P0 NOW HAS 3 MORE GRID ROWS, P5-P7]

[RANDOMIZE AND RECORD ORDER OF P1 THROUGH P7 IN LOOKUP TABLE VARIABLE XP1P7 WITH VALUES 1-7]

[GRID SP ACROSS]

[P0] When it comes to politics, would you describe yourself, and these groups, as liberal, conservative, or neither liberal nor conservative?

Select one answer from each row in the grid

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Very liberal</th>
<th>Somewhat liberal</th>
<th>Closer to liberals</th>
<th>Neither liberal nor conservative</th>
<th>Closer to conservatives</th>
<th>Somewhat conservative</th>
<th>Very conservative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[P1]</td>
<td>You</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[P2]</td>
<td>Democrats</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[P3]</td>
<td>Republicans</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[P4]</td>
<td>The Tea</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Party</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[P5]</td>
<td>Barack Obama</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[P6]</td>
<td>Mitt Romney</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[P7]</td>
<td>Newt Gingrich</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[Q. TEA PARTY SUPPORT/OPPOSITION]

[NOTE TO PROGRAMMER: Q1 CORRESPONDS TO UM1 AND Q2 CORRESPONDS TO UM2 IN WAVE 3 (SNO 15509)]

[SP]

[Q1] Do you support, oppose, or neither support nor oppose the Tea Party movement?
___ Support [1]
___ Oppose [2]
__ Neither support nor oppose  [3]

[IF Q1=1 or Q1=2]

[Q2] 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]

[SP]

[NOTE: Repass]

[Q3] Do you think of yourself as a member of the Tea Party movement, or not?
__ I think of myself as a member of the Tea Party movement  [1]
__ No, I do not think of myself as a member  [2]

[S. DISCRIMINATION]

[NOTE TO PROGRAMMER: S0 CORRESPONDS TO QUESTION Z0 WITH ITEMS Z1 TO Z8 IN WAVE 3 (SNO 15509)]

[RANDOMIZE AND RECORD ORDER OF ITEMS S1 THRU S8 IN LOOKUP TABLE VARIABLE XS1S8 WITH VALUES 1-8]

[SET COLUMN ORDER FORWARD OR REVERSE AS ESTABLISHED BY XORDER1]]

[S0] How much discrimination is there in the United States today against each of the following groups?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A great deal</th>
<th>A lot</th>
<th>A moderate amount</th>
<th>A little</th>
<th>None at all</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[S1] Blacks</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[S2] Hispanics</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[S3] Whites</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[S4] Gays &amp; lesbians</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[S5] Women</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[S6] Men</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[S7] Christians</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[S8] Muslims</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[T. IMMIGRATION]

[T1] When people from other countries legally move to the United States to live and work, is this generally good for the U.S., generally bad for the U.S., or neither good nor bad?
__ Extremely good  [1]
__ Moderately good  [2]
__ A little good  [3]
__ Neither good nor bad  [4]
__ A little bad  [5]
__ Moderately bad  [6]
__ Extremely bad  [7]
[T2] Should the number of people who are allowed to legally move to the United States to live and work be increased, decreased, or kept the same as it is now?

__ Increased a lot [1]
__ Increased a moderate amount [2]
__ Increased a little [3]
__ Kept the same [4]
__ Decreased a little [5]
__ Decreased a moderate amount [6]
__ Decreased a lot [7]

[SP]
[ORDER LIST FORWARD/REVERSE AS ESTABLISHED BY XORDER1]

[T3] 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]

[SP]

[T4] Compared to the administration of George W. Bush, has Barack Obama’s administration been deporting more immigrants per year who were in the United States without permission, deporting fewer, or deporting same number of immigrants?

__ Obama is deporting more per year [1]
__ Obama is deporting fewer per year [2]
__ Obama is deporting the same [3]

[SP]

[T5] There is a proposal to allow people who were illegally brought into the U.S. as children to become permanent U.S. residents under some circumstances. Specifically, citizens of other countries who illegally entered the U.S. before age 16, who have lived in the U.S. 5 years or longer, and who graduated high school would be allowed to stay in the U.S. as permanent residents if they attend college or serve in the military.

Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose this proposal?

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

[SP]

[IF T5=1 OR 2]

[IF T5=1 INSERT “FAVOR” IN [FAVOR/OPPose]; IF T5=2 INSERT “OPPOSE” IN [FAVOR/Oppose]]

[T6] Do you [favor/oppose] that (a great deal, moderately, or a little / a little, moderately, or a great deal)?
[U. REPRESENTATION & COMPETITION; PROCESS SPACE FRUSTRATION]

[U1] Would you prefer to live in a place where most people have the same opinions you have about politics, or in a place where people have lots of different opinions about politics, or do you have no preference at all?
__ Prefer a place where most people have same opinions as me [1]
__ Prefer a place with lots of different opinions [2]
__ No preference at all [3]

[IF U1=1]

[U2] What if living where most people have the same opinions you have about politics means that your preferred political party wins again and again and there is no significant competition from another political party? Would you prefer to live in a place where most have the same opinions you have about politics, or in a place where people have lots of different opinions about politics, or do you have no preference at all?
__ Prefer a place where most people have same opinions as me [1]
__ Prefer a place with lots of different opinions [2]
__ No preference at all [3]

[IF U1=2]

[U3] What if living where people have lots of different opinions means that you are more likely to end up being represented in government by someone in a political party that you do not like? Would you prefer to live in a place where most have the same opinions you have about politics, or in a place where people have lots of different opinions about politics, or do you have no preference at all?
__ Prefer a place where most people have same opinions as me [1]
__ Prefer a place with lots of different opinions [2]
__ No preference at all [3]

[PROGRAMMING: CREATE RANDOMIZATION LOOKUP TABLE VARIABLE AND RECORD IN XREPGRP WITH VALUES 1-4]

[IF XREPGRP =1]

[U4] Suppose that most voters think it is better for the country if their representative in the U.S. Congress votes Yes on a proposed law, but the representative thinks it is better for the country if he or she votes No. Should the representative vote Yes or No?
__ Vote Yes, as most voters think is better [1]
__ Vote No, as the representative thinks is better [2]

[IF XREPGRP =2]

[U5] Suppose that most voters think it is better for the country if their representative in the U.S. Congress votes No on a proposed law, but the representative thinks it is better for the country if he or she votes Yes. Should the representative vote No or Yes?
__ Vote No, as most voters think is better [2]
__ Vote Yes, as the representative thinks is better [1]

[NOTE REVERSED CODES]
[IF XREPGRP =3]
[U6] Suppose that a representative in the U.S. Congress thinks it is better for the country if he
or she votes Yes on a proposed law, but most voters think it is better for the country for
the representative to vote No. Should the representative vote Yes or No?

__ Vote Yes, as the representative thinks is better [1]
__ Vote No, as most voters think is better [2]

[IF XREPGRP =4]
[U7] Suppose that a representative in the U.S. Congress thinks it is better for the country if he
or she votes No on a proposed law, but most voters think it is better for the country for
the representative to vote Yes. Should the representative vote No or Yes?

__ Vote No, as the representative thinks is better [2]
__ Vote Yes, as most voters think is better [1]

[NOTE REVERSED CODES]

[U8] When representatives in Congress disagree with most voters about what is good for the
country, how do you think they usually vote? Do they usually vote how they think is best,
or do they usually vote how they think most voters think best?

__ Usually vote how they think best [1]
__ Usually vote how voters think best [2]

[U9] How well do the Members of Congress reflect the views of all Americans? (Extremely
well, very well, moderately well, slightly well, or not at all well? / Not at all well, slightly
well, moderately well, very well, or extremely well?)

__ Extremely well [1]
__ Very well [2]
__ Moderately well [3]
__ Slightly well [4]
__ Not at all well [5]

[U10] Would you prefer a representative in the U.S. Congress who compromises to get things
done, or who sticks to his or her principles no matter what?

__ Compromises to get things done [1]
__ Sticks to his or her principles no matter what [2]

[DESIGN NOTE: also see item K1]

[V. ATTITUDE TOWARD WALL STREET PROTESTS]

[NOTE TO PROGRAMMER: V1 CORRESPONDTS TO ZK1 IN WAVE 3 (SNO 15509)]

[V1] Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose the recent “Occupy Wall Street”
protests?

__ Favor [1]
__ Oppose [2]
__ Neither favor nor oppose [3]
[W. BLAME ATTRIBUTION FOR RECESSION]

[NOTE TO PROGRAMMER: W0 CORRESPONDS TO ZM0 IN WAVE 3 (SNO 15509)]

[GRID SP ACROSS]
[RANDOMIZE AND RECORD ORDER OF W1 THROUGH W6]

[W0] How much is each of the following people or groups to blame for the poor economic conditions of the past few years?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>President Obama</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>President Bush</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democrats in U.S. Congress</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republicans in U.S. Congress</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wall Street Bankers</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consumers who borrowed too much money</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[X. EMPLOYMENT STATUS]

[NOTE TO PROGRAMMER: X1 CORRESPONDS TO ZU1 IN WAVE 3 (SNO 15509)]

[SP]
[X1] Which statement best describes your current employment status?

- Working – full time [1]
- Working – part time by choice [2]
- Working – part time but would prefer full time [3]
- Not working – on temporary layoff from a job [4]
- Not working – looking for work [5]
- Not working – retired [6]
- Not working – disabled [7]
- Not working – other [8]

[SMALL TEXT BOX FOR NUMERIC INPUT]
[IF X1=1, 2, OR 3]

[X2] How many jobs do you have now?

[TXT BOX, NUMERIC INPUT, RANGE 0 TO 100]

[Y. CANDIDATE CHOICE 2012]

[NOTE TO PROGRAMMER: Y1, Y2, Y3, AND Y4 CORRESPOND TO ZY2, ZY3, ZY4, AND ZY5 IN WAVE 3 (SNO 15509) WITH NO INSERT LOGIC FOR TEXT “ASSUMING YOU VOTE IN/IN” AS IN ZY2 AND DIFFERENT TEXT INSERTS FOR Y4 AS COMPARED TO ZY5]
The next question is about the 2012 presidential election in November. Assuming you vote in the 2012 presidential election, do you think you will probably vote (for Barack Obama as the Democratic candidate, probably vote for the Republican candidate / for the Republican candidate, probably vote for Barack Obama as the Democratic candidate), probably vote for someone else, or probably not vote?

__ Barack Obama  [1]  
__ the Republican candidate  [2]  
__ someone else – if so, who?  [SMALL TEXT BOX]  [3]  
__ undecided  [4]  
__ probably not vote  [5]  

[IF Y1=3 OR 4]

[Y1A] If you had to choose between Barack Obama and the Republican candidate, who would you prefer?

__ Barack Obama  [1]  
__ the Republican candidate  [2]  

[Y2] If the 2012 presidential election were between Barack Obama as the Democratic candidate and Mitt Romney as the Republican candidate, would you probably vote for Barack Obama, Mitt Romney, someone else, or probably not vote?

__ Barack Obama  [1]  
__ Mitt Romney  [2]  
__ someone else – if so, who?  [SMALL TEXT BOX]  [3]  
__ undecided  [4]  
__ probably not vote  [5]  

[IF Y2=3 OR 4]

[Y2A] If you had to choose between Barack Obama and Mitt Romney, who would you prefer?

__ Barack Obama  [1]  
__ Mitt Romney  [2]  

[Y3] If the 2012 presidential election were between Barack Obama as the Democratic candidate and Newt Gingrich as the Republican candidate, would you probably vote for Barack Obama, Newt Gingrich, someone else, or probably not vote?

__ Barack Obama  [1]  
__ Newt Gingrich  [2]  
__ someone else – if so, who?  [SMALL TEXT BOX]  [3]  
__ undecided  [4]  
__ probably not vote  [5]  

[IF Y3=3 OR 4]

[Y3A] If you had to choose between Barack Obama and Newt Gingrich, who would you prefer?

__ Barack Obama  [1]  
__ Newt Gingrich  [2]
If the 2012 presidential election were between Barack Obama as the Democratic candidate and Rick Santorum as the Republican candidate, would you probably vote for Barack Obama, Rick Santorum, someone else, or probably not vote?

__ Barack Obama  [1]
__ Rick Santorum  [2]
__ someone else – if so, who?  [SMALL TEXT BOX]  [3]
__ undecided  [4]
__ probably not vote  [5]

If you had to choose between Barack Obama and Rick Santorum, who would you prefer?

__ Barack Obama  [1]
__ Rick Santorum  [2]

Do you think what happens generally to other people in this country will have something to do with what happens in your life?

__ Yes
__ No

Will it affect you a lot, some, or not very much?

__ A lot
__ Some
__ Not very much

Do you think what happens generally to black people in this country will have something to do with what happens in your life?

__ Yes
__ No

Will it affect you a lot, some, or not very much?

__ A lot
__ Some
__ Not very much

Do you think what happens generally to Hispanic people in this country will have something to do with what happens in your life?

__ Yes
__ No

Will it affect you a lot, some, or not very much?

__ A lot
Do you think what happens generally to white people in this country will have something to do with what happens in your life?

Yes
No

Will it affect you a lot, some, or not very much?

A lot
Some
Not very much

If other Americans do well, does that make it more likely that you will do well, less likely that you will do well, or does it have no effect on how well you will do?

A great deal more likely that I will do well [1]
Moderately more likely that I will do well [2]
A little more likely that I will do well [3]
No effect [4]
A little less likely that I will do well [5]
Moderately less likely that I will do well [6]
A great deal less likely that I will do well [7]

If black people in this country do well, does that make it more likely that you will do well, less likely that you will do well, or does it have no effect on how well you will do?

A great deal more likely that I will do well [1]
Moderately more likely that I will do well [2]
A little more likely that I will do well [3]
No effect [4]
A little less likely that I will do well [5]
Moderately less likely that I will do well [6]
A great deal less likely that I will do well [7]

If Hispanic people in this country do well, does that make it more likely that you will do well, less likely that you will do well, or does it have no effect on how well you will do?

A great deal more likely that I will do well [1]
Moderately more likely that I will do well [2]
A little more likely that I will do well [3]
No effect [4]
A little less likely that I will do well [5]
Moderately less likely that I will do well [6]
A great deal less likely that I will do well [7]

If white people in this country do well, does that make it more likely that you will do well, less likely that you will do well, or does it have no effect on how well you will do?
__ A great deal more likely that I will do well [1]
__ Moderately more likely that I will do well [2]
__ A little more likely that I will do well [3]
__ No effect [4]
__ A little less likely that I will do well [5]
__ Moderately less likely that I will do well [6]
__ A great deal less likely that I will do well [7]

[ZA. RACIAL RESENTMENT]

[NOTE TO PROGRAMMER: ZA0 CORRESPONDS TO ZG0 IN WAVE 3 (SNO 15509)]

[GRID SP ACROSS]

[ZA0] Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly with each of the following statements?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Agree strongly</th>
<th>Agree somewhat</th>
<th>Neither agree or disagree</th>
<th>Disagree somewhat</th>
<th>Disagree strongly</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[1]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[2]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[3]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[4]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[PROGRAMMING: CREATE RANDOMIZATION VARIABLE XZBZC=1 OR 2. IF XZBZC=1, ASK SECTIONS ZB AND ZC IN THE INDICATED ORDER, ZB FOLLOWED BY ZC. IF XZBZC=2, ASK THE SECTIONS IN THE REVERSE ORDER, ZC FOLLOWED BY ZB.]
[ZB. AFFIRMATIVE ACTION, TS VERSION]

[ZB1] Some people say that because of past discrimination, blacks should be given preference in hiring and promotion. Others say that such preference in hiring and promotion of blacks is wrong because it gives blacks advantages they haven’t earned. What about your opinion – are you for or against preferential hiring and promotion of blacks?

__ For [1]  
__ Against [2]

[IF ZB1=1]

[ZB2] Do you favor preference in hiring and promotion strongly or not strongly?

__ Strongly [1]  
__ Not strongly [2]

[IF ZB1=2]

[ZB3] Do you oppose preference in hiring and promotion strongly or not strongly?

__ Strongly [1]  
__ Not strongly [2]

[ZC. AFFIRMATIVE ACTION, PANEL VERSION]

[SP]

[ZC1] Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose allowing universities to increase the number of black students studying at their schools by considering race along with other factors when choosing students?

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

[SP]

[IF ZC1=1 OR 2]

[IF ZC1=1 INSERT “FAVOR” IN [FAVOR/Oppose], IF ZC1=2 INSERT “OPPOSE” IN [FAVOR/Oppose]]

[ZC2] 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]

[IF ZC3=1 OR 2]

[IF ZC3=1 INSERT “FAVOR” IN [FAVOR/Oppose], IF ZC3=2 INSERT “OPPOSE” IN [FAVOR/Oppose]]

[ZC3] Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose allowing companies to increase the number of black workers by considering race along with other factors when choosing employees?

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

**[ZD. RELIGIOUS IDENTIFICATION CHECKLIST]**

Which of the following terms describe your religious beliefs?

Mark all that apply

- __ Liberal
- __ Progressive
- __ Non-traditional believer
- __ Born again
- __ Evangelical
- __ Secular
- __ Agnostic
- __ Atheist
- __ Charismatic
- __ Pentecostal
- __ Humanist
- __ Fundamentalist
- __ Christian
- __ Traditional
- __ Mainline
- __ Spiritual but not religious
- __ none of the above

**[ZE. MODERN SEXISM]**

PROGRAMMING: CREATE RANDOMIZATION VARIABLE xZE =1 or 2.

IF xZE=1

How serious a problem is discrimination against women in the United States?

__ Not a problem at all [1]  
__ A minor problem [2]  
__ A moderately serious problem [3]  
__ A very serious problem [4]  
__ An extremely serious problem [5]

Should the news media pay more attention to discrimination against women, less attention, or the same amount of attention they have been paying lately?

__ Should pay a great deal more attention [1]  
__ Should pay somewhat more attention [2]  
__ Should pay a little more attention [3]  
__ Should pay the same amount of attention [4]  
__ Should pay a little less attention [5]  
__ Should pay somewhat less attention [6]
__ Should pay a great deal less attention  [7]

[IF xZE=1]  [ZE3] When women demand equality these days, how often are they actually seeking special favors?
   ___ Never  [1]
   ___ A little of the time  [2]
   ___ About half the time  [3]
   ___ A lot  [4]
   ___ All the time  [5]

[IF xZE=1]  [ZE4] When women complain about harassment, how often do they cause more problems than they solve?
   ___ Never  [1]
   ___ A little of the time  [2]
   ___ About half the time  [3]
   ___ A lot  [4]
   ___ All the time  [5]

[IF xZE=1]  [ZE5] In the U.S. today, do men have more opportunities for achievement than women have, do women have more opportunities than men, or do they have equal opportunities?
   ___ Men have many more opportunities  [1]
   ___ Men have moderately more opportunities  [2]
   ___ Men have slightly more opportunities  [3]
   ___ Both have equal opportunities  [4]
   ___ Women have slightly more opportunities  [5]
   ___ Women have moderately more opportunities  [6]
   ___ Women have many more opportunities  [7]

[GRID]  [IF xZE=2] [ZE6] Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly with these statements?

Mark one answer on each row.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Agree strongly</th>
<th>Agree somewhat</th>
<th>Neither agree nor disagree</th>
<th>Disagree somewhat</th>
<th>Disagree strongly</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[ZE6A]</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discrimination against women is no longer a problem in the United States.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ZE6B]</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over the past few years, the government and news media have been showing more concern about the treatment of women than is warranted by women's actual experiences.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ZE6C]</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>When women demand equality these days, they are actually seeking special favors.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ZE6D]</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women who complain about</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
harassment cause more problems than they solve.

Society has reached the point where women and men have equal opportunities for achievement.

[PROGRAMMING: CREATE RANDOMIZATION VARIABLE XZFZG=1 OR 2]

[ZF. TIPI, CANONICAL VERSION]

[IF XZFZG=1]
[MULTIPLE NUMERIC INPUTS, ALL ON SAME PAGE]

[ZF0] Here are a number of personality traits that may or may not apply to you. Please type a number next to each statement to indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with that statement. You should rate the extent to which the pair of traits applies to you, even if one characteristic applies more strongly than the other.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Disagree strongly</th>
<th>Disagree moderately</th>
<th>Disagree a little</th>
<th>Neither agree nor disagree</th>
<th>Agree a little</th>
<th>Agree moderately</th>
<th>Agree strongly</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I see myself as:

[ZF1] __ Extraverted, enthusiastic.
[ZF2] __ Critical, quarrelsome.
[ZF3] __ Dependable, self-disciplined.
[ZF5] __ Open to new experiences, complex.
[ZF7] __ Sympathetic, warm.
[ZF8] __ Disorganized, careless.
[ZF9] __ Calm, emotionally stable.

[ZG. TIPI, EDITED VERSION]

[RANDOMIZE ORDER OF ITEMS ZG1 TO ZG10.]
[AFTER FIRST DISPLAYED ITEM, SET REPEATED INTRO TEXT (“WE’RE INTERESTED…. THAN THE OTHER.”) IN A LIGHTER, SLIGHTLY FADED OR LIGHT GRAY TYPEFACE.]

[SP]
[IF XZFZG=2]

[ZG1] We’re interested in how you see yourself. Please mark how well the following pair of words describes you, even if one word describes you better than the other.

extraverted, enthusiastic describes me…

Extremely poorly Somewhat poorly A little poorly Neither poorly nor well A little well Somewhat well Extremely well
We’re interested in how you see yourself. Please mark how well the following pair of words describes you, even if one word describes you better than the other.

**critical, quarrelsome** describes me…

Extremely poorly Somewhat poorly A little poorly Neither poorly nor well A little well Somewhat well Extremely well

**dependable, self-disciplined** describes me…

Extremely poorly Somewhat poorly A little poorly Neither poorly nor well A little well Somewhat well Extremely well

**anxious, easily upset** describes me…

Extremely poorly Somewhat poorly A little poorly Neither poorly nor well A little well Somewhat well Extremely well

**open to new experiences, complex** describes me…

Extremely poorly Somewhat poorly A little poorly Neither poorly nor well A little well Somewhat well Extremely well

**reserved, quiet** describes me…
We're interested in how you see yourself. Please mark how well the following pair of words describes you, even if one word describes you better than the other.

**sympathetic, warm** describes me…

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Extremely poorly</th>
<th>Somewhat poorly</th>
<th>A little poorly</th>
<th>Neither poorly nor well</th>
<th>A little well</th>
<th>Somewhat well</th>
<th>Extremely well</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**disorganized, careless** describes me…

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Extremely poorly</th>
<th>Somewhat poorly</th>
<th>A little poorly</th>
<th>Neither poorly nor well</th>
<th>A little well</th>
<th>Somewhat well</th>
<th>Extremely well</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**calm, emotionally stable** describes me…

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Extremely poorly</th>
<th>Somewhat poorly</th>
<th>A little poorly</th>
<th>Neither poorly nor well</th>
<th>A little well</th>
<th>Somewhat well</th>
<th>Extremely well</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**conventional, uncreative** describes me…

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Extremely poorly</th>
<th>Somewhat poorly</th>
<th>A little poorly</th>
<th>Neither poorly nor well</th>
<th>A little well</th>
<th>Somewhat well</th>
<th>Extremely well</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
[ZH. KNOWLEDGE]

[NOTE TO PROGRAMMER: ZH1, ZH2, ZH3, AND ZH4 CORRESPOND TO ZP7, ZP8, ZP9 (NO PICTURE FORMAT), AND ZP20 IN WAVE 3 (SNO 15509)]

[RANDOMIZE AND RECORD RESPONSE ORDER IN LOOKUP TABLE VARIABLE XZH1 WITH VALUES 1-4]

[ZH1] Who is the Chief Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court?
   __ John Roberts    [1]
   __ David Cole     [2]
   __ Anthony Kennedy   [3]
   __ Larry Thompson  [4]

[RANDOMIZE AND RECORD RESPONSE ORDER IN LOOKUP TABLE VARIABLE XZH2 WITH VALUES 1-4]

[ZH2] Who is the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom?
   __ David Cameron   [1]
   __ Nick Clegg     [2]
   __ Tony Hayward   [3]
   __ Richard Branson [4]

[RANDOMIZE AND RECORD RESPONSE ORDER IN LOOKUP TABLE VARIABLE XZH3 WITH VALUES 1-4]

[ZH3] Who is the Speaker of the House of Representatives?
   __ John Boehner   [1]
   __ Harry Reid     [2]
   __ Eric Holder   [3]
   __ Mitt Romney  [4]

[RANDOMIZE AND RECORD RESPONSE ORDER WITH LOOKUP TABLE VARIABLE XZH4 OF VALUES 1-4]

[ZH4] On which of the following does the U.S. federal government spend the least money?
   __ Foreign aid   [1]
   __ Medicare     [2]
   __ National defense   [3]
   __ Social Security [4]

[ZK. RESPONDENT’S HEALTH]

[ZK1] In general, would you say your own health is excellent, good, fair, or poor?
   __ Excellent   [1]
   __ Good   [2]
   __ Fair   [3]
   __ Poor   [4]

[ZL. AMERICAN IDEOLOGICAL LANDSCAPE]

[ZL1] Should the government generally be doing more, doing less, or doing the same number of things it is doing now?
   __ A lot more   [1]
   __ A moderate amount more   [2]
   __ A little more   [3]
   __ The same number of things   [4]
__ A little less [5]  
__ A moderate amount less [6]  
__ A lot less [7]  

[ZL2] Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose the government promoting “traditional values”?  
__ Favor a great deal [1]  
__ Favor a moderate amount [2]  
__ Favor a little [3]  
__ Neither favor nor oppose [4]  
__ Oppose a little [5]  
__ Oppose a moderate amount [6]  
__ Oppose a great deal [7]  

[ZL3] How much government regulation of business is good for society? A great deal, a lot, a moderate amount, a little, or none at all?  
__ A great deal [1]  
__ A lot [2]  
__ A moderate amount [3]  
__ A little [4]  
__ None at all [5]  

[ZM. MORMONISM]  

[ZM1] Do you think the Mormon religion is Christian, or is it not Christian?  
__ Is Christian [1]  
__ Is not Christian [2]  

[ZM2] Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose basing American laws on Christian values?  
__ Favor strongly [1]  
__ Favor a moderate amount [2]  
__ Favor a little [3]  
__ Neither favor nor oppose [4]  
__ Oppose a little [5]  
__ Oppose a moderate amount [6]  
__ Oppose strongly [7]  

[ZM3] Would you be more likely, less likely, or equally likely to support a candidate for president who had the following characteristics?  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristic</th>
<th>A lot more likely</th>
<th>A little more likely</th>
<th>Equally likely</th>
<th>A little less likely</th>
<th>A lot less likely</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[ZM3] Catholic</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ZM4] Jew</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ZM5] Mormon</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ZM6] Muslim</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ZM7] Person with no religion</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ZM7] Evangelical or “born again”</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ZM8] Christian not evangelical or</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
“born again”

[SP]

[ZM9] Woman ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○
[ZM10] Gay or lesbian ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○
[ZM11] Black ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○
[ZM12] Hispanic ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○

[SP]

[ZM13] What is Mitt Romney’s religion?
__ Protestant [1]
__ Catholic [2]
__ Jewish [3]
__ Muslim [4]
__ Mormon [5]
__ Something else [6]
__ Not religious [7]

[SP]

[ZM14] What is Newt Gingrich’s religion?
__ Protestant [1]
__ Catholic [2]
__ Jewish [3]
__ Muslim [4]
__ Mormon [5]
__ Something else [6]
__ Not religious [7]

[SP]

[ZM15] What is Rick Santorum’s religion?
__ Protestant [1]
__ Catholic [2]
__ Jewish [3]
__ Muslim [4]
__ Mormon [5]
__ Something else [6]
__ Not religious [7]

[SP]

[ZM16] What is Barack Obama’s religion?
__ Protestant [1]
__ Catholic [2]
__ Jewish [3]
__ Muslim [4]
__ Mormon [5]
__ Something else [6]
__ Not religious [7]

[NUMBER BOX]

[ZM17] How many people do you know personally who are Mormon?

Type the number

__ [NUMERIC INPUT]
[ZP. OBAMA'S RACE]
[NOTE: Masuoka]

[MP]
[RANDOMIZE AND RECORD RESPONSE ORDER OF RESPONSES 1 THRU 5]
[ZP0] How would you describe Barack Obama’s race?

Mark all that apply
__ White [ZP1]
__ Black [ZP2]
__ Hispanic [ZP3]
__ Mixed race [ZP4]
__ Asian [ZP5]
__ Other race [ZP6]

[SP]
[ZP7] In appointing people to his administration, do you think Barack Obama has paid too much attention to selecting people on the basis of race and gender, has paid too little attention, or has paid just the right amount of attention?
__ A great deal too much attention to race and gender [1]
__ Somewhat too much attention to race and gender [2]
__ A little too much attention to race and gender [3]
__ Just the right amount of attention [4]
__ A little too little attention to race and gender [5]
__ Somewhat too little attention to race and gender [6]
__ A great deal too little attention to race and gender [7]

[ZQ. BIRTH CONTROL]

[SP]
[ZQ1] Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose requiring religious schools and charities to provide their employees with health insurance that includes free birth control?
__ Favor a great deal [1]
__ Favor a moderate amount [2]
__ Favor a little [3]
__ Neither favor nor oppose [4]
__ Oppose a little [5]
__ Oppose a moderate amount [6]
__ Oppose a great deal [7]

[END SURVEY]